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NETWORK MODEL OF IDENTITIES *

Abstract

According to the Social identity theory, people's identities are a key predictor of conflict. Although this view also informs much of the research in identity politics, the prevailing empirical methods do not reflect one of the basic characteristics of identities: their multiplicity. In this paper, I developed a theoretical model and an empirical method allowing researchers to study multiple political and social identities, as well as relations between them. This new model of identities defined the individual's collective self as a network of relations between ingroup and outgroup identities. An individual's self-concept could be thus depicted as a network diagram and the output was analyzed by standard econometric methods and network analysis. Applying an original network approach to survey data, the project produced easily analyzable and replicable quantitative measures of identity structure. I used them to test how the common ingroup model and temporal comparison work in the case of the European identity in Slovakia. The Slovak identity seems to be nested within the European and the Slavic superordinate categories. The European identity is defined not only in relation to seemingly non-European nations (such as Americans and Turks), but also in opposition to a low-status subgroup of the Roma people. It is not constructed in relation to the Russian identity though. Overall, ingroups are defined more in opposition to outgroups rather than to their own past. My analysis failed to corroborate predictions derived from the common ingroup identity model. A superordinate category shared by different groups does not always decrease hostility between them. But, surprisingly, a salient

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European identity decreased hostility to outgroups not regarded as European. My research also undermined the thesis that benign temporal comparison may replace or mitigate intergroup comparison. Salient identities are in fact formed both in relation to the ingroup's past and to territorial outgroups. Strong temporal comparison does not reduce intergroup comparison, but rather positively correlates with it.

Introduction

According to the influential social identity theory, social categorization shapes attitudes and behavior in a way that people tend to favor their fellow ingroup members and ingroups consequently tend to compete with outgroups (Turner 1975; Tajfel and Turner 1986).¹ Social identity is thus considered a strong predictor of both cooperation and conflict. Because of preeminence of these general processes in politics, social identity is often used to explain important political and social phenomena, such as regime stability (Horowitz 1985; Chandra 2004; Chandra 2005), cleavages in a party system (Posner 2005), patronage (Chandra, 2004), and reproduction of social inequality (Tilly 2005).

Much attention is devoted to research on the role of identity in organized violence. The identity issues are at the heart of many of the most protracted conflicts, such as the Israeli-Palestinian one (Kelman 2001). Primordialists often consider "ancient hatred" between clearly defined social groups a deep-rooted and principally irresolvable cause of intercommunal conflict (Kaplan 1993; Posen 1993). However, this view is contradicted by an empirical observation that most ethnic groups in fact live in peace (Fearon and Laitin 1996). Constructivists offer a more refined picture, in which identities are constructed or mobilized under specific circumstances. For example, Fearon and Laitin (2000) reviewed the

¹ As Hinkle and Brown (1990) showed, the relationship between ingroup identification and ingroup favoritism is not completely straightforward. In fact, it may depend on other factors, such as the individual's status within ingroup (Worchel, et al. 2000).

literature, according to which "internal conflicts between extremists and moderates belonging to a single ethnic group spur leaders or dissidents to provoke violence with members of an out-group". Those elites (or counterelites) redefine group identities in a more antagonistic way, in order to secure continuation or escalation of a conflict. Although primordialists and constructivists differ in their accounts of how stable identities are, both schools stress preeminence of politicized identities in ethnic conflict.

Research in political science, sociology, anthropology, and other fields show that people simultaneously hold numerous identities, differentiated by a degree of salience and politicization (Chandra and Boulet 2005). Those identities are interconnected and a relationship between a particular ingroup and outgroup identity is influenced by other ingroup-outgroup, ingroup-ingroup, and outgroup-outgroup relations. The social categorization theory even defines any identity in contrast to other identities (Turner, Hogg et al. 1987).

Although multiplicity of identities is generally acknowledged, it is rarely studied empirically. Much of the current research in social psychology analyzes individual attributes, such as self-esteem (Tajfel and Turner 1986) or social dominance orientation (Sidanius 1993), in search for a universal explanation of intergroup conflict. However, intergroup conflict is a dyadic phenomenon and cannot be fully explained by a monadic variable. Although variation in SDO across individuals may help explain variation in their discrimination against the same outgroup, it can tell us little about why the same person would discriminate against Blacks but not against Asians or Jews. Few studies in political science use group attributes (such as relative group size in Posner [2005]) to explain why only few groups compete against each other, but this structural approach largely assumes individual attributes away. Clearly, a method capable of taking a snapshot of multiple and interconnected identities at the level of individuals would be beneficial for both types of studies.

The question of how identities are defined in relation to each other is even more important for those who propose solutions to identity-driven conflicts. Two of the most frequently discussed ways to transcend intergroup conflict are invocation of a common ingroup identity (Gaertner, Mann et al. 1989; Gaertner, Dovidio et al. 1993) and redefinition of an ingroup identity in relation to its past rather than in opposition to some spatial outgroups (Mummendey and Klink 2001). Both approaches propose to reduce intergroup conflict by manipulating position of ingroup and outgroup identities within the structure of the social self. But how can we assess these approaches if we do not have methods to approach the real-world social self in its complexity?

In this paper, I design a method allowing researchers to study multiple political and social identities, as well as relations between them. Applying a network approach to survey data, the paper offers easily analyzable and replicable quantitative measures of identity structure. I use them to test how the common ingroup model and temporal comparison work in the case of the European identity.

Common Ingroup Identity Model

Some identities are more inclusive, shared by several, otherwise distinct groups. These are called superordinate identities. A superordinate identity can be defined as an identity held by the members of otherwise distinct subgroups, along with their particular subgroup (or subordinate) identities. Superordinate identities exist at different levels. For example, the German national identity is superordinate to the Bavarian regional identity, but the Germans are at the same time a subgroup of the Europeans. According to the common ingroup identity model, superordinate identities may be used to prevent deadly intergroup conflict (Gaertner, Mann et al. 1989; Gaertner, Dovidio et al. 1993). As Brewer (2001) summarized:

When differential cooperation, positivity, and trust toward others is based on shared ingroup membership, discrimination can best be reduced by conditions that foster greater inclusiveness, extending the boundaries of the ingroup to include former outgroup members. This is the basic rationale for the common ingroup identity model for reducing intergroup bias through recategorization of ingroup and outgroup into a superordinate category identity.

As salient ingroup-outgroup distinctions create intergroup conflict, recategorization of previously independent groups into a superordinate common category should decrease propensity of intergroup conflict because ingroup favoritism would now extend also to the members of a former outgroup (Gaertner, Mann et al. 1989). Discrimination is reduced when the characteristics derived from the prototype of a superordinate category can be attributed to a subordinate outgroup (Mummendey and Wenzel 1999). Recent research even indicates that common superordinate identity is a necessary condition of cooperative interdependence, while interdependence between groups not sharing a collective identity may lead to distrust and increased competition (Brewer 2000).

Despite generally poor exchange of ideas between social psychology and political science, the role of superordinate identities has been realized also by the constructivist school of international relations. For example, the inclusive superordinate identities are supposed to reduce likelihood of armed conflict between members of security communities (Deutsch 1957; Adler and Barnett 1998). The European Commission even explicitly promotes the common European identity in hope to promote better relations between European nations (Herrmann and Brewer 2004). Empirical research shows that this strategy may not be unreasonable because hostility to other cultures and support of the EU really correlate, though the causal relationship is questionable (McLaren 2002).

However, as the empirically driven development of the common ingroup identity model revealed (Gaertner, Dovidio et al. 1993; Gaertner, Rust et al. 1994; Gaertner, Dovidio et al. 2000), the beneficial effect of a

superordinate identity works only under certain conditions. When two groups share a salient superordinate identity, their intergroup relations are expected to improve. If the previous group boundaries cease to be salient altogether, the intergroup relationship should be the most positive. But this positive perception does not necessarily extend to all outgroups. A powerful superordinate identity might reduce conflict between subgroups, but exacerbate conflict with total strangers. Moreover, the beneficial effect of superordinate identities may be constrained by diverging interpretations of who is and who is not included. In fact, superordinate collectivities sometimes define themselves in opposition to some of their own subgroups (Abizadeh 2005). An illuminating example is given by the French national identity, which has transcended to great degree once powerful regional cleavages. At the same time, and despite their formal citizenship, the French Muslims are not always seen as part of ingroup and they rather represent France's Other (Kastoryano 2002). This example underlines necessity to empirically identify salient ingroup-outgroup relationships if we want to understand how superordinate identities influence intergroup conflict in the real world.

