

Moved Peoples and Moved Borders: Research on the interplay of ethnic, national and regional identities in Central and Eastern Europe¹

Alexander Chvorostov

Natalia Waechter

CEASS-Center at the IHS-Vienna

Moved Peoples and Moved Borders: Research on the interplay of ethnic, national and regional identities in Central and Eastern Europe. The paper consists of two parts: the first part summarizes the main objectives and methods of the international research project ENRI-East (*Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities: Nations between the States along the New Eastern Borders of the European Union*, www.enri-east.net) funded by the European Commission (an FP7-SSH Grant # 217227). This cross-national study has focused on the detailed multidisciplinary investigation of the historical paths and contemporary status-quo of 12 ethnic minorities in eight EU and neighbouring countries: Belarus, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Russia (Kaliningrad oblast), Slovakia and Ukraine. Additionally, a special sub-study was conducted in Germany. The complex study includes a critical re-assessment of theoretical frameworks of concepts of identities and nationalism in the CEE region and is complemented by an impressive empirical program, embracing a large-scale quantitative survey and a set of qualitative methods.

The second part of the article presents outcomes of the ENRI-East "Values and Identities Survey" with regard to ethno-national and regional pride. Five ideal types of pride are defined, described and interpreted (general ethnic pride, habitual pride, particular minority pride, regional and supra-regional pride). The main conclusions of the article disclose the observed hierarchy of feelings of pride (ethno-national pride above the regional pride) and reveal further regularities, such as predominantly high or predominantly low levels of general intensity of pride among particular ethnic minorities, positive and negative relations between particular types of pride.

Key words: Identities, ethnic minorities, Central and Eastern Europe, migration, ENRI-East, ethnic and regional pride

Pohyb ľudí a hraníc: Výskum súhry etnických, národnostných a regionálnych identít v strednej a východnej Európe Príspevok pozostáva z dvoch častí: prvá časť sumarizuje hlavné ciele a metódy medzinárodného výskumného projektu ENRI-East financovaný Európskou komisiou. Táto transnárodná štúdia sa zameriava na detailný multidisciplinárny prieskum súčasného statusu 12 etnických menšín v 8 krajinách EÚ a susediacich krajinách: Bielorusko, Maďarsko, Litva, Lotyšsko, Poľsko, Rusko (Oblasť Kaliningrad), Slovensko a Ukrajina. Dodatočný prieskum bol realizovaný v Nemecku. Komplexná štúdia zahŕňa kritické zhodnotenie teoretického rámca identity a nacionalizmu v stredovýchodnej Európe a jej súčasťou sú empirické programy pozostávajúce z rôznorodých kvantitatívnych prieskumov a súhrnu kvalitatívnych metód. Druhá časť predstavuje prínos prieskumu

¹ The authors would like to thank every partner in the ENRI-East research consortium, acknowledging that the high-quality outputs of the study are the result of collective efforts of all project teams and individual experts and professional sociological agencies, who have implemented this international study. We are indebted to Prof. Hans-Georg Heinrich, project's Principal Investigator for his continuous supervision of the project and Dr. Florian Pichler and Dr. Ivailo Vassiliev for their most valuable inputs to the general project design. Particular thanks must go to Dr. Victor Cebotari and Mrs. Bianca Brandl who have helped us with the data processing.

“Hodnoty a identity” s ohľadom na etnicko-nacionálnu hrdosť. Definujeme, hodnotíme a interpretujeme päť ideálnych typov hrdosti (všeobecnú etnickú hrdosť, navyknutú, špecificky menšinovú, regionálnu a nadregionálnu hrdosť). Hlavným záverom príspevku je sledovanie hierarchie pocitov hrdosti (etnicko-nacionálna hrdosť nad regionálnou hrdosťou) a odhalenie ďalších pravidielností, ako je najmä vysoká a nízka úroveň hrdosti medzi konkrétnymi etnickými menšinami, pozitívne a negatívne vzťahy medzi rôznymi druhmi hrdosti.

