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Immigration: Supply-Side

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Abstract: *The world has changed. Today countries like companies in the free market are competing for goods and the goods of today are human capital. The goal of countries today should be to encourage trade, foreign and domestic, while simultaneously growing their economies. These ideas at the outset seem opposed to one another, but careful inspection will reveal a path toward a better immigration policy. Countries must encourage foreign trade by not stealing all of the human capital of other countries. Countries must remain competent to compete with countries that are producing the greatest minds in the world. A country cannot have a policy that turns away all the great minds that seek to become one with it. There is both great risk and great reward in immigration and discernment is important to achieving the reward rather than falling into disgrace. The issue is the federal government's to bear. The Constitution of the United States clearly enumerates the power of immigration to the federal government. In Arizona vs. United States, the Supreme Court recently ruled in favor of granting more power to the states to enact immigration reform that is in line with federal immigration laws. This does not abdicate the role of the federal government though and should, in fact, serve as a rebuke. The system is broken. The states are doing what they can, but it is not their job to fix, it is the federal governments. The only way to fix this issue is through comprehensive reform of the entire immigration system. A good immigration policy will bring positive economic change to the country, eradicating inefficiencies, and providing new ideas that perhaps have never been seen or used before. The current immigration laws in the United States are suffering from periodic depreciation. The rules are too old and complicated. They need to be revised, simplified, and modernized for a world that has changed.*

Introduction

In today's world the importance of a subject can be ascertained by seeing how many people care about it. The easiest way to do this is to see how many people have searched it on Google. Google the word immigration and one will find about 51,200,000 results in 0.20 seconds. Compare this with what happens when one searches the word economy on Google, which pulls in around about 847,000,000 results in 0.14 seconds, or even healthcare which garners about 591,000,000 results in 0.24 seconds (1) and it quickly becomes obvious that immigration is not at the top of most people's priority list. The real question is…. should it be? Immigration certainly plays a major role in the economy and it plays a huge role in every issue from foreign policy to healthcare. Immigration is not discussed as much as it should be, which is why it's problems have not been fixed. Much like Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid and other issues that are divisive, immigration has become an untouchable political issue. While illegal immigration has caught the attention of the populous, its equally important twin, legal immigration, is not being discussed. Legal immigration and illegal immigration are very much connected, but before discussing the problems of illegal immigration, countries should take a closer look at the standing immigration policies, how they should be changed, and then what can be added to them to improve the country. The key concept in designing a suitable immigration policy must begin with understanding the purpose of the policy, its goals, and then beginning the designing process.

The world has changed. Today countries like companies in the free market are competing for goods and the goods of today are human capital. The goal of countries today should be to encourage trade, foreign and domestic, while simultaneously growing their economies. These ideas at the outset seem opposed to one another, but careful inspection will reveal a path toward a better immigration policy. Countries must encourage foreign trade by not stealing all of the human capital of other countries. Countries must remain competent to compete with countries that are producing the greatest minds in the world. A country cannot have a policy that turns away all the great minds that seek to become one with it. There is both

great risk and great reward in immigration and discernment is important to achieving the reward rather than falling into disgrace. The issue is the federal government's to bear. The Constitution of the United States clearly enumerates the power of immigration to the federal government. In *Arizona vs. United States,* the Supreme Court recently ruled in favor of granting more power to the states to enact immigration reform that is in line with federal immigration laws. This does not abdicate the role of the federal government though and should, in fact, serve as a rebuke. The system is broken. The states are doing what they can, but it is not their job to fix, it is the federal governments. The only way to fix this issue is through comprehensive reform of the entire immigration system. A good immigration policy will bring positive economic change to the country, eradicating inefficiencies, and providing new ideas that perhaps have never been seen or used before. The current immigration laws in the United States are suffering from periodic depreciation. The rules are too old and complicated. They need to be revised, simplified, and modernized for a world that has changed.

The Economy

The biggest threat to this reform lies in the illegal immigration debate. This should be made clear from the outset; immigration law enforcement that simply looks to stop illegal immigration is not a fix, it is a Band-Aid. If this effort is not coupled with real reform, it will leave the U.S. in worse shape than it is in now. Many in the public have not yet found a reason to insert themselves into this debate, provided here are two: morals and the economy.

The economy is difficult to understand because it attempts to predict the actions of billions of individuals worldwide. It attempts not only to predict their actions but how these actions will shape future actions of individuals. Countries all over the world and over the centuries have experimented with several different methods of fostering a good economy.

In the United States and in many other countries capitalism has been the economy of choice. It is believed that though capitalism has its flaws, its ups and its downs, it is the best economic policy in the long run. When things change in the economy this change is many times followed by pain as seen in temporary recessions and job losses. However, citizens of countries that follow the capitalist model see this pain as a short term problem that will allow for long term success. In fact, capitalism is often credited with having "creative destruction" which in laymen's terms could be restated "no pain, no gain." The pain is viewed as a sign of growth and any attempt to stop the pain will hinder future growth. This model is not always easy to believe in. When a worker sees his job replaced by a machine, how is he to know that the money that machine is saving is growing the economy and creating capital and opportunity elsewhere? Even with these struggles people have remained strong and looked to the future knowing that the capitalist system is working in its mysterious way. It seems strange then that when it comes to applying the capitalist method to other areas of governing, legislators of all creeds have overlooked the benefits of applying the capitalist thought process to immigration. Though sometimes disagreeing with Karen Longacher in her article Losing the Forest for the Trees: How Current Immigration Proposals Overlook Crucial Issues, one key area of agreement is found in this statement: "To shut the door to new ideas and new blood, while simultaneously pushing out many of the people who are making positive contributions to the U.S. society and economy, would similarly stifle the United States, detrimentally restricting its ability to compete in the global marketplace"(Longacher, K. M. (1997)). In the short run applying a new system would instigate some pain, but in the long run it would provide serious growth.

The value of a countries medium of exchange, its currency, is backed by faith, a subject that is rarely expanded upon. That faith is, when explored more thoroughly, in the productivity of the economy. When the economy is not productive, faith falls and when it is more productive the value of its currency rises. A country that produces nothing, no matter what supply of money they hold, will have money with no value. So what

does this conversation bear on the immigration discussion? To put it simply, bad immigration policy destroys the value of its currency, while good immigration policy promotes the value in a way gold never could. Bad immigration policies bring down productivity levels, because the policies misunderstand the needs of individuals and the economy, and in so doing, create unemployment and poverty. This happens when the immigration policy brings people into a country who cannot operate, for whatever reason, within the society they are brought. A smart immigration policy understands the needs of society and fills these gaps and in so doing creates growth. Bringing hard workers and innovative minds into society promotes productivity. This productivity not only increases the amount of jobs available to others by creating new fields of work, new employers, and fewer money sumps, but it also increases the value of the currency. This creates an upward cycle that if properly maintained will take the economy to levels that it has yet to achieve. For those who believe that the economy doesn't grow, immigration won't make sense in economic terms, but the fact remains that the an economy is not a zero sum game. Increasing the right kind of immigration at a controlled pace will lead to more jobs for everyone. This is better for immigrants, many of whom came to the country to better their lives, and it helps the overall economy which in turn benefits everyone. In this way, the economy even stretches its hand beyond money and into the realm of morals as seen in the betterment of lives.

Moral Problems

This is not the only moral issue that is present in the consequences of immigration. Any legal decision ever made has moral implications. It may be that the issue being dealt with has more than one moral dilemma. Many times the difficulty in crafting legal policy is realizing a perfect moral judgment where more than one problem exists. It is sufficient to say that this is never possible and a country must strive instead to be like King Solomon who created a policy that drove society itself to realize the inherent problems and fix them. With this in mind, there is a growing

problem in America today. That is the "racism" that dominates the United States immigration policy. The word racism is in quotes because as a society the United States is not acting out of a desire to be racist, but the current immigration policy does favor certain people groups. It does not choose to do so out of race but out of proximity. The issue is that of preferring immigrants from Mexico, to those from other countries. This problem is a problem of policy, not people; nonetheless it is not intelligent, equitable, or fair. Many have pointed to the poverty of these groups, many already within the United States illegally, as a reason to accept them in society. This displays a defect within the system, a defect that should be addressed with all groups in mind. Rather than discussing this at length here, let it suffice to say that defects in the system have consequences not only for current illegal immigrants, but also for citizens and potential immigrants. This is a moral problem and it needs to be corrected.

General Problems

Having discussed the economy and morals it is easy to see two major themes that are on the line in the immigration discussion. These do not however point to the specific problem that the system currently suffers. To sum up the problem simply it is scarcity. In economics the term scarcity means that people want more than the available resources can give. It is what drives all economic transactions, and expanding it into the sociological realm, it is what drives the essential immigration problem. People desire to become United States citizens, yet the U.S. does not have the resources to allow everyone to become a citizen. This idea is central to developing a policy that works. Immigration does not cause poverty and it cannot eradicate world poverty. While it is deeply moving to see images of people who suffer, the best thing that can be done to solve this problem is to create a society that grows wealth and creates opportunities.

The U.S. has scarcity when it comes to the amount of citizens that it can sustain. This means that the U. S. should optimize resources to create

an efficient environment so as to create as much opportunity and thus as much return as possible. The current system denies hard working entrants, creates incentives to break rules, and is too slow. The U. S. needs to modernize and simplify what has become the labyrinth of rules and red tape that hurt both the country and those who try to immigrate to it. A good example of this is found in the H-1B visas. These visas used by many highly skilled workers allow the United States economy to compete with countries around the world. These visas can be renewed once and allow the applicant to stay a maximum of six years on the visa if renewed. All visas have behind them an intent. The intent is what the visa is to be used for and in this realm there are two main intents. One intent is to just visit or spend a short period of time in the country and the second is to come to the country with the intent of immigrating. With H-1B visas a holder can have two intents meaning that the holder can apply for full citizenship or stay based solely for employment. As Courtney L. Cromwell explains there have been times when this provision has been threatened. "Among other immigration reforms, the IRA 2007 proposed increasing the cap to 115,000 for fiscal year 2008 and to 180,000 after that. In exchange for the cap increase, the bill proposed several restrictions on the H-1B program. First, it proposed eliminating 'dual intent' for H-1B non-immigrants, preventing H-1 workers and their employers from seeking permanent residence status while in the United States" (2). The elimination of the dual intent would mean that the U.S. simply trains workers and then sends them home which hurts both the economy and the potential immigrant. In addition, many visas that are obtained, like those for schooling, do not have the legal status necessary to allow for the application of full citizenship. In this case, if an applicant would like to change the status of their visa, to do so, they are investigated and it is up to a bureaucrat to decide if this change in status was premeditated. This "guilty until proven innocent" process damages the ability of the government to recruit immigrants which are beneficial to society. It is not the fault of the bureaucrat. He or she is only an innocent person working under a broken system. The system is too complicated and needs reform.

Foreign Policy Problems

While the problems that have been discussed are largely internal, it is important to realize that there are external forces at work as well. One major motivator of immigration policy, arising from necessity, must be foreign policy. This deciding influence requires careful consideration, especially when considering the potential onslaught of highly skilled workers into the country. The statistics support the fact that there are several countries that currently educate and create workers in the skilled market categories. David Yang confirms this when he writes, "This new wave of Asian immigration included a significant number of professionals, constituting the "most highly skilled of any immigrant group our country has ever had." "By 1977, more than 25 percent of immigrants from mainland China and Taiwan self-identified as professionals or managers, up from 12 percent prior to 1965. Indian immigration was even more heavily professional; by the end of the 1980s, almost half of the Indian American population self-identified as professionals. In absolute numbers, 1989 alone saw the arrival of 3,842 occupational immigrants from Taiwan, 1,599 from China, and 6,681 from India. By the end of the 1980s, tens of thousands of Asian professionals had immigrated to the United States. The new wave of immigration has had an appreciable impact on the constitution of the high-tech labor force in the United States. While Asian Americans accounted for less than two percent of all scientists and engineers in the U.S. in 1970, that figure jumped to nearly seven percent by 1990 (in absolute numbers: from 21,000 to 150,000). Notably, of those 150,000 Asian American scientists and engineers in 1990, approximately 83 percent were foreign born." Two of the key Asian countries the United States economy relies on are China and India. The United States relationship with both countries is currently on fairly stable ground but any attempt at immigration reform that openly threatens the ability of these countries to at least earn back some of their coveted workers could create an unpleasant foreign environment. The consequences of this are dire as American corporations and workers around the world stand to be punished if the U. S. inappropriately takes more than its share of foreign

workers. Briefly looking at the flipside, if the U. S. refuses to allow immigration of a healthy number of these workers, then jobs will continue to move overseas at a dangerous rate for the U. S. There are inherent risks in both sides, but thankfully the will of humans, the competition of countries, the competition of the job market, and a balanced immigration policy will dictate that this does not happen.

A paradigm of what this could look like in some smaller ways is already taking place in a different country. The African community has recognized China's immigration policy as one that facilitates free trade. Whether intentional or by accident, the People's Republic of China has created a powerhouse of economic growth due to their immigration policies. While the US has allowed immigration policy to become bureaucratized and complicated the People's Republic of China has had an immigration policy that works for their economy. They have realized the benefits of having an immigration policy that resembles free trade and thus expands their economy (3). Though global competition helps everyone the U. S. should be wary that they not fall behind. It is important therefore not that the U.S. design a lottery immigration program with no purpose behind, it but rather that the U.S. design a program that takes into account things like competition, a proper balance of immigration, and even the will of man.

Many people in the U. S. and across the world fear the "brain drain." Those that understand the benefits of good immigration feel that for every plus there must be a minus. They worry that as new people immigrate to the United States the country they are leaving is incurably damaged. Some of these people therefore feel it is morally obtuse to "steal" the best talent. To these kindhearted citizens there is a simple explanation. Once again, this explanation revolves around the growth of the economy. The brain drain shouldn't worry countries as much as it does, as this is simply an economy reallocating resources. Consider the words of Bastiat in <u>What Is Free Trade</u>.