My hypothesis about the impact of superordinate identities on intergroup relations is derived from the Common ingroup identity model (Gaertner, Dovidio et al. 1993; Gaertner, Rust et al. 1994; Gaertner, Dovidio et al. 2000; González and Brown 2003):

Hypothesis 1: A salient superordinate identity reduces hostile behavior towards subgroups included in this superordinate category, but does not influence hostility towards outgroups excluded from a superordinate category.

Temporal Comparison

Clear ingroup-outgroup delimitation is central to the very concept of social identity. The concept of collective identity involves a boundary,

within-boundary relations, and cross-boundary relations (Tilly 2005). Social psychology provides insight into the evolutionary role of group boundaries. According to Brewer (2000), clearly delimited groups are a viable compromise between individual selfishness (principally suicidal in a highly interdependent world) and indiscriminate altruism (inefficient because of the free riding problem). A solution of this essential dilemma is represented by ingroups, the "bounded communities of mutual obligation and trust that delimit the extent to which both the benefits and costs of cooperation can be expected" (Brewer 2000). In bounded groups, costs of nonreciprocal behavior can be contained.

The optimal distinctiveness theory posits that the boundaries of a group are determined by two opposing needs – the need for inclusion and the need for differentiation (Brewer 1991). This inherent contradiction implies that even the most inclusive groups have to be bounded because the need for differentiation would not be satisfied otherwise. The theory predicts that the extent to which strong identification and loyalty can be extended to highly inclusive superordinate groups is limited.

Much research has focused on how ingroup ("us") defines itself in opposition to outgroup ("them"). In the field of political science, such a constitutive Other is usually, though not necessarily, defined as an external territorial or cultural unit (Abizadeh 2005). When applied to international relations, necessity of intergroup comparison may lead to a pessimist prediction that supra-national identities will merely replace international conflicts by interregional animosity.

But it is perfectly possible that members of a group use rather a temporal comparator, i.e. an image of the ingroup itself in the past (Brown 2000; Mummendey and Klink 2001). For instance, the common European identity may have been formed in relation to the shameful Nazi past of the community itself rather than in relation to any territorial outgroup (Wæver 1998; Hansen and Wæver 2003). This alternative model of identity formation has far-reaching implications. Mummendey and Klink (2001)

found that, contrary to intergroup comparison, temporal comparison does not lead to increased xenophobia. Moreover, if a superordinate identity is not formed primarily in relation to outgroup, it should be more easily extended to more groups. This view even does not discard a possibility of formation of an ultimate common human identity sometime in the future (Abizadeh 2005).

We can sum up the idea of temporal comparison in the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: A salient temporal comparator reduces intergroup comparison, reducing in effect also hostile behavior towards outgroups.

Another goal of my study is to provide a more complex image of the collective self. More precisely, I will address the question in relation to which outgroups the European superordinate identity has been formed. A superordinate identity may be formed in relation to a single "Other" (such as the Soviet Union/Russia in the case of the common European identity) or in relation to multiple outgroups (such as Russians, Muslims, and Americans) (Meinhof 2004). The Other of a superordinate identity may be in fact one of its subgroups (Abizadeh 2005). Of course, the empirical identification of outgroups and subgroups is crucial for understanding to which groups the common ingroup model is actually relevant. Finally, construction of a collective identity might not need a territorially defined "Other" (such as the Russians), but it might be formed in relation to the past of the community itself, such as the bloody past of Europe (Wæver 1998; Hansen and Wæver 2003). The approach proposed in this paper allows direct comparison of these intergroup and temporal relations.

Empirical Identification of Identities

The social identity theory and the social categorization theory concur that an individual holds multiple identities at the same time (Hogg, Terry et al. 1995). However, despite huge theoretical development in last forty years,

design of most experiments and surveys usually omits all the identities but one or two picked up by a researcher. This may easily create the omitted variable bias: if both the dependent variable (e.g. inclination to discriminate against the Blacks) and the independent variable (e.g. salience of the White identity) correlate with an omitted variable (e.g. one's attachment to the American identity encompassing both the Black and White Americans), the results are biased.

Another problem arising from dominance of bivariate analysis is that most survey and experimental studies on identities are confirmatory and not exploratory. Researchers must choose in advance which two or three identities they are going to study. Salience of identities and their relationship is thus assumed *a priori* and not really empirically explored. Furthermore, measures of identity often fit a particular group without much attempt to make the results more generalizable or at least more comparable. For example, measures of African-American identity often include political attitudes, while indicators of Mexican-American identity are centered on language (Phinney 1992).

Scholars often lament that "social identity is most typically assessed without explicit reference to comparison groups" and "the focus is on attraction to the in-group" (Jackson and Smith 1999). Many standard scales (for example the Collective Self-Esteem Scale developed by Luhtanen and Crocker [1992]) take into account only one specific identity. To give an example, the Eurobarometer survey uses the following item: "People may feel different degrees of attachment to their town or village, to their region, to their country, or to Europe. Please tell me how attached you feel to [our country]: very attached, fairly attached, not very attached, not at all attached, don't know."

Attachment to two identities may be indirectly compared by the method of correlation. For instance, Ros, Huici et al. (2000) reported negative correlation ($r=-0.48$) in case of the Spanish and Catalan identities.

This type of scales is not designed to capture intergroup differentiation. A better alternative is represented by "bivariate comparisons between one ingroup and one outgroup" (Ros, Huici et al. 2000). In case of superordinate identities, a bivariate scale can include two ingroup identities. For example, Eurobarometer asks people: "In the near future, do you see yourself as (1) [nationality] only, (2) [nationality] and European, (3) European and [nationality], or (4) European only?" In comparison to the previous indicator, this measure can identify people having a dual identity.

Another bivariate indicator comparing attachment to two ingroup identities is the "comparative identity" (Huici, Ros et al. 1997). For example, Ros, Huici et al. (2000) computed the index of comparative identity by subtracting the degree of identification with a superordinate group (Spain) from the degree of identification with a subgroup (Catalonia) and the resulting variable was used to predict bias towards an outgroup (Andalusians).

Finally, a quantitative method, which goes beyond a simple bivariate comparison, is based on ranking of listed identities. Rankings can be principally almost as limited as bivariate measures (this is the case of World Values Survey, for instance), but they typically include more than two identities. For example, Callero (1985) asked blood-donors to rank seven social identities according to the relative importance of the identity in the donor's life. Analysis of rankings is somewhat constrained by the fact that any ranking forms an ordinal, not interval variable. Furthermore, rankings might not be reliable if the respondents do not have a clear hierarchy of identities in their mind. The cognitive demand on the respondent due to a large list of identities can create biased results (Goyder 2003). In addition, rankings cannot really identify outgroups. It is not clear whether the lowest ranked identity belongs to outgroup, is a less salient ingroup identity, or the respondent is just indifferent to it.

Some more refined data gathering techniques use structured interviews and questionnaires with opened questions. Perhaps the most

famous indicator of identities is the Twenty Statement Test, in which participants complete twenty sentences starting by "I am..." (Kuhn and McPartland 1954). But this test is not limited to social identities. Indeed most answers include personal traits and attributes (Brewer and Gardner 1996). Moreover, although the test can help discover people's ingroup identities, other measures are needed to reveal relations between those identities and between ingroup and outgroup identities.

Our ineptitude to study the complex identity structure of the self-concept in a reliable and replicable way makes the whole field of identity politics somewhat problematic. As a result, some of the most informed authors even question the analytical value of using such broad categories as ethnicity or identity (Brubaker 2004; Risse 2004; Chandra 2006). A method capable of approaching multiple identities is needed to overcome this problem (Brewer 1999; Risse 2004). In this paper, I propose and test such a new quantitative method.