Kľúčové slová

Identita, etnické menšiny, stredovýchodná Európa, migrácia, ENRI-East, etnická a regionálna hrdosť

1 Why study the interplay of identities in Eastern Europe?

1.1 Concept and theoretical frameworks of the ENRI-East project

The research project *“Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities: nations between states along the new eastern borders of the European Union”* is aimed at a deeper understanding of the ways in which the modern European identities and regional cultures are formed and inter-communicated in the Eastern part of the European continent.

Research on identities in Europe has established considerable knowledge about different kinds and relationships between various forms of belonging in modern European societies. However, this body of research is often biased in various ways. *First*, research on contemporary identities in Europe in general and European identity in particular tends to be normative in the sense that the conceptualization of what European identity is like is blended with wishful thinking of what Europe should be. *Second*, there is an overemphasis on theoretical constructs and top-down perspectives as opposed to empirically informed accounts of actual practices, attitudes and perceptions. *Third*, descriptions and classifications take precedence over in-depth analysis and explanations of the complexities of the processes involved. *Fourth*, empirical research and generalizations tend to focus on Western Europe with little or no discussion of East European societies.

Admittedly, conventional research has delivered important insights into different aspects of identity formation in Europe. Nevertheless, it also tends to prioritize analysis in which identity formation is either considerably de-contextualized from broader social processes in contemporary European societies, or does not provide adequate understanding of how people are making sense of Europe, what it means to them to be European and ways in which European identities are interacting with other loyalties and feelings of belonging, as in regional or ethnic cultures. The latter shortfall is mainly due to the gap between research and actual practices.

In the implemented study, the top-down approach of normative concepts is complemented by a detailed account of bottom-up processes of identity formation. It is by drawing on actual practices we can claim to be in a position to address the importance of both macro and micro influences in a broader historical perspective.

A useful vantage point to explore the complex embedded nature of European identities is looking at the restructuring of the nation-state. It could be argued that in the beginning of the 20th century nation building and national reproduction needed the protection of the state. Conversely, the state needed the nation in order to legitimize

and reproduce itself. This is no longer the case. Firstly, the resources necessary for the reproduction of national identities, due to changes in technology and the growing significance of non-state institutions, are increasingly located outside state borders. In addition, within an environment where there is a pluralisation of identities, both within and beyond the borders of the nation-state as well as the growing significance of cosmopolitan identities, the nation state is no longer able to offer stable, coherent and authoritative definitions of the nation.

Secondly, states are increasingly legitimizing themselves in a much narrower way by rearranging their broad social responsibilities that were typical for the 'classical' nation-state. This restructuring of the relationship between state and society is often associated with a general trend of a growing dominance of economics over politics, which is exacerbated by the impact of neo-liberal views. Some authors have argued that neo-liberal interpretations of the economy are increasingly influential in broader social restructuring leading towards the creation of a market society. In many European states this has entailed a dramatic decrease in welfare provisions while in others this has been associated with much more nuanced policies. The latter argument is well captured in what Jessop (2002) sees as the transition from a Keynesian Welfare National State towards a Schumpeterian Workfare post-national Regimes.

Thirdly, it can also be argued that we are also witnessing the destabilization of the previously dominant position of national identities within the 'classical' nation-state. One possible explanation of this fact can be found in the vast literature on modernization, reflexivity and the changing character of risk in modern society (Beck, 1992). More specifically, these changes can be associated with the growing significance of non-state institutions at the sub-national, supra-national and the global levels where they have challenged the primacy of attachment to the nation. Rather than putting an end to the nation, these changes have led to the development of much more complex relationships between different identities and loyalties at different levels. Thus, on the one hand we observe the emergence of identities at different levels (supra-national, sub-national and global), and on the other hand their complex relationships on the level of individual and group experiences and practices.

1.2 Main research objectives of the study: four cross-cutting themes

The ENRI-East research project is structured along four cross-cutting research themes that have been explored as important theoretical issues. Empirical data has then been used to ground theoretical assumptions.