"A man becomes rich in proportion to the remunerative nature of his labor; that is to say, in proportion as he sells his produce at a high price. The price of his produce is high in proportion to its scarcity. It is plain, then, that,

so far as regards him at least, scarcity enriches him. Applying, in turn, this manner of reasoning to each class of laborers individually, the scarcity theory is deduced from it. To put this theory into practice, and in order to favor each class of labor, an artificial scarcity is produced in every kind of produce by prohibitory tariffs, by restrictive laws, by monopolies, and by other analogous measures.

In the same manner it is observed that when an article is abundant, it brings a small price. The gains of the producer are, of course, less. If this is the case with all produce, all producers are then poor. Abundance, then, ruins society; and as any strong conviction will always seek to force itself into practice, we see the laws of the country struggling to prevent abundance.

Now, what is the defect in this argument? Something tells us that it must be wrong; but where is it wrong? Is it false? No. And yet it is wrong? Yes. But how? It is incomplete.

Man produces in order to consume. He is at once producer and consumer. The argument given above, considers him only under the first point of view. Let us look at him in the second character, and the conclusion will be different. We may say:

The consumer is rich in proportion as he buys at a low price. He buys at a low price in proportion to the abundance of the articles in demand; abundance, then, enriches him. This reasoning, extended to all consumers, must lead to the theory of abundance."(4)

In <u>What is Free Trade</u>, Bastiat discusses at length the benefits of free trade on the world and when this trade occurs there is no loser. Though humans are not traded in the same sense, there is certainly a comparable element. Many immigrants take advantage of opportunities in the U. S. that they would likely have not had in their own country in order to profit. However, after making this profit they do not simply forget about the people they left back home. Immigrants often give back to their home country in the form of programs that foster education or scholarships that fund growing minds. After creating jobs in the U. S., paying taxes there, and

living and consuming things, they often send money back to their former home.

Consider also that the economy grows differently in different places and provides different opportunities in different countries. The advantage gained by immigrating to the US provides opportunities that do not exist elsewhere. If competition through free trade is allowed to foster growth, then all countries will benefit. People move to where the opportunities are and different countries have different opportunities. Developing economies have different opportunities and needs than do developed economies, which have different needs and opportunities than undeveloped economies. In a global economy, helping any economy helps the world. When allocating human capital better, the whole world prospers. A good example of this story is found in the creator of 5 hour energy. The creator of the energy drink 5 hour energy is Manoj Bhargava, an Indian man, who after making millions here has sent much of his money back to India to help revitalize their economy (5). Is his sending money back a loss to the U.S. economy? No, because he created jobs there, lives there, and pays taxes there. This man is great for the U.S. economy! Would he have had the opportunity in India that he had in the U. S. to create a product like 5 hour energy? Probably not. His immigration to the U. S. is a perfect example of how immigration, like free trade is good for the world economy. David Yang in his article "Globalization and the Transnational Asian 'Knowledge Class'" sums up these sentiments about immigrants' effect on world economic growth best when he says, "Although most of these immigrants stay in the U.S., many have invested in their home countries, and significant numbers have returned to develop knowledge industries in Asia while maintaining ties with the U.S. and the global economy" (Yang, D. C. (2005)).

Distractions

With the main problems in the open, it is necessary to dissect the distractions and resulting fallacies that arise from them. The best way of

categorizing these distractions is to put them into two groups: petty arguments and half solutions. Discussed at some length already are the defects that arise from the current immigration policy. One of the main problems arises from the United States proximity to Mexico. This situation has allowed thousands upon thousands of human beings to immigrate illegally into the United States. This immigration, due largely to a broken system, has caused problems for employers, police, state and local governments, and U. S. citizens. It has led to an outcry that illegal immigrants must be allowed to stay because they are human beings and to treat them otherwise would be inhumane. This point should indeed be acknowledged. However, it should be seen also as a need for reform. Bad policies hurt people. There are good people in Africa, China, India, Indonesia, Guatemala, Thailand, Iraq, Syria, Poland, Denmark, etc., who are also in desperate need, some just as poor, who cannot, due to their proximity, make it inside the U. S. nor does the U. S. have the capability to allow all of these people to immigrate to the U.S.. When looking at the way visas work for legal immigrants, it is plain to see that getting around these rules is not fair, when some people wait for years to become immigrants. Paul T. Wangerin points this out in his article "A Beginner's Guide to Business-Related Aspects of United States Immigration Law." "Because the yearly demand for immigrant visas generally exceeds the yearly supply aliens often must wait several years to obtain them. Aliens receive their immigrant visas only when visas are available for their "priority dates," the dates on which the aliens initiate the process of seeking immigrant visas. They do that either by filing a petition seeking one of the family preferences or by filing a petition for 'Labor Certification.' Any alien who initiates the immigrant visa application process when the various numerically limited categories have been filled must wait until all eligible aliens with earlier priority dates have obtained visas. Depending on the preference an alien seeks, the waiting process can range from no time at all to upwards of ten years. Although the aliens' immigrant visa applications are 'active,' they remain dormant for the entire waiting period" (Wangerin , P. T. (1984)) . The problem of illegal immigrants serves as one of the biggest distractions to immigration reform. While it should point to a

problem, people see only the symptom of the problem, and refuse to see the cause. The system is broken and it needs to be fixed. The system affects not only those who share borders with the U. S., but also those from around the world. The U. S. needs to fix the system so that it can ensure that whether a person is from a country just across the border or from half way around the world.

Failures are always bad, but they can be used as a teaching tool. This is not only true for individuals, but for countries as well. Seeing that there is an illegal immigration problem can inform policy makers in ways to make sure that they properly handle a new system. These do not quite qualify as goals, but perhaps are more like prerequisites for success derived from past observations. Other than pointing to the need to create a better enforcement process, the illegal immigration problem has a major sociological observation to consider as well. One of the main problems that the U.S. has faced is an assimilation issue. The U. S. has created a new "separate but equal" and it is demoralizing the people affected by it. It is in this light that the U.S. must design an immigration process that allows people to be treated equally; to allow people to become one with the culture, rather than diminishing their opportunities by relegating to them to a new form of segregation.

The Goal

Graven on the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty is a poem by Emma Lazarus entitled "The New Colossus." The poem reads: "Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame, With conquering limbs astride from land to land; Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame. 'Keep ancient lands, your storied pomp!' cries she With silent lips. 'Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, The wretched

refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!'" This poem signified the feeling that the world used to have about America's immigration policy. America was a place where anyone could become anything. How can that be restored? It starts by asking what the intent of immigration policy is. Though the poem on the Statue of Liberty signals a feeling, it does not bear the weight of law and much of it is hyperbole. However the feeling behind the poem is not misguided. Today the complication of the United States immigration policy says "Give me your rich and those who nearest to America." But the poem says "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free[.]" The key aspect of this is the last part "yearning to breathe free[.]" The word yearning evokes the thought of desire, not a dead desire, a simple want, but an active pursuit of a dream. And the word free of course encapsulates the American founding, a dream, the culture, a place where your yearning can be brought to life and is no longer a vision but a reality. This intent is what should drive the U.S. immigration policy today. The U. S. should honor those who yearn, those who work hard, those who pursue knowledge, those who fight for freedom, these are the people who should realize the American dream! A good immigration policy does not discriminate based on race or ethnicity it creates a civil society where hard work is acknowledged and rewarded.

Upon realizing the proper intent of what immigration policy should be it remains to create a successful policy. The creation of a successful immigration policy starts with creating an implementable immigration policy. As has been mentioned, this means that the U.S. must both simplify and modernize the out of date, maze of immigration policy rules and red tape. The second component in a successful immigration strategy is a drafting policy that is good for the country. Since the word good can be used in a variety of different ways it is beneficial to explore what good means in this context. Good means that immigration is taken on in a way that is good for the economy, good for foreign relations, good for immigrants, and good for current citizens. Yan Chen argues much the same point in his article "An Examination on Regulating the Employment of

Foreign Skilled Workers in the United States" when he states, "An effective and equitable regulatory framework for employment of foreign skilled workers should be able to achieve two major objectives. First, it should generate a competitive workforce for the economic growth of the country while protecting domestic labor markets from unfair competition with efficient administrative channels available to implement such ends. Second, the individual rights of foreign workers should be sufficiently protected against undue coercion" (Yan, C. (2003)). Achieving this entails creating a bold plan with a balanced approach to be implemented in a simple way. Perhaps a good model for thinking through this would be the American enterprise system. In America, the engine of the economy is capitalism. Perfect capitalism is a free market governed by a few simple rules with a safety net for those who fall on difficult times. In the same way our immigration program should be a free market where those who work hard are given citizenship and those who fall on tough times like refugees are allowed to immigrate on the principle of a safety net. Like those on welfare it is, of course, expected of even refugees to become contributing members of society as soon as the system has allowed them to find their feet again. In essence the U.S. supplies immigrants with citizenship, which to them is opportunity, in the hope that they will create a return by contributing to society perhaps even exceeding expectations. This act should begin with the immigrant who supplies hard work in hope of achieving citizenship and then after achieving this reciprocates the provision of citizenship by delivering more work in hope of more opportunities thus growing the economy. This is the goal of a good immigration policy.

Solution

Like any problem that plagues a country a solution to immigration is not easy to divine if only because of the country's sheer size. However, presented here is one possible solution to the host of problems the United States faces with immigration. As the problems of immigration have been explored it has become abundantly clear that part of the problem is the

series of Band-Aids that have been used to fix it in the past. With this in mind, immigration does not need more Band-Aids; it needs a simple comprehensive reform. The biggest change in the U. S. immigration policy in a new plan should be the idea that all visas aside from the visitor's visa be duel intent visas. This change leaves the decision completely up to the individual as to whether or not he or she will immigrate to the United States. This prevents any discouragement of foreign trade from what appears to be a theft of a country's best citizens. It also allows the U.S. to not lose all the talent that they have helped foster. Both of these benefits are achieved by using the duel intent model to keep countries neutral about immigration policy.

The solution to immigration requires the simplification of a system into multiple categories. The categories that should be included in the new U. S. immigration policy should be two types: temporary residents and workers. These two types can be broken down further. The categories included under temporary residents will be student and visitor. Visitor's will not be allowed to stay for future immigration under any circumstances and must go back to their home country to change their immigration status. Student temporary residents may apply for immigration in the U. S., after completing their degree. It should be noted that under this plan that non-student visas do not allow for schooling in the U. S. This again is a protection of the neutrality of both countries that are sharing citizens. The U. S. will not take all their best students, because it is up to the student to choose, and the other country cannot take away a student's right to choose by sending them to the U.S. with a visa that allows for schooling, but not the potential of citizenship.

Under the worker category there will be three different types considered: refugee, non-skilled workers, and skilled workers. Though refugees are not necessarily coming to the United States for work, it is clear from their status that they are seeking full time residency here and will therefore be integrated into the work force. Since knowledge about their educational background varies they have a category all of their own. Refugees should remain a concern in the U. S. immigration policy, because

of the plight that they face. The U. S. has always tried to fulfill the mission of being the light on the hill and leaving a space for refugees in the immigration policy is certainly one key way this is done. The next type of worker visa to be considered is the skilled worker visa. This type of visa is where things get harder to follow. The recommendation put forward here is to work mainly off of a more employment based model of visas. This closely resembles the H1B visa status currently in place. The Bureau of Labor Statistics each year projects the number of specialized workers that are needed to fill job shortages around the country. These workers tend to be involved in "STEM" or Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics fields. After the Bureau of Labor Statistics puts out these estimates the U. S. should analyze the number of domestic students graduating with degrees that match these fields, add this number to the current average unemployment rate across all industries and subtract that number from the projected shortage. The final number of jobs left open after this math has been completed should be awarded to immigrants to fill. This helps domestic companies to continue to create capital which is good for the economy.

In 2008 the United States hit its highest naturalization of citizens in recent year taking in 1,046,539 new citizens (6). Since this is the highest number of citizens taken in recent years, and the next highest number is in the mid 700,000's it makes sense to use this as a percentage gauge for measuring the United States immigration programs. In 2008, one million new citizens made up about .33% of the current United States population. Under this model, the United States would look to bring in approximately .33% of new population each year. The policy would begin by filling the industries with job shortages and would then look to fill the remaining two thirds of the available immigration spots to applicable college students using three main criteria namely: level (Master, Ph.D., etc.), degree type (Engineering, Math, etc.), and lastly institution (Purdue, Yale, Stanford, Purdue, etc.). Changing how the United States seeks out new talent for industry shortages is something that has been championed by many groups. In "Help Wanted The Role of Foreign Workers in the Innovation

Economy" a report put out by the Information Technology Industry Council, the Partnership for a New American Economy, and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, it notes that, "As a near term solution to fill the perceived STEM shortage, University Presidents, STEM employers, STEM workers, and others have called on Congress to reform U. S. immigration laws to recruit and retain high-skilled foreign-born STEM workers, and members of Congress have taken up the call for reform. Both Democrats and Republicans from the U. S. Senate and the U. S. House of Representatives have introduced bills to provide green cards to foreign advanced degree graduates in STEM from U. S. universities. Polls have shown broad bipartisan support for these bills across political, ideological, racial, and ethnic lines."(7). However, no comprehensive reform has yet to be achieved.

After filling the industries and choosing the best college graduates for the economy the U.S. immigration policy would ensure that the remaining one third went to unskilled workers who were applying for citizenship. To summarize, there is an overall goal of taking in immigrants that make up .33% of the current population. This .33% is only considered after filling industry shortages. The first two thirds of the .33% goes to students in the U.S. and the remaining one third goes to non-skilled workers. Under this plan refugees are not bound by any sort of cap and are left to Congressional discretion.

There are a few distinctions that could be made under this immigration plan that resolve current immigration problems and strengthen a new immigration plan. One of these ideas is that for nonimmigrant's who have been living in the U. S. prior to the enactment of a new policy that a path to citizenship be provided aside from those to be set in place in the future. These two methods of reaching citizenship can be found in portions of the Dream Act which allowed Army service as a path to citizenship (8). Senator Marco Rubio also had a proposal that allowed young Americans without criminal background to be considered for citizenship (8). Given that these two methods are for addressing problems under the old system and that these people already live in the U. S., it would

also seem fitting to allow them this opportunity apart from the enforcement of the new system of immigration put forward here. As far as strengthening the new system is concerned it is perhaps worth some thought at expanding what is considered a skilled worker currently described as an H1B. Under a new immigration system perhaps the skilled worker category could be expanded to include entrepreneurs who plan to hire United States employees within their first three years in the U.S. and have the detailed business plan and budget to prove it.

