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HUNGARIANS ABOUT THEIR OWN NATION, OTHERS, AND EUROPE: IDENTIFICATION AND REPRESENTATION PROCESSES*

ABSTRACT

This article examines some social and psychological processes shaping Hungarian national identity in the light of European integration. The empirical analysis is based on a national representative sample asked in 2002. A handful of previous studies and theoretical arguments will be used in interpreting the social identity and representation dynamics intertwined in these geopolitical changes. Based on theoretical models (Kiss, 2003) and empirical results, I will show some effects of individual identity dynamics, representation processes and social differences.

INTRODUCTION

National identity has become one of the most intriguing and debated forms of social/collective identities, despite the fact that national categories are everywhere, they have clear cultural, political and economic importance. Some even call for erasing the concept from scientific discourse (Billig, 1995) to replace it with ‘nationalism’, supposedly uncovering its inherent ideological nature. Meanwhile, national categories are among the most widely studied concepts in empirical social psychology (for a review see Hunyady, 1998). Many social and psychological processes may be involved in national identification apart from political ideology: drives for safety, feeling at home, a need to know. It is a further, often argued characteristic of national identification that it cannot be based on personal encounters. A nation has to be ‘imagined’ to be real (Anderson, 1983). Indeed, one cannot meet all Hungarians, the same as all men, students, Juventus supporters, liberals, Calvinists. Thus the representation of all these communities (categories) is a necessary prerequisite for self-categorization and attachment. Representational processes thus appear both as causes and as consequences of national identification. We shall examine this interplay between identification and representation processes.

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In social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974), one of the most popular social psychological approaches to intergroup situations, different kinds of collectives (e.g. nation, gender, social class) are treated similar to small face-to-face groups (e.g. school classes, sport teams). The theory assumes that all kinds of groups share the same basic processes of social categorization, (self)evaluation, and (self)perception. This generalization may nourish certain oversimplifications, but that should not prevent us from searching for basic psychological processes underlying national identification, while not forgetting about social, cultural or historical diversity. Based on social identity theory, I would emphasize some components of national identity for the following analysis. *Firstly*, national identity includes a more or less conscious process of social identification and social distinction (although identification with social groups is not exclusive or monolithic). Social identification is followed by emotions and attitudes as well as cognitions about the in-group and out-groups at different levels of abstraction.

Secondly, an international context provides the background for understanding national identity. Social identity theory generally predicts that comparison with out-groups have an important role in national identity. Brown and Haeger (1999) in a cross-national study found that respondents spontaneously used social comparison in their free descriptions and evaluations of the national in-group. Comparisons were most often made with other nations (20 per cent), but temporal comparisons¹ (11 per cent) were also used. Another way to include international context, is to study the interplay between European and national identities (regional identities). Most of these researches have used a theoretical framework of inclusive identity patterns in integrative theoretical approaches (for a review Doise and Devos, 1999). Far from being mutually exclusive, European identification has been often found as positively correlating with lower levels (e.g. national or regional) of social identification. It seems that the mutual exclusiveness of self-categorization at different levels of abstractness envisaged by Turner et al (1987) in social categorization theory have less predictive power in the European context. Instead, a rather complex interaction pattern may emerge from national, European and regional identifications.

Thirdly, social identity and social representation processes are closely connected to each other (Breakwell, 2001). A cross-national comparison (De Rosa, 1996) studied the role of different identity levels (city, region, nation, Europe) in predicting the social representation of Europe. Results showed that European identity is a synthesis of values, sentiments of attachments, and social representations that are associated to cognitive factors structuring the identification process. Also, empha-

¹ Cinnirella (1998) used the concept of possible social identities to introduce the time-dimension into the analysis of interrelations between national and European identification. He found the past oriented national identity in Britain threatened by European integration to result in sceptical attitudes towards the EU.

sizing the relevance of multiple identities in the European context, Cinnirella (1996) examines differences between British and Italian identification patterns to the nation and Europe. He emphasizes the role of the media in forming these divergent patterns of representation and identification.