The first research theme is the *Interplay of identities and cultures: comparing "mother nations" and their "residual groups abroad"*. This theme establishes the theoretical background for the entire study and provides the basis for empirical surveys as well as for consistent analysis and interpretation of survey data. Drawing on a critical analysis of previous studies on identities in Europe as well as on the European value studies, the project surveys has generated new data, which can be used to test theoretical assumptions. It encompasses meanings of belonging, perceptions and images of Europe and nationality, the interplay between regional, national and supranational self-identification, practices, narratives and discourses of identities in the private and in the public domains.

The second cross-cutting theme addresses *Nations between the states: attitudes and policies of “mother nations” and “host nations” towards the “residual groups” and vice versa*. That theme focuses on the political aspects of interrelations between “mother nations” and their “residual groups abroad” as well between the “host nations” and ethnic minorities located in these countries. It also has involved both theoretical and empirical efforts

The third research theme of the project is the *Self-organization and representation of “residual groups abroad” (ethnic minorities) along the East European borderland*. This is mainly aimed to explore the structure of the studied ethnic groups (e.g. coherence, cohesion, group-solidarity) and to measure the degrees of integration into the “host” societies (local, regional and nation-wide) as well as the “level of establishment” of the group as a whole (e.g. an officially recognized minority or autonomy, or absence of such political status, self-governance and political participation issues) and of their individual people (degrees of citizenship, ranging from a full formal citizenship in a “host country”, double citizenship, different stages of migration status, absence of any citizenship, etc.)

Finally, the fourth research theme deals with *path dependencies, historical memories, present status and expected dynamics of divided nations in Eastern Europe*. This theme entails a review of the historical evolution of the particular ethnic groups, the analysis of historical and cultural memories of its members, a presentation of a modern “group portrait” (based on the obtained empirical data) as well as an overview of possible scenarios for future dynamics of this group (derived from the intrinsic “expectations” of the group members and projections of existing developmental trends in the “contextual” societies).

1.3 Methodology of the project

The subjects of interests were ethnic minorities in the supra-region “Wider Eastern Europe”, i.e. the region between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, along the current geo-political “East-West” division line. Estimated 8 to 10 millions of people are affected by “ethnic splits” or minority groups, whose ethnic compatriots would constitute a titular majority in another country, some of them even on each side of this contemporary geopolitical east-west diving border line. At the planning and design stage of the project, we had considered the background social and historical data and available statistics of 21 ethnic minority groups in Eastern Europe supra-region. These groups constitute more than 30 significant (more than 5 thousand people) ethnic minorities in up to 20 countries. Finally, we narrowed the geographical scope down to 12 ethnic minorities in 8 countries:

- Russians in Latvia
- Russians in Lithuania
- Belarusians in Poland
- Ukrainians in Poland
- Slovaks in Hungary
- Hungarians in Slovakia
- Hungarians in Ukraine
- Poles in Ukraine
- Poles in Belarus
- Lithuanians in Russia (Kaliningrad oblast)
- Poles in Lithuania
- Belarusians in Lithuania

We have applied a set of different quantitative and qualitative methods: the “ENRI Values and Identities Survey” (ENRI-VIS), biographical interviews, expert interviews, online content-analysis, and a pilot study applying further qualitative methods such as focus groups with three generations.

In the following, firstly, we will present the methodology of the ENRI-VIS survey in more detail because it was used by all authors in this volume and secondly, we will present more briefly the further methods that have applied in the whole ENRI-East project.

1.3.1 ENRI-VIS (Values and identities survey)

After defining which ethnic minority groups in which countries we were going to research, we set up rules for the sample size of the set of national samples for the quantitative survey which we call ENRI-VIS (“Values and Identities Survey”). Every ethnic minority is considered a separate sample with either 400 or 800 respondents. The sample size depends on the size of the researched ethnic minority group in absolute numbers and on the proportion within the whole national population. The information of the size of the researched minority group was based on national statistics. As a result, we defined the sample size as 800 for seven ethnic minority groups (Russians in Latvia, Russians in Lithuania, Poles in Lithuania, Hungarians in Ukraine, Poles in Ukraine, Poles in Belarus and Hungarians in Slovakia) and the sample size as 400 for four ethnic minority groups (Belarusians in Poland, Ukrainians in Poland, Slovaks in Hungary, Lithuanians in Russia/Kaliningrad region). The data collection was carried out by the national project consortium partners or, if they did not have the capacity themselves, by national professional market research institutes.