Under a new immigration program innovation and hardwork would be the path towards citizenship. Fairness would be increased through the duel intent visa expansion. Fairness in race and in choice would foster a healthier immigration policy in the U. S. The new design of the program has several benefits the least of which is that new immigrants will have a strong desire to assimilate and act on behalf of the U. S. This will occur across the board; whether it be refugees who have sought asylum from their enemies, unskilled workers who have new opportunities before them, a skilled worker who was encouraged to help an industry in need, or a college student who spent years here studying, and was then offered the opportunity of citizenship Conclusion

The solutions provided to fix the immigration problem are viable. The solutions are real and so is the problem. The U.S. needs the federal government to step up to the plate and exercise the power it was given by the Constitution. The U. S. needs comprehensive immigration reform. As has been discussed this reform will not discourage foreign trade or cost the U. S. by losing too much human capital. To protect against the loss of human capital, the U.S. must fix the immigration program in order to ensure justice, while simultaneously bettering the economy through hard work and innovation by crafting an immigration policy designed around these principles. In World War II scientists from all over the world flooded to America for protection from instability and dictators. They propelled industries and helped in the war effort. When the war was over the U.S. government had a massive debt, the world was struggling from the human cost of war and from the lingering effects of the Great Depression. The U. S.

overcame these things as a nation partially due to these immigrants. Innovation through immigration helped our struggling economy to create jobs. Today, the U. S. government again has what appears to be an insurmountable debt, the U.S. is struggling to recover from the human cost of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the U.S. is besieged by the greatest recession since the Great Depression. What the U. S. needs now, is what it needed after World War II, more innovative and hard-working people. The U. S. already has many in the country who are ready to help, but there are even more who are waiting to enter onto the U.S. shores. The U.S. needs to create a policy that brings them to America. This isn't about race, ethnicity, or background; America is made up of people from all parts of the world who cling to the principles of freedom and hard work.

There is an American ideal so buried within the culture that, though it is not noticed, it is lived out every day. U.S. citizens carry a reminder of this principle in their pockets and hand it from person to person daily. The idea is that of E Pluribus Unum. It is a Latin phrase that found on every United States coin and dollar bill and it translates roughly to "in many one." This idea is seen in American Universities, as the word university itself broken down to its roots translates roughly to "one in many." This is seen in the United States government as the many states make up the one federal government. This is seen in the corporations as various departments make up one company. And this idea should be seen in the U. S. immigration policy as it allows many people from all over the world to become a part of the one United States of America. The current U.S. immigration policy has tarnished the Golden Door that Emma Lazarus referred to in her poem, but if the U.S. reinvents the immigration policy to once again reflect the principles of the U. S., then the beacon of light will once again gleam brightly as it reflects from the Golden Door.

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Understanding identity construction in urban environment through a triadic interdisciplinary lens

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Abstract: *The increasingly mobile society of this global era is facing a plethora of issues pertaining to identity constructions studied by various disciplines in social sciences. From an architectural perspective, comprehending identity constructions in urban environment has become increasingly complex as cities are largely characterised by diversity, deterritorialisation and displacement. In this context, the paper argues that identity construction in urban environment needs to be addressed through an interdisciplinary perspective that allows a deeper understanding of the multifarious factors that influences it. These factors and their inter relationships with social, cultural and personal aspects defining identity processes remain difficult to capture, often due to a parochial disciplinary approach to identity studies. Identifying significant concepts in human geography, social psychology and phenomenology, this paper examines how these concepts, when synthesized, prove instrumental in studying the complexities of identity construction in relation to the urban environment. The paper explains that meaning, experience and place-relation are three main aspects which play an important role in understanding the identity constructions of people. The paper suggest that this triadic interdisciplinary lens enables the constructive bringing together of these three aspects for identity research, which otherwise remain incoherent or loosely connected due to disciplinary boundaries .The paper concludes by highlighting how the integration of relevant concepts from the three disciplines complement each other and offer new disciplinary insights in understanding identity concepts and theories.*

Introduction

In the recent years issues and questions on 'identity' have occupied a central position in the field of social sciences. Erik Erikson explained the difficulty in probing the concept of identity as 'the more one writes about this subject, the more the word becomes a term for something as unfathomable as it is "all-pervasive"'(Erikson, 1994, p.9). Erickson's statement is particularly important in the present context where identity is increasingly fluid, contingent and changing over time as opposed to the historical notions grounded in specificity (Woodward, 2002). Explaining the various ways of conceptualising identity is beyond the scope of this paper and identity here is discussed as being both relational and contextual which was developed in Erikson's(1950, 1968) works and identity is understood to always involve mutuality between the individual and his or her world. Erikson also suggests that there is an existence of a whole range of systems that deals with the fundamental way in which the inner experience of the individual is linked to the structure in the outside world. Erikson's conception of identity opens up several trajectories for investigating the implicit factors influencing people's identity construction and negotiation in the dynamic contemporary urban context. Cultural theorist Stuart hall emphasises that due to the major changes in the structural properties of contemporary societies 'the very concept we are dealing with- identity- [is] too complex , too under developed and too little understood in contemporary social sciences to be definitely tested'(Hall & Gieben, 1991, p.274)

Hall's concerns on the identity complexity can be seen as the result of globalisation that has greatly impacted the way people identify themselves with their environment. The increasingly mobile societies of this globalised era are facing a plethora of identity issues that is discussed in different disciplinary platforms. With geographical boundaries becoming more permeable, distances reduced and cultures no longer having a territorial base, there is an emergence of a place which is more non-physical in nature

and where identities remain obscure. As social psychologist Jan art Scholte notes,

> Globalization has tended to increase the sense of a fluid and fragmented self, particularly for   persons   who   spend   large proportions of their time in supraterritorial spaces, where multiple   identities readily converge and create lost souls. Hybrid identities present significant   challenges for the construction of community. How can deep and social bonds be forged   when individuals have multiple and perhaps competing sense of self- and indeed often feel   pretty unsettled in all of them? (Scholte, 2005, p.253)

Scholte's description shows the extent to which the transformation of people's spatial relation with urban environments defines the complexity of identity constructions.Identity is caught in a labyrinth of multiple and overlapping layers of urban fabrics which are socio-cultural, economic, cultural and political.

It is argued here that the various disciplines approaching identity studies fail to address this complexity and, in particular, do not take into consideration the context – that is, the physical setting. This could potentially result in a skewed understanding of the notion of identity, which adds to the existing complexity. Harold Proshansky et al. (1970) explain that physical cognitive structures are more complex than social and personal cognitive structures. Being subtle, they tend to be remote from the awareness of the individual, because physical settings are "backdrops" against which events occur. Apart from the affects of disciplinary boundaries, this is one of main reasons for the role of the physical setting in identity studies being so far overlooked, as they are largely conceived as 'backdrop'.

Manuel Castells (2004) observes that all identities are constructed: the complexity lies in understanding how, from what, by whom and for what are they constructed. Castells (2004) notes how identity construction involves multifarious factors:

The construction of identities uses building materials from history, from geography, from biology, from productive and reproductive institutions, from collective memory and from personal fantasies, from power apparatuses and religious revelations.(p.7)

Each discipline's approach comprehends the above factors within its own disciplinary conventions. Fundamentally functioning to represent society and culture(Kaminer, 2011) , architecture is an all-encompassing discipline that has been largely challenged by identity issues that plague urban societies today. The reason for this can be attributed to two major factors. Firstly, identity is caught in the diverse yet interwoven issues of multiculturalism, which inscribe differences at socio-cultural, economical and political levels. This in turn is spatially manifest, transforming the urban environment into places for contestation and/or negotiation in addition to the already entangled spatial experiences of people. Secondly, spatial disciplines such as architecture and urban planning are accused of foisting exaggerated attention on visual experience and, in addition to which the designed environment is increasingly suffering from what Edward Relph (1985) refers to as stuffing one's own genius into somebody else's loci. All these factors have not only made the relationship between people and the urban environment more fragile, but have also made the notions of identity negotiations and constructions more difficult for architecture to comprehend and address independently,.

Hence, from an architectural perspective, the need for understanding the notion of identity construction amidst the complexity of spatial practices in multicultural societies requires an interdisciplinary study which will be set out below. This paper consists of two parts. The first part examines three disciplines and identifies appropriate concepts which are pertinent for studying identity constructions in this way. The disciplines chosen and discussed below are different but they are potentially significant together in terms of the interfaces which connect them with human and place relation concepts which is enriching for architectural understanding of identity construction. The second part explains how various disciplinary

concepts which, when synthesised offer valuable insights for identity construction in relation to place experiences in the urban environment.

Human Geography

Embracing both physical and human worlds, geography arguably comes closest to the all-encompassing nature of architecture. Geography is a rich domain of study for many disciplines as it contains multifarious approaches, philosophies and foci for understanding the world. Geographers work with varying scales of spaces which Helen Couclelis (1992) notes in a form of hierarchy of spaces; mathematical, physical, socio-economic, behavioural and experiential space, spanning both objective and subjective understandings. Particularly of interest to this discussion are the latter three categories of spaces. Socio economic space, the relative space defined by "social and economic activities and relations […] analysed to offers insights about the interplay between social relations and spatial structures"(Couclelis, 1992, p.223). The relevance here lies in viewing space as a "social production which is constituted, reproduced, and changed by social relation, and in turn constrain[s] the unfolding of such relation"(Couclelis, 1992, p.223). This enables one to examine identity issues by considering the various factors which determine peoples' social and spatial relations. Behavioural spaces offer a rich domain for studying people's response to environments based on their perception of world. According to behavioural geography, "individuals function in a subjective world- a world in the head"(Couclelis, 1992, p.226). This perspective immediately puts people in the forefront of research, which is crucial when studying urban environments. Various approaches are developed to study these behavioural spaces, the most popular being observation of spatial choices and time geography.

 Understanding the spatial choices of people and groups produces rich data sets which can be used to identify "the relationship between the spatial behaviour on the one hand and socio economic and other personal

characteristics on the other"(Coucelis, 1992, p.226). Another significant approach in studying behavioural space is time geography developed by Swedish geographer Torsten Hägerstrand in the mid-1960s in his research on human migration patterns in Sweden. Time geography studies reveal deep structures of all kinds of interactions and transaction between people and environment (Pred, 1977a). In doing so, this approach "specifies conditions for virtually all forms of interactions" (Pred, 1977a, p.211) involving people. A time geographic approach can be especially significant in studying the urban context since "when events are seen located together in a block of space-time they inevitably expose relations which cannot be traced" (Pred, 1977b, p.210). Finally, the experiential space is the "space human beings actually experience before it is passed through the filters of scientific analysis, embracing all the intuitive, unanalyzed, or unarticulated forms of spatial understanding" (Coucelis, 1992, p.227). In these spaces are embedded by far the most subtle and complex meanings of human actions and interactions. Dealing with space, which varies from pure space of formal symbols to more affective qualities allows plethora of concepts to emerge in terms of peoples' relation and experiences with these diverse spaces. The profundity of geographical conceptions of space arises due to the complex interconnectedness of these categories of spaces. Focussing more specifically towards an experiential understanding of people and place interaction (that greatly influences identity formations) human geography intensely relates to identity studies.

The main strength of geography, from which this research draws insights, lies in its "deep conviction that environmental and human processes create the reality in which humankind lives, and that those processes are key to understanding the complexity of places"(Knight, 1992, p.9). Geography spans a range of spaces and it was human geographers who first studied how space was enriched with human experience and meaning. Human geography considers people and place relationships to be deep and profound which is an essential condition for existence. Particularly significant for this research is understanding of people-place concepts through the works of humanist geographers Yi-Fu Tuan and Edward Relph.

Tuan's thinking of human-place relationships resonates with his intuitive understanding of human geography. Tuan (1990) created the term 'topophilia' for the affective bond between people and place, which he notes though as a concept it is diffused, it is as vivid and concrete as personal experience. Tuan's works were pioneering in situating place more clearly as a humanized space, while providing a broader understanding of relationship between space and place (Castello, 2010) . In *Segmented World and Self* (1982) his analysis is towards a deeper understanding of the link between human consciousness and spatial structures. In *Dominance and Affection* (1982) his attention moves to the aesthetic exploitation and mistreatment of nature.   Throughout his work there is a consistent exploration and reflection on what it is to be human, that is a 'Being-in-the-World' (Heidegger, 1962), and human environment relationships are explicated as not merely objective and material, but also affective and moral. Tuan's work echoes Heidegger's phenomenological understanding of human experience and physical world which were instrumental in capturing the essence of human experience. Tuan's writings capture "the inherent tensions and ambiguities that exist just beneath the apparent concreteness and certainty of the customary rhythms of everyday life"(Entrikin, 2001, p.430).These concepts of everyday experiences become highly pertinent today in understanding and defining "places of urbanity"(Castello, 2010, p.21) .

Similar notions of a need for deeper and meaningful experience with places are found in Edward Relph's works. If Tuan revealed what is place and place experience, Relph was the first to bring out the issues of placelessness in studying people and place relationships. Relph's (1976) seminal work *Place and Placelessness*, addressed the lack of sense of place caused by uniformity of places. Relph emphasised that the "meanings may be rooted in physical setting but it is a property of human intentions and experiences" (p.47). Among all empathetic approaches towards people-place studies, one of the most significant contributions is Relph's different modes of place experience which he explained through the concept of "insideness" and "outsideness"(Relph, 1976, p.49). Relph discussed seven

modes of insideness and outsideness based on the extent of one's experiential involvement with places. David Seamon (1996) observed that "the value of these modes, particularly in terms of self-awareness, is that they apply to specific place experiences yet provide a conceptual structure in which to understand those experiences in broader terms" (p.7). Understanding of insideness-outsideness in one's experience will help in discerning how strongly one identifies with that place. Furthermore, the theory delineates various modes of experiencing places, from profound alienation (existential outsideness) to complete commitment to a place which is unselfconscious (existential insideness). This is significant for its immediate relevance and conceptual depth in understanding people's place experiences in everyday urban spatial encounters.