Network Model of Identities

I rely on a definition of social identities as self-categorizations, i.e. "cognitive groupings of oneself and some class of stimuli as the same... in contrast to some other class of stimuli" (Turner, Hogg et al. 1987). In other words, I focus on the cognitive aspect of group membership and on self-ascription. A respondent has a French identity if he/she thinks about him/herself as French. This approach also defines identity "in contrast" to another identity (or some other cognitive element).

According to the identity theory, the social identity theory, and the self-categorization theory, an individual has multiple identities at the same time, those identities are defined in relation to other ingroup and outgroup identities, and they are organized hierarchically with regard to the

probability that the identity will be invoked in a particular situation.² For instance, one can feel French among the Germans and Catholic while confronted with the French atheists. He/she can also consider the French Catholics and atheists closer to each other than they are to Germans.

The self concept is a multidimensional collection of cognitive and/or affective representations of self in the present as well as in the past and the future. It "interprets and organizes self-relevant actions and experiences; it has motivational consequences, providing the incentives, standards, plans, rules, and scripts for behavior, and it adjusts in response to challenges from the social environment" (Markus and Wurf 1987). There are various definitions of the self-concept, but I focus on the social self, defined by Brewer and Gardner (1996) as "those aspects of the self-concept that reflect assimilation to others or significant social groups". Among two levels of social selves (interpersonal bonds and collective identities), I am interested in the latter – the collective self (Brewer and Gardner 1996).

In this paper, I propose a model defining the individual's collective self as a network of relations between ingroup and outgroup identities, perceived by this individual. Following my definition, an individual's self-concept can be depicted as a network diagram. The nodes of such a network would correspond to the ingroup identities of a person (such as "French" or "Catholic") and to various outgroup identities (for example "atheist" or "German"). A tie between two nodes would represent the perceived constitutive negative relationship between the two identities. If we are able to give these ties numerical values, the resulting network could be analyzed by slightly modified standard methods of the social network analysis and by statistical methods.³

The proposed method is substantially different from the traditional network approach to identities, in which nodes of a social network

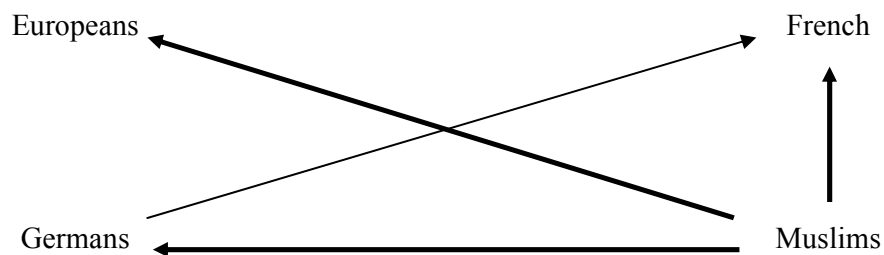
² A brief yet comprehensive overview of the first two theories can be found in Hogg, Terry, et al. (1995). The self-categorization theory is discussed in Turner, Oakes, et al. (1994).

³ The method of social network analysis is explained in detail for example in Scott (2000) and Nooy, Mrvar, et al. (2005).

correspond either to real individuals or, more general, to institutions, public narratives, and social practices (Thoits 1983; Somers 1994). In my work, a resulting network represents rather an individual's collective self-concept than any observable external objects.

The following diagram shows a hypothetical collective self, in which the French and the German identities are nested within a superordinate European identity, which is formed in opposition to the Muslim Other. Four nodes represent four identities (the first row ingroup and the second row outgroup identities). The absence of any negative relations between the European identity on the one hand and two national identities on the other hand may indicate that either the national identities are nested within the European one, or all three identities are overlapping (which would be impossible because the French and German identities are theoretically mutually exclusive for most people), or they are separate (which would not explain lack of salient ingroup-outgroup comparison for the French-Germans dyad). This formation is also characterized by the consistent othering in relation to the Muslims, providing more evidence for the nested model. A less conflictual relationship between two subgroup identities due to a shared superordinate category is represented by a thin arc from the outgroup German identity to the ingroup French one.

Figure 1 – Network Diagram of a Hypothetical Collective Self



The method may reveal numerous salient intergroup relationships at the same time, which is in strike contrast with the limited focus of the currently used bivariate scales. Although other measures of identities are to

some extent correlated, they are not interchangeable (Ros, Huici et al. 2000). It means that if one uses say comparative identity to analyze salience of two ingroup identities (such as the Spanish and Catalan identities), it would be hard to compare his/her results with a study of a similar ingroup-outgroup relationship (e.g. Spanish-Moroccan) using a simple bivariate scale. The network model of identities allows us to capture multiple identities (Spanish, Catalan, *and* Moroccan) and various relationships between them at the same time and in a consistent way. The resulting quantitative measure is more easily replicable than ethnographic work or discourse analysis. It should also facilitate comparative studies of different populations. The main advantage in comparison to the Twenty Statements Test is that the network approach focuses solely on the collective self-concept. Another advantage is that my method also includes information about the perceived relationships *between* identities.

Research Design

Case

Perhaps the best-documented case of superordinate identity formation is the common European identity. My research studies the effect of salience of superordinate identity, temporal comparison, and othering on intended hostile intergroup behavior. In consequence, I was interested in increasing variance in those three independent variables across the individual observations (respondents in this case).

With this goal in mind, I conducted a survey in Slovakia. Slovakia is a new member state of the EU. It has a record of failed superordinate identity formation (Czechoslovakia). Previous studies showed that the Other is probably represented by Slovakia's internal foreigners - the politically significant ethnic minorities of Hungarians and Roma (Rhodes 1995; Vermeersch 2003).

I also intend to analyze to what degree my results are generalizable. The inclusive superordinate category and othering may be interpreted differently by different subgroups. For example, Triandafyllidou (2000) found that Northern and Southern Italians vary in their attitudes towards immigrants. That is why I included several demographic variables. Age locates respondents within a specific socio-historical context. A Slovak national born in 1950 has spent most of his/her life in a Communist Czechoslovakia, while a Slovak person born in 1990 lacks any direct experience with Czechoslovakia and the Eastern bloc. It is also possible that the Other of the European identity will significantly differ across the generations. Age is measured by a continuous variable created by subtracting the year of the respondent's birth from the year, when the survey was conducted (2007).

Another control variable is ethnicity. Clearly, whether a respondent is a Slovak or a Hungarian living in Slovakia would produce a very different evaluation of the ingroup-outgroup relationship between Slovaks and Hungarians. I controlled for ethnicity using the so-called "nationality" ("*národnosť*", which in the context of Slovakia does not mean citizenship, but ethnic self-identification).

Finally, the following variables were used to report the basic characteristics of my sample: locality, gender, age, education, and income.

I obtained data by administering a web-based survey, a cheap and increasingly popular method of data gathering. However, web surveys generally face a significant problem with the self-selection bias (Czaja and Blair 2005). Moreover, not all members of the target population have equal access to Internet, meaning some parts of the population may not be covered by sampling. One should note, though, that the very same problems also plague usual RDD telephone surveys (Rivers 2007). In order to generalize results to the whole population, survey organizations usually reweight the data using various demographic or attitudinal variables (Schonlau, Fricker et al. 2002). I did the same.

In order to reduce bias resulting from a non-representative sample, I weighted my data using different demographic variables. Many surveys weight their results using race, age, and gender, implicitly assuming that any sources of bias correlate with one of these three variables (Battaglia, Izrael et al. 2003). Questioning this unfounded assumption, I decided to include as many variables as possible. Inspection of my data revealed that the web survey undersampled older people, ethnic minorities, inhabitants of rural areas, people with lower education, and, to a lesser degree, women. Therefore I used age, ethnicity, size of a settlement, education, and gender to construct my weights.⁴

I could not use the traditional cell weighting technique because a high number of variables would produce too many empty cells, making the weighted results problematic (Dorofeev and Grant 2006). Instead I weighted my data by raking, also known as sample-balancing or iterative marginal weighting. Compared to cell weighting, raking not only allows a greater number of dimensions relative to the sample size, but also generally produces a smaller range of weights, increasing efficiency of estimates (Dorofeev and Grant 2006). I also tested other methods, namely inverse propensity weighting and weighting by propensity score quintiles, but they did not reduce bias in the included demographic variables as successfully as raking did. Unfortunately, raking is subject to the usual trade-off between bias and efficiency: higher variation of weights leads to larger sampling errors. Another caveat is that although marginal totals of the weights adjusted by weighting reasonably fit to control totals for the population, higher-order weighted distributions might not necessarily reflect the corresponding distributions in the population (Battaglia, Izrael et al. 2003).