For the proportion of the ethnic minority group within the whole population we refer to as the “ethnic density” of a minority group. The ethnic density for each settlement or at least each district was calculated based on national statistical data. Basically we used LAU1 data for EU countries and data on a district or province level for CIS countries. The goal was to gain a systematic representation of at least 75% of each researched ethnic minority group. Depending on the size of each minority group’s ethnic density, we applied different sampling methods. For locations (settlement or district) where the ethnic density was 30% or higher we used systematic random route sampling (RRS), for locations where the ethnic density was between 10% and 30% we applied random route sampling boosted with focused enumeration (RRFE), and for locations where the density was less than 10%, we had to collect data following the principle of snowballing with several pre-defined starting points (such as ethnic minority organizations).

Data collection took place in winter 2009/2010 and the interviews were carried out face-to-face. In order to be an eligible respondent, the approached persons had to fulfill three formal criteria: to be 18 years or older, to have been living in the country for at least 12 months and to identify themselves as members of the particular ethnic minority group. The interviews were carried out in the preferred language of the respondent (either in the language of the host country or in the language of the ethnic home country).

For ensuring high data quality, internal peer-reviewed data control was applied. After all data has been cleaned and homogenized, the full, unified data set had 6,800 respondents containing data from 12 ethnic minorities in 8 countries. Many questions in our questionnaire are compatible with several major international surveys, such as the EVS, WVS, NEB, NDB, EU-MIDIS, ISSP and ESS. The questionnaire covers the following topics:

General information about a respondent

- Basic objective data about the respondent and his/her and family (household)
- Work, employment, well-being
- Subjective self-description and identification

Ethno-national perceptions, practices, networking

- General ethno-national perceptions
- Languages and related issues
- Access to media; musical issues; cross-border ethnic networking

Social and political attitudes and practices

- Trust, social capital and political engagement
- Attitudes to EU and Europe; imaginary emigration
- Tension and discrimination

1.3.2 Further methods of data collection

For all researched ethnic minority groups we have also applied the qualitative methods of biographical interviews (Roberts, 2002; Chamberlaine – Bornat – Wengraf, 2000) and expert interviews (Meuser & Nagel, 2010; Bogner, Littig, & Menz, 2005). For each minority group 12 biographical interviews (ENIR-BIO) were conducted; in total we collected 144 interviews. The interviews were carried out in the languages of preference and lasted about 1.5 hours on average. Again we have applied internal quality control to ensure high data quality. The sampling frame for the biographical interviews included gender and age, and regarding age we were approaching three generations:

- the young generation who were born and brought up in the post-communist era (16 to 22 years old),
- the middle generation who experienced the transition and are older enough to be the parents of the younger generation (35 to 50 years old),
- and the older generation who would have experienced the Second World War (65 years and older).

The expert interviews (ENRI-EXI) did not only cover the 12 ethnic minorities as described above but also included Germany as special case. In Germany, the two minority groups of ethnic Germans and Jewish quota refugees, both having emigrated mainly from CIS countries, have been researched. In total, 42 expert interviews were carried out; two to four interviews per ethnic minority group. Out of these, one to two interviews were carried out with governmental or non-governmental representatives of ethnic minority groups (from the national or regional level), and one to two interviews with ethnic minority organizations (political, cultural, religious organizations).

For the online content analysis (ENRI-BLOG) four types of sources have been collected:

- Online periodicals issued by representatives of ethnic minority groups
- Websites of political, cultural, religious organizations of ethnic minority groups
- Websites of broadcasting services of ethnic minority groups
- personal and non-personal blogs, live journals, discussion forums

Finally, a pilot study focusing on music and identity (ENRI-MUSIC) was conducted in Lithuania and Hungary, applying another range of methods (see chapter by Lyudmila Nurse in this issue).