Human geography comprehends the world as one created by human perception, intention and behaviour (Knight, 1992) which offers a rich understanding of reciprocal relationships between people and place. It is particularly relevant to the study of spatial experiences in the contemporary environment, which is characterised by a combination of both intrusiveness and lack of boundaries; technological symbolic systems of a high level of complexity (Stevens, 1996). Identity is how we make sense of ourselves, and geographers have argued that the meanings given to a place may be so strong that they become a central part of the identity of the people who are experiencing them (Rose, 1995). In this context, human geography offers a rich platform for developing a broader scope of place conceptualisations, grounded in people's experiential understanding. Human geographic concepts of studying people and places move us towards accepting "existence and importance of structures, mechanisms and forces beyond immediate observation" (Eyles, 1985, p.4). This enables an in-depth understanding of people's relationship with the physical world: as Tuan noted "knowledge of the earth elucidates the world of man... to know the world is to know oneself" (Tuan, 1971, p.185).

Social Psychology

Identity is a concept that occupies a prominent place and is central in the literature of social psychology. There, it has been theorized and discussed under two major schools of thought, namely Social Identity Theory and Identity Theory. These theories approach the multilayered and multidimensional concept of identity from different perspectives. The discussion here aims towards a broad understanding of these concepts and delineates only some aspects of the theories which are particularly relevant to this research study.

The social and environmental conditions of people influence their perception of themselves and others, which slowly becomes part of their identity. Henri Tajfel (1982) describes social identity as the individual's knowledge of belonging to certain social groups, as well as the emotions and values this conveys to him or her. Social identity is shaped by the group or entities to which one belongs, and is also responsible for producing group behaviour. Different self-images are produced by self-concepts and their combinations, which are of utmost importance to the individual. According to some situations, certain parts of one's identity will be dormant and other parts dominating based on the group which one identifies one's self with (Turner, 2010). Social Identity Theory assumes that people are attracted towards a group which presents itself with positive characteristics and tend to avoid groups with negative traits; mainly because of the motivation one feels when being part of a positive group. If people cannot leave a group, they will deny the negative characteristics of the group, or reinterpret them as positive self-concepts (Tajfel, 1981). Though the physical environment is largely overlooked in most of the identity theories in social psychology, Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) have noted that social identity theory is easily transferable, and can be further developed to include aspects of place. Social Identity Theory clearly emphasises the importance of positive esteem and concludes that people prefer places with physical symbols that enhance their self-esteem (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996).

Identity Theory has its roots in George Herbert Mead's (1962) framework, which emphasized that society shapes one's self which in turn shapes one's social behaviour. Through his framework, Identity Theory tried to understand the various concepts of society and self. Identity Theory has developed in two different directions which are closely related. The first focuses on examining "how social structures affect the structure of self and how structure of the self influences social behaviour, whereas the second concentrates on the internal dynamics of self-processes as these affect social behaviour" (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 292). According to Identity Theory, the core of an identity is the categorisation of the self as an occupant of a role, and the incorporation, into the self, of the meanings and expectations associated with that role, and its performance (Burke & Tully, 1977). These expectations and meanings are developed as a set of standards based on which people act in any environment. To compare it with the previous theory, Social Identity theory examines 'category-based' identities which relate to ethnicity while Identity Theory deals with 'role-based' identities such as parent or child, in terms of category-based identity (Stryker & Burke, 2000a). The significant idea which Identity Theory reinforces is that "in the absence of specific information about skills and performance levels relevant to the task, participants in a group that seeks to solve a collective problem will draw upon cultural memory contained in previous status and esteem allocations to obtain information about possible resources available for the task at hand" (Stryker & Burke, 2000b, p.292).This idea, especially with 'information' delineated, can be enriching when applied to understanding people's spatial behaviour in the urban environment. Drawing Social Identity Theory closer towards this research is the fact that, "recently identity theorists have drawn meaning from relationship between persons and resources (things that sustain persons and interactions) as central component in identity processes" (Stets & Burke, 2000, p.225). Underlying the concept of resources is the crucial role of the physical settings in the identity processes. Both of these important theories in social psychology unravel multifarious factors that define and influence one's identity formation. However the role of physical settings or place relationships remains implicit in both.

Another theory which illuminates a wide range of identity issues pertaining to the focus of this research is the Identity Process Theory. Glynis M Breakwell's Identity Process Theory adopts an approach which aims to understand the concept of identity in relation to place, addressing how and why places become salient for identity concepts. In this theory, identity is seen as a "dynamic social product which is the result of the interaction of individual's memory, consciousness and organized construal with the physical and social structures" (Hauge, 2007, p 43), becoming both a structure and a process. Blurring the distinction between social and personal identity, the structure is manifested through thought, action and affect but a differentiation is introduced between the content and value dimensions. The content dimension, containing both personal and social identity, is hierarchical but not static, and the value dimension contains the positive or negative value of these categories.

Breakwell proposes that "identity should be conceptualised in terms of a biological organism moving through time which develops through accommodation, assimilation and evaluation of the social world" (Breakwell, 1986, p 24). This process of accommodation, assimilation and evaluation depended on three principles, namely distinctiveness, continuity and self-esteem. The first principle of identity is the 'desire to maintain personal distinctiveness or uniqueness' (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996, p 207). Breakwell states that aspects of identity derived from places we belong to arise because places have symbols that have meaning and significance to us. People's associations with a specific city or area enable them to differentiate themselves from people from other parts of the town. Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) similarly found compelling evidence that "people use place identifications in order to distinguish themselves from others" (p 207). In this way, place is considered in a similar way to a social category and therefore place identifications can be thought of as comparable to social identifications (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996).

The need to maintain continuity of the self-concept is considered as the second principle of identity formation. Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996)

discuss this concept of continuity as two distinct types: first, place-referent continuity, where place acts as a referent to past selves and actions that helps in maintaining a link with that place providing a sense of continuity to their identity; and second, place congruent continuity which refers to the maintenance of continuity through characteristics of places which are generic and transferable from one place to another. The third principle self-esteem "refers to a positive evaluation of one's self or the group with which one identifies; it is concerned with a person's feeling of worth and social value" (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996, p 208). Breakwell later introduced a fourth principle, self-efficacy, which is defined "as an individual's belief in their capabilities to meet situational demands" (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996, p 208). That is, when people believe that they are able to carry out their chosen activities in that environment.

According to Breakwell, continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy and self-esteem are to seen as the guiding principles in understanding identity formations. Various studies in social psychology have explored these principles/motives that are crucial in forming one's identity. One theory which integrates the previous theories on motives of identity is the Motivational Identity Construction Theory. This theory identified six motives for identity construction; Distinctiveness, Meaning, Continuity, Belonging, Self-esteem, Efficacy. Recently Easterbrook and Vignoles (2012) substantiated Motivational Identity Construction Theory though a study which aimed to understand identification of groups developed over time. Integrating motivated identity construction theory with recent social identity research, the authors predicted which motives underlie identification with two types of groups: interpersonal networks and social categories. In a five-wave longitudinal study of social identity processes among 268 new university residents, multilevel analyses showed that motives involved in identity enactment processes--self-esteem, belonging, and efficacy--significantly predicted within-person changes in identification with flatmates (an interpersonal network group), whereas motives involved in identity definition processes--meaning, self-esteem, and distinctiveness--significantly predicted within-person changes in

identification with halls of residence (an abstract social category). The results of their study showed that all these motives changed over time.

The theory explicitly offers a valuable framework for studying the factors that are important for understanding people's identification with a specific group. But more significantly these identity construction motives, when interpreted for their spatial dimension, offer an interesting dimension for analysing the identity constructions of people in relation to places. Throwing light on the role of the physical environment in everyday contexts, group instincts and social and personal meanings associated with places, all of the described theories above in one way or another open up new trajectories for understanding the meaning embedded in identity construction and related processes.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology may be broadly understood as the unbiased descriptive study of whatever appears to the consciousness, precisely in the manner in which it so appears. Phenomenology was the first movement to understand human embeddedness in the environment and to make visible the environment (Moran, 2002). It emerged in the school of Fanz Brentano and was developed by Edmund Husserl. Husserl (1913) presents phenomenology as approaching 'whatever appears as such', including everything meant or thought, in the manner of its appearing, in the 'how' of its manifestation. Phenomenology which is "characterised as a way of seeing rather than a set of doctrines", aims to describe in "all its complexity the manifold layers of the experience of objectivity as it emerges at the heart of subjectivity" (Moran, 2002, p.2). This quality of interlinking objective and subjective aspects of human experience enables deeper understanding of identity construction in relation to place experiences. Another significant aspect of phenomenology comes from Husserl's (1913) approach to the structure of our everyday manner of human being in the world, termed 'the natural attitude'. This structure of natural attitude

revealed the world in a certain way while itself remaining concealed.(Moran, 2002) Phenomenology does not just involve a normal immersed attitude but requires different way of disengagement that enables one to understand the nature of experiences clearly.

This process of delineating and getting into the core of the nature of experiences was what Husserl (1913) called epoche or reduction. Hence Phenomenology goes beyond appearance, seeking the essence of the appearance.

Phenomenology must bring to pure expression must describe in terms of their essential   concepts and their governing formulae of essence , the essences which directly make   themselves   known   in intuition, and the connections which have their roots purely in such   essences. Each such statement of essence is an a priori statement in the highest sense of the   word. (Moran & Mooney, 2002, p.66)

It has been described as "highly problematical if not impossible to define the essentials of phenomenology"(Spiegelberg, 1994, p.681) mainly due to these different interpretations of accepted doctrines such as intentional structure of consciousness, interpreted by Husserl, Heidegger, Sartre and Merleau Ponty. One common objective of the phenomenological approach is "the enlarging and deepening of the range of our immediate experience"(Moran, 2002, p.42) by going "to the things themselves" (Husserl, 2001, p.252). Phenomenology as a method reduces the complexity of defining or interpreting the complexity of concepts that underlying it.

At this juncture it is useful to discuss the various steps of the phenomenological method formulated by Herbert Spielberg in his renowned work *The Phenomenological Movement*. Spielberg identified the following seven steps which inform the phenomenological method. The different steps are explained briefly below to facilitate an understanding of phenomenology as a methods to study people experiences.

1. *Investigating particular phenomena:* Investigating particular phenomena, includes 3 operations, which are usually not clearly distinguished usually referred to as 'phenomenological descriptions'. Phenomenological Intuiting, is one of the most demanding operations, which requires utter concentration on the object intuited without becoming absorbed in it to the point of no longer looking critically. Phenomenological analysing traces the elements and structure of the phenomena obtained by intuiting, it does not in any sense demand dissecting them into separate parts. It comprises the distinguishing of the constituents of the phenomena as well as exploration of their relations to and connections with adjacent phenomena. Phenomenological describing- phenomenological description of the phenomena thus intuited and analysed goes usually and essentially hand in hand with the reseeding steps, its more affirming the connection between it.

2. *Investigating general essences*: General essences are conceived of as phenomena that differ from particulars.

3. *Apprehending essential relationships among essences*:Analysing an entity in itself acquaints us only with its components. It includes the discovery of certain essential relationships or connections pertaining to such essences.

4. *Watching modes of appearing*: phenomenology is the systematic exploration of the phenomena, not only in the sense of what appears (whether particulars or general essences), but also in the way in which things appear.

5. *Watching the constitution of phenomenon in consciousness*: the purpose of such a study is the determination of the typical structure of a constitution in consciousness by means of an analysis of the essential sequence of steps. A first illustration of such a constitution can be the experience of getting oriented in a new city whose picture gradually takes shape in our mind.

6. *Suspending belief in the existence of the phenomena*: this includes the systematic cancellation of all those acts by which consciousness

supposedly constitutes the phenomena. Itfacilitates genuine intuiting, analysing and describing of the given.

7. *Interpreting the meaning of phenomena*: unveiling of hidden meanings or at most of intuitive verifications of anticipations about less accessible layers of the phenomena, layers which can be uncovered, although they are not immediately manifested.

The first three steps have been accepted, at least implicitly and practiced by those who have aligned themselves with the phenomenological movement (Spiegelberg, 1994).These steps show how the complexities of people's experiences can be effectively studied and understood through phenomenological as a method and it is rarely considered as a potential means to study people and place interactions. Phenomenological philosophers believe that in our understanding of the individual's experience of the world we often reduce the ontological content of things into a formal and objective content malleable to scientific analysis. In this process we overlook what we cannot capture or comprehend without using objective methods. To overcome this insufficiency of scientific methods, Christian Norberg-Schulz (1980) suggests that phenomenological philosophy is an appropriate approach to answer the questions of the complex relation between person and world. He believes in the Heideggerian (2010) philosophy which allows the "thingness of thing" (p.142) to be revealed, presented and understood that so often is completely neglected by objective methods of systematic analysis like structuralism.

The most compelling aspect of phenomenology lies in describing in its own terms, "the essential and irreducible nature of the experience of consciousness in the world" (Moran, 2002, p.7). Phenomenological Philosophy, as Zaner has phrased it, would seek to explicate the

foundational presuppositions of every human engagement including necessarily itself... (its) fundamental interest is always to bring out the inobvious, the taken for granted, the hidden, in short the

foundational presuppositions without which the affairs in question would not be that   which they are…(it) is concerned to focus on 'essences', the invariant of all variations.   (Zaner, 1973, p.32)

Phenomenology's enduring contribution is its patient descriptive analyses of the phenomena of consciousness. Standing against the narrowing down of experience, phenomenology has a "rich understanding of the subjective and the relation between subjectivity and objectivity, whereby objectivity is an achievement or production of subjectivity" (Moran, 2002, p.9). Heidegger's significance to essence and Merleau-Ponty's body as interface mind and world, Satre's existence preceding essence and Spielberg's phenomenology as a method represent valuable insights which phenomenology can offer for understanding the complexity of identity construction through relationship to place which is propitious to this research.