⁴ The data for the population were obtained from the 2001 census. The population was defined as residents of Slovakia 18 years old or older.

Independent Variable

Ingroup-outgroup identification was measured on a bipolar 5-point scale, in which two poles always represent two distinct identities. A five-point scale makes the results more nuanced.

Here is a sample item from the questionnaire:

Do you feel closer to Slovaks or to Hungarians?

Much more closer to Slovaks	Somewhat closer to Slovaks	In between	Somewhat more closer to Hungarians	Much more closer to Hungarians
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Perceived closeness, or proximity, measured by my question, serves as a proxy for endogroupness and exogroupness. A similar question ("How close do you feel to...") has been used in the same capacity in the ISSP National Identity Survey in 1995-96 and 2003-04. According to (Sinnott 2006), political attitudes (such as national pride, ethnic chauvinism, and support of economic protectionism) correlate with this measure better than with scales based on self-identification ("Do you identify with...").

ISSP 2003 translated the question "How close do you feel to..." into Slovak as "*Ako blízky vzťah máte...*" and the question "How close do you feel to your ethnic group" as "*Aký blízky vzťah cítite k svojej národnosti*". Literal translation back to English would be "How close is your relation to...", which is not exactly what the original English question asked. During pretests, my respondents reported their understanding of various variants of this question. During that process, I discarded the ISSP variant asking about "a relation" because some respondents understood it as asking about their interpersonal relationships with concrete individuals from a given nation. My theoretical model concerns abstract social categorization, not interpersonal relations. The best results were obtained with a question "*Sú*

vám bližší Maďari alebo Slováci?" (literal translation: "Are Hungarians or Slovaks closer to you?"). All my respondents but one understood the question as related to a social category, not to concrete members of that group. All of them also understood that the question asks about proximity and not necessarily self-identification (which would not allow capturing outgroup-outgroup relations). Interpretations of "closeness" varied across individual respondents from "who is more acceptable to me" to "who is closer mentally, linguistically, emotionally" to "closer to my heart".

The "don't know" and "neither" options were not included in the final version of the questionnaire. The first reason is theoretical. As I explain below, the answers will produce numerical values indicating the ingroup-outgroup relationship (or othering) between the two identities. If there is no othering, the value is equal to zero. The "in between", "neither", and "dk" options would all produce zero, giving no more information than the "in between" option alone. The second reason is empirical. None of the respondents participating in pretests picked up "dk" at all, when that option was enabled. The reasons for choosing the "in between" and "neither" answers were to great degree overlapping, reducing the analytical value of the "neither" option.⁵

Every identity dyad in the network matrix (e.g. "Slovaks-Hungarians") was given a numerical value based on the respondent's choice. This value represents intensity of intergroup comparison, or othering. For example, a response "much more similar to Hungarians" produced an arc from Slovaks to Hungarians with a value of 2. A response "somewhat more similar to Slovaks" produced an arc from Hungarians to Slovaks with a value of 1. An "in between" answer did not produce any arc at all (value of 0).

⁵ The reason for choosing "neither" was refusal to apply ingroup-outgroup logic ("I think all people in the world are the one", "a nation consists of individuals and I cannot judge a nation as an entity"). The reasons for choosing "in between" were refusal to apply ingroup-outgroup logic ("we are all one", "all nations are equally close for me", "there is something close to me in every nation", "it is about individuals, not about nationalities") and nested identities ("Slovaks are Europeans", "we are all Europeans").

The results can be aggregated to the whole sample or a sub-sample by using an average score. For instance, if 10 out of 100 respondents choose “much more similar to Hungarians”, 80 respondents “somewhat more similar to Slovaks” and 10 “in between”, the arc from Hungarians to Slovaks will have a value equal to $(-10*2 + 80*1 + 10*0) / 100 = 0.6$. The values of average othering can theoretically run from -2 to 2. This standardized form allows comparison of the results across different research settings (including a different number of identities and respondents) and populations.

The questionnaire includes all the possible identity dyads. Therefore, the number of questions is equal to $n^2/2 - n/2$, where n is the number of the identities included in the analysis. Although it would be interesting to include as many identities as possible, the exponential growth of the number of questions (for example, 12 identities would produce 66 questions, but 13 identities would require 78 questions) makes such an endeavor unpractical because of the limits posed by the respondents’ attention.

Both the questions in my questionnaire and the identities in a dyad were randomized to prevent respondents from responding automatically (e.g. choosing “somewhat closer to Europeans” for all the questions including the European identity, had they been placed in one block).

Since I define a social identity as self-categorization (Turner, Hogg, et al. 1987), my question is one-dimensional – it measures proximity, or, more precisely, the relative distance of a social identity to the Self when compared to another identity. However, there are other approaches besides the self-categorization theory. In a classic definition, Tajfel (1981) defined social identity as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership”. As my question is quite broad, it is not always clear to which of three “facets” of a social identity (Brown, Condor et al. 1986), a

respondent pays more attention: to “awareness of group membership”, or “evaluation”, or “emotional significance”.

Stryker and Serpe (1994) used a similarly formed indicator to measure psychological centrality: They asked their subjects to decide which activity (corresponding to a specific social role or identity) is more important for how the respondents thought of themselves. As in my survey, activities were always presented in pairs. However, the outcome was only another ranking of ingroup identities according to their centrality, while my measures of identity structure capture not only salience of identities, but also relations between them. Moreover, I can include also outgroups, which was impossible in Stryker and Serpe’s research design.

Because of a high number of possible dyads, I use only one question per each identity pair. To compare with other studies in the field of social psychology, Brown, Condor et al. (1986) used a questionnaire with 15 items to study attachment to a particular identity and the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure was formed from answers to 14 questions, measuring three dimensions of ethnicity (Phinney 1992). But Phinney also concluded that all the components of ethnicity were strongly correlated and it was analytically meaningful to study ethnicity as a single factor. Therefore, the real problem is not as much conceptual (some unmeasured dimensions of identity) as empirical (reliability of an indicator): Respondents may understand the question in a different way, creating measurement error that would decrease significance of the results. Unfortunately, construction of a composite variable based on several questions for each identity dyad is unfeasible. Large-scale surveys (such as ISSP surveys, the World Values Survey, and Eurobarometer) usually do not approach identities by more than one or two items either.

The unit of analysis is the individual respondent. The independent variable is the structure of the collective Self, operationalized by perceived relations between identities, as described above.

Dependent Variable

My dependent variable can be defined as hostile behavioral intentions towards outgroup. Hostile behavior, from discrimination (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004) to ethnic riots (Horowitz 2001) to genocide (Staub 1989), is extremely politically relevant and analytically interesting. However, it is very difficult to directly study this kind of behavior, either in an experimental setting or using a survey. That is why much research focuses on attitudes (stereotypes and prejudice) instead of behavior. This "solution" is quite problematic though, as "measures of stereotyping, prejudice, and behavior are often empirically dissociated, despite theoretical reasons to think they should be closely linked" (Mackie and Smith 1998). In my work, I am trying to get as close to behavior as possible, by analyzing a diverse set of behavioral intentions.

Allport (1954) suggested that there are five ways how prejudice can be expressed in behavior: antilocution (talking in terms of prejudice or making jokes), avoidance (avoiding contact with members of an outgroup), discrimination (actively doing something to deny members of an outgroup something they desire), physical attack (beatings, lynchings, etc.), and extermination (an attempt to eliminate an entire group). Allport (1954) also argued that softer forms set the stage for more serious expressions of prejudice. Genocide usually escalates, like in Nazi Germany, from avoidance to discrimination to physical attacks to extermination. I constructed indicators of two intermediate forms of intergroup hostility: avoidance and political discrimination.

