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Dynamics of National Identity

**The Impact of Patriotism, Nationalism and
Cosmopolitanism on Integration Conflicts**

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Problem situation and starting points

- ✓ Impact of the internet on national cohesion
- ✓ International conflicts and crises of globalisation
- ✓ New nationalism versus the disappearing of national order
- ✓ Different concepts of national identity
- ✓ Role of classical mass media regarding national identity building

1. Presentation of the DNI-model of national identity
2. Results of a panel-survey in Austria on national identity, prejudice and media use
3. Results from a media effect experiment regarding prejudice and national identity
4. Conclusion:
Managing national identity via the media in the internet age

The paradox of the nation state

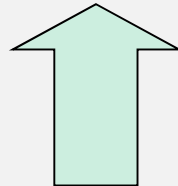
The nation state is both

- ✓ an opponent and at the same time
- ✓ a manager of globalisation

(Saskia Sassen 2006).

Dimensions of National Identity (DNI)

Transgression
of in-group:
open-
mindedness

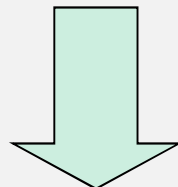


Patriotism

- Bond with country and people
- Bond with national symbols
- Bond with history and culture
- Bond with nationally famous athletes
- Bond with the democratic system

Patriotism is the degree of **bonding with a country and the people living there**. It is measured according to the degree of in-group bonding.

Constriction
of in-group:
narrow-
mindedness



Cosmopolitanism

- Reflexivity
- Diversity
- Globality

Connectivity of national in-group-bonding referring to out-groups.

Nationalism

- General superiority
- Separation, walls-up policy
- Readiness for violence

Constriction of national in-group-bonding with devaluation of out-groups at the same time.

Results of the Survey

Austrian Sample

Cross-sectional Perspectives

Media use in identity groups PAT/NAT

mean value N=738	pat-/nat- Patriotism low / Nationalism low	pat-/nat+ Patriotism low / Nationalism high	pat+/nat- Patriotism high/ Nationalism low	pat+/nat+ Patriotism high/ Nationalism high	F-Test	total
Media use in minutes per week	m	m	m	m		m
TV	726	601	792	848		736
Radio	387	615	457	710	!!	411
Daily Paper	206	148	294	285	!!!	219
Magazines	87	61	91	99		88
Book	252	167	270	213		251
Computer/Internet (private use)	653	359	579	538		632
<i>Media use total</i>	2247	1743	2426	2461		2268

Quantitative media use:

- In PAT+ groups, the use of newspapers is significantly increased. Also, TV consumption is highest.
- Radio tends more to NAT

- ⇒ The use of Austrian newspapers and TV as well as of Austrian music fulfills primarily patriotic (not nationalistic) functions. Radio is more connected with nationalism.
- ⇒ Also, international media use supports patriotism, but only if there is low nationalism.
- ⇒ No influence of internet use on national identity

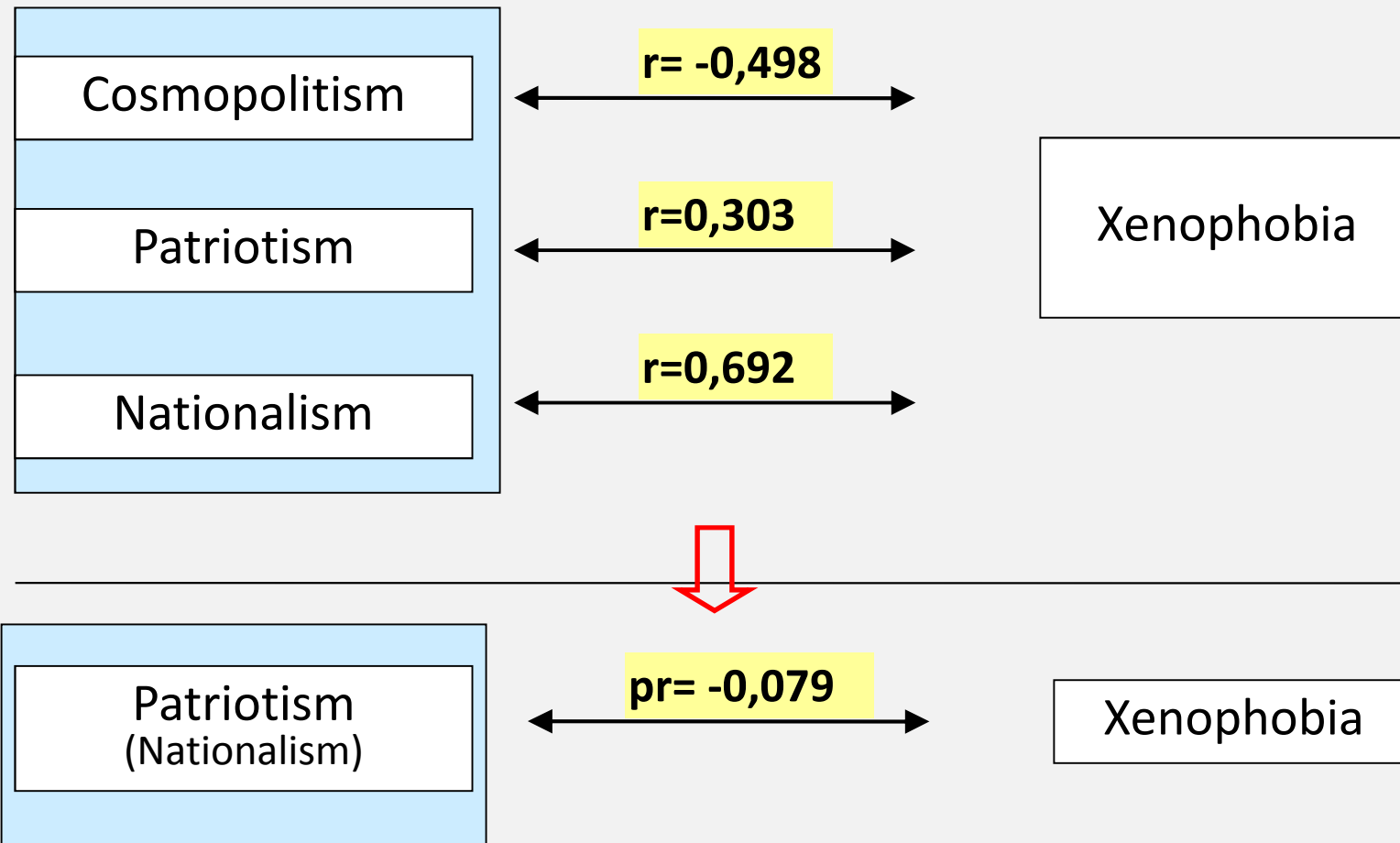
Media use in identity groups PAT/COS

mean value N=738	pat-/cos- Patriotism low / Cosmopolit. low m	pat-/cos+ Patriotism low / Cosmopolit. High m	pat+/cos- Patriotism high/ Cosmopolit. Low m	pat+/cos+ Patriotism high/ Cosmopolit. High m	F-Test	total m
Media use in minutes per week						
TV	733	715	882	741		736
Radio	453	347	549	468	!!	411
Daily Paper	182	222	285	297	!!!	219
Magazines	85	89	97	89		88
Book	180	304	211	295	!!!	251
Computer/Internet (private use)	617	666	540	595		632
<i>Media use total</i>	2183	2275	2386	2465		2268
mean value N=738	pat-/cos- Patriotism low / Cosmopolit. low agreement %	pat-/cos+ Patriotism low / Cosmopolit. high agreement %	pat+/cos- Patriotism high/ Cosmopolit. low agreement %	pat+/cos+ Patriotism high/ Cosmopolit. high agreement %	F-Test	total agreement %
Regional media use	43.2	42.0	46.1	49.9	!!	43.5
National media use	56.1	60.9	56.3	67.7	!!!	59.5
International media use	45.5	50.0	46.5	61.8	!!!	49.1
Austrian music	33.0	35.5	42.9	44.0	!!!	35.9
Anglo-American music	44.0	48.7	44.1	51.6	!!!	46.9
Ethno/ world music	31.3	41.5	28.5	40.2	!!!	36.7
Info-processing complexity	56.4	67.9	67.3	70.0	!!!	63.8
Trust in information	56.7	52.0	53.2	56.8	!!	54.2
Reactance to information	50.3	55.8	57.8	59.9	!!!	54.4

- Daily newspaper and radio highest use in groups with pat+.
- Reading books correlated with cosmopolitanism
- International as well as national media use is higher in groups with cos+ than in groups with cos-.
- Austrian music is most popular under the condition of pat+/cos+.
- Under the condition of cos+/pat-, ethno-music preference is dominant.

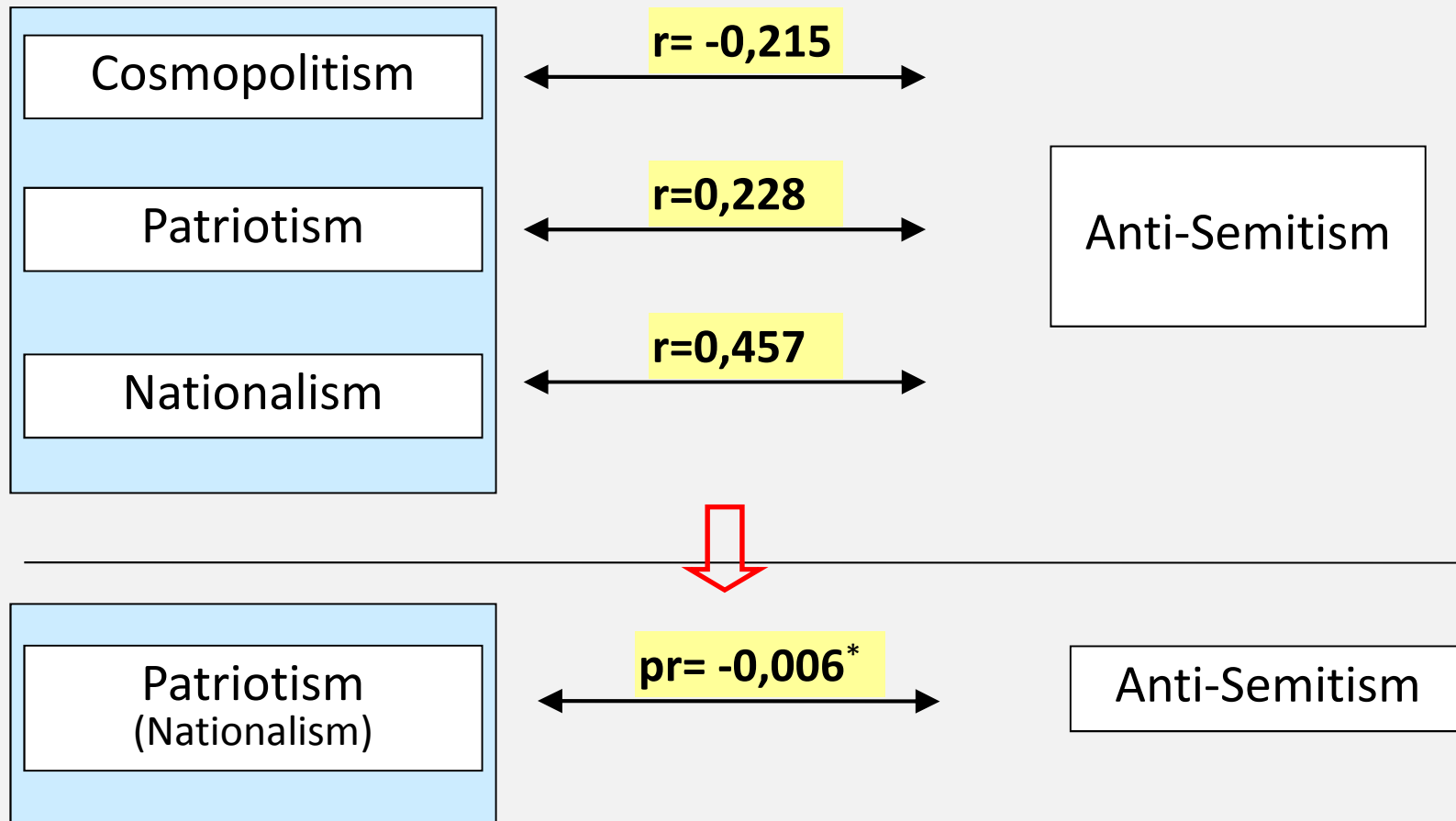
- ⇒ Diverse functions of the media for individual dimensions of national identity.
- ⇒ The cosmopolitan dimension of national identity is fully compatible with national media use. International media use is added optionally.
- ⇒ However, Austrian music preference only coincides with high COS if PAT is also high.
- ⇒ No influence of internet use on the cosmopolitan or any other dimension of national identity

National Identity and Xenophobia



*=not significant, pr=partial correlation, controlled by nationalism, N=738

National Identity and Anti-Semitism



*=not significant, pr=partial correlation, controlled by nationalism, N=738

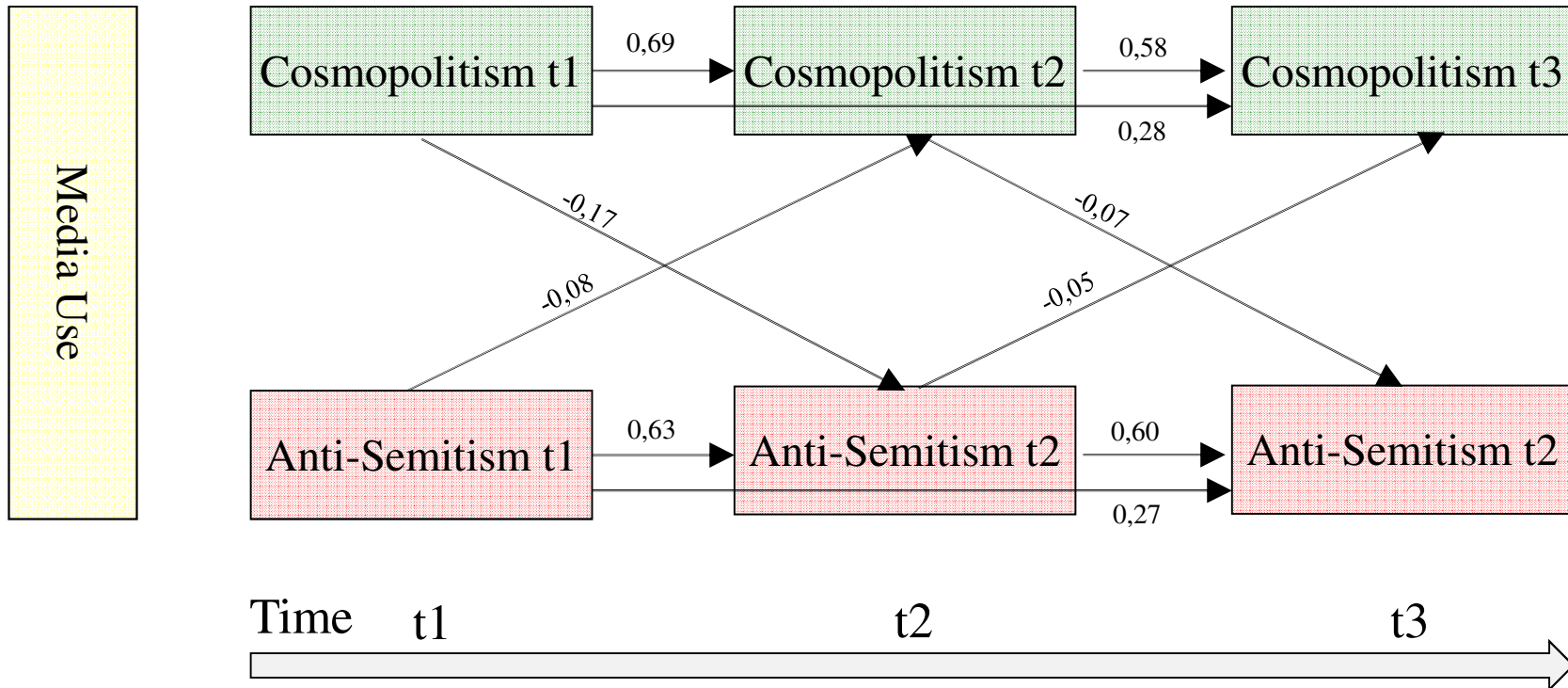
Further Results of the Survey

Panel Measurements

Structural equation modelling

Panel design:

Changes in cosmopolitanism and anti-Semitism, three measurements



21st May – 28th June 2011

Structural equation model:
Markov-model, Cross-lagged effects only,
unstandardized estimates.

Summary of the panel survey

S U M M A R Y

- The three-dimensional model of national identity (patriotism, nationalism, cosmopolitanism) has proved its empirical value. Several different correlations of sub-dimensions regarding media use und prejudice were found.
- Patriotism is predominantly correlated with prejudice in a neutral way. In connection with cosmopolitanism it can even have an integrative effect and reduce xenophobia, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. In combination with nationalism, however, the positive effect potential of patriotism is reversed.
- The use of national media in Austria has predominantly a function for patriotism and not for nationalism. Patriotism coincides with cosmopolitanism and a broad national and international media use. Austrians with a strong nationalistic attitude usually dislike Austrian media which they consider to be too far on the left.
- Media reports which reinforce cosmopolitanism cause a decrease of anti-Semitism. On the other hand, the communication of criticism against anti-Semitism reinforces cosmopolitan beliefs. The increase of patriotism hardly influences prejudices such as anti-Semitism and Islamophobia.

⇒ **Patriotism + Cosmopolitanism =
Insurance against nationalistic regression**

Media effect experiment: Impact on prejudice and national identity

Documentary on Integration Conflict in the Tyrolean Village Telfs

„My father said: ‚I have got three daughters, whom they marry is my decision.‘ I told him ‘no’, I begged him, but I wasn’t respected.”

„It seems like we Austrians are foreigners in our own country“

„A visit in a close yet foreign world...”

„We aren’t liked as foreigners. I was afraid that the children in school would point a finger at my children and call them “Turkish children. Turkish children”. So I gave them the names Marco and Melanie”

„You are just guests in Austria and you have to comply with us”

⇒ How do you communicate this in a crime series?

Communicating Integration Conflicts in a Crime Series

Story

1. *Young Turkish girl is murdered because she had an Austrian boyfriend and is hung on a tree – „tree of deliverance“*
2. *Two antagonized families / integration conflict*
 - Tyrolean family Larcher
 - ❖ Patriarch: Klaus Larcher
 - ❖ Son Christian is in love with Melisa Ozbay (is not tolerated by Klaus Larcher)
 - ❖ Son Georg
 - Turkish family Ozbay
 - ❖ Patriarch: Kazim Ozbay
 - ❖ Daughter Ayse is murdered
 - ❖ Daughter Melisa is in love with Christian Larcher (is not tolerated by Kazim and Serkan)
 - ❖ Son Serkan: very aggressive, wants to maintain the Turkish culture
3. *Murderer exposed*
4. *Epilogue: Reconciliation of the "enemies"*

Crime Series Episode



Minaret in Tyrol, Austria



Murdered Turkish girl



Austrian-Turkish lovers



Turkish suspect



Austrian suspect

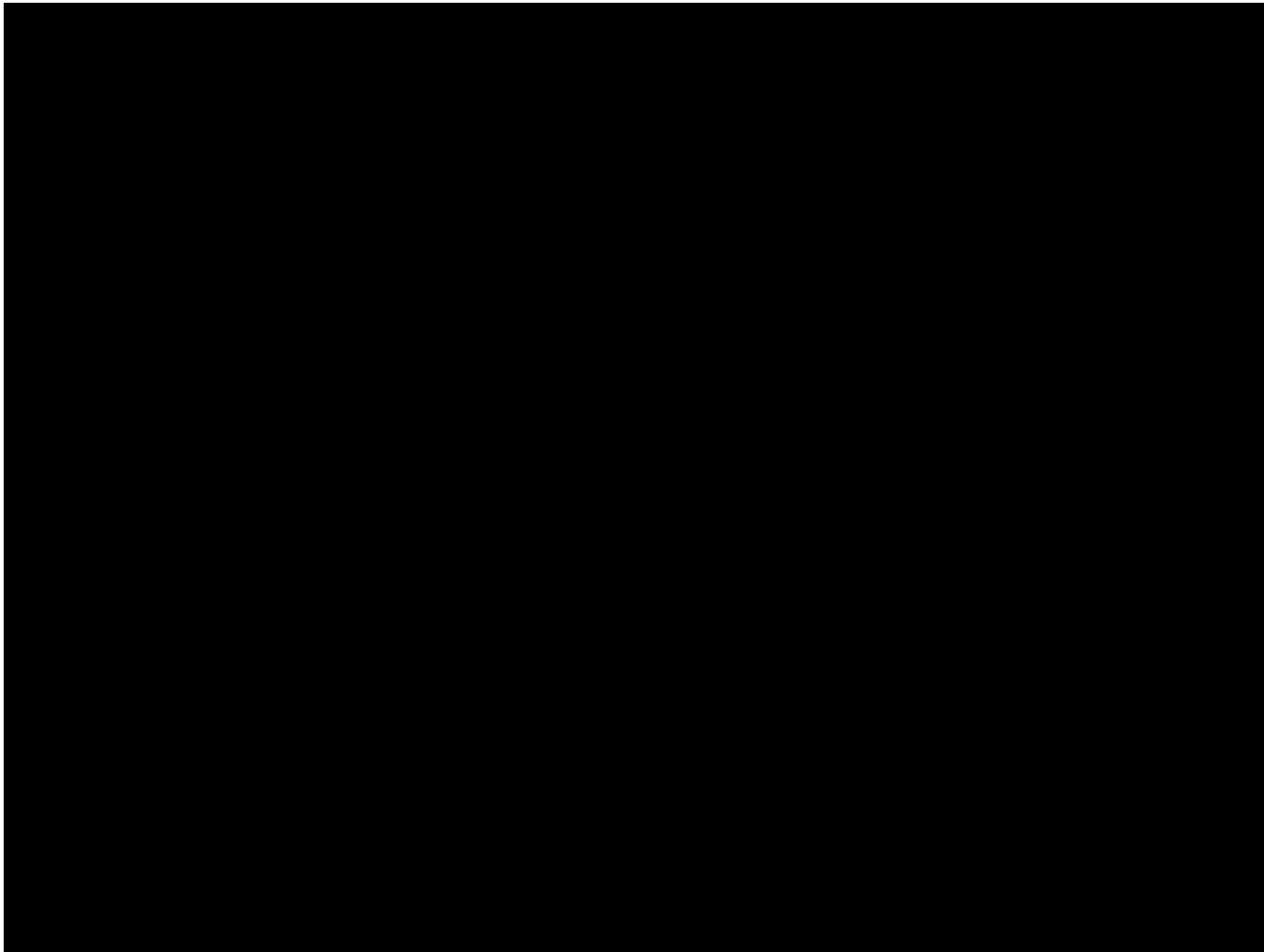


Epilogue: sentimental and
reconciliatory

Crime series episode of "Tatort" with the title "Tree of deliverance". Story: Felix Mitterer; Director: Harald Sicheritz.

"Tree of Deliverance"

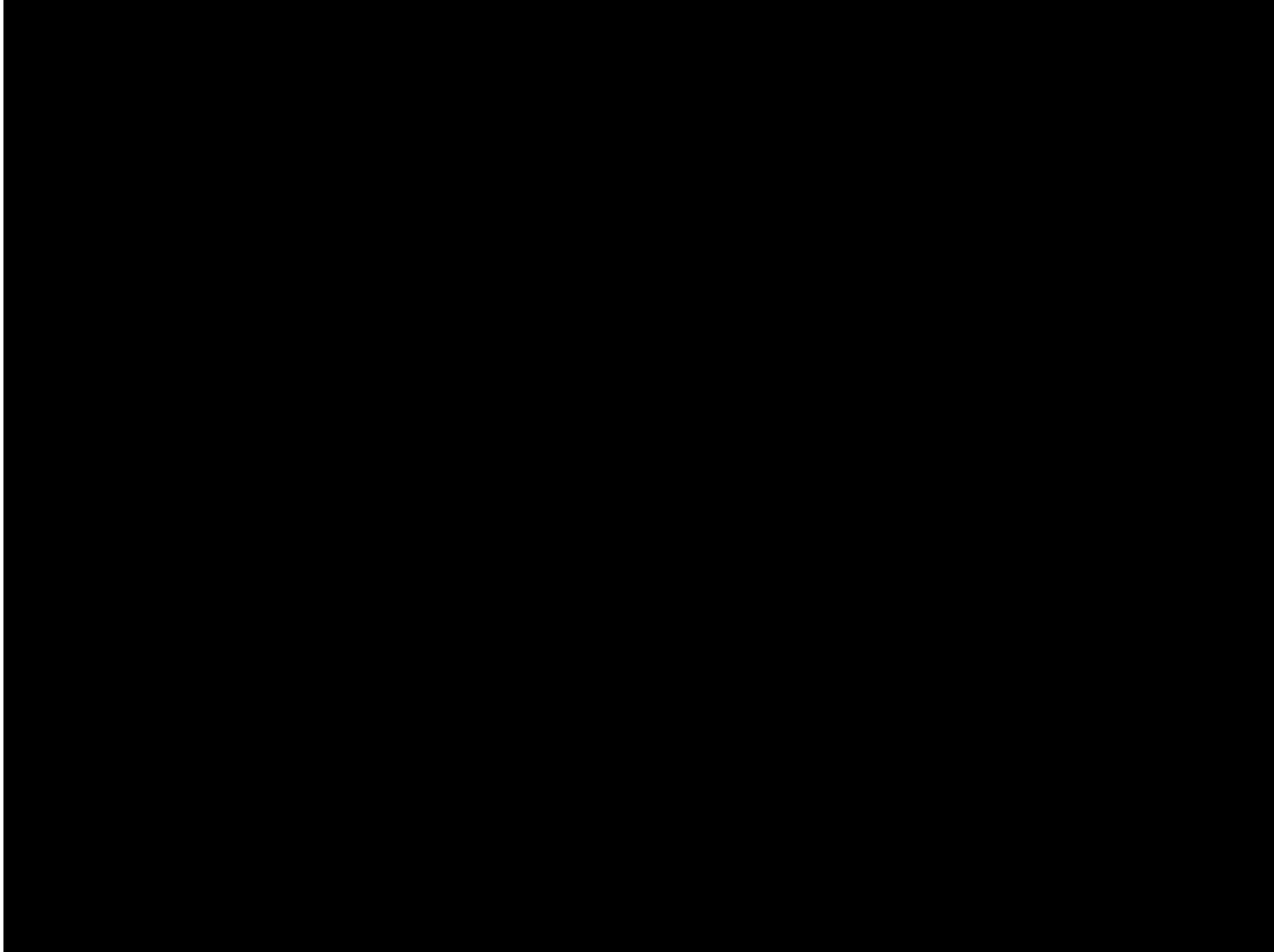
Part 1: Integration Conflict



Story: Felix Mitterer; Director: Harald Sicheritz

"Tree of Deliverance"

Part 2: Reconciliatory Sentimental Epilogue



Method 1:

Procedure: pre-post design

- t1 Before the film: questionnaire with pre-receptive tests on opinions, attitudes and psycho-social traits
- t2 During the film: viewing only
- t3 After the film: memory questions and evaluation of the film, post-receptive tests (equivalent to t1)

⇒ **Impact = difference between measurement t1 and measurement t3**

The pre-post-method allows us to comment on short-term effects. These can not necessarily be put on a level with long-term effects, but can be understood as indicators for effect tendencies which can intensify with long-term use of similar stimuli.

Method 2:

Film Groups with Fiction

- G1 Crime series episode "Tree of Deliverance":
Turkish culprit unmasked
- G2 Crime series episode "Tree of Deliverance":
Austrian culprit unmasked
- G3 Crime series episode "Tree of Deliverance":
Austrian culprit unmasked
+ reconciliatory-sentimental epilogue

Fiction Sample: 110 participants, randomised by film groups
44% male, 70% non-students, 51% locals, 49% migration
background, average age of 34 years

Which film ending is the best for integration effects?

Crime Series, Prejudices 1:

Impact on Locals and Migrants

N=110; G1=34 G2=35 G3=41 Change of Agreement%, post - pre	G1 Turkish culprit		G2 Austrian culprit		G3 Austrian culprit + reconciliatory epilogue		Between groups	Total	
	Sign	d%	Sign	d%	Sign	d%		Sign	d%
Group Focused Enmity									
Xenophobia		3.4		-1.6	*	-5.9	!		-1.6
Racism		-3.7	**	-6.9		0.2	*		-3.2
Anti-Semitism		-3.5		-0.8		-1.6			-1.9
Islamophobia	**	-5.4	*	-4.7		-2.9	**		-4.2
Sexism		-2.7		-3.5	↔*	4.2	!!		-0.4
Devaluation of homosexuals		-1.5		-2.4		-2.9			-2.3
Devaluation of homeless people	**	-10.8		1.4		-4.7	**		-4.6
Devaluation of disabled people		4.6		-1.0		-0.5			0.9
Devaluation of newcomers	**	8.0		-3.3		1.8	!!		2.0
<i>Group-focused Enmity (total)</i>		-1.4	*	-2.4		-1.4	**		-1.8

- In the overall sample, the crime series episode significantly decreases prejudices.
- Predominantly, devaluation of homeless people and Islamophobia are reduced. Also, racism decreases by trend.
- We find a significant difference between groups regarding sexism: the sentimental epilogue in G3 enforces sexism, probably because the Turkish and the Tyrolean patriarch make peace. In the other groups, sexism decreases.
- Newcomers are least welcome after viewing the end with an exposed Turkish culprit.

■ Xenophobia is mostly reduced in the group with the reconciliation between the conflict parties.

⇒ **The crime series episode decreases prejudices. It depends on the ending (who is the murderer?) and on the sentimental epilogue which prejudice dimension is increased or decreased.**

Crime Series, Prejudices 2:

Differences between Locals and Migrants

- ⇒ Locals decreased their prejudices in the overall sample more than migrants did.
- ⇒ Difference in ethnicity between murderer and viewer diminishes prejudices in general.
- ⇒ The positive effect of the reconciliatory epilogue regarding Islamophobia occurs only in migrants. Locals responded to the romantic scene with reactance and were inhibited in prejudice decrease.
- ⇒ A problematic aspect of the reconciliatory epilogue is the affirmation of patriarchic attitudes including anti-female sexism especially in migrants.
 - Sexism of migrants increased, if the reconciliation (among men) was shown (G3). But sexism of locals was stable in this film group.

Crime Series, National Identity

Impact on Locals and Migrants

N=110; G1=34 G2=35 G3=41 Change of Agreement%, post - pre	G1 Turkish culprit		G2 Austrian culprit		G3 Austrian culprit + reconciliatory epilogue		Between groups	Total	
	Sign	d%	Sign	d%	Sign	d%		Sign	d%
Patriotism		-0.4		-2.2		-0.5			-1.0
Nationalism	**	-4.7	**	-4.6	**	-3.8		***	-4.3
General superiority	**	-6.1	**	-4.9	**	-6.1		***	-5.7
Readiness for violence		-5.3		-3.7		-1.6		*	-3.3
Separation		-3.5		-4.1	*	-3.8		**	-3.8
National pride		0.9		2.0		1.3		*	1.4

- Patriotism: bonding with Austria and the people living there.
- Nationalism: Constriction of national in-group-bonding with devaluation of out-groups at the same time.
- National pride: proud of culture, social services, democratic system, success of athletes, etc.

- **Big decrease of nationalism in the overall sample. This is true for locals and migrants.**
- **At the same time, national pride increases (especially among locals).**
Are the locals proud of their open-minded, foreigner- friendly attitudes?
- **Austrian patriotism as an emotional basis for national identity is stable for locals and decreases among migrants. On average, there is a slight and non-significant decrease in the overall sample.**

⇒ **Decrease of Austrian nationalism occurs independent of status as local or migrant.**

Communicative intervention into national identity and prejudices

S U M M A R Y

Main result:

- ⇒ A crime series episode on integration conflicts decreased prejudices such as Islamophobia and racism and also nationalist attitudes. This affirms the findings of the panel survey about the negative correlation of prejudices and the narrow-minded components of national identity as well as the causal nexus of the prejudices-identity connection. Furthermore, it is proven that media communication is a strong tool to change both national identity and prejudices in the interest of an integrative and peaceful society.