Discussion and Conclusion

Comparing the historical and present context of identity formation, social psychologist Judith Howard (2000) points out

At earlier historical moments, identity was not much an issue; when societies were more   stable, identity was to a greater extent assigned, rather than selected or adopted. In current   times,   however, the concept of identity carries full weight of the need for a sense of who one   is, together with an often overwhelming pace of change in surrounding social contexts-   changes in the groups and networks in which people and their identities are embedded and   in societal structures and practices in which those networks are themselves embedded. (p.367)

Today various issues of identity are largely related to increasing ambiguity in comprehending where one belongs to. Concepts of multi-territoriality(Petcou, 2002) and global sense of place(Massey, 1991) have

become common platforms of discussion on identity issues in urban living. The increasingly mobile nature of societies results in multiple identities that are fluid. In addition, the lack of spatial referents which provides valuable cues of identifying oneself in urban environments has created a strong sense of uncertainty deepening the questions of 'where' and 'how' people identify themselves with . Identity itself is caught in a labyrinth of diverse yet interwoven issues of multiculturalism, which inscribe differences at socio-cultural, economical and political levels. This in turn is spatially manifested, transforming urban environments into places for contestation and/or negotiation, resulting in a further entanglement of meanings, experiences and place relations that facilitates in constructing one's identity.
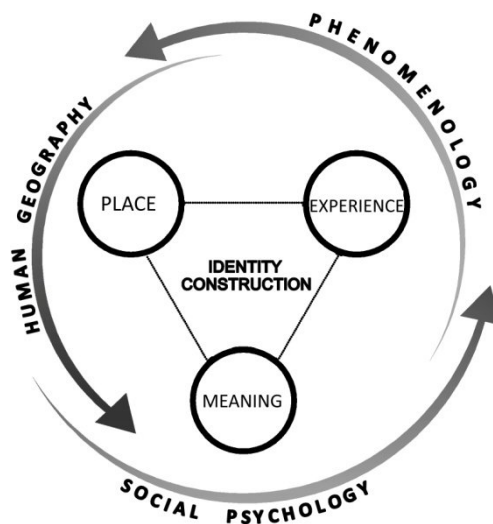
Fig.1 Significance of the three disciplines in studying identity construction

In order to disentangle these three aspects, the disciplinary contributions discussed above prove to be instrumental. All three disciplines have displayed the potential to delve into the nature of human experiences and

existence, offering different perspectives. For instance, Phenomenology's particular attention to the essence of experiences enables one to reveal the unique nature of human encounter with world and the kind of objectivities normally encountered there. Similarly Human Geography's empathetic approach towards the profound relationship between people and place throws light on the implicit yet strong reciprocal impact of this relationship on identity itself. Finally, Social Psychology's identity theories prove to be complex but enriching when interpreted from a spatial dimension and is valuable for studying identity construction in this context.
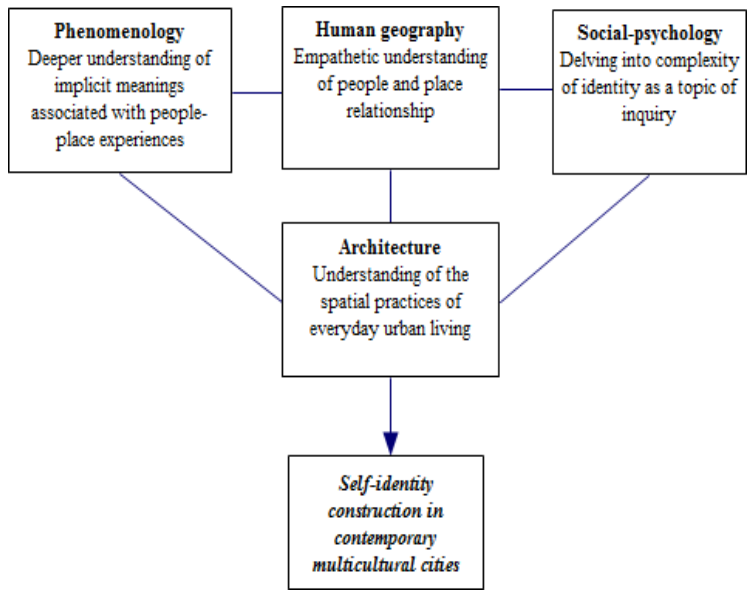
Fig 2. Disciplinary choices for identity construction study

It is suggested that these three disciplines, when synthesised could provide the required depth of understanding for the dimensions of meaning, experience and place-engagement which are difficult for architecture to grasp independently. The significant aspect of studying Identity constructions through this triadic lens is that it not only facilitates in understanding these dimensions in-depth, but more importantly enables in

bringing them together. This allows for a symbiotic relationship between disciplines for instance, by including the place-relation as one of the factors for understanding identity in social psychology, delving into structures of experience in people-place relationship in human geography, considering social and personal meanings in phenomenology offers different disciplinary understanding of identity.

The illustration (Fig 2) shows how seeing through this triadic lens facilitates the study of identity constructions and creatively unravels various aspects of identity construction for an architectural understanding. By showing how these disciplines can facilitate in studying meaning, experience and place relation, this paper suggests that comprehending the process of identity construction and/or negotiation in contemporary urban societies invariably requires the coalescing of these three disciplines. The need of the hour is an amalgamation of relevant and significant concepts of these disciplines which enable the understanding of complexity of identity construction.

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Transformation of contemporary national identities

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Abstract: *The paper addresses the issue of the national identity, which due to global forces, transnational interdependencies and increasing individualisation takes on different meaning. The study reveals that national identity remains important in people's lives but it co-exists along with supranational identities. National identity is subjected to contemporary global processes, which influence thin cultural sediment in individuals' lives, lacking a strong sentimental meaning. The latter does not mean those sediments are irrelevant. The more intense is the transformation of national identity and more as its importance in comparison with the traditional semantic fields decreases, the greater is the impact of thin cultural influences. By using fuzzy-set analysis, we consider which factors operate in favour to thin part of continuum and co-influence the transformation of national identity. We intend to demonstrate the impact of developmental trajectories of societies and deep values, traditional patterns of perception of other nationalities as well as economic and political factors on the conceptual continuum of cultural influences, which enable and condition also the formation of identification with the European space.*

Keywords: *Fuzzy set, national identity, global transformations*

Introduction

Nowadays, national identities have become to be seen in a light of a defensive response to a growing awareness of an increasing global connectivity (Beck 1999). The connections at the global or transnational level affect established and rooted perceptions of place, which are expressed in "dis-embedding" of local ways of doing things. The national environment, where national identity emerges, has become intertwined

with global influences. The nation-state is successfully facing the challenges of global and transnational processes. An important component of the power of nationalism and the nation-state is its concurrent supranational, transnational political and cultural form. There are different models of national identities, but as Smith says (Smith 1991: 13), "modern nationalism and identities reflect a profound dualism...sometimes civic and territorial elements predominate; at other times is the ethnic and vernacular components that are emphasised". Different models of contemporary national identities have been not just theoretically considered but also empirically tested. Focusing on ISSP (1995), which subjected issues of national identity to empirical scrutiny by fielding a module of seven questions dealing with the understanding of national identity, Smith and Jones (2001) identified two distinct dimensions of national identity. The first is the ascribed/objectivist dimension based on the high significance attributed to the 'country of birth, extended residence and religious faith' but also to citizenship. The second is the civic/voluntarist dimension, linking 'the respect for laws and institutions to national sentiment (feelings) and to fluency in the national language, viewed in this context more as a facilitator of civic virtue rather than as an ethnic marker' (ibid. 105-106).

Smith and Jones have hypothesized that forces such as post-industrialism and globalization tend to favour the more open voluntaristic form of national identity over the more restrictive ascribed form. By using multi-level models in order to evaluate hypotheses they argue that independently of individual differences in socio-demographic characteristics, the higher a country's degree of post-industrialism, the higher is the relative commitment of it population to the more open and inclusive civic/voluntarist dimension (more in 2001: 212-213). As the modern identities are never constructed solely out of either ethnic or the civic models, macro-level process like globalisation and internal differentiation affect not only the differences in relative commitment to each of the two dimension, but also the overall strength of national sentiment more broadly conceived and combining both dimensions. Their evidence

provides some support for the hypothesis that people from countries with high degrees of globalisation place less importance not only on the objectivist dimension when compared to the subjectivist one but also on either form of national identity, as do residents of countries with high degrees of internal differentiation.

In our paper, we would like to represent, which factors influence the meaning of traditional semantic fields referring to thick cultural influences, which refer to essential, fundamental, exogenous and holistic view of culture,. The culture as a fundamental part of the society has changed its meaning due to global transformation reflecting in political, cultural and economic exchanges. It has become essential that culture is constantly recreated through the behaviour of people and it is not a given, immutable, and natural fact. Due to global transformations influencing all pores of social life, the cultural context has become a venue of intertwining of "thin" and "thick" cultural influences (Mishler and Pollack 2003). Thin cultural influences refer to individualist, endogenous, ambivalent views on culture. In order to understand the contemporary identifications (including the national ones), one needs to pay attention to a dialectic relationship between both cultural poles. In the front of the interests is therefore a relation between everyday practices and rooted values. We presume that transformation of the latter leads to a more thin side of the cultural continuum. Further, we are interested in factors influencing the thin dimension of national identity and thus decreasing its meaning. We hypothesise that according to differences between both cultural poles, the factors should follow those divisions.

Measuring the two dimensions of national identity

We believe that the operationalization of the national identity and its intensity is in fact somewhat more complicated than implied by Smith and Jones (2001). It may be argued that what they actually measured was mostly the significance attributed to various elements applied when *considering others as members or non-members of a particular imagined (national) community*. On the other hand, these indicators do not tell one much about the intensity of the individuals' own feelings of national identity and the relevance of national identity for them. For instance, claiming that birth and residence are important for the national identity does not necessarily imply that national identity *as such* is important. We are dealing with the concepts that are theoretically and empirically closely (cor)related but not identical.

An alternative indicator intended to measure national identity may be found in the more recent 2003 ISSP National Identity survey in the survey question on 'how close a respondent feels to her/his country' with the four-level Likert scale. The principal component analysis of this variable combined with several other questions from the same ISSP dataset that may also imply the intensity of national identity demonstrated that the feeling of closeness to one's country forms the same component with the belief that the country's 'television should give preference to country's films and programmes' (cf. ISSP Research Group 2003) explaining 58 per cent of the variance of these two variables.

We have assumed that the combination of these two variables may be considered as an indicator of national identity but one should also take into account the theoretical assumptions of Smith (1991) and the empirical findings of Smith and Jones (2001) about the two dimensions of national identity. The principal component created from the two variables could be understood as being closer to the Smith's ethnic and Smith and Jones ascribed/objectivist understanding of national identity.

Using the principal component analysis on the ISSP 2003 dataset, we have confirmed the existence of the same two dimensions of *understanding* national identity as identified by Smith and Jones (2001) on the previous ISSP 1995 dataset. The ascribed/objectivist dimension consisted of being born in the country, living there for most of one's life, belonging to the dominant religion, and having the ancestors of this nationality (the last variable was only included in the 1995 dataset and was thus not used by Smith and Jones but it also clearly belongs to ethnic-objectivist-ascribed dimension). The voluntarist/subjectivist dimension, on the other hand, included the respect for the country's political institutions and laws, the feeling of country's nationality and being able to speak the language. Citizenship has a more ambivalent meaning with only slightly higher loading on the subjectivist dimension than on the objectivist one. This is hardly surprising because of its combined nature: being 'a civic' element on the one hand but also strongly conditioned by birth and long-term residence in a given country, on the other hand.

Including the – one may call it national-cultural identity component – scores to the principal component model of understanding national identity has clearly confirmed the ascribed-objectivist nature of this type of national identity indicator. Individuals with higher scores on the national-cultural component – are also more likely to attribute greater intensity to the ascribed/objectivist items (see Table 1).

Table 1: Rotated Component Matrix(a) of national identity variables

	Component	
	1	2
How proud are you being country national	,462	,269
Important: to have been born in[Country]	,748	,241
Important: To have[Country Nationality] citizenship	,468	,560
Important: To have lived in[Country] for most of one?s life	,629	,412
Important: To be able to speak [Country language]	,137	,696
Important: To be a [religion]	,660	,096
Important: To respect[Country Nationality] political institutions and laws	-,065	,752
Important: To feel[Country Nationality]	,331	,632
Important: To have[Country Nationality] ancestry	,784	,162
REGR factor score 1 for analysis 1= kombinacija closecountry+ television	,635	-,045

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Source: ISSP Research Group 2003; own calculations

In addition, we have also considered the aspect of national pride as a potential indicator of national identity. In the most generalised sense, it can be found in the ISSP 2003 question on how proud a person is on being a country's national. National pride does not belong to the same component as the closeness to the country and belief that the television should give priority to the country's films and TV programme. Consequently, it cannot be combined in the same index of national identity but considered as something clearly different. Nevertheless, when combined with the items on understanding national identity, high levels of national pride also turn out to be closer to the ascribed/objectivist understanding of national identity – though not as clearly as our national-cultural identity component.

The close positive relationship of both national-cultural identity, as we have defined it, and the national pride with the ascribed/objectivist understanding of national identity can be confirmed not only at the individual but also on the macro level: namely, countries with stronger national-cultural identity and higher national pride according to the ISSP 2003 survey tend to be significantly more characterised by ascribed/objectivist understanding of national identity. Consequently, one may consider a national-cultural identity index based on the combination of 'country-closeness' and 'TV-programmes' variables as a suitable measure of ascribed/objectivist national identity that is able to demonstrate not only the understanding of national identity but also its intensity for any individual respondent or country as a whole. In addition we may also use the 'national pride' measure, which is also – though less clearly – primarily linked to the ascribed/objectivist understanding of nationality. For the purposes of our further research, we have used the question on national pride from the more recent EVS 2008 dataset.