Tendencies to avoid contact with a member of a particular group are interchangeable with social distance (Oskamp 2004). To measure social distance, I used an item from almost the middle of Bogardus's social

distance scale: acceptance of a member of an outgroup as a neighbor (Bogardus 1925).⁶

A more hostile form of behavior is discrimination, defined by Allport (1954) as "[to] deny to individuals or to groups of people equality of treatment which they may wish". Similarly to the indicator of social distance, my indicator of discrimination in the public life measures intended discrimination of an individual because of his/her membership in an outgroup. The respondents were asked whether they would support a specific type of political discrimination of an outgroup.⁷ Although my question regarding the Roma people has already been used in Slovakia before ((Benkovičová 1995)), the questions regarding Hungarians and Turks are neither validated, nor completely uniform. However, they will show to what extent my results are robust and whether they extend from avoidance to more serious forms of intergroup hostile behavior.

All my indicators of hostile behavioral intentions are explicit (i.e. self-reported), not implicit. I decided to use an explicit measure because it predicts discrimination in social life better than implicit measures of prejudices usually do (Maass, Castelli et al. 2000). Implicit prejudices do not affect judgmental tasks requiring some cognitive effort and they predict primarily non-verbal behavior (Dovidio, Kawakami et al. 1997). I was more concerned with politically relevant behavior than with why people make faces.

I constructed my dependent variables separately for three outgroups theoretically differentiated by their relation to the European identity: a subgroup of a superordinate European category (Hungarians), a total outgroup (Turks), and a group of ambiguous position (Roma).

⁶ The question is "If it was up to you, would you accept a Hungarian/Roma/Turk as a neighbor?". I offered three answers, yes, no, and dk.

⁷ Three examples of political discrimination were "to have stricter laws for the Roma than for other citizens", "to close the 'Hungarian' university [in Slovakia]", and "to introduce a law with stricter criteria for permission of religious practice and associations in the case of Muslims than in the case of other citizens".

Hypothesis 1 predicts that the level of hostile behavioral intentions in regard to a particular group depends on the group's exclusion from a superordinate category and the salience of the superordinate category. The first independent variable (othering, or the level of exclusion from a superordinate category) is indicated by the value of an arc from the given outgroup or subgroup identity to the European identity.

The second independent variable (salience of the European identity) in fact measures the level of endo-groupness, with the most salient ingroups having the most positive score, the most salient outgroup having the most negative score, and non-salient identities having the score close to zero. The value will be computed by subtracting the value of input ties from the value of output ties. Let us use Figure 1 on p. 13 again as an example. A thick line indicates a value of an arc equal to two (e.g. the thick line from "Muslim" to "French" represents the answer "much more similar to French [than to Muslims]"), a thin line a value of an arc equal to one.

Input ties refer to the tails of an arc beginning in a specific node, while output ties refer to the heads. So, the raw salience score of French identity would be equal to $2+1=3$, the score of the European identity to 2, the score of the German identity to $2-1=1$ and the score of the Muslim identity to $-2-2-2=-6$. These numbers should be transformed, so they do not depend on the number of cases and identities. The final formula is:

$$\text{Salience} = \frac{\sum \text{score}_{ij}}{(n-1) * N_i}$$

Score is the sum of values of ties including the given identity j for all observations i ; n is the number of identities; and N_i is the number of observations. In my simple example with four identities and only one observation, salience of the French identity would be equal to 1, of the European identity to 0.67, of the German identity to 0.33, and of the Muslim identity to -2. The scale theoretically runs from -2 to 2, having the same range as the measure of intergroup comparison.

Hypothesis 2 predicts a negative relationship between salience of a temporal comparator (operationalized by salience of the othering between ingroup identity and the temporal comparator) and hostile behavioral intentions. Temporal comparison is expected to reduce intergroup hostility. Again, logistic regression will be used. Only observations including a real outgroup (i.e. only observations with the value of the arc from ingroup identity to the given outgroup identity equal to 1 or 2) will be taken into account. To measure temporal comparison (i.e. othering between the ingroup's present and past), I compared the group of "Ludaks" ("*Ludáci*"), members of a totalitarian political party ruling Slovakia during World War II, to "contemporary Europeans". Ludaks (officially called the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party) allied Slovakia with Nazi Germany, introduced anti-Semitic laws, and helped the Germans fight the Slovak Resistance movement in a bloody war.

The causal mechanism leads from temporal comparison to reduced intergroup comparison to reduced hostility. To test the first causal link, i.e. whether temporal comparison influences intergroup comparison, I constructed a measure of territorial othering:

$$\text{Overall territorial othering} = \frac{\sum \sqrt{\text{score}_{ij}^2}}{2n}$$

The indicator is equal to the sum of squared distances between the European ingroup identity and territorially or culturally defined outgroup identities, divided by the number of these distances (n). Therefore, the measure is independent from the number of included identities and always runs from 0 to 1. If the hypothesis is correct, this measure of intergroup comparison should be negatively correlated with the measure of temporal comparison (in my research the dyad Europeans-Ludaks).

Exploratory part

The exploratory part of my research aims to elucidate the relationship between a superordinate identity and its potential Others. For this reason, three additional identities will be included in the analysis. First two are non-European identities, which may have served as a constitutive Other for the common European identity: the Russians (Neumann 1999) and the Americans (Diez 2004). Position of the third identity (the Roma people) is more ambiguous as it can be either a subgroup (given a high number of Slovak Roma) or outgroup (Vermeersch 2003). So, the total number of the analyzed identities will be equal to 8.

The nature of the relationship between various identities can be revealed by an analysis of the identity network as a whole. The "Other", in relation to which an identity has been formed, will be identified by a consistent perception of the salient conflictual relationships between ingroup (e.g. Europeans) and outgroup (e.g. Russians). When the less conflictual relations are filtered from the network, the othering should be visible as the strongest conflictual relations. The same analysis will also show whether an identity is formed in relation to a single or to multiple Others. Some outgroups may serve as the Other for just one (for example Germans vs. French) or several distinct ingroup identities (for example Muslims vs. French, Muslims vs. Europeans).

The revealed identity structure of the collective Self may be more or less stable or it may vary across observations, indicating the real significance of group identities. If members of the same collectivity do not interpret the boundaries of their group and the relations to other groups in a consistent way, it would be difficult to defend the idea that group mobilization along the identity fault lines is responsible for the observed wide range of phenomena from voting behavior to civil war. On the other hand, homogeneity of identity structure within a group will indicate that those identities (and perceived ingroup-outgroup relations) may be

potentially mobilized by political elites. The network model of identities can be thus used as an early-warning system to predict ethnic conflict.

Descriptive Part

Before reporting the results, I must note that my web-based survey exhibited the usual biases of this technique: it undersampled older people, ethnic minorities, inhabitants of rural areas, and people with lower education. To make my results more generalizable, I used raking. The weighted sample is a reasonable fit of the population in the recorded demographic variables.

