

Can Diplomats Become Global Citizens? A Mixed Methods Study on the Cultural and Role Identity of Diplomats and Diplomatic Spouses

Abstract

As a unique group of global workers, diplomats do not only relocate once or twice, but constantly throughout the entire duration of their careers. Diplomats are expected to identify strongly with their home country, yet the long-term exposure to other countries may cause change in their cultural and role identity. The purpose of this study is to examine how frequent relocation affects the cultural and role identity of diplomats and diplomatic spouses (i.e., spouses or partners of diplomats). Analyses based on an online survey comprising the responses of over 300 diplomats and diplomatic spouses and interviews suggest that the larger percentage of contacts from the host country and diplomatic community in the personal network, the stronger diplomats and their spouses identify with the host country and the diplomatic community. Diplomats are more likely to identify with the diplomatic community in the host country than their spouses. Furthermore, the more diplomats identify with their home country, the stronger they identify with the diplomatic community in the host country. Interestingly, the more diplomatic spouses identify with their home country, the less they identify with the host country and the global world.

Introduction

A unique group of global workers, diplomats are constantly on the move. Diplomats do not only relocate once or twice, but constantly throughout the entire duration of their careers, often together with their families. Whenever they relocate, they are not only faced with the practical challenges of moving to a new country, but also with potential disruptions of their personal social networks, i.e. the contacts they have with colleagues, friends, neighbours or family. Moving often entails the need to establish new relations both at work and at home, while maintaining valued relationships with friends or families living in different cities or even countries may require considerable effort. Depending on gender, age and their history of postings, they may develop different types of social networks that provide access to information, resources and support, and can engender a sense of belonging and identity (Moore, 1990; Smith-Lovin & McPherson, 1993). However, due to the closed nature of the diplomatic community (Campbell, 1993; Enloe, 2014), little is known about how this “serial relocation” affects the core personal networks of diplomats and diplomatic spouses. Moreover, this pattern of serial relocation may not only disrupt ongoing social contacts of diplomats and diplomatic spouses, but the repeated adjustment and acculturation to new cultures may also affect the cultural identity (LaFromboise et al., 1993; Hong et al., 2000; Sussman, 2000; Mao & Shen, 2015), potentially creating conflicts with their diplomatic role as representatives of their home country.

While management scholars have traditionally overlooked this group of global workers (Anderson, 2001; Harris & Holden, 2001), we argue there is an urgent need to get a better understanding of the specific work demands and identities of public sector global workers such as diplomats. In the diplomatic world, known to be a closed social circle (Campbell, 1993; Enloe, 2014), social contacts and individuals’ cultural identity are particularly important not only for diplomats, but also for their spouses. Thus, it can be expected that they are both acutely aware of the challenges involved, and that they may have developed strategies for coping with these challenges. This makes diplomats and diplomatic spouses an ideal population to study the effects of such “serial” transnational employments, and to gain insights into potential coping strategies that might also be relevant for global workers in the business context.

Specifically, in this paper, we aim to examine the following research questions. First, what kind of personal networks do diplomats and diplomatic spouses develop during their postings abroad? Second, how do personal networks affect the cultural and role identity of diplomats and diplomatic spouses?

Theoretical Framework

Core personal networks and cultural identity

Individuals’ identity has long been associated with individuals’ ties to different social groups (Simmel 1999 [1908]; Ibarra et al., 2005). From a social network perspective, individuals’ ties to other individuals or groups can be conceptualized as personal social networks, or personal networks. A *personal network* consists of a focal individual (“ego”) and the set of others (“alters”) with whom he or she has a particular type of relationship (Wasserman and Faust, 1994; Lubbers et al., 2010). While it has been estimated that personal networks can include 100 to 300 “active” contacts (where ego’s and alters mutually recognize each other and have been in contact within the last two years), and 1000 alters or more when including anyone one has ever known (cf. Bernard et al., 1990; Killworth et al., 1990, 1998; Hill & Dunbar, 2003; Marsden, 2005), the *core network*, consisting of “close confidants” (McPherson et al., 2009, p. 353) with whom one has close relationships characterized by mutual trust, is usually much smaller. Studies in the US (Marsden, 1987; McPherson et al., 2009) found that core networks, measured as alters with whom respondents discussed “important matters” comprised between

two and three alters, whereas a study in China (Ruan et al., 1997) reported an average of 3.4 alters. In this study, the focus is on core personal networks, as these are likely to be especially relevant for individuals' cultural identity.