However, the ISSP 2003 dataset includes no question that would measure the intensity of national identity and be at the same time positively correlated to the subjectivist/voluntaristic understanding of national identity. Perhaps, this might even imply that people that understand national identity in the more subjectivist way (and more in terms of thin culture) are also less likely to identify firmly with their nation. Nevertheless, this is not necessarily the case. Although, we found no such question in the ISSP survey, the question whether a person belongs to her/his 'country as a whole' in the European Values Study (EVS) from 2008 provides an interesting insight. It can be noted that the European countries, where greater proportions of populations identify with their 'country as a whole' are also characterised by comparatively higher belief that national identity is based on the national feelings and respect for the national institutions (Spearman rho equals 0.25 and 0.26 respectively). Unfortunately, the correlation cannot be tested at the individual level because the EVS question on belonging to the country as a whole is not a part of the same dataset/survey as the ISSP set of questions. Despite a weak correlation that cannot be statically confirmed due to the small number of units (i.e. European countries), this may be relevant especially due to the fact that the identification with the country as a whole also seems to be *negatively* correlated or not correlated to the ascribed/objectivist understanding of national identity. Although this is clearly an issue that requires further research, we decided to use the question on belonging to the country as a whole from the EVS dataset as a provisional and approximate indicator of a more subjectivist/voluntaristic type of national identity (until one can identify a better indicator or simply demonstrate that no such indicator can be found because of presumably weaker feelings of national identity by the people who generally understand it in a more subjectivist sense).

Anyway, one should be aware that we are dealing with more than one dimensions of national identity and one can hardly assume that all of them are shifting in the same way under the impact of a variety of factors related to different aspects of globalisation and (post)modernisation. On this point,

we would like to consider which factors operate in favour to thin part of continuum and co-influence the transformation of national identity.

The fuzzy set model

By using fuzzy-set methods as designed by Charles C. Ragin (2000), we intend to explore which factors have an impact on the role and the meaning of the national identity in the contemporary world and thus to place the national identity on the conceptual continuum of cultural influences. The method of fuzzy set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA) operates with membership of cases in conceptual sets constructed from the independent – causal – conditions and dependent – outcome variables. Each case included in the analysis must be able to provide the data on selected indicators, where one of the indicators must be labelled as the outcome. Other indicators are treated and analysed as potentially necessary and/or sufficient conditions for the presence or absence of the outcome (Ragin, 2000).

Why using the fuzzy-set approach instead of the classical statistical models? Firstly, here we are primarily interested in the comparative research, i.e. the differences between the countries' prevailing patterns at the macro level, and not in the analysis at the individual level (though we admit this would also provide very relevant additional insights). This implies a small number of units hardly optimal for the classical quantitative approaches.

And secondly, we assume that the fuzzy-set approach may provide some insights that simply cannot be provided by classical statistical methods. Modern social systems, particularly at the macro and global level, are characterised by extremely complex causal relationships between different factors. Some factors may be sufficient but not necessary for a certain result: the same result can also be caused by different factors. On the other

hand, some factors may be necessary but not sufficient for a certain result: despite the presence of such a factor the result may be absent. Both situations may be relevant and worthy of further analysis but the classical regression based approaches, for instance, would very likely dismiss such factors as statistically insignificant.

As the key factors of influence (i.e. independent conditions) that may contribute to the decline of the thicker, objective, ascribed forms of national identity in the European countries we expose: development, transnational practices, cosmopolitanism, postmaterial values, and identifications with the European space. An additional, alternative hypothesis may be that these factors do not only contribute to the shift from the thick (objectivist, ascribed, ethnic, cultural) national identity to the thin (subjectivist, civic, voluntaristic) one but also to the decrease of all forms of national identity. According to the previous research by Smith and Jones (2001), both may be the case.

As the springboard for further theorizing and consideration we take most of the EU countries. Let us therefore take a closer look on the selected factors, which we believe can shed a light on our research question.

Figure 2: The model
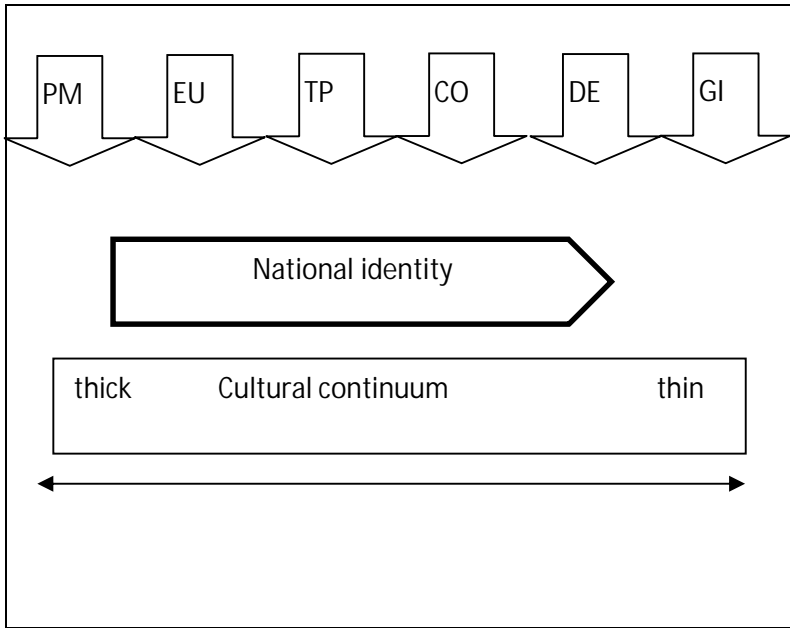
Transnational participation

Participation at transnational scale is seen as an important factor of transformation of contemporary identities. It can change the meaning of territory and erode the importance of its borders, which gradually may become less visible in individuals' imagination of self and other. Transnational practices and connections can also encourage solidarity among individuals and forge feelings of belonging linked to transnational social sphere. Herein, more fluid and multi-layered identifications can emerge existing aside national identity. Its meaning can thus perhaps become less intensive and more flexible. People willing and able to engage in cross-border interaction and mobility are exposed to new social and cultural influences, which are seen as a new source of opportunities. They are also more likely to subscribe to cosmopolitan attitudes with respect to foreigners and global governance (Mau 2008, Kuhn 2011: 818). This

argument is further supported by intergroup contact theory, which argues that increased contact between social groups fosters mutual understanding and lowers intergroup boundaries (Kuhn 2011). Attitudes that ensue from such connections are marked also by the recognition of increased interconnectedness of political communities and the readiness to legitimise international assignment of accountability (Kuhn 2011).

In terms of measurement, transnational participation is referred from particular attitudes towards transnational connectivity, from transnational social networking and actual transnational participation. The parameter consists from four dimensions: the proportion of people that think they have benefit from less expensive communication costs when using a mobile phone in another EU country, the proportion of people that think they have benefit from less border controls when travelling across Europe, a proportion of people that have a family member or a relative living in another European country, a proportion of people that have a friend living in another European country.

Table 2: transnational participation

States	mobilephones	lessbordercontr	relatives	Friends
HU Hungary	13,0	18,0	17,0	20,0
LV Latvia	32,0	53,0	32,0	24,0
PL Poland	57,0	64,0	31,0	23,0
SK Slovakia	64,0	76,0	29,0	25,0
PT Portugal	22,0	41,0	35,0	18,0
ES Spain	14,0	35,0	18,0	23,0
CZ Czech Republic	42,0	54,0	21,0	23,0

SI Slovenia	40,0	60,0	28,0	29,0
DK Denmark	27,0	52,0	31,0	43,0
NL The Netherlands	28,0	64,0	22,0	37,0
SE Sweden	27,0	45,0	29,0	59,0
BG Bulgaria	8,0	17,0	18,0	15,0
AT Austria	28,0	55,0	25,0	34,0
FI Finland	34,0	51,0	28,0	31,0
DE Germany	26,0	62,0	22,0	27,0
FR France	14,0	43,0	19,0	29,0
IE Ireland	41,0	45,0	41,0	31,0
UK The United Kingdom	30,0	32,0	23,0	33,0

Development

We hypothesise that a higher level of development in society enables more intensive participation of individuals at transnational and supranational level and thus influence their attachment to a national environment and consequently national identity. Different dimensions of development referring to economic growth, but also to social prosperity and common well-being reflect the modern transformation of the social order. The first remarkable transition was one from traditional to industrial societies, while the second denotes the transition to post-industrial societies (Bell 1973). The greater role has been assigned to a role of knowledge and education, which goes along also with the changes in value systems.

Recognising the impact of economic modernization and wealth on an individual's value orientation is at the forefront of scholarly interest ever since Karl Marx till the contemporary works of Inglehart and Bell (Gerhards 2009). Having more spare time enables individuals to gain new knowledge, to travel and to socialise with groups and organizations, reaching beyond the local and national environment. The economic standard not only conditions the processes of economic modernization and democracy but also enables the consolidation of post-materialist values. People increasingly take an interest in the world around them and in the environmental issues (Inglehart 2000). Development thus reflects the changes in value system, which may weaken national sentiments and offer the ability to participate in transnational environment. Higher income provides people with more resources to be mobile, while other dimensions of development raise the wish to travel and make contacts abroad.

Another important aspect of development, which we intend to take into account, is education. Several discussions have been devoted to the important role of knowledge as a factor of progress in the broader socio-economic context, which occurred simultaneously with the recognition of social change in the period of post-Fordism, reflexive modernity, risk society, social capital, and transdisciplinarity (Adam et al. 2005). Education plays a key role in integrating into the labour market, in social stratification and mobility, and in achieving life goals and opportunities. Knowledge has been recognised as an essential component of international economic competencies, but at the same time affecting also the wider social, economic and cultural domains such as values, opinions, political interests, and social participation (Müller and Kogan 2009). On the one hand, the higher level of education refers to individuals' motivation to achieve higher goals in different life stages, which is reflected in the life-long education involvement. In the so-called "post-industrial" society, technical, social and political relations have become much more complex, leading to a growing demand for specific or specialized knowledge of individuals. "Knowledge society" or "information society" is largely based on individual motivation and efforts. Education and the skills have become considered as an

innovation potential, while at the same time, individual efforts and investments in education have become to be seen as a valuable achievement (Mau and Verwiebe 2010). One can say that more time one invests in learning and gaining new experiences and information, the more interesting and worthy lives she or he perceives to have. Individual are able to gain more skills in order to operate in social environment and become more individualised and reflexive in their decision-making. A higher level of education and the achievement of additional qualifications require and enable better expertise in foreign cultures, languages and literature. The latter, together with other forms of education, presents an important part of cultural capital and other resources that an individual possesses (Inglis and Hughson, 2003: 172). We hypothesise that more individualised and reflexive individual is, less important national collective identity may become. Or at least, those identities become more combined with other more fluid identifications, which individual reflexively constructs instrumentally. Another important aspect refers to enrolment in transnational and supranational space, which can weaken traditional identities rooted in national environments. Education is an important aspect of someone's possibility to participate on transnational level. As Mau and Mewes (2012: 180) argues, people with high level of education that may be regarded as the pioneers of social transnationalism, as their networks frequently stretch across national borders and they are significantly more active in terms of transnational mobility. Human capital presents a basis for successful integration and participation in a supranational level. Education has been even regarded as a potential for "transnational competence" (Mau and Mewes 2012). Confluence of the transformed value system, the role of knowledge and the perceptions of traditional semantic fields of nation-state has been explored in a study concerned with values and civil society among the countries of the European Union (Gerhards 2009). More educated people easily exceed rooted territorial and cultural limits of traditional boundaries. Those boundaries refer to cognitive culture maps and also to actual physical borders.

As regards the measurements of the dimension of development we refer to Human Development Index (HDI). As opposed to purely economic measures, the HDI is composite index capturing life expectancy (at birth), education (measured by the adult literacy rate and the combined primary, secondary, and tertiary gross enrolment ration) and the standards of living (measured by the natural logarithm of the gross domestic product per capita at purchasing power parity).

Table 3: Development

States	HDI
HU Hungary	0,805
LV Latvia	0,783
PL Poland	0,795
SK Slovakia	0,818
PT Portugal	0,795
ES Spain	0,863
CZ Czech Republic	0,841
SI Slovenia	0,828
DK Denmark	0,866
NL The Netherlands	0,89
SE Sweden	0,885
BG Bulgaria	0,743
AT Austria	0,851

FI Finland	0,871
DE Germany	0,855
FR France	0,872
IE Ireland	0,895
UK The United Kingdom	0,849

Source: see appendix

Globalisation

We presume that the global integration of national environments insinuates on a certain impact on a national identity, as globalisation has influenced the meaning of nation states. However, the question is what is the actual impact of globalisation on individuals? Countries with a high level of globalisation may have more transnationally engaged population. But the latter is perhaps not as straightforward as one might think. The global integration of national environment is also associated with a sense of security. Increased economic and political insecurity, which can have a negative effect on people participation in global or transnational sphere, is more pronounced in highly globalised countries. As Hofmeister and Breitenstein (2008: 481) find out "the degree to which a society or nation is engaged in transnationalisation processes can be quite different from the degree to which an individual within that society is engaged" (cited in Kuhn 2011: 816). Even in highly globalised countries, a substantial proportion of the population continues to operate on a purely local or national level. Many academic debates have been dedicated to the issue of globalisation as a homogenisation processes or rather as more complex processes contesting local, regional, national or even supranational identities (for a detailed review see Hedetoft 1999). Strategies of identity negotiation have

gained an increased importance in a light of globalisation studies; therefore, we intend to test the impact of global integration of particular national state on national identity.

The parameter of global integration consists of stock of direct foreign investment - at home, stock of direct foreign investment – abroad, divided by the GDP official exchange rate.