Table 1 – Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Variable	Unweighted Sample	Weighted Sample	Population ¹
N	215	215	4,102,634
<i>Sex</i>			
Men	53.5%	47.5%	47.8%
Women	46.5%	52.5%	52.2%
<i>Age</i>			
Age ≥ 65 years	1.4%	20.6%	21.4%
<i>Nationality</i>			
Slovak	94.9%	85.2%	85.2%
Hungarian	1.4%	10.3%	10.3%
<i>People living in</i>			
Bratislava (capital)	44.7%	16.2%	10.5%
settlements under 10,000	9.3%	62.7%	67.2%
Completed university education	70.2%	14.9%	10.3%

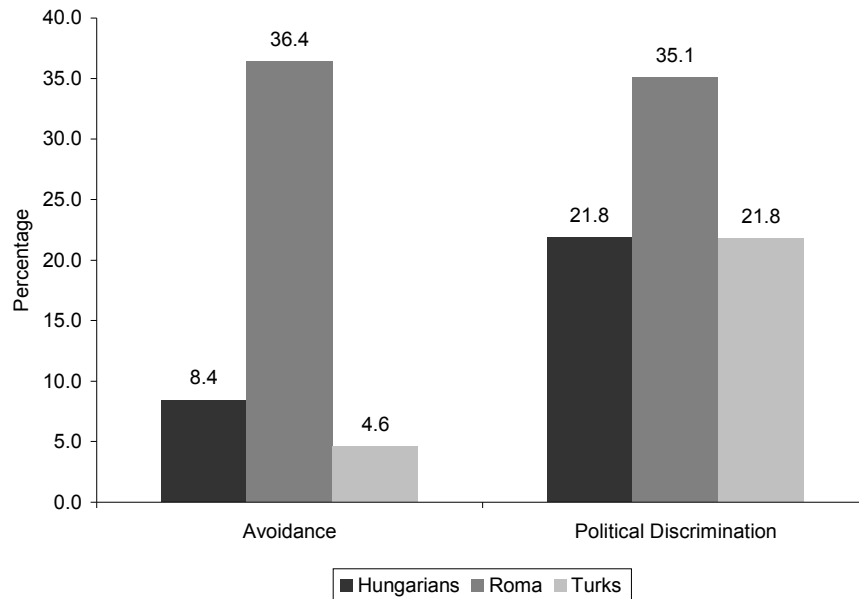
Source of the 2001 census data: The Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic

¹ Residents of Slovakia 18 years old or older.

Although there are only nine respondents (5.7%) of self-reported non-Slovak ethnicity, I decided to run my exploratory analysis on a restricted sample, containing only Slovaks. It is reasonable to expect the respondents of the Hungarian ethnicity to have reverse values of the Slovaks-Hungarians dyad, for instance. On the other hand, the confirmatory part of my study does not need to differentiate between nationalities at all because the hypothesized effect should not depend on ethnicity: people with no or weak Slovak identity are expected to discriminate Hungarians less whether they are officially Slovaks, Czechs, or Hungarians.

Figure 2 shows distribution of hostile behavioral intentions towards the three groups included in my analysis. The percentage of those who expressed those intentions is shown.

Figure 2 – Hostile Behavioral Intentions in the Sample



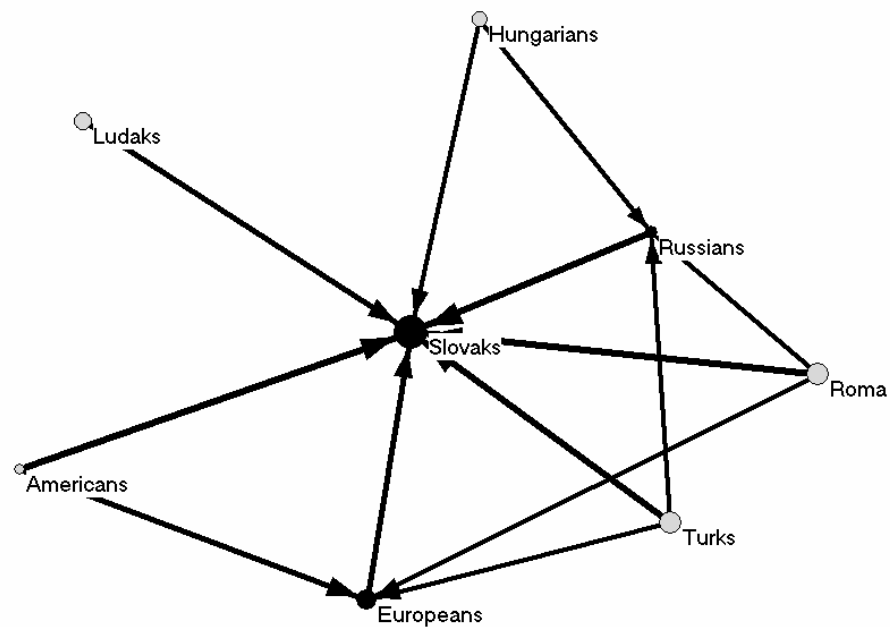
Almost one third of the respondents would rather keep social distance from the Roma, who are very often seen as characterized by high level of criminality, laziness, and insufficient cleanliness (Benkovičová

1995). Political discrimination exhibits similar patterns, although less pronounced.

Exploratory Part

The following network diagram shows the part of the collective self explored by my analysis and aggregated to the level of the whole sample of Slovaks.⁸ Size of vertices (nodes) is proportional to salience of an identity; size of arcs (ties) is proportional to salience of othering between the two identities. Black vertices represent ingroups (salience > 0), grey vertices refer to outgroups (salience < 0). Only the most salient relations (with salience higher than 1) are included. Othering is indicated by an arc from outgroup to ingroup.

Figure 3 – Network Diagram of Collective Self-Concept



⁸ Only the respondents who indicated their Slovak nationality are included in this analysis.

There are two salient ingroup identities: the Slovak and the European one. The Slovak identity is much more salient (see table 2). This result is in line with the optimal distinctiveness theory, which predicts lower salience of very large and overinclusive identities (Brewer 1991; 2000). What is surprising, the Russian identity is also seen more ingroup than outgroup, though with little salience. The Hungarian and American outgroup identities are not seen as very salient. Othering of Ludaks, Roma, and Turks is much stronger.

Table 2 – Salience of Identities

Identity	Salience	Identity	Salience
Slovaks	1.70	Hungarians	-0.40
Europeans	0.70	Ludaks	-0.49
Russians	0.29	Turks	-0.73
Americans	-0.22	Roma	-0.85

N=204

The Slovak identity is clearly distinguished from all other identities. Othering is less salient in the case of the groups sharing some of the attributes with the Slovak ingroup. Europeans (salience 1.61) is a category including the Slovak one. Ludaks were in fact of Slovak ethnicity (salience 1.61). As to the Hungarians (salience of the dyad 1.44), there is a significant Hungarian minority living in Slovakia, Hungarians are very close to Slovaks in terms of culture, and they have shared a major part of their history. It is interesting that political tensions between the two countries in the 1990s and especially a wave of minor ethnic violence in the summer of 2006 are not reflected in stronger othering. Although the Hungarians are the only politicized minority (i.e. having its own relevant political party) and have the biggest size relative to the Slovaks in the arena of domestic politics, antagonism is weaker than one would expect from reading Posner (2005).

The strongest othering can be observed in the case of distant nations (Americans, Russians, Turks) and visually distinct Roma (1.87).

Table 3 – Salience of Identity Dyads

Identity Dyad	Salience
Slovaks-Hungarians	1.44
Slovaks-Europeans	1.61
Slovaks-Ludaks	1.61
Slovaks-Americans	1.86
Slovaks-Roma	1.87
Slovaks-Russians	1.93
Slovaks-Turks	1.96
Europeans-Russians	0.52
Europeans-Hungarians	0.94
Europeans-Ludaks	0.94
Europeans-Turks	1.24
Europeans-Roma	1.35
Europeans-Americans	1.67

Due to the missing values, N=178.

Intergroup comparison between three European identities (Ludaks, Hungarians, and Russians) and the common European identity is not very salient (i.e. lower than 1). This absence of othering may indicate that the three identities are nested within the superordinate European one, as predicted by the theory (Meinhof 2004). It is interesting that the Slovak respondents defined the European identity in opposition to the American identity (1.67), but not so much in opposition to the Russian one (0.52). It is in line with the intuitive perception of Russians as Europeans and Americans as non-Europeans. On the other hand, the national identity was very clearly distinguished from the Russian one. The European identity is defined rather in terms of intergroup comparison against Americans and

Turks than in relation to the shameful past (Ludaks, with othering equal to 0.94). The European identity is defined by both intergroup and temporal comparison, but one does not preclude the other. The racially distinct and low-status Roma people (othering 1.35), although living in Europe since the Middle Ages, are clearly not perceived as Europeans in the same way as for example Slovaks and Hungarians are. This finding provides evidence for a theoretical argument that a group identity may be constituted in opposition to its own subgroup (Abizadeh 2005).