Individuals' affiliation with social groups and their social relations are mutually constitutive (Breiger, 1974): group membership promotes and facilitates relationships with other group members, and relations with group members increase involvement in a group. Close personal ties with members of a particular group reflect an individual's membership in that group (Jones and Volpe, 2011), and are associated with feelings of belonging, and identification with that group (Ibarra et al., 2005; Jones and Volpe, 2011; Mao and Shen, 2015). Thus they are inextricably linked with individuals' social identity (Ibarra et al., 2005). Because close ties often convey and reinforce deep-level norms, values and beliefs, characteristics of individuals' personal networks should be closely associated with their cultural identity as well (Mao & Shen, 2015).

Cultural identity is defined as an individual's perception of belonging to a particular cultural group (Hogg and Terry, 2000). Cultural identity can be viewed as one type of social identity (Tajfel, 1978), which is an individual's self-concept derived from perceived membership in a relevant social group (Turner & Oakes, 1986). Identification with the host/home country presumes a self-categorization that includes the individual in the host/home country (Tajfel, 1978; Turner et al., 1987). Research in social psychology point out that internationally mobile individuals such as expatriates or diplomats can have more than one cultural identity as a result of exposure for prolonged time to more than one culture during primary or secondary socialization (e.g. Berry & Annis, 1974; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000). While primary socialization occurs during childhood, secondary socialization takes place when people grow and start to interact with a wider range of other social groups (Jarvis, 2006).

Furthermore, Ward and Kennedy (1994) argued that instead of identifying with one or more particular countries, expatriates may develop a cosmopolitan or global identity, i.e. a strong sense of belongingness to a global community (Sussman, 2002), or to "humankind" in general (Vieten, 2006). In this way, a global identity is considered to entail a disintegration of traditional national boundaries (Vieten, 2006). It encompasses "openness and adaptability", a keen interest in participating as members in a given culture (Adler, 1977), and a "global lifestyle that persists across environments" (Grinstein & Wathieu, 2012, p. 337). Thus the cosmopolitan global citizen expatriate may not feel strongly connected to any particular national culture, but consider themselves as consumers of all cultures (Adams & van de Vijver, 2015).

In this paper, we focus on a network characteristic that is likely to be particularly important for individuals' cultural identity (Mao & Shen, 2015): the cultural diversity of individuals' personal networks. *Cultural diversity* refers to heterogeneity in the composition of the core personal network. More specifically, it is "the degree to which social ties in the same network are from different national cultural groups" (Mao & Shen, 2015, p. 1537), i.e. the extent to which an individual's core network includes home country nationals (i.e., alters with the same nationality as the respondent), host country nationals, and third country nationals.

Individuals' cultural identity is both shaped and validated in social interactions with others, and changes in the network can lead to re-evaluation and change of cultural identities. Beliefs about one's cultural self become strengthened when one interacts with individuals with similar beliefs (Curran & Saguy, 2013). Thus the cultural diversity of the network should be reflected in individuals' cultural identity.

Hypothesis 1: The larger the percentage of host country nationals in an individual's core personal network, the higher the identification with the host country.

Hypothesis 2: The larger the diversity of alters in individuals' core personal

networks, the higher their identification as a global citizen.

As discussed above, the diplomatic community can be considered a cultural group in its own right, with its own beliefs, norms and values. Consequently, the composition of the network with regard to alters' membership in the diplomatic community should affect identification with the diplomatic community.

Hypothesis 3: The larger the percentage of members of the diplomatic community in an individual's core personal network, the higher the identification with the diplomatic community.

Core personal networks and role identity

So far in existing studies on cultural identities, scholars rarely examine cultural identity in relationship to other types of social identities, such as role identities. According to Burke (1991), role identities consist of meanings attached to the specific roles, such as occupational or professional roles. In the case of diplomats and diplomatic spouses, role identity is of particular importance because the diplomatic world is traditionally characterized by strict role divisions between diplomats and spouses (Campbell 1993; Enloe, 2014). These roles entail strong role expectations, both for diplomats and diplomatic spouses.