2 Five types of PRIDE – five objects of desired and refused affiliation

The second part of this article is dedicated to the analysis of a particular aspect of the ENRI-VIS survey. The questionnaire includes a thematic block “*General ethno-national perceptions*”, consisting of several questions on *closeness*, *social distances*, *assimilation and distinction*, and a special battery dedicated to various aspects of *pride*.

2.1 Measurements and dimensions of pride

In our study, ethno-national and regional pride is considered as one of indicators of effective self-identification of a respondent. It complements other related measurements of formal nature (official nationality or citizenship, declared ethnicity, ethnicity and nationality of respondent’s parents) or less formal nature (feeling of closeness, language most spoken at home, etc.)

The ENRI-VIS questionnaire contains a battery of questions dedicated to the issues of different types of ethno-national and regional pride. The battery was designed as a sequence of questions that start with the words “*How proud are you of being...*” complemented with five standardized endings and each ending stands for its own variable. Three of these questions assumed country-specific labels that have been used to replace the universal labels, such as “*Nationality of sending country*”, or “*Nationality of receiving country*” or “*Ethnic minority group*”. Two final options have been the same in all countries and questionnaire languages.

We demonstrate the exact formulations using the example of the particular ethnic group: *Hungarian minority group in Slovakia*:

The first variable in the battery measures degree of general ETHNIC pride:

e.g. “*How proud you’re of being a Hungarian?*”

The second question (variable) measures general HABITUAL (locational) pride:

e.g. “*How proud you’re of being Slovakian?*”

The next variable addresses the particular MINORITY pride:

“*How proud you’re of being a Hungarian living Slovakia?*”

The two concluding questions refer to the regional and supra-regional dimensions of pride, namely: “*How proud you’re of being Eastern European?*” and “*How proud you’re of being European?*” Both were measured on a four-point scale (very proud, rather proud, rather not proud, not proud at all).

The main assumption is that different minority groups demonstrate different patterns of desired or refused affiliations with closer and distant objects, such as:

- respondent’s own ethnic minority group;

- nationals of the country a respondent lives in (“receiving nation” or countrymen of respondent’s host country);
- respondent’s distant ethnic compatriots, who constitute a titular majority in another country (keen-state, or “sending nation”);
- supra-national regions, Eastern Europe and Europe as a whole

Table 1: Five types of pride: summary values for “very proud” and “rather proud” per ethnic minority groups (n=6,800)

sums of answers “very proud” and “rather proud”	General ethnic and particular minority pride		General habitual pride	General regional pride		Intensity of pride feelings (average of all types of pride)	
	<i>General ethnic pride</i>	<i>Particular minority pride</i>	<i>Pride in country of residence</i>	<i>Europe an pride</i>	<i>Eastern European pride</i>		
Belarusians in Poland	88.5%	97.4%	88.9%	86.9%	83.6%	89.1%	
Poles in Ukraine	94.6%	92.5%	83.3%	90.1%	83.0%	88.7%	
Ukrainians in Poland	88.4%	88.8%	87.5%	84.3%	75.9%	85.0%	
Poles in Belarus	87.3%	91.3%	76.3%	65.7%	62.5%	76.6%	
Hungarians in Slovakia	89.3%	92.3%	56.7%	72.8%	56.0%	73.4%	
Hungarians in Ukraine	95.1%	89.2%	54.9%	62.2%	51.0%	70.5%	
Belarusians in Lithuania	82.2%	76.8%	64.4%	68.5%	56.9%	69.8%	
Lithuanians in Russia ²	77.3%	75.2%	83.0%	47.6%	46.2%	65.9%	
Poles in Lithuania	91.1%	91.4%	39.9%	59.1%	46.8%	65.7%	
Russians in Lithuania	84.1%	74.8%	41.3%	57.0%	44.6%	60.3%	
Russians in Latvia	83.4%	63.5%	42.5%	40.7%	26.3%	51.3%	
Slovaks in Hungary	47.4%	60.5%	58.3%	37.0%	41.9%	49.0%	
whole sample	average	84.0%	82.8%	64.8%	64.3%	56.2%	70.4%
	median	87.8%	89.0%	61.4%	64.0%	53.5%	70.1%
	max	95.1%	97.4%	88.9%	90.1%	83.6%	89.1%
	min	47.4%	60.5%	39.9%	37.0%	26.3%	49.0%
Note: SHADOWED cells contain values above the average for a particular type of pride							