Several studies support the hypothesis that within overall social representations of Europe there might be differences according to diverse national perspectives. Chryssochou (2000) found in a Greek–French comparison that the way people perceived their national group within the frame of European integration, influenced their representation of ‘Europe’ and ‘European person’. Subordinate identities seemed to be retained in the superordinate, common group identity. Perceptions of the position of each subgroup, as well as the status of the superordinate group organized the representation of the superordinate group. Generally, social identification provides us with a group-perspective (Kiss, 2003) that influences how specific objects (out-groups or the in-group itself) are represented. But we may go further, taking complex national/European identification patterns (of individuals), to make further distinctions within a national perspective and to explain sub-national differences in representing both the nation and Europe. Within a given national sub-group coinciding representations enhance cohesion and identification just as characteristic differences from other sub-groups do. But widely accepted social representations can also specify the consensually accepted position of the group in a multi-group setting (Hagendoorn, 1995). In an earlier study (Kiss, 2003), I showed an example of how such social categorization can influence the representation of European nations and Europe itself. Here we shall see how different patterns of national/European identification influence the representation of the nation and Europe together with internal of external ‘Others’ on a national representative sample. This sample allows us to go further and to analyze the effects of some social (socio-economic) differences that shape the representation of ‘nation’ and ‘EU’ too.

In the following exploratory analysis it would be an overstatement to speak about any specific hypotheses for research. I had more general research questions to guide empirical analysis that were based on the above mentioned considerations that national identification is expressed through distinguishing the in-group within an international context and that attitudinal processes will be connected to representational structures. I will also search for dimensions of individual or inter-group differences by a set of background variables (level of education, age and inclusive/exclusive national identification) within the overall structure of identity formation.

SAMPLE AND METHODS

We had a national representative sample (N=1027) of Hungarians, as a part of *Euronat*, a European research project about representations of the nation and Europe

in nine countries.² We had three questions in an omnibus survey of INRA in cooperation with Euro-barometer. The *first* group of questions was a Bogardus-type attitude measure of social distance (on 4-point scales from 'very close' to 'not at all close'). We had a delicate ensemble of targets who were questioned: (1) *Parochial in-groups*: inhabitants of locality, inhabitants of the region, fellow nationals; (2) *European extended in-groups*: Europeans, EU citizens,³ and Central Eastern European people; and (3) *Out-groups*: Jews, Gypsies (as minority groups or internal others) and Americans, Russians, Chinese, Arabs, Turks (as distant groups or external others) together. With these measures we tried to grasp the attitudinal element of identification with in-groups and the social attitudes towards out-groups. In the *second* set of items we asked about some important cognitive elements of representing the nation. Various kinds of possible attributes were listed, which respondents judged on a 4-point scale as significant in their sense of belonging to the nation. In a *third* set of items we asked the same or similar items about Europe. The second and third questions were interpreted as mapping the cognitive aspects of national and European identification.

ATTITUDES TO IN-GROUPS AND OUT-GROUPS

The social distance scale showed how close the different social groups were to respondents (see *Figure 1*). As it was pretty much predictable, parochial in-groups were evaluated as the closest. The *national in-group* was most positively evaluated by Hungarians ($M=3.61$), followed by the inhabitants of one's *locality* ($M=3.44$) and *region* ($M=3.3$).⁴ The various extended in-groups: *EU citizens* ($M=2.57$), *fellow Europeans* ($M=2.44$), and *people from Central Eastern Europe* ($M=2.3$) were felt almost as close as the parochial in-groups. In a third cluster of means, attitudes to out-groups were most positive for minority groups (*Jews* $M=1.81$; *Gypsies* $M=1.7$) together with the most positively evaluated foreign out-group of the *Americans* ($M=1.75$). *Russians* ($M=1.61$), *Chinese* ($M=1.52$), *Turks* ($M=1.52$), and *Arabs* ($M=1.49$) were evaluated more negatively. If we take the middle of the scale (dotted line in *Figure 1*), we see that all out-groups are well below the neutral value of 2.5, in fact, only *parochial in-groups* and *EU citizens* received positive evaluations in absolute terms.

² Euronat was funded by the European Commission Research DG, Key Action Improving the Socio-Economic Knowledge Base (contract no. HPSE-CT2001-00044).

³ Subsequent analyses will show that this group is treated as a quasi-ingroup by Hungarian respondents.

⁴ Regional identifications are not salient for the Hungarian public.