Diplomats are expected to represent and be loyal to their home country, which they are serving throughout their career. In this way, identification with one's home country can be considered part of the role of a diplomat. Moreover, diplomats form part of the diplomatic community, known for its shared norms (e.g. respect for the hierarchy and ranking) and values (e.g., serving one's country is considered as a duty and honour). This should give rise to a strong professional identity, reflected in a strong identification with the diplomatic community.

Hypothesis 4: Diplomats are more likely to identify with the diplomatic community than diplomatic spouses.

Furthermore, diplomats' identification with the diplomatic community is rooted in their job role as formal representatives of their home country as diplomacy as a profession is highly disciplined (Neumann, 2012). As a result of the dominance of role identity for diplomats during their postings abroad, the more they interact with the diplomatic community in the host country, the more they may identify with their home country which they represent during the interaction. The interrelatedness between role identity (i.e. being a diplomat or diplomatic spouse) and cultural identity (i.e. feeling strongly related to their home country which they are expected to represent) may exist for diplomatic spouses as well to some extent depending on whether the spouses are from the same country as the diplomats.

Hypothesis 5: The more diplomats identify with their home country, the stronger they identify with the diplomatic community in the host country.

Although spouses are traditionally expected to follow the diplomats and play supporting roles of housewives, event organisers, and facilitators of communication (Miller, 1993; Neumann, 2008), these role expectations are increasingly being challenged, as fewer spouses are willing to relinquish their own careers and to accept the role of a "trailing spouse" (Groeneveld, 2008; Wood, 2005; McCarthy, 2014; Black, 2019). Conflict often arises between the roles spouses are expected to adopt, and their own needs for independent recognition (Miller, 1993). When spouses make the decision to follow diplomats, they often actively seek for various activities in the host country to keep them engaged.

Hypothesis 6: Diplomatic spouses are more likely to identify with the host country

than diplomats.

However, often it is not easy for spouses to find employments which are of similar level of interests and challenge in the host country within a short time upon arrival. Diplomatic spouses may feel the need to withdraw to their networks from the home country despite the fact that they are committed to support their spouses in the host country.

Hypothesis 7: The more diplomatic spouses identify with the home country, the less they identify with the host country.

Hypothesis 8: The more diplomatic spouses identify with the home country, the less they identify themselves as global citizens.

Methods

Data collection

Data were collected through an online survey. In order to reach as many diplomats and diplomatic spouses as possible (i.e., diplomats' spouses or partners in stable relationships), the survey was promoted widely through diplomats' and diplomatic spouses' associations (e.g., Young Diplomat London, Diplomatic Spouse Club London, the Diplomatic Service Families Association of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, United Kingdom, and the European Union Foreign Affairs Spouses Association), at events (e.g. the annual meetings of the aforementioned associations, and social events organised for diplomatic spouses), as well as through commercial organisations (e.g., Embassy Magazine, London, UK) and governmental organisations (e.g., the Finnish Foreign Ministry).

The questionnaire was provided in English. To make sure that the questions were clear and easy to answer, we conducted pilot tests with three diplomats and two spouses.

In total, 374 individuals filled in the survey, including 185 diplomats and 189 spouses. Of these, 39 were dual career couples where both partners had diplomatic careers. For the analyses in the present article, we include those respondents who are currently posted outside their home country.

Most of the respondents were women (Table 1), and 81 percent lived with their spouse or partner. The average age was 45 years (range: 24 to 66 years). On average respondents had lived in 4.4 countries (range: 0 to 14), and spoke 3.6 languages (range: 1 to 8), including their first language. Additional analyses showed that diplomats were more likely to live with their spouse at the time they completed the survey ($t(291) = 8.114, p < .001$). On average, diplomats also spoke more languages ($M = 3.89$) than spouses ($M = 3.21; t(292) = 4.111, p < .001$), and had spent somewhat less time in their current posting ($M = 1.66$) than spouses ($M = 2.20; t(246) = 3.391, p < .001$). There were no significant differences with regard to the other demographic variables.