Every respondent in the survey has at least a triple affiliation (with a “receiving country”, with a “sending country” and with the own minority group). At the next level, each respondent can be formally attributed to the bigger region “Eastern Europe” and is as such an inhabitant of Europe in general. A related research question can be

² Kaliningrad oblast.

formulated in the following way: Which of these formal affiliations are perceived by a respondent as a desirable and positive part of his or her “ethno-national capital”, and which affiliations are considered rather as a “burden” or, continuing with “capitalist” terms as “passive assets”.

The distinction between different types of pride allows at least two kinds of interpretations. Firstly, regarding the intensity of any type of pride feelings; and secondly, regarding the most and less preferred self-affiliation. “Pride” can be interpreted as a positive feeling and, consequently as an indicator of desired affiliation; its opposite concept would then be a feeling of “shame”, or an indicator of declined affiliation. However, we have not used the word “shame” in the questionnaire in order to secure the neutrality of the communication with a respondent. His or her negative feelings have been captured by the attribution of values “rather not proud” and “not proud at all”.

2.2 Empirical observations

For the purposes of this descriptive analysis, we have combined the four-point scale of answers into a two-point scale, embracing all positive answers with regard to the desired affiliation (“very proud” + “rather proud”) and all negative answers (“rather not proud” and “not proud at all”). Furthermore, the average values of all types of pride have been calculated and the ethnic groups ranked according these average values (the last column to the right in

Table 1).

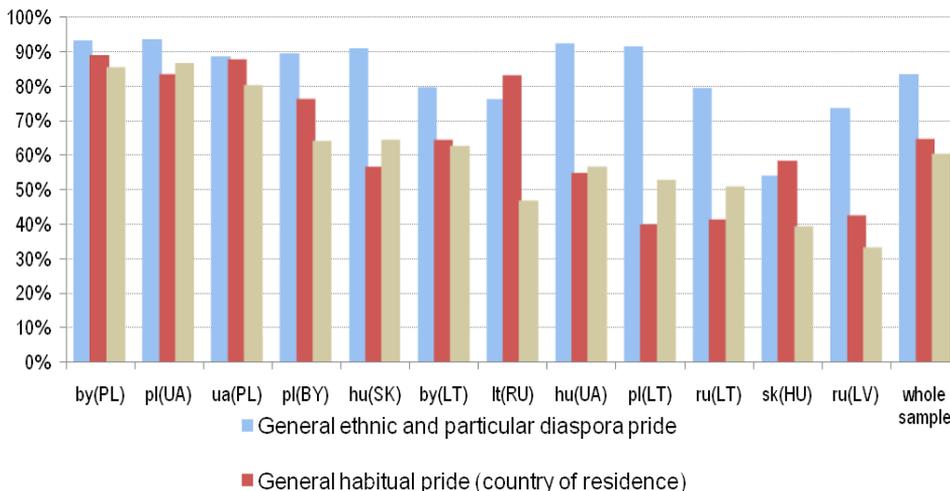
Outcomes of this simple “dichotomic” analysis are displayed in two tables and a chart below.