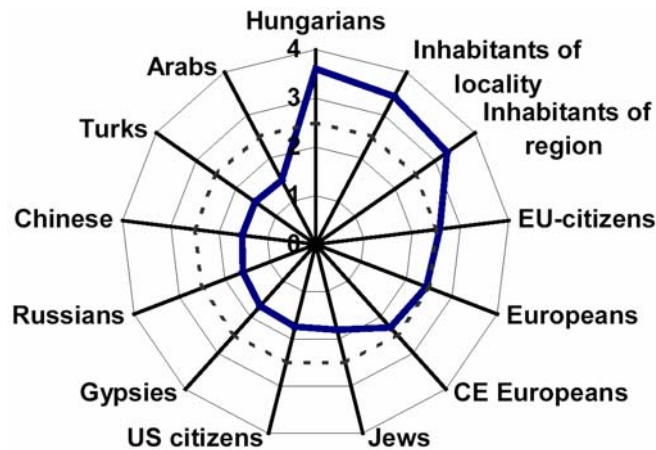


Figure 1 Social distance represented in means (1: not at all, 4: very close)

Somewhat surprisingly *EU citizens* were most positively evaluated among the European extended in-groups. Strictly speaking, Hungarian respondents did not participate in the category of *EU citizens*, however this European category was most positively evaluated by the Hungarian respondents even before the accession. It was more positively evaluated than the vague category *European people* and the ambivalent category of *Central and Eastern European people*.

Another significant result was that the traditionally positively seen social group of *Americans* was treated almost as coldly as most of other distant out-groups. Possible explanations could be (1) the European context that was set by the questions and possibly by the interview situation, (2) the interpretation of the 'closeness' of the scale as a cultural-geographical term (not just as an evaluative dimension), (3) the specific term of 'US citizens' being unfamiliar in ordinary Hungarian language usage. Even if we take all these considerations into account, the rather distant relation expressed certainly shows a European centeredness among Hungarians.

In sum, our rather atypical social distance scale (in-groups combined with minority and distant out-groups) retained the differences between these differing types of social groups, integrating shades of all different kinds of attitudes from parochial in-groups to distant out-groups into one measure. A meaningful difference appeared between the two types of in-groups (national–European) on the one side, and between out-groups on the other. Among out-groups, culturally very different groups (*Arabs, Turks, Chinese*)⁵ were seen most distant and the positively evaluated *Americans* were judged more positively (despite of the geographical distance and cultural differences), as well as all minority groups.

⁵ Despite of the growing Chinese population in Hungary, especially in greater cities, this national group is not treated similar as other minority groups (Jews, Gypsies). This is an indication that the national representative sample did not regard them as internal others.

Exploratory factor analysis

In the analysis of individual differences (*Table 1*) we see that the above-mentioned three main categories of parochial or extended in-groups and that of the out-groups appear on orthogonal dimensions with relatively high loadings (between .56 and .97). The first factor (*out-groups*) explains most of the variance (30.81 per cent), but the explained variance of the 2nd (*European in-groups* – 14.54 per cent) and 3rd (*Parochial in-groups* – 14.23 per cent) factors are also considerably high (with Eigenvalue>1). The factors (as patterns of social groups) more or less follow a theoretical differentiation between the two kinds of in-groups (national, European) but merge the two kinds of out-groups (internal, external other). The fact that most variance was explained by the *Out-group* factor reflects that individual differences were more characteristic to these answers, while attitudes to in-groups were more consensual.

Table 1 Social distance to social groups, factor loadings

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Turks	.88		
Arabs	.85		
Russians	.79		
Chinese	.74		
Jews	.65		
US citizens	.61		
Gypsies	.60		
Europeans		.97	
Central and Eastern Europeans		.62	
EU citizens		.56	
Inhabitants of the region			.84
Inhabitants of the locality			.76
Hungarians			.60

Note: Goodness of fit: $Khi^2 = 4470410$, $df = 42$, $p < .001$; explained variances: Factor 1: 30.81; Factor 2: 14.54; Factor 3: 14.23.

Interrelation between attitudes to Nation and Europe

As a main focus of this study we are interested in exploring the quantitatively measurable relation between the attitudes to national and European categories. For both theoretical and empirical reasons, the patterns of attitudes to *fellow nationals*, to *EU citizens* and *European people* were the most relevant. A standard Euro-barometer question proposes certain fixed combinations of national and European

identifications.⁶ Conversely, our way of asking them independently, allows us now to look behind the mere types of self-categorization and measure their correlation (exclusiveness/inclusiveness of national identification). Secondly, our 4-point measures proved to be more sensitive, as they allowed two shades of acceptance and two shades of rejection, reflecting the magnitude of attitudinal attachment to in-groups.