Table 4: globalisation

States	Stock of FDI at home	Stock of FDI - abroad	GDP oer
HU Hungary	94,9	30,3	126,9
LV Latvia	13,36	1,037	28,38
PL Poland	194,9	44,89	487,7
SK Slovakia	53,09	4,309	91,92
PT Portugal	128,2	64,25	212,7
ES Spain	663,1	739,2	1352
CZ Czech Republic	129,2	16,47	196,1
SI Slovenia	17,91	9,755	45,62
DK Denmark	120,7	222,2	313,6
NL The Netherlands	608,9	971,9	773,1
SE Sweden	356,5	385,4	526,2
BG Bulgaria	52,29	2	51,02

AT Austria	151,5	204,2	398,6
FI Finland	84,32	148,8	250,1
DE Germany	932,8	1464	3.401
FR France	1110	1702	2.609
IE Ireland	260,5	338,1	210,4
UK The United Kingdom	1262	1793	2441

Source: see appendix

Cosmopolitan attitudes

The issue of cosmopolitanism is tightly intertwined with social reactions to the globalising world. In front is the interconnectedness of societies and people around the globe. Increased number of social processes exceeds national boundaries and one can notice that people more and more shop internationally, marry internationally, educate themselves internationally etc. Accordingly, as Beck (1999) emphasises, people increasingly combine multiple loyalties and identities in their lives. But one should pay attention not only to people who just live transnationally or globally, but are also engaged in a lively debate about political, cultural, economic and social values, and share mutual respect to other social and cultural groups. Being cosmopolitan can be conceived in many different ways. As a scholarly approach it plays an important role in large number of sociological, anthropological, political and cultural studies of, for instance, migration, transnationalism, citizenship, multiculturalism or urbanity (see Pichler 2009). Vertovec and Cohen (2002) for instance recognise six types of cosmopolitanism; a socio-cultural condition, a kind of philosophy or worldview, a political project towards building transnational institutions, a political project for recognizing multiple identities, an attitudinal or

dispositional orientation, and a mode of practice or competence. Herein, it is the cosmopolitan attitudes, the respect to other groups, and the awareness to diversity, to which we pay attention. Cosmopolitan attitudes strongly oppose to traditional national conception, while being cosmopolitan is associated with feelings of closeness to people beyond the nation-state. It has been argued that identities of cosmopolitans are said to be open, reflexive, broader in their perspectives and inclusive of difference according to the central features of cosmopolitanism itself (Vertovec and Cohen 2002; see Pichler 2009: 4-7). Accordingly, we presume that cosmopolitan attitudes are an important factor influencing the intensity of national identity.

The parameter consists of three dimension showing which country is less cosmopolitan: the proportion of people that reject immigrant, Muslims or people of other race as their neighbours.

Table 5: cosmopolitanism

States	rejectimmigrant	rejectmuslims	rejectrace
HU Hungary	15,4	11,2	9,2
LV Latvia	21,0	29,7	14,3
PL Poland	17,5	25,8	12,4
SK Slovakia	16,0	22,2	14,5
PT Portugal	7,8	14,0	10,3
ES Spain	4,4	13,2	4,0
CZ Czech Republic	29,8	30,7	22,1
SI Slovenia	28,6	29,3	28,8
DK Denmark	6,9	12,8	4,6

NL The Netherlands	14,1	17,5	9,9
SE Sweden	7,0	16,2	5,9
BG Bulgaria	17,9	19,2	20,5
AT Austria	23,5	31,3	17,8
FI Finland	15,3	22,8	9,1
DE Germany	12,0	26,4	4,7
FR France	4,2	7,4	3,4
IE Ireland	14,3	23,2	11,7
UK The United Kingdom	14,2	12,4	5,6

Post-material values

Identifications and peoples' attitudes toward collectivities and territories are embedded into a wider value and moral system of particular society. We lean on the presumption that the increased participation in the global system and processes, which is linked to the economic development and transnational participation of individuals, influences the transition from material values to more individual preferences. These values reflect particular economic certainty as well as other types of feelings of security. In a postmodern society, where a new system of values has emerged, one can notice that hierarchical, centrally controlled bureaucratic institutions became less acceptable (Inglehart 2000). In general one could say that postmodern society is characterized by weakened loyalty and trust in institutions. A sense of collective belonging has begun to lose its importance and reduced the meaning of patriotism. The requests of personal freedoms, which coincide with the decreasing importance of traditional practices, have influenced the visibility of traditional boundaries

(local, national, etc.) (Inglehart 2000; Held and McGrew 2002). Modern discourse of the self is based on certain spatial and temporal structures that are associated with the nation-state, industrial and urban way of life and the recognition of the Other (Delanty 2000). On the contrary, postmodernity in a way represents a turn away from the domination of the self over "Others" and reflects the post-colonial, post-holocaust discourse. It calls into question the existence of a universal discourse of identity, and allows the possibility of multi-layered and multiple identities to exists, which may influence the role of national identity in individuals' perception. Postmodern values give the priority to self-expression as opposed to supporting authorities and stress tolerance and the acceptance of other groups and promote cultural diversity. In that regard, cultural diversity is understood as a stimulating and desirable fact, not seen as a treat to particular social entity (Inglehart 2000). We therefore assume that the transformation of cultural and social values and orientations have an impact on the national identity.

The post-material values are induced from the index of post-material values calculated from prevailing values in particular national society.

Table 6: postmaterial values

States	Postmaterial index
HU Hungary	-25,7
LV Latvia	-23,7
PL Poland	-30,1
SK Slovakia	-22,4

PT Portugal	-34,3
ES Spain	-20,5
CZ Czech Republic	-18,6
SI Slovenia	-7,2
DK Denmark	7
NL The Netherlands	8,1
SE Sweden	11,9
BG Bulgaria	-40
AT Austria	-13,8
FI Finland	-0,3
DE Germany	5,9
FR France	-12,4
IE Ireland	-25,6
UK The United Kingdom	8,5

Source: appendix

Identification with the European space

We argue that the identifications with the EU are transnational ones, while intensity of identifications at the European level depends on the participation in the European (transnational) social fields. Particular symbolic capital, embracing social and cultural capital, substantially

influences the existence of the European (transnational) habitus and accordingly the identifications. We believe that the nation-states enable individuals unequal levels of access to these fields, which could reveal the role of identification with European space and dialectic relationship between thick and thin cultural influences on individuals or social groups. European identifications could thus contribute to the transformation of national identity, reflecting a lower attachment to traditional semantic field of the nation state. The parameter consists of: the proportion of people saying that in the near future see themselves as being more European than 'national' and the proportion of people feeling to be European citizens.

Table 7: European identity

States	moreeurop	citizen
HU Hungary	6	70
LV Latvia	11	44
PL Poland	7	72
SK Slovakia	13	79
PT Portugal	8	65
ES Spain	11	75
CZ Czech Republic	4	55
SI Slovenia	7	64
DK Denmark	5	67
NL The Netherlands	10	63
SE Sweden	6	66

BG Bulgaria	7	48
AT Austria	7	63
FI Finland	7	76
DE Germany	12	72
FR France	12	56
IE Ireland	6	72
UK The United Kingdom	4	41

Source: appendix

The outcome – national identity

The **first** parameter of **national identity** consists of the proportion of people claiming to be proud or very proud of their nation. The **second** parameter consists of proportion of people feeling to be close or very close to their country, and proportion of people agreeing of strongly agreeing that television should give preference to their country's films and programmes. The **third** parameter consists of proportion of people that claim to belong to a country as a whole.

Table 8: national identity

States	pri	clo	tel	bel
HU	85,5	85,3	61,5	68,4
LV	78	57,4	44,8	72,6

PL	95,7	66,5	54,5	51,5
SK	90,7	85,9	49,6	72,3
PT	94,5	92,5	70	67,9
ES	92,2	94,6	48,1	52,6
CZ	84,3	84	56,9	57,9
SI	93,2	82,8	47,1	68,9
DK	90,9	55,9	45	70,3
NL	86,8	49,7	18	72
SE	87,8	68,2	15,7	62,8
BG	80,3	87,5	72,6	81,1
AT	89,4	91,3	42,3	64,4
FI	92,6	55	24	79,7
DE	75,1	73,9	31,5	36,8
FR	90,7	76,5	37,9	66,4
IE	98,8	84,6	50,4	53
UK	90,8	74,6	29,5	62,1

Source: appendix

Calibration

The fuzzy set method approach seems to be very useful for examining the complexity of identification, while it is based on the data that cannot be limited to dichotomous 'crisp' sets. Raw data on the selected variables is calibrated into scores of membership in the qualitatively defined conceptual sets. The fsQCA software translates the membership scores of those cases in both the causal conditions and the outcome into a truth table that offers both an overview of the different configurations producing the outcome and a measurement of the importance of each of those combinations in explaining the end result. This truth table serves as the basis for developing the current qualitative analysis, both in regard to the overall pattern of necessary, sufficient, and irrelevant conditions for the outcome, and the exceptional cases diverging from those overarching trends ((Ragin 2008).

By grasping calibration (Ragin 2008: 91), we determine the membership of fuzzy sets. An additional value of the fuzzy sets is hidden in its qualitative definition of sets and set membership. The latter enables the comparisons between elements which have, until now, being named as 'unmesurable' (more on this in Adam et al. 2005). The fuzzy sets constructed through the selection of variables allow for membership scores of individual cases between 0 and 1. Calibration of variables is the process of translating the raw data available on those variables for each case into fuzzy scores of set membership. According to Ragin (2000, 2008), the whole process of calibration must be approached with carefulness and with constant interaction between the data and the theoretical concepts. Ragin claims, that most of the social sciences use uncalibrated measures "which simply show the positions of cases relative to each other" where on the other hand calibrated fuzzy set offers the further comparisons between cases since being calibrated means the values are adjusted to conform the dependably known standards. When values are calibrated they are also much easier to interpret for a reader. The study employ the direct method of calibration

conducted by the fsQCA software after setting four qualitative anchors chosen on the basis of theoretical knowledge of the cases, to allow for an objective assessment.

The calibration undertook two phases. In the first phase, the fuzzy scale was selected. It consists of four qualitative anchors. The four-value scheme uses four numerical values 0 (with verbal label fully out of the set), 0.33 (with verbal label of more out than in), 0.67 (more in than out) and 1.0 (with verbal label fully in the set). The four-value scheme is especially useful in situations where researchers have a substantial amount of information about cases, but the evidence is not systematic or strictly comparable from case to case (Ragin 2008). The software used the anchors to calculate set membership scores for raw data. The defined parameters consist from standardised values, which allow greater objectivity – on a basis of such values, the anchors are defined.

The following tables illustrate the calibration of each parameter, and final values of fuzzy set membership.

Table 9: the average values of standardised values of each dimension of the parameters

states	co	de	euf	Glf	pmf	tpf	ni1	ni2	ni3
HU	-0,46667	-0,8	-0,05	0,493302	-0,8	-1,35	-0,5	0,9	0,4
LV	0,8	-1,3	-0,35	0,253647	-0,7	0,2	-1,7	-0,65	0,7
PL	0,36666	-	0,2	0,24583	-1	0,72	1,1	-	-

	7	1,1		8		5		0,05	1,2
SK	0,266667	-0,5	1,6	0,312223	-0,6	1,025	0,3	0,5	0,7
PT	-0,66667	-1,1	0,05	0,452398	-1,3	-0,2	0,9	1,4	0,3
ES	-1,13333	0,6	1,05	0,518602	-0,5	-0,925	0,6	0,75	-1,1
CZ	1,633333	0	-1,1	0,371418	-0,3	-0,05	-0,7	0,7	-0,6
SI	1,8	-0,3	-0,15	0,303211	0,4	0,45	0,7	0,35	0,4
DK	-1,03333	0,6	-0,35	0,546716	1,2	0,525	0,3	-0,7	0,5
NL	-0,23333	1,2	0,3	1,022377	1,3	0,25	-0,3	-1,75	0,7
SE	-0,8	1,1	-0,25	0,70496	1,5	0,725	-0,2	-1,15	-0,2
BG	0,533333	-2,3	-0,85	0,530998	-1,7	-1,525	-1,4	1,25	1,5

AT	1,166667	0,3	-0,2	0,446187	-0,1	0,125	0,1	0,5	0
FI	-0,03333	0,8	0,4	0,466054	0,8	0,225	0,6	-1,4	1,4
DE	-0,2	0,4	1,05	0,352367	1,2	-0,05	-2,2	-0,45	-2,5
FR	-1,43333	0,8	0,35	0,538904	0	-0,625	0,3	-0,2	0,2
IE	0,1	1,3	0	1,422529	-0,8	0,75	1,6	0,5	-1,1
UK	-0,66667	0,2	-1,75	0,625768	1,3	-0,275	0,3	-0,5	-0,2

The anchors

CO: -1.5,-0.5,0.8, 1.8; EU: 1.6,0.5,-1,-1.8 ; GL: 1.5,0.5,0.3,0.1

PM: 1.5,0.5,-0.5,-1.7; DE: 1.3,0.4,-0.8,-2.3; TP: 1.1,0.5,-1,1.6; ni1 =1.6,0.6,-0.7,1.7; ni2 = 1.4,0.4,-0.8,-1.8; ni3 =1.4,0.7,-1,-2.5

Table 10: Final fuzzy values

states	cof	def	euf	Glf	pmf	tpf	ni1	ni2	ni3
HU	0,48	0,03	0,25	0,47	0,02	0,02	0,07	0,82	0,37

LV	0,05	0,02	0,15	0,02	0,03	0,35	0	0,07	0,5
PL	0,12	0,03	0,35	0,02	0,01	0,75	0,82	0,25	0,03
SK	0,15	0,05	0,95	0,06	0,04	0,93	0,33	0,57	0,5
PT	0,62	0,09	0,29	0,33	0	0,2	0,71	0,95	0,33
ES	0,87	0,38	0,82	0,51	0,05	0,05	0,5	0,74	0,04
CZ	0,01	0,09	0,04	0,13	0,08	0,25	0,05	0,71	0,09
SI	0	0,13	0,21	0,05	0,43	0,48	0,57	0,47	0,37
DK	0,83	0,91	0,15	0,53	0,89	0,53	0,33	0,06	0,41
NL	0,35	0,92	0,4	0,83	0,92	0,38	0,11	0	0,5
SE	0,71	0,94	0,18	0,65	0,95	0,75	0,14	0,02	0,17
BG	0,08	0	0,06	0,52	0	0,02	0,01	0,93	0,97
AT	0,02	0,35	0,2	0,31	0,14	0,32	0,24	0,57	0,23
FI	0,25	0,94	0,45	0,38	0,71	0,37	0,5	0,01	0,95

DE	0,33	0,35	0,82	0,1	0,89	0,25	0	0,11	0
FR	0,94	0,66	0,43	0,53	0,18	0,1	0,33	0,18	0,29
IE	0,2	0,9	0,27	0,94	0,02	0,78	0,95	0,57	0,04
UK	0,62	0,47	0,01	0,59	0,92	0,18	0,33	0,1	0,17

The results of the fuzzy set analysis,

At first, by using SUBSET/SUPERSET ANALYSIS offered by fsQCA programme, we showed that all three chosen dimensions of national identity do not have a relevant influence on each other and are actually not correlated. The latter is evident in a table x1, x2 and x3.