Finally, the Russian identity is strongly preferred to the Romani, Turkish, and Hungarian ones. Both the Slovak and Russian identities may be nested within a superordinate Slavic one. Interestingly, the linguistic affinity between two Slavic nations seems to be stronger than a regional affinity between Slovaks and Hungarians or Slovaks and Roma.

Confirmatory Part

Hypothesis 1 predicts that a salient superordinate identity will reduce hostility towards subgroups, but will not have any effect on total outgroups. I define subgroups of the European identity as the groups with no salient othering relationship to the European identity (i.e. salience of the dyad is lower than 1).

Figure 4 shows the observed probability of political discrimination depending on the group's exclusion from a superordinate category. Othering is equal to the salience of the relationship between the European identity and the outgroup's identity. Hostile behavioral intentions are weak when there is no othering between a subgroup of a superordinate category and rise afterwards, reaching the maximum with the strongest othering. Among the respondents who are "much closer to the Europeans than to" the group in question, 10% would not want a Turk as neighbor, 38% a Hungarian, and 51% a Roma. When no othering occurs, this number is well below 5% in all three cases.

Figure 4 – Observed probabilities of social avoidance

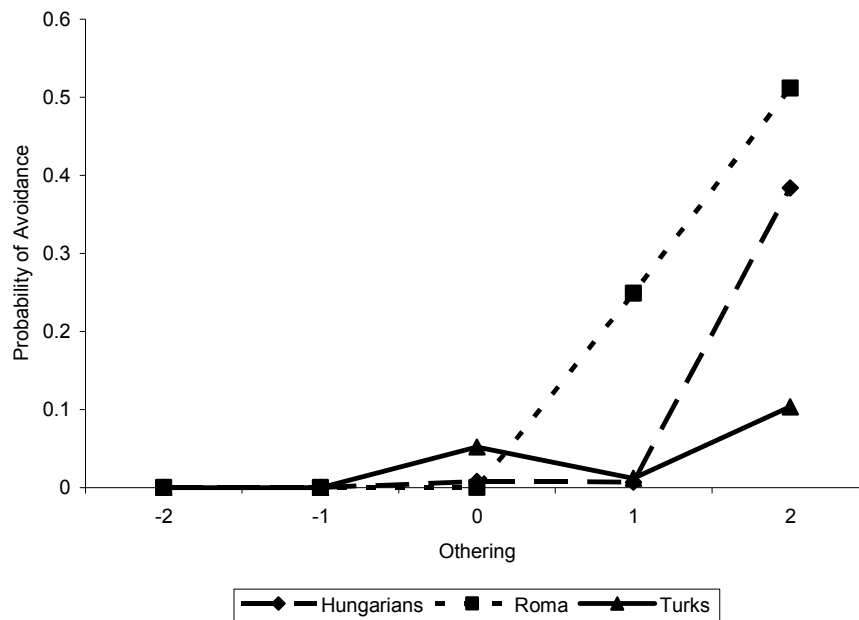


Figure 4 indicates that decategorization due to inclusion in a superordinate category does not need to be absolute to reduce conflict. It is rather the most extreme categorization (othering equal to 2) that drives hostility and there is little systematic difference between decategorization (othering 0) and mild categorization (othering 1). I further corroborated the revealed role of extreme categorization by the logistic regression, according to which there is a significant effect of the most extreme othering on hostile behavioral intentions (see tables 4-5).

According to the common ingroup identity model proposed by Gaertner, Mann et al. (1989) and Gaertner, Dovidio et al. (1993), the more salient an inclusive superordinate category is, the less conflict we should observe among its subgroups. This effect should not extend to outgroups excluded from a superordinate category. If this hypothesis is correct, we should find a significant negative effect of salience of the European identity on hostility for othering equal to 0 and no effect for high othering. However,

the interaction term in most of my regressions offered a different picture (see figure 5 and tables 4-5).

Table 4 – Logistic regression predicting avoidance

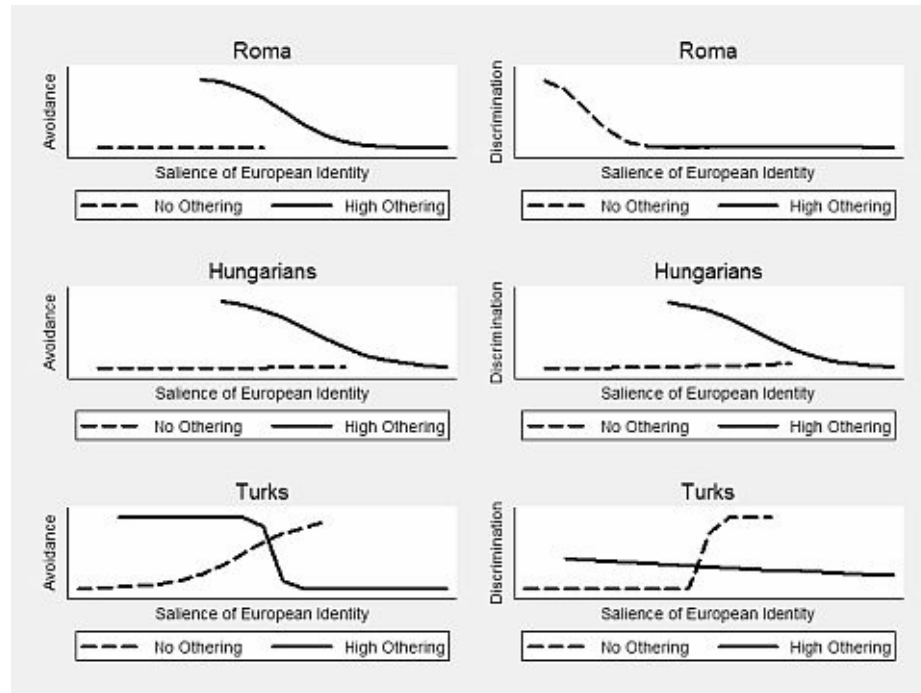
	Coefficient	Standard error	p-value
<i>Turks</i>			
Saliency (Eur.)	4.549	2.095	0.030
Othering	24.720	5.048	0.000
Interaction	-32.726	5.811	0.000
Log likelihood = -5.105, Pseudo R ² = 0.854			
<i>Hungarians</i>			
Saliency (Eur.)	1.441	1.735	0.406
Othering	10.004	6.095	0.101
Interaction	-5.600	4.872	0.250
Log likelihood = -39.450, Pseudo R ² = 0.377			
<i>Roma</i>			
Saliency (Eur.)	1.617	3.478	0.642
Othering	22.009	3.576	0.000
Interaction	-7.044	5.501	0.200
Log likelihood = -54.087, Pseudo R ² = 0.332			

Table 5 – Logistic regression predicting political discrimination

	Coefficient	Standard error	p-value
<i>Turks</i>			
Salience (Eur.)	52.310	13.044	0.000
Othering	35.646	8.980	0.000
Interaction	-52.804	13.298	0.000
Log likelihood = -55.003, Pseudo R ² = 0.086			
<i>Hungarians</i>			
Salience (Eur.)	1.452	2.980	0.626
Othering	8.828	6.032	0.143
Interaction	-5.557	5.293	0.294
Log likelihood = -44.049, Pseudo R ² = 0.314			
<i>Roma</i>			
Salience (Eur.)	-8.848	3.277	0.007
Othering	-3.120	3.740	0.404
Interaction	8.765	5.318	0.099
Log likelihood = -11.527, Pseudo R ² = 0.671			

Hypothesis 1 received mixed support: As predicted by the common ingroup identity model, inclusion of an outgroup in a superordinate category shared by ingroup decreased likelihood of hostile behavior targeting that outgroup in the case of Hungarians and partially Roma. But, despite the theory, this effect does not generally increase with salience of a superordinate category. In fact, salience of the European identity decreased hostility towards a subgroup only in one case (political discrimination of Roma). It was insignificant in three other cases and exhibited the opposite effect in case of Turks. It means that people who did not report any othering between the European and Turkish identities were still more inclined to discriminate against Turks if their European identity was more salient. This result contradicts the common ingroup identity model. The salient European identity has an inconsistent effect on intergroup hostility.