The correlations among these attitudes show that there is a positive (thus inclusive) relationship between the national and the European identification levels (*Table 2*). It is interesting to see again that the attitudes to *EU citizens* is more similar to national attachments than the attitudes to a more general 'European' category and the ambivalent 'Central European' category. This correlation between national and (West) European attachments ($r = .34$) shows a moderate but significantly positive relation between national and European identifications in their evaluative dimension among Hungarians.

Table 2 Correlations between closeness to nation and European people

	Hungarians
EU citizens	.343**
Europeans	.274**
Central and Eastern Europeans	.245**

Note: ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Results in *Table 2* show the main tendency of answers. Now some words about the contrasting types of *inclusive* and *exclusive attachments*. Exclusive national attachment represents a great difference in closeness to national in-group and European in-groups (*EU citizens*, *European people*). This difference had to be at least two-points on our four-point scale. Thus if a respondent gave 'very close (4)' as an answer to fellow nationals and 'not very close (2)' to the closest European category (*EU citizens* or *European people*), this pattern of answers was taken as an exclusive national identification. If, on the other hand, the result of subtracting European from national closeness ratings was between +2 and -2, it was coded as inclusive national and European identification.

Both *exclusive* and *inclusive* attachments were presented by a fair number of respondents (*Table 3*). Neither patterns were marginal in the Hungarian public, but inclusive national and European identification was as dominant as almost 2/3 of the respondents fell into this category. I shall use this typology of different identification-patterns as a predictive variable in later analysis, the effects of *inclusive* and *exclusive* national identification therefore will be shown below at each question.

⁶ Choose from the following options: 'feel Hungarian', 'feel European', 'feel Hungarian and European'.

Table 3 Identification patterns: Hungarians – EU citizens and Europeans

Attitude patterns: Hungarians – EU citizens or Europeans	
	Valid per cent
Exclusive national attachment	37.9
National and European attachment	62.1

Europe and the US

Another covariation in social distance measures is also worth a deeper analysis: the relation between the attitudes to (Western) European categories and the attitude to *US citizens*. Table 4 shows that there is no strong interrelation between these two kinds of representative (Western) out-groups. None the less, the size of correlation is comparable to that of the previous analysis, therefore we can consider it as a sign that Hungarian public tends to consider the ‘West’ as composed from Europe and the USA. What is somewhat surprising is the relative weakness of these interrelations (as compared to that of fellow nationals and EU-citizens).

Table 4 Correlations between closeness to European people and US citizens

	US citizens
EU citizens	.267**
Europeans	.236**
Central and Eastern Europeans	.228**

Note: ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

The USA is differentiated here (considerably) from any of the European categories. A plausible interpretation of these and the previous results together is that Hungarians regard European categories more as extended in-groups, while the USA is rather seen as an out-group, after all.

REPRESENTING THE NATION

In a second set of questions we asked about the representational aspect of national identity. Respondents judged how important several components were for them in feeling themselves Hungarian. There was only one person who rejected identification with Hungary at all. In describing the nation (Figure 2), a sort of an ethnic aspect was predominant, *common language* ($M=3.68$) was the most important, then came *common culture and traditions* ($M=3.6$), *common history and destiny* ($M=3.53$), and *common ancestry* ($M=3.5$). The next set of features, *national symbols* ($M=3.42$), *national character* ($M=3.24$), *feeling of national pride* ($M=3.21$),

common borders ($M=3.19$) could be associated to a symbolic aspect of the nation. The least emphasized was the civic aspect, and consisted of *common rights and duties* ($M=3.14$), *national economy* ($M=3.01$), a *common system of social security* ($M=2.89$), and *national army* ($M=2.77$).