Outcome: ni1

	Consistency	raw coverage	combined
ni2*ni3	0.554896	0.312187	0.167621
ni2	0.500701	0.595993	0.172626
ni3	0.510067	0.507513	0.159297

The consistency of the correlation between national pride and other two parameters is very low. The consistency measures the level of sufficiency of each condition in its relation to the result. If we draw the analogy to

statistical analysis, the consistency expresses the level of statistical significance, which should be over 0,80. The solution coverage is also very low. Combining raw coverage again with the statistical interpretation it reveals the relevancy of the correlation of particular dimension with others.

Outcome: ni2

	consistency	raw coverage	Combined
ni1*ni3	0.615132	0.262272	0.217276
ni1	0.595993	0.500701	0.264761
ni3	0.565436	0.472651	0.217405

The consistency between feelings to be close or very close to one's country, and agreeing of strongly agreeing that television should give preference to their country's films and programmes with other two parameters is also very low. The same is with coverage, which do not exceeds over 0.3.

Outcome: ni3

	consistency	raw coverage	combined
ni1*n	0.523810	0.313758	0.1372

i2			06
ni1	0.507513	0.510067	0.1596 98
Ni2	0.472651	0.565436	0.1503 91

A correlation between belonging to a country as a whole and other parameters reveals similar results when focusing on a consistency and also on a coverage solution. This demonstrates that the three indicators of national identity can in fact be considered as separate dimensions.

Before we calculate the necessary and sufficient conditions by using truth table, we use the SUBSET/SUPERSET ANALYSIS of each dependent variable and independent variables - factors of influence. By making this research step we intend to rationalise the selection of potential factors of influence and its combination on each parameter of national identity. As a dependent variable we choose the absence of parameter, as we want to reveal, which variables influence the potential absence of particular dimension of national identity. As the most likely candidates, with a consistency over 0,85, turned out to be:

Outcome: ~ni1 (the absence of national pride)

	consistency	raw coverage	Combined
glf	0.865136	0.502082	0.679643
pmf	0.872612	0.456286	0.651419

The relevant factors of influence on national pride might be globalisation and postmaterialist values.

Outcome: ~ni2 (the absence of being close to one's country and agreeing of strongly agreeing that television should give preference to their country's films and programmes

	consistency	raw coverage	combined
Def	0.913223	0.609936	0.769180
Pmf	0.996815	0.575897	0.755075
Tpf	0.850969	0.525299	0.687582
Cmf	0.965889	0.494940	0.699993
def*pmf	1.000000	0.457222	0.672792
def*glf	0.883978	0.441582	0.644273
cmf*def	0.961847	0.440662	0.660497
cmf*pmf	1.000000	0.415823	0.641611
cof*def	0.963883	0.392824	0.623615
cmf*def*pmf	1.000000	0.371665	0.606588
Tcsf	0.953995	0.362466	0.596000

As relevant factors of influence on the second dimension of national identity (feelings to be close or very close to their country, and agreeing of strongly agreeing that television should give preference to their country's films and programmes) one can see a variety of variables and also their combinations. Being most influential factors (especially when combining

consistency with coverage) turned out to be development and postmaterialist values; and also education and transnational practices. What seems to be interesting is the combination of those factors. As an influential factor one can see the combination of development and postmaterial values (def*pmf) and development and education (cmf*def). The sign * in the results stands for - and.

Outcome: ~ni3 (the absence of belonging to the country as a whole)

	consistency	raw coverage	combined
Tpf	0.888227	0.495017	0.685759
Cof	0.891403	0.490864	0.682877
Euf	0.854063	0.427741	0.620457

Based on the consistency criteria (passing the 85% threshold) participation in transnational participation, cosmopolitanism and identification with the European space seem to be sufficient conditions for the lack of belonging to the country as a whole.

The SUPERSET/SUBSET analysis serves as an orientation for a truth table analysis, which reveals sufficient conditions for the outcome, while taking into account all the existing combinations. The Truth table analysis is provided by the fsQCA programme applying Quine-McCluskey algorithm. The results are summarized in the following tables:

~ni1 = f(glf, pmf)

  --- PARSIMONIOUS SOLUTION ---

frequency cutoff: 2.000000; consistency cutoff: 0.969310

	consistency	raw coverage	unique coverage
pmf	0.872612	0.456286	0.456286

solution coverage: 0.456286 solution consistency: 0.872612

A sufficient condition for the absence of the national pride are postmaterial values. The consistency is high, but the coverage is relatively low, which may imply the presence of other variables, which are not included in the research model but may also contribute to the lack of national pride. As we have showed above, the national pride is more correlated to ascribed/objective model of national identity. Postmaterial values enable the alienation from belongings exclusively linked to traditional territorially bounded entities and cultural homogenous units. However, the national pride also denotes different perspectives on a nationality conditioned with ethnic philosophy. For some nations, for instance Slovenians, the national pride refers to a culture and language, while for Frenchs, for instance, it is linked to a pride of referring to a country.

Further we test whether the lack of postmaterial values are also a necessary condition for the presence of the national pride as a particular dimension of national identity

Analysis of Necessary Conditions

Outcome variable: ni1

	Consistency	Coverage
~pmf	0.866444	0.442833

It turns out that it is the absence of postmaterial values is a necessary condition for the presence of that particular dimension of national identity. This implies that this aspect of national identity cannot be strong where significant postmaterialist values are present. On the other hand, the absence of postmaterialism does not necessary imply the presence of national pride. The lack of postmaterialism may be a necessary condition for national pride, while the presence of postmaterialism may be sufficient for the absence of national pride. Once again, it is quite clear that more rooted values are of great importance when considering an objective/ascribed model of national identity.
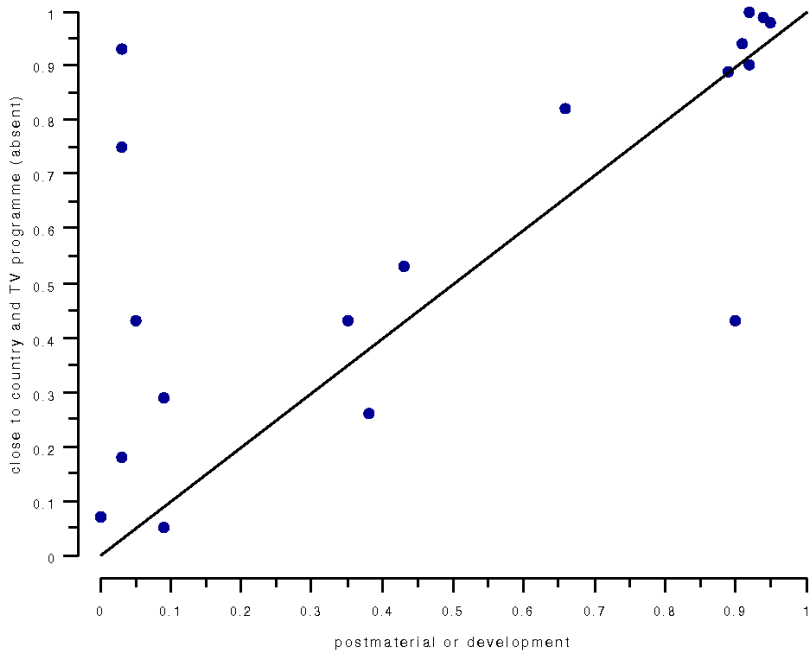
Model: ~ni2 = f(cmf, cof, def, euf, glf, tcsf, pmf, tpf)

--- PARSIMONIOUS SOLUTION ---

frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.886227

	consistency	raw coverage	unique coverage
pmf	0.996815	0.575897	0.079117
Def	0.913223	0.609936	0.152714

solution coverage: 0.728611 solution consistency: 0.924154

The absence of feelings to be close or very close to their country, and agreeing of strongly agreeing that television should give preference to their country's films and programmes may be influenced by development or postmaterial values, which, due to high consistency and a relatively high coverage, may be a sufficient condition for the absence of this aspect of national identity. The latter is correlated, as already noted above, with objectivist/ascribed model of national identity and it is no surprise that postmaterial values again have some influence on its absence. Higher levels of development in terms of Human Development Index are also linked to changes in value system, and enable the consolidation of post-material values, which may weaken national sentiments

Analysis of Necessary Conditions

Outcome variable: ni2

	Consistency	Coverage
~pmorde	0.908836	0.687169

When calculating necessary conditions, it turns out that the absence of postmaterial values combined with the absence of development are necessary (but not sufficient) conditions for the presence of this particular dimension of national identity. With its high level of development combined by the high levels of national identity, Ireland seems to be an exception to this rule but this is not entirely true – its case can be explained by a specific combination of low postmaterialism combined with high HDI.

Model: ~ni3 = f(tpf, cof, euf)

 --- PARSIMONIOUS SOLUTION ---

frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.886543

	consistency	raw coverage	unique coverage
Cof	0.891403	0.490864	0.122093
tpf*~euf	0.942959	0.439369	0.145349
~tpf*euf	0.912779	0.373754	0.036545

solution coverage: 0.730897 solution consistency: 0.905350

The sufficient condition for the absence of belonging to a country as a whole is the presence of cosmopolitanism or transnational practices or identification with the EU. One can find interesting that the dimension of

national identity, which refers to a civic/subjectivist model, is influenced more by practices and attitudes, and not by changes in more rooted values of the society. The model is highly consistent and includes significant coverage demonstrating that cosmopolitanism, transnational practices or identification with the European space are sufficient for the comparative absence of national identity in terms of belonging to the country as a whole.

As we have argued, the civic/subjectivist model is linked to thin cultural influences, which are more endogenous, rational, and individualist. The particular dimension of national identity follows those characteristic and is thus more shaped by individuals' interests and particular attitudes, which are selected according to the situation.
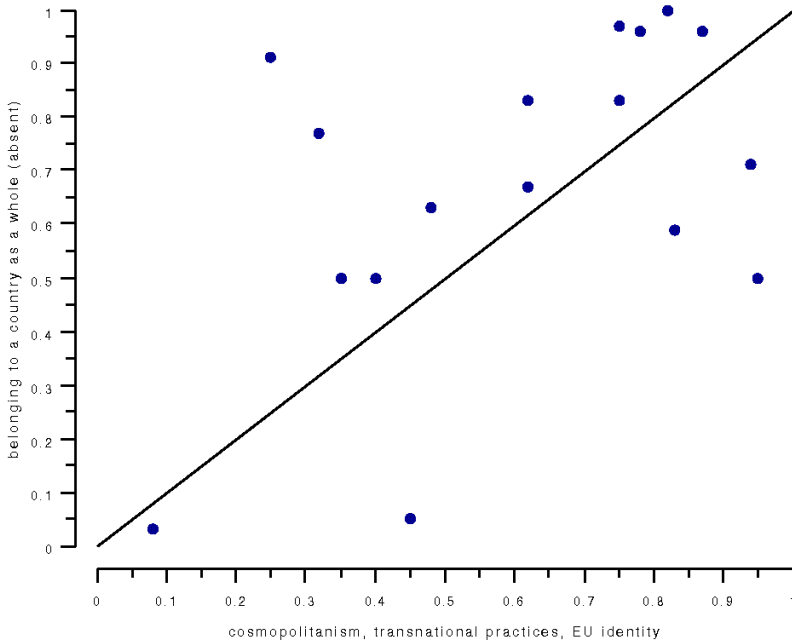
The reversed situation, i.e. searching for the necessary conditions for the presence of belonging to the country as a whole does not generate a sufficiently consistent solution. The cases of Slovakia, Finland, France and Denmark demonstrate that belonging to country as a whole may still be possible in several cases despite comparatively higher levels of transnational practices, cosmopolitanism and transnational practices.

Concluding remarks

Measuring national identity in an empirical way, we have been able to reconfirm – in line with the previous studies – that national identity is clearly a multi-dimensional concept, which can be observed both at the micro (individual) and the macro levels (cross-national comparisons in the global context). It may also be argued that these dimensions broadly correspond to the distinction between the objectivist, ascribed (often more ethnicity and primordially based) aspects of national identity and, on the other hand, its subjectivist, voluntarist aspects. Moreover, it may be added that the first dimension may corresponds to the national identity in terms of thick culture, which is more stable and given, while the second one corresponds to the thin aspects of national identity that are more dynamic and more a matter of individual choices. What we have observed are not only the differences in the two different *understandings* of national identity but the *presence* of the two dimensions of national identity feelings in cross-national comparison.

Based on our results, one cannot simply claim that the thicker aspects of national identity are being gradually replaced by the thinner ones. Nor it can be argued that the national identity as such is losing its relevance in general due to the same global processes. Instead, one may argue that different aspects of national identity are changing because of different social processes.

In order to observe changes in the first dimension of national identity, the thick cultural characteristics need to be transformed. The crucial role is

played by historically rooted values, which are transmitted from one generation to another. Thick culture is holistic and demands changes in a belief system of a society as a whole. Individual practices are of no importance in that sense. The culturally thicker aspects of national identity thus seem to be more closely related to the general value system prevailing within an individual nation state. This is related directly to the value system in terms of the presence of postmaterialist values and – more indirectly – to the societal development as operationalized by the Human Development Index indicator combining the aspects of wealth, health and education. The relative presence of development and postmaterialism have thus turned out to be the sufficient for the relative absence of the national identity dimension based on closeness to one's country combined with a strong desire to protect its culture by the national TV. On the other hand, the lack of development or postmaterialism is necessary for the presence of this aspect of national identity.

Using another aspect of national identity, also closer to its thicker understanding, namely the national pride, generates a less straightforward picture due to lower coverage levels of the model. However, the sufficient impact of the (relative) presence of postmaterialist values on the (relative) absence national pride, seems quite consistent with the observations related to the other objectivist-ascribed aspect of national identity.

The changes in the levels of belonging to the country as a whole, which seem to be closer to the thinner, subjectivist-voluntarist aspects of national identity, on the other hand, are more influenced by some more specific processes and attitudes, including cosmopolitan orientations (in terms of accepting foreigners as neighbours), transnational practices and identifying with the European space. This may imply that concrete individual experiences with the foreigners, engaging in transnational practices or entering the European space contribute to the decreasing belonging to the country as a whole as an aspect of national identity.

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