Figure 5 – Predicted probabilities of hostile intentions



The interaction term revealed another interesting and counter-intuitive effect: Except for the statistically insignificant effect on political discrimination of Roma, a salient European identity decreased hostility towards outgroups regarded as not encompassed by this superordinate category. This effect on perception of total strangers seems to be consistent across different groups, but is hard to explain. A plausible explanation not addressed by my research is that the European identity may correlate with social norm of tolerance of outgroups.

According to hypothesis 2, an ingroup identity defined in relation to its own past does not need to sustain its distinctiveness by intergroup comparison. As a result, salient temporal comparison should decrease hostility towards outgroups. To test this proposition, I ran logistic regressions of different measures of intergroup hostility on the temporal comparator (i.e. the value of an arc from Europeans to Ludaks), including only the cases with the given identity excluded from a superordinate group

(i.e. with the value of an arc from Europeans to the given group higher than 0). Table 5 summarizes these tests.

Table 5 – Logistic regression of hostility on the temporal comparator

	Europeans-Ludaks	
	Odds	p-value
<i>Avoidance</i>		
Roma	2.531	0.150
Hungarians	10.152	0.080
Turks	0.553	0.163
<i>Political Discrimination</i>		
Roma	0.337	0.294
Hungarians	1.779	0.394
Turks	1.419	0.555

The effect of temporal comparison is statistically insignificant and substantially inconsistent across different measures of hostile behavioral intentions. This finding contradicts some earlier research (Mummendey and Klink 2001), but does not get any better even if the European ingroup is replaced by the Slovak one.

Although not influencing political behavior, temporal comparison could still reduce intergroup comparison. Assuming that the human mind is has limited cognitive capabilities, people who define their ingroup identity in relation to the past should be less inclined to define it in opposition to the contemporary territorial identities. To test this part of the proposed causal mechanism, I regressed my indicator of the overall territorial othering on temporal comparison (see table 6).

Table 6 – Linear Regression Predicting Territorial Othering in relation to the European Identity

Variable	Coefficient	Robust s. e.	p-value	β
Europeans-Ludaks	0.124	0.040	0.002	0.607
R ² =0.368				
Europeans-Ludaks	0.060	0.019	0.001	0.289
Slovaks-Hungarians	0.164	0.026	0.000	0.570
Slovaks-Roma	0.173	0.042	0.000	0.291
Slovaks-Americans	-0.005	0.031	0.868	-0.014
Slovaks-Russians	0.004	0.077	0.954	0.006
Slovaks-Turks	-0.024	0.057	0.678	-0.034
University Degree	-0.113	0.047	0.016	-0.205
Foreign Country	0.022	0.082	0.793	0.027
Age	0.002	0.003	0.553	0.091
R ² =0.822				

Constants not reported in the table. N=202 for the 1st model and N=199 for the 2nd model because of missing variables.

A simple bivariate model explains as much as 37% of the variation of intergroup comparison. But the sign of the coefficient is opposite to the one predicted by the theory. Correlation between the temporal and territorial comparisons is in fact positive, meaning that people who feel much closer to the current Europeans than to the WWII Ludaks also feel much closer to the Europeans than to the Turks or Roma. People with a pronounced European identity prefer it strongly and consistently to all other identities, whether territorial or temporal. Expectations that a redefinition of the European identity in terms of its past would reduce intergroup comparison turned out to be unfounded at best. My research did not provide any evidence to the assertion that a salient ingroup identity can be constructed without antagonizing outgroups.

The multivariate model in table 6 only confirmed this result. In this model, I controlled for the possibility that othering might be driven by unpopular outgroups rather than by a salient ingroup identity. For example, a person strongly disliking Turks would report an antagonistic relation between the European and the Turkish identity even in the case that he or she does not endorse the European identity in other cases. Since the same person would also report a similarly antagonistic relation between the Slovak and Turkish identities, this latter dyad can be used as a proxy of outgroup salience. That is why I included other dyads in my multivariate model. The model suggests that people preferring the Slovak identity to the Hungarian and Romani ones also prefer the European identity to those outgroup identities. Among the demographic variables that could potentially influence othering (residence in a foreign country as a rough proxy for the contact hypothesis, a university degree and age as indicators of different socialization patterns), only university education decreases othering in a statistically significant way. Although inclusion of controlling variables increased R^2 to 0.82, it did not change the main finding: temporal comparison does not reduce intergroup comparison.

Conclusion

In this paper, I proposed both a theoretical model and an empirical method to capture the collective self in its complexity. I applied the model on the case of the European identity in Slovakia. In addition to demonstrating usefulness of a new method, my research brought several theoretically interesting findings.

The Slovak identity seems to be nested within the European and the Slavic superordinate categories. The European identity is defined not only in relation to seemingly non-European nations (such as Americans and Turks), but also in opposition to a low-status subgroup of the Roma people. It is not

constructed in relation to the Russian identity. Overall, intergroup comparison is stronger than temporal comparison.

My analysis failed to corroborate predictions derived from the common ingroup identity model. A superordinate category shared by different groups does not decrease hostility between them. But, surprisingly, salience of the European identity decreased hostility to outgroups not regarded as European.

Neither temporal comparison reduced hostility towards outgroups. Salient identities are in fact formed both in relation to the ingroup's past and to territorial outgroups. Strong temporal comparison does not reduce intergroup comparison, but rather positively correlates with it.

These results suggest that expectations of peaceful intergroup relations due to the common European identity might be overoptimistic if one uses a more complex – and realistic – model of identity structure.

Appendix

Questionnaire (English version):

1. Do you feel closer to Slovaks or to Hungarians?
 - A. Much more closer to Hungarians
 - B. Somewhat closer to Hungarians
 - C. In between
 - D. Somewhat closer to Slovaks
 - E. Much more closer to Slovaks
2. Do you feel closer to Europeans or to Americans?
3. Do you feel closer to Roma or to Russians?
4. Do you feel closer to Slovaks or to Turks?
5. Do you feel closer to Russians or to Europeans?
6. Do you feel closer to contemporary Slovaks or to Ludaks from the times of the Slovak State?

7. Do you feel closer to Turks or to Hungarians?
8. Do you feel closer to Russians or to Americans?
9. Do you feel closer to Roma or to Slovaks?
10. Do you feel closer to contemporary Russians or to Ludaks from the times of the Slovak State?
11. Do you feel closer to Turks or to Roma?
12. Do you feel closer to Russians or to Hungarians?
13. Do you feel closer to Roma or to Americans?
14. Do you feel closer to Hungarians or to Ludaks from the times of the Slovak State?
15. Do you feel closer to Slovaks or to Russians?
16. Do you feel closer to Americans or to Turks?
17. Do you feel closer to Slovaks or to Europeans?
18. Do you feel closer to Hungarians or to Roma?
19. Do you feel closer to contemporary Europeans or to Ludaks from the times of the Slovak State?
20. Do you feel closer to Turks or to Russians?
21. Do you feel closer to contemporary Americans or to Ludaks from the times of the Slovak State?
22. Do you feel closer to Europeans or to Roma?
23. Do you feel closer to Americans or to Hungarians?
24. Do you feel closer to Europeans or to Turks?
25. Do you feel closer to Europeans or to Hungarians?
26. Do you feel closer to contemporary Turks or to Ludaks from the times of the Slovak State?
27. Do you feel closer to Slovaks or to Americans?
28. Do you feel closer to contemporary Roma or to Ludaks from the times of the Slovak State?

29. Would you support to have stricter laws for the Roma than for other citizens?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
 - C. Don't know
30. Would you support to close the recently founded 'Hungarian' Jan Selye University in Komarno?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
 - C. Don't know
31. Would you support to introduce a law with stricter criteria for permission of religious practice and associations in the case of Muslims than in the case of other citizens?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
 - C. Don't know
32. If it was up to you, would you accept a Roma as a neighbor?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
 - C. Don't know
33. If it was up to you, would you accept a Hungarian as a neighbor?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
 - C. Don't know
34. If it was up to you, would you accept a Turk as a neighbor?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
 - C. Don't know

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