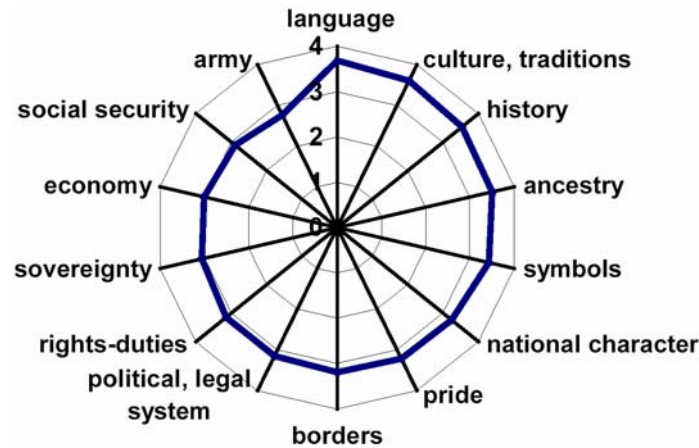


Figure 2 Importance of aspects in national identity represented in means (1: strongly disagree, 4: strongly agree)

There was no great difference here between different aspects, all the means were on the positive side of the four-point-scales. Figure 2 shows only a little higher acceptance of Ethnic/cultural and Symbolic components than the average and less importance of *national army*.

Exploratory factor analysis

As in the case of the attitude measures, here too a factorial analysis was done to map the underlying structure behind the overall distribution. Again a three-factor solution (with all *Eigenvalue*>1) emerged in an exploratory factor analysis. The factors were evenly distributed, altogether they accounted for 58 per cent of variance.

The factors shown in Table 5 could be interpreted within a coherent conceptual framework, the first covering *Symbolic* aspects, the second *Civic/institutional*, and the third *Ethnic/cultural* aspects within the representation of the nation. This three-fold structure in itself is not reducible to the well-known civic-ethnic differentiation and even these three factors overlap somewhat, as the marked items show in Table 5. There is an ambivalent understanding of national borders, economy, and army. These items have ties to both the *Symbolic* and the *Civic/Institutional* factors.

The first, *Symbolic* factor consists of five items: *National character*, *National independence and Sovereignty*, *Pride*, *National symbols*, *Common borders*. As regarding the correlations between items within the Symbolic dimension all inter-item relations seem to have a considerable strength ($.381 < r < .583$). These aspects

of national identity often get fused into an overall cultural/ethnic dimension. Here they formed a distinct factor from culture, language and ancestry that would be typical components of an ethnic dimension. These symbolic aspects of identification, on the contrary, were more open to the civic/instrumental aspects (certain items overlapped with considerable loadings on both factors). National economy and national army were not only seen as institutions but also as having symbolic power.

Table 5 Importance of aspects in national identity (factor loadings)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
National character	.72		
Sovereignty	.66		
Pride	.64		
Symbols	.59		
Borders*	.54	.40	
Social security		.76	
Rights and duties		.70	
Political, legal system		.69	
Economy*	.49	.64	
Army*	.50	.55	
History			.71
Ancestry			.70
Culture, traditions			.65
Language			.64

Note: Goodness of fit: $Khi^2=4295957$, $df=52$, $p<.001$; explained variances: Factor 1: 19.77; Factor 2: 19.66; Factor 3: 18.03.

The second, *Civic* factor comprised: *Social security*, *Common rights and duties*, *common political and legal system*. Intercorrelations between the individual items were between .37 and .67 in this factor. Considerably lower correlations were shown in relation to the item *National army*. As mentioned above, this second factor included items (*National economy* and *National army*), which had high loadings both on *Symbolic* and the *Civic* factors (thus showed a certain inconsistency) nevertheless they were included into the Civic factor for purely empirical reasons, as they had somewhat higher loadings on this factor.

The third factor was the *Ethnic/cultural* within the representation of the nation. These factors consist of the items of *Common history*, *Common ancestry*, *Common Culture and traditions*, and *Language*. Correlations between these elements are considerably high ($.485 < r < .563$). Elements of this *Ethnic/cultural* dimension were among the most positively rated items in the representation of the nation. They ap-

peared in the core of the representation regarding Hungarian nation with relatively small individual differences.

National/European attachment patterns' effects on representing the nation

National/European attachment patterns had a significant effect on the representation of the Hungarian nation. An independent samples t-test shows significant difference ($t=3,341, p<.01$) between the representation of those with exclusive and inclusive identity patterns. The latter put more emphasis on these Civic/institutional dimension aspects within the representation of the nation. Below we shall return to this question in a more detailed analysis.

REPRESENTING THE EU AND EUROPE

From all the 1027 persons in the representative sample only persons 3 (.3%) expressed that they do not feel European. Among the different elements asked '*Common European civilization*', '*Membership in a multicultural European society*' and '*A future common EU currency*' were the three most accepted aspects of being European. While '*EU symbols*' and '*Future social protection*' were not so widely seen as constitutive parts of the representation of Europe (see *Figure 3*).

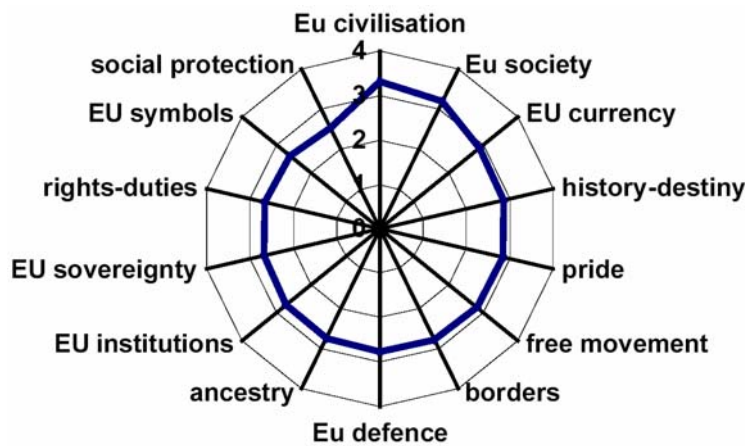


Figure 3 Importance of aspects in European identity represented in means (1: strongly disagree, 4: strongly agree)

Exploratory factor analysis

As above, a factorial analysis was administered to explore the underlying structure of covariance between individual items in defining Europe. Here the Symbolic and Civic aspects of the representation merged into an overall '*Civic/Symbolic*' factor, whereas the '*Ethnic/cultural*' factor appeared again independently. The first factor

(30.86 per cent) explained slightly greater proportion of the overall variance than the second (21.4 per cent). Altogether, they accounted for 52.26 per cent of the variance (see *Table 6*).

Table 6 Importance of aspects in European identity (factor loadings >.40)

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Free movement and residence	.73	
European currency	.70	
EU defence system	.70	
Sovereignty of EU	.68	
EU symbols	.64	
Social protection	.62	.41
Pride	.62	
Borders	.59	
EU institutions	.54	.49
Rights and duties	.53	.53
Ancestry		.78
History		.73
Many languages and cultures		.52
A civilization		.51

Note: Goodness of fit: $\chi^2 = 5164632$, $df = 64$, $p < .001$; explained variances: Factor 1: 30.86, Factor 2: 21.4.

Interestingly, there were items again that loaded rather high on both factors. ‘*Social protection*’, ‘*EU institutions*’, and ‘*Common Rights and Duties*’ had considerable load on both the Civic and the Cultural dimensions of representing Europe. As above, they were merged into the factor that they loaded higher on (Civic/symbolic factor).

National/European attachment patterns’ effect on representing Europe

As in representing the nation, here National/European attachment patterns also had significant effects in representing Europe. An independent samples t-test shows that there are significant differences ($t = 3.1$; $p < .01$) between the opinion of those with exclusive and inclusive nation identification. Those with *inclusive* national-European attachments have higher means on Civic/Symbolic factor scores. But as it is a generalized effect, it may not be due to the cognitive content, but rather a result of a more positive attitude towards Europe (this should be true by definition to those with inclusive national/European identification).

SUMMARY:
A THREEFOLD TYPOLOGY OF HUNGARIAN RESPONDENTS

Derived from the above results and from my previous research, I propose a threefold typology of respondents to better explore social differences within the opinion structures of the Hungarian public. Analysis of the above data showed that the usual demographic variables did not explain much of the intergroup, interindividual differences within Hungarian society. Therefore I hereby suggest a threefold typology that may add to our understanding of intergroup differences within Hungarian society regarding Europe and European integration. Similar differences were observed by previous studies (e.g. Gallup Hungary, 2003).

A well-established social factor in attitudes, stereotyping and representation of the nation is the difference between elite and non-elite positions. Those in the elite would be expected to have less prejudice towards out-groups and should be more rational (civic) in representing social in-groups (e.g. the nation and Europe). In the first analysis of the data the notion of elite was simply represented by the time spent in education. Those who finished their formal education after they were 20 years old were considered as 'elite'. A second social factor I propose is the generational difference. If the cultural climates or epochs change by passing time, then attitudes and representations might change with them. Generational differences may give an insight to temporal changes of attitudes and representations. For the sake of generational analysis I divided the sample into 2 sub-samples: those below 30 (born after 1972) and the rest. Thirdly, we might also look at the specific effects of the above mentioned national/European identification patterns. Their general influence on the representation of 'nation' and 'Europe' was shown above. Here we may break these effects down into specific aspects of the representation.

Let us take first the social distance measures and analyze the effects of these three social factors on them (*Table 7*). Those in the 'elite' felt closer to CEU and to several out-groups. This latter difference is of high statistical significance. This reinforces the assumption that the elite is generally more open to others. Out-groups were seen more negatively from a perspective of an exclusive national identification than from an inclusive national/European identification. This confirms that those Hungarians with an inclusive national identity are more open to other national groups too, being probably less ethnocentric or narrow-minded. We may see an overall negative change in judgements of social closeness across generations to national in-groups and to Jews, a significant internal 'other' to Hungarians. This pattern does not conform to a general ethnocentric change – more complex social processes may be behind it which deserve further investigation. The young generation between 15 and 30 years of age, had little chance to experience the Communist regime before the democratic changes, which may contribute to the more positive view of Russians.

Table 7 Intergroup differences in perceived social distance

	Elite ¹		Exclusive national identity ²		The Young ³	
The inhabitants of the city or village where you live/have lived most of your life	0		0		–	**
The inhabitants of the region where you live	0		0		–	**
Fellow Hungarians	0		0		–	**
European Union citizens	0		–	**	0	
Fellow Europeans	0		–	**	0	
People from Central and Eastern Europe	+	*	–	**	0	
Arabs	0		–	**	0	
Turks	+	*	–	**	0	
Russians	+	**	–	**	+	*
United States' citizens	0		–	**	0	
Gypsies	+	*	–	**	0	
Jews	0		–	**	–	*
Chinese	0		–	**	0	

Note: ¹ Difference between those in elite and non-elite position (approximated by length of study), (+) if elite rates higher.

² Difference between exclusive national and inclusive national-European identification patterns, (+) if those with exclusive identification rate higher.

³ Difference between the youngest (born after 1972) and the elder, (+) if the youngest rates higher.

* Difference significant at a .05 level.

** Difference significant at a .01 level.

Next, *Table 8* shows the effects of relevant social differences in representing the nation. It is interesting to see that the elite do not emphasize more the civic/instrumental aspects of national identification. On the contrary, these are less emphasized aspects (political-legal system, rights and duties, army, sovereignty) in the representation of the nation. They might not be excluded from an ideal state, but certainly are dealt with criticism as applied to the Hungarian nation. A very similar pattern of responses emerged from comparing the answers of those with different identification patterns. Here the perspective of those with exclusive national identification seems to be also motivated by criticism towards different political institutions. But this is not connected to an overemphasis on cultural/ethnic aspects of the nation. Thus those with exclusive national identification are characterized by scepticism over civic aspects, and not enthusiasm towards cultural aspects. Furthermore, elite position and exclusive national identity does not seem to have contradicting representations. When comparing the answers of the different generations, it is the youngest (they tended not to identify with the nation in the previous explicit measure) who emphasize common ancestry together with common rights and duties and

a common social security in an indirect measure of national identification more than the elder. Thus they emphasize certain cultural and civic aspects even more than the elder generations. Again, the generational difference shows a complex pattern that needs further analysis.

Table 8 Intergroup differences in the representation of the nation

	Elite ¹		Exclusive national identity ²		The Young ³	
Common culture, customs and traditions	0		0		0	
Common language	0		0		0	
Common ancestry	0		0		+	*
Common history and common destiny	0		0		0	
Common political and legal system	–	*	–	*	0	
Common rights and duties	–	**	0		+	**
Common system of social security	–	**	–	*	+	**
National economy	0		–	*	+	**
National army	–	*	–	**	+	**
Common borders	0		0		0	
Feeling of national pride	0		0		+	**
National independence and sovereignty	–	*	–	**	+	**
Our national character	0		0		+	**
Our national symbols (the flag, the Hymn)	0		0		0	

Note: ¹Difference between those in elite and non-elite position (approximated by length of study), (+) if elite rates higher.

² Difference between exclusive national and inclusive national-European identification patterns, (+) if those with exclusive identification rate higher.

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* Difference significant at a .05 level.

** Difference significant at a .01 level.

Social differences also appear in the representation of Europe, although this representation is not very complex for many respondents (*Table 9*). These answers maybe based more on feelings (of trust, optimism vs. cautious pessimism) than on factual knowledge. Criticism is obvious in elite answers. They express a critique of political slogans (e.g. free movement, European defence) while appreciate the cultural diversity of Europe. Here the respondents with exclusive national identification clearly have an evaluative basis for all judgements. Most of the aspects for Europe are rejected more as compared to those with inclusive national-European identification. The youngest are more proud and emphasize greater sovereignty within EU more than the elder. Thus they may be more ready to give Europe the attributes of nation states than the elder.

Table 9 Intergroup differences in representing Europe

	Elite ¹		Exclusive national identity ²		The Young ³	
A common civilization	0		–	**	0	
Membership in a European society with many languages and cultures	+	*	–	**	0	
Common ancestry	0		–	*	0	
Common history and destiny	0		–		0	
The European Union institutions	0		–	**	0	
Common rights and duties	0		–	**	0	
A future common system of social protection	0		–	**	0	
The future right to free movement and residence	–	*	–	**	0	
An emerging European Union defence system	–	**	–	**	0	
Common borders	0		0		0	
Feeling of pride for being European	0		–	*	+	*
Sovereignty of the enlarged European Union	0		–	**	+	*
A future common European Union currency	–	*	–	*	0	
A set of European Union symbols (flag, Hymn)	0		–	*	0	

Note: ¹ Difference between those in elite and non-elite position (approximated by length of study), (+) if elite rates higher.

² Difference between exclusive national and inclusive national-European identification patterns, (+) if those with exclusive identification rate higher.

³ Difference between the youngest (born after 1972) and the elder, (+) if the youngest rates higher.

* Difference significant at a .05 level.

** Difference significant at a .01 level.

CONCLUSIONS

National and European identification was explored from various angles in this analysis. In its attitudinal aspect (closeness), Hungarians seem to identify with the nation very much (more than their region or locality). They regard EU citizens as a quasi in-group (a reference group) that is positively distinguished from any other social groups and placed very close to parochial in-groups. It is interesting to see that the other two European categories (European people and Central East Europeans) were not as attractive to Hungarian respondents as the category of EU citizens. Concerning out-groups, there were signs of a certain distinction between internal and external 'others'. Minority groups were seen more positively than distant out-groups. This result shows how judgements of cultural closeness and attitudes were confounded in our measure. A hidden ambivalence between positive attitude and perceived social distance might be a reason for placing Americans (US citizens) in the middle of all out-groups. These attitude measures allow us to examine the patterns of European and national identification. It is important to see that there is sig-

nificant correlation between national identifications and the felt closeness of European overall categories. Furthermore, a relational identity measure could be constructed from national and European attitude items, to show the closed vs. open forms of national identification. There are systemic differences in the representation of nation and Europe between these groups of people.

Concerning the representational side of our identity measures, questions about the most important attributes of the nation and Europe were asked. We saw a threefold structure in the representation of the nation, where the emerging Symbolic factor questioned the simplistic bipolar models of ethnic/civic national identity. This independent factor reflects important concepts of social identity theory (Sovereignty, Borders, Symbols, and Pride). In the representation of Europe, cultural aspects emerge more strongly than any other kinds of answers.

Apart from commonalities, I also showed some social (group) differences. A threefold system of background variables emerged in this analysis. Inclusive/exclusive identifications were used here, too. Age was recoded into a generation factor, and elite-non-elite positions were approximated by years of education. The results show that persons characterized by inclusive national/European identification tend to be more open to all out-groups. They represent the nation with more emphasis on both its Civic/institutional and Symbolic aspects while not denying cultural bonds. Those with an open national identification generally have more positive evaluation of Europe in all aspects. There is a clear intergenerational dynamic of beliefs, too. Elder people seemed to invest more in the symbolic and ethnic/cultural aspects of the nation. Thus a shifting emphasis from cultural to institutional/civic understanding is detectable between the elder and the youngest generations, which may predict a future change in national identity. Another interesting result is that while the youngest reject direct measures of national identification they rate high on more indirect measures. European identification carries elements of national identity among these young people. The main characteristic of elite positions is a mixture of scepticism toward specific policy outcomes (e.g. Euro, free movement) of the European integration and openness to other people (out-groups) and change in general. Nation itself is also critically assessed by those in the elite. These results altogether show the need for further research on the background variables of the attitudinal and representational aspects of national identity.

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