Table 2: Triplets of ethnic minority groups with highest and weakest degrees of pride per different objects pride (n=6,800)

Degrees of pride in...	Highest pride (“very proud” + “rather proud”)	Weakest pride (“rather not proud” + “not proud at all”)
... own ethnicity	Hungarians in Ukraine (95%) Poles in Ukraine (95%) Poles in Lithuania (91%)	Slovaks in Hungary (53%) Lithuanians Russia (Kgd.) (23%) Belarusians in Lithuania (18%)
... country of residence	Belarusians in Poland (89%) Ukrainians in Poland (88%) Poles in Ukraine (83%)	Poles in Lithuania (60%) Russians in Lithuania (59%) Russians in Latvia (58%)
... own ethnic minority group	Belarusians in Poland (97%) Poles in Ukraine (93%) Hungarians in Slovakia (92%)	Slovaks in Hungary (40%) Russians in Latvia (37%) Russians in Lithuania (25%)
... being an Eastern European	Belarusians in Poland (84%) Poles in Ukraine (83%) Ukrainians in Poland (76%)	Russians in Latvia (78%) Slovaks in Hungary (58%) Russians in Lithuania (55%)
... being a European	Poles in Ukraine (90%) Belarusians in Poland (87%) Ukrainians in Poland (84%)	Slovaks in Hungary (63%) Russians in Latvia (59%) Lithuanians in Russia (52%)

The chart below (**Chyba! Odkaz na záložku nie je platný.**) shows summarized average values for pride in three groups of reference objects. The first group combines the expressed values of pride in mostly *ethnic* objects of pride (general ethnic pride + particular minority pride), *habitual* pride (pride in the country of residence) and *regional* pride (pride in the being European or Easter European). Only the positive values (“very proud” and “rather proud”) are accounted here.

Figure 1: **Combined summaries of ethnic, habitual and regional types of pride per ethnic groups (n=6,800)**



2.3 Preliminary conclusions

The statistical summaries above allow several socio-psychological observations regarding the “ethnic temperament” of particular minority groups as well as socio-political generalizations related to interrelations of particular types of pride.

First, one may conclude about *the hierarchy of feelings of pride*. Not surprisingly, the most intensive feelings of pride are observed toward the objects of closest relevance for respondents, namely their *general ethnicity* and *their particular minority group*. Of the whole sample, 84% report to be very proud or rather proud of their ethnicity and 83% report to be proud of belonging to their ethnic minority group. As to the geographic and regional aspects of pride (country of residence, Eastern Europe and Europe as a whole), the average intensity of pride is remarkably lower (65% for a country, 64% for Europe and 56% for Eastern Europe).

Second, we observe *two distinctive patterns* regarding the general intensity of pride. As a rule, an ethnic group shows either very high or very low levels of pride in all or almost all reference objects.

Pattern One: There are three ethnic groups in the survey, whose representatives report very high feelings of pride with regard to almost all aspects: ethnic, habitual, minority and European pride. Their members seem to be most self-confident and show a quite high degree of satisfaction with their socio-ethnic status; these groups

demonstrate highest degrees of loyalty toward all eventual affiliations. These three groups are *Poles in Ukraine* (pride intensity 89%), *Belarusians in Poland* (89%) and *Ukrainians in Poland* (85%). These ethnic groups can be characterized as absolute champions in the rainbow of positive attitudes the suggested reference objects. One can conventionally label these ethnic groups as “ethno-regional optimists”. We assume that members of these minorities live in the friendliest “linguistic environments” and that they do not experience any sufficient troubles in everyday communications with compatriots from the countries of residence.

Pattern Two: On the contrary, the following three ethnic minority groups demonstrate the prevalence of “negative pride” toward almost all items in the suggested “menu”. These mostly “pessimistic” groups would be *Russians in Latvia* (51%) and *Russians in Lithuania* (60%), as well as *Slovaks in Hungary* (49%). A possible explanation for this type of pessimism is that the members of these groups may experience certain social and even historical discomfort in the given social environment. Another interpretation is that members of these groups are psychologically “lost” in the countries of residence. In the case of Russians (both in Lithuania and Latvia) as well as of *Poles in Lithuania*, the lowest values for their pride in the country of residence (40% to 42%) is heavily compensated by quite high levels of pride in their ethnicity in general or their particular minority group (64% to 91%). In the case of *Slovaks living in Hungary*, we have observed the lowest values for any type of pride in the whole sample; however, members of this group would still be more proud of their own minority group (61%) and the country of residence (58%) as compared with a quite degree of pride in own ethnicity (47%) and even in Europe (37%) or Eastern Europe (42%).