Measures

Cultural identity was measured using four items from Roccas et al.'s (2008) "identification with groups" scale that measured the importance of the group as part of an individual's self-definition, i.e. "how much I view the group as a part of who I am" (Roccas et al 2008: 283). Directly derived from Tajfel's definition of social identity, these items are "consistent with the emphasis on the cognitive aspects of identity in self-categorization theory (e.g., Turner et al., 1987)" (Roccas et al. 2008: 283). The items were "Being ... is an important part of my identity",

“It is important to me that I view myself as ...”, “It is important to me that others see me as ...” and “When I talk about ..., I usually say “we” rather than “they”.”

To measure identification with different groups, we changed the referent to “a national of my home country” to measure **identification with the home country**, “belonging to the current host country” to measure **identification with the current host country**, “a member of the diplomatic community” for **identification with the diplomatic community**, and “a global citizen” for measuring a **global cultural identity**. Answer categories ranged from 1 = “strongly disagree” to 7 = “strongly agree”.

Scales were formed by taking the mean of each respondent’s responses, after checking that a sufficiently high Cronbach’s alpha, and exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses justified combining the items. Cronbach’s alpha was 0.863 (home country), 0.868 (host country), 0.901 (diplomatic community) and 0.902 (global).

Core personal networks were elicited using the General Social Survey name generator (see McPherson et al., 2006; cf. Burt 2000, Marsden, 2011). The item read “From time to time, most people discuss matters that are important to them with others. These can be matters related to their work or to their personal lives. Looking back over the last six months, who are the people with whom you have discussed matters important to you? Please write down their first name (or initials, or words such as “mum”/“dad”) so that you can remember who is who for the next few questions. If you did not discuss such matters with anyone over the last six months, please select ‘with nobody’.”

To prevent respondent fatigue when answering follow-up questions about alters’ attributes, we limited the number of alters to five. This cut-off was in line with findings from previous studies on core personal networks that reported an average network size of two alters (McPherson et al., 2009) in the US, and 3.4 alters in a study of adults in China in 1993 (Ruan et al., 1997). In line with previous studies, on average our respondents named 3.85 alters (SD = 1.28). 57.7% of our respondents named 4 alters or fewer (0: 10 respondents; 1: 8 respondents; 2: 31 respondents; 3: 69 respondents; 4: 80 respondents), whereas 42.3% mentioned 5 alters.

Further information on each of alters was collected through three name interpreters. **Alter’s nationality** was measured by asking respondents to indicate whether an alter had “the same nationality as myself”, was a “citizen of country of current posting” or a “citizen of none of these countries”. **Alter’s membership in the diplomatic community** was measured by asking respondents to indicate whether the alter was “a diplomat or the spouse of a diplomat” or not.

Based on these responses, we calculated the percentage of alters that belonged to a certain category, e.g., the **percentage of alters that were host country nationals**, or the **percentage of alters that were members of the diplomatic community**. In addition, we measured cultural diversity using **Blau’s H**, which assesses the extent to which alters are evenly distributed among different groups (here: home country nationals, host country nationals and third country nationals). Blau’s H ranges from 0 (= all of the respondent’s contacts are in the same group) to 0.667 (= the contacts are evenly distributed across groups (Crossley et al. 2015: 79).

In addition, we collected **demographic information** on respondents’ gender (0 = ‘man’, 1 = ‘woman’) and age (in years). We also asked whether they currently lived with their spouse (1 = yes).

Concerning respondents’ international mobility, we collected data on the current posting, i.e. whether they were **currently posted in their own home country** (1 = yes), and the **tenure in the current posting** (in years). We also asked respondents for the **total number of countries** in which they had lived for at least a year over the course of their lives.

Concerning language skills, we asked respondents to rate their **proficiency in the**

language of the current host country (from 1 = “not at all” to 6 = fluently or first language”), as well as about the **number of languages** they spoke well enough to have a conversation.

Results

Table 2 shows descriptive statistics and correlations. Table 3 shows the results of OLS regression analyses with host country identification, global identification and identification with the diplomatic community, respectively, as dependent variables. To reduce multicollinearity problems, home country identification was centred before calculating the interaction term.

As shown in Table 2, on average respondents identified most strongly with their home countries (Mean = 5.81, SD = 1.09), and as global citizens (Mean = 5.05, SD = 1.34). Identification with the diplomatic community (Mean = 4.30, SD = 1.51) was considerably lower, and identification with the host country was lowest (Mean = 3.16, SD = 1.39).

Concerning the composition of core personal networks, most of the individuals mentioned were of the same nationality as the respondent. This tendency is even stronger for diplomats (86.5%) than for spouses (75.1%; $t(339) = 3.968, p < .001$), who in turn have substantially more third country nationals in their core personal networks (14.8%) than diplomats (8.7%; $t(339) = -2.767, p < .01$). Interestingly, for both diplomats and spouses, the number of nationals of their host country, i.e. the country where they were posted when completing the survey, was small (3.9% and 4.6%, respectively), perhaps reflecting the fact that the short amount of time spent in the current posting may not be sufficient for forming strong bonds.

Less than half of the individuals mentioned were diplomats themselves, suggesting that a substantial part of the core personal network of diplomats and diplomatic spouses was outside the diplomatic community.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that a positive association between the percentage of host country nationals in individuals’ core personal networks and their identification with the host country. As shown in Table 2, there was a significant positive correlation ($r = 0.21, p < .001$), and a significant positive effect in the regression analysis (Table 3, Model 1: $b = 2.75, p < .001$). Thus Hypothesis 1 was supported.

According to Hypothesis 2, the cultural diversity of core personal networks should have a positive association with individuals’ identification as a global citizen. There was a significant positive correlation (Table 2: $r = 0.18, p < .01$). However, although in the regression analysis the effect was in the expected direction, it was nonsignificant (Table 3, Model 3: $b = 0.55, n.s.$). Additional analyses (not shown) showed that the effect remained nonsignificant even when excluding the variable measuring the percentage of host country nationals in the core network. Thus the data provided no support for Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that the percentage of members of the diplomatic community in individuals’ core personal networks would be positively associated with their identification with the diplomatic community. As shown in Table 2, respondents’ level of identification with the diplomatic community had a positive but nonsignificant correlation ($r = 0.10, n.s.$) with the percentage of diplomats in their core networks. In the regression analysis, the effect was nonsignificant as well (Table 3, Model 5: $b = 0.33, n.s.$). Thus Hypothesis 3 was not supported.

Turning to Hypothesis 4, which predicted that diplomats should be more likely to identify with the diplomatic community than spouses, we found a significant correlation between role as a spouse and identification with the diplomatic community (Table 2: $r = -0.14, p < .01$) and a significant negative effect in the regression (Table 3, Model 5: $b = -0.53, p < .05$). As expected, this suggested that spouses were indeed less likely to identify with the diplomatic community than diplomats. This provided support for the Hypothesis 4.

Hypothesis 5 concerned an interaction effect between role and home country identification. As shown in Table 3, both home country identification and being a diplomat increased the likelihood of identification with the diplomatic community (Model 5), but the effect was weaker for spouses than for diplomats (Model 6: $b = -0.38, p < .05$). Thus Hypothesis 5 was supported.

Hypotheses 6 concerned spouses' identification with the host country. Contrary to expectations, respondents' role as diplomats or spouses had no significant correlation with the extent to which they identified with the host country (Table 2: $r = 0.08, n.s.$), and the effect was nonsignificant in the regression analyses as well (Table 3, Model 1: $b = 0.12, n.s.$). This provided no support for Hypothesis 6.

Hypotheses 7 and 8 concerned the interaction between role and identification with the home country. Contrary to expectation, the interaction was nonsignificant with host country identification as dependent variable (Table 3, Model 2: $b = -0.08, n.s.$) and with global identification as dependent variable (Model 4: $b = -0.16, n.s.$). This provided no support for Hypothesis 7 and for Hypothesis 8.

Discussion

When diplomats take on postings abroad, their work demands may be particularly high because their work roles are new in each new location despite the fact that there are some similarities between embassies and consultant generals in different countries. With greater responsibilities and pressure to perform at the new work environment (Harvey, 1985; 1998), new norms, values and networks may develop among diplomats leading to possible changes in their identities. In order for diplomats to perform their role as knowledge producers about the host country, it is ideal for diplomats to speak the language of the country to which they are posted and become familiarized with the cultures of that country (Rana, 2002; Sharp & Wiseman, 2007; Smith, 2011). Diplomats' knowledge needed for performing at work is dependent on the day-to-day personal interaction with the leading political strata in the country (Bull, 1977). However, our findings show that there are very few other-nationals including the local contacts in the core networks of diplomats, which confirms earlier research findings on the fact that diplomats may often lack an in-depth understanding of the host countries (Cornut, 2015).

Interesting, our findings also suggest that diplomats can develop identification with the host country and the global world during their postings abroad. This causes tension because diplomats' work role has a high clarity in the need for diplomats to represent their home country. In a recent empirical study with Western embassies, Cornut (2015) pointed out that representing their country is one of the three main social roles of diplomats posted abroad. On the topic of what it means to be a diplomat, Neumann (2012:81) emphasized that during diplomats' mission abroad, they need to represent the voice "of the entire embassy [..and] of permanent diplomacy itself". Diplomats are embodiments of their countries who function in a rigid hierarchy. They need to have particular dispositions which are closely related to their countries of origin, and they must prioritize the positionings of their governments (Cornut, 2015).

Constantly relocating to a new country as a family also involves finding a balance in roles that diplomats and their spouses must perform at work and during work-related activities. The challenges that modern couples face in balancing the demands between family and work (Rice, 1979; Yogev, 1983) is even more intensified among diplomat couples. Diplomats need to repeatedly take on postings abroad in order to progress in their careers while their spouses often struggle in finding employment in new host countries. Diplomat couples move together to new

places but end up interacting with different groups of people and developing different preferences in terms of their cultural and role identity. With the diplomat couple developing different kinds of personal networks and cultural belongingness, the challenges for them to reach a consensus about the next posting are even greater. Unlike the majority of other forms of global work, diplomatic assignments are reoccurring throughout the entire phase of a diplomat's career. The interplay between different life domains (e.g. the work demand of the diplomat, the need for the spouse to be engaged, the issue of spousal involvement in the diplomatic community) is constantly changing for the diplomat couple. As research in expatriation has demonstrated, global workers struggling to balance family and life tend to withdraw from their international assignments (Shaffer, Harrison, Gilley & Luka, 2001). The issue identified in this paper is thus a concrete attempt trying to fill up the research gap on the importance of home-related factors in expatriation.

Practical implications and limitations

The findings of this study have several practical implications. First, the different kinds of personal networks and their impact on role and cultural identity among diplomat couples provide Ministries of Foreign Affairs with an up-to-date situation of their employees when they are posted abroad. Second, the insights drawn from this group of public sector global workers are also useful for private sectors. Multinational corporations sending expatriates abroad are recommended to take the career prospects of their spouses into consideration. Third, Ministries of Foreign Affairs and multinational corporations need to acknowledge the changes that international assignments can cause to their employees in terms of cultural and role identities. Trainings and therapy sessions are advisable to help these global workers understand and cope with the potential tensions between demands from work and life.

Due to the changing and secretive nature of diplomatic missions, it is impossible to conduct a longitudinal survey study with this population. Our results are cross-sectional, and thus have limitations. Future studies could consider employing qualitative interviews to complement the cross-sectional survey design. The majority of our survey respondents are female diplomats. Future studies could make more efforts in obtaining responses from male diplomats.

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Table 1: Demographic characteristics

	All	Diplomats	Spouses
Gender (women)	0.76	0.77	0.75
Age (in years)	44.86	44.05	45.62
Living with spouse	0.79	0.62	0.97
Number of countries	4.43	4.47	4.40
Number of languages spoken	3.55	3.89	3.21
Current posting: tenure	1.94	1.66	2.20
Current posting: language proficiency	3.55	3.41	3.68

Notes: Based on responses from individuals currently not posted in their home country.

Table 2: Correlations

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 Identification with host country	3.16	1.39									
2 Global identification	5.05	1.34	.25***								
3 Identification with diplomatic community	4.30	1.51	.01	.20***							
4 Gender	0.76	0.43	.05	.05	.09						
5 Age	44.86	9.42	.14*	-.03	.05	.00					
6 Living with spouse	0.79	0.41	-.03	.05	.07	-.18**	-.03				
7 Role	0.51	0.50	.08	-.02	-.14**	-.02	.08	.43***			
8 Number of countries	4.43	2.20	-.04	.11	.06	.14*	.41***	.01	-.02		
9 Number of languages spoken	3.55	1.46	.07	.04	.12*	.11	.060	-.19**	-.23***	.15*	
10 Current posting: tenure	1.94	1.33	.12	.01	.01	.03	.15*	.14*	.20**	.04	.02
11 Current posting: language proficiency	3.55	1.78	.21***	.11	.09	.06	-.04	.07	.08	-.06	.12*
12 Percentage of alters who are members of diplomatic community	0.39	0.28	-.08	.12*	.10	.02	.02	.20**	-.09	.08	-.06
13 Percentage of alters who are host country nationals	0.05	0.13	.21***	.16**	.04	-.04	-.14*	.07	.03	-.08	-.04
14 Alters' cultural diversity (Blau's H)	0.19	0.22	.08	.18**	.05	.09	-.07	.10	.12*	.08	.02
15 Identification with home country	5.81	1.09	-.13*	-.20***	.19**	-.02	.09	.00	-.08	-.03	.11
			M	SD	10	11	12	13	14		
11 Current posting: language proficiency			3.55	1.78	.04						
12 Percentage of alters who are members of diplomatic community			0.39	0.28	.05	-.09					
13 Percentage of alters who are host country nationals			0.05	0.13	.07	.22***	-.04				
14 Alters' cultural diversity (Blau's H)			0.19	0.22	.17**	.25***	-.07	.50***			
15 Identification with home country			5.81	1.09	-.15*	.00	-.04	-.13*	-.23***		

Notes: Based on responses from individuals currently not posted in their home country; pairwise deletion. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$.

Table 3. OLS regression with cultural identity as dependent variable

	<i>Identification with host country</i>		<i>Global identification</i>	<i>Identification with diplomatic community</i>		
	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>	<i>Model 5</i>	<i>Model 6</i>
	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>
Constant	1.31 (0.57)	1.33 (0.57)	4.50 (0.57)	4.53 (0.57)	3.09 (0.62)	3.17 (0.61)
Gender (1 = woman)	0.26 (0.22)	0.27 (0.22)	0.10 (0.22)	0.12 (0.22)	0.25 (0.24)	0.31 (0.24)
Age	0.03** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Living with spouse	-0.15 (0.28)	-0.16 (0.28)	0.11 (0.27)	0.10 (0.28)	0.59* (0.30)	0.55 (0.30)
Role (1 = spouse)	0.12 (0.21)	0.13 (0.21)	-0.16 (0.21)	-0.15 (0.21)	-0.53* (0.23)	-0.50* (0.23)
Number of countries	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)
Number of languages spoken	0.07 (0.07)	0.07 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)	0.00 (0.07)	0.09 (0.07)	0.08 (0.07)
Current posting: tenure	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.07)	0.01 (0.08)	0.00 (0.08)
Current posting: Language skills	0.12* (0.05)	0.12* (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)	0.06 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)
Percentage of alters who are members of diplomatic community	-0.16 (0.34)	-0.14 (0.34)	0.38 (0.34)	0.40 (0.34)	0.33 (0.36)	0.38 (0.36)
Percentage of alters who are host country nationals	2.75*** (0.78)	2.77*** (0.78)	0.81 (0.77)	0.85 (0.77)	0.20 (0.84)	0.30 (0.83)
Alters' cultural diversity (Blau's H)	-0.82 (0.48)	-0.81 (0.48)	0.55 (0.48)	0.57 (0.48)	0.72 (0.52)	0.76 (0.52)
Identification with home country [centered]	-0.25** (0.08)	-0.20 (0.13)	-0.23** (0.08)	-0.13 (0.13)	0.26** (0.09)	0.49*** (0.14)
Role * Identification with home country [centered]		-0.08 (0.16)		-0.16 (0.16)		-0.38* (0.17)
R ²	0.164	0.165	0.096	0.100	0.109	0.128
Adjusted R ²	0.117	0.114	0.046	0.046	0.059	0.075

Notes: Including only those who are not posted in their home country at the time of the survey (n = 229). * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$.