The third conclusion is that a negative relation has an *exclusive* character: one cannot “shame” two reference countries simultaneously. This remarkable regularity is that the negative values for pride (“rather not proud” and “not proud at all”) never apply simultaneously to the country of residence (“receiving country”) and to the country of ethnic origins (“sending country”). These two markers seem to be mutually exclusive in general. With the only exception of Polish minority in Ukraine, that demonstrates highest degrees of pride toward both Poland and Ukraine (a sending and a receiving country), members of all other ethnic minority groups are rather selective and are opting to be “not proud” of only one country, whether a “sending one” (such as Belarus for *Byelorussians in Lithuania* or Lithuania for *Lithuanians in Russia* or Slovakia for *Slovaks in Hungary*), or a “receiving one” (such as Latvia and Lithuania for *Russians* living in these countries or Lithuania for *Poles* living there). Thus, it seems that one cannot “shame” both reference objects at the same time – one country will be always preferred, whether a keen-state or a host nation.

The fourth observation leads to a conclusion about a *positive relation between the ethnic pride and regional pride*. This means that the presence or absence of any type of ethno-nationally charged pride (ethnic, habitual or minority’s pride) seems to be a good predictor for the presence or absence of the supra-national type of pride (toward Europe or Eastern Europe). Thus, if a group has a positive attitude toward their own ethnicity, a keen-state, or their own minority group, it seems most likely that this group demonstrates also higher pride in Europe or Eastern Europe. Symmetrically: no ethnic pride => no European pride!

Further results of the ENRI-East research program and particular empirical analyses are presented by project's experts in this volume of the Slovak Journal of Political Sciences.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Beck, U. 1992. *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Bogner, A. – Littig, B. – Menz, W. (Eds.), 2005. *Das Experteninterview. Theorie, Methode, Anwendung*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften
- Chamberlayne, P. – Bornat, J. – Wengraf, T. 2000. *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science. Comparative issues and examples*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Jessop, B. 2002. *The Future of the Capitalist State*, Cambridge: Polity.
- Meuser, M. – Nagel, U. 2010. Experteninterviews – wissenssoziologische Voraussetzungen und methodische Durchführung. In B. Friebertshäuser – A. Langer, – A. Prengel (Eds.), *Handbuch Qualitative Forschungsmethoden in der Erziehungswissenschaft*. Weinheim und München: Juventa, pp. 457-472.
- Roberts, B. 2002. *Biographical Research*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Dr. Alexander Chvorostov is Director of the Center for Comparative Eurasia Studies and Surveys (CEASS-Center at the IHS-Vienna). He is an experienced sociologist and research manager with an extensive track record of international teaching, research and consulting since early 1990s. He has been teaching various undergraduate and post-graduate courses in Sociology in a number of universities in Moscow, Prague and Vienna. His research practice embraces the fields of social transition, educational policies and comparative studies on EU and CIS countries. He has worked as a consultant for various international organisations (such as World Bank, UNDP or UNEP) and governmental institutions in Russia and Austria. Furthermore, Dr. Chvorostov has coordinated a series of FP5, FP6, FP7 and INTAS projects.

Natalia Waechter, Dr., sociologist and political scientist, is senior researcher and project coordinator at the Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna and lecturer at the University of Vienna, the University of Innsbruck and the Institute for Education of Students Abroad, Chicago/Vienna. Previously, she has researched and published at the Austrian Institute for Youth Research and at the Department of Developmental Psychology, University of California, and Los Angeles, in the fields of youth research, identities, and sociology of migration. Since 2010 she is European president of the Sociology of Youth of the International Sociological Association.

Dr. Alexander Chvorostov
Dr. Natalia Waechter
Institute for Advanced Studies
Stumpergasse 56, 1060 Vienna

Email: alex.chv@ihs.ac.at
Email: waechter@ihs.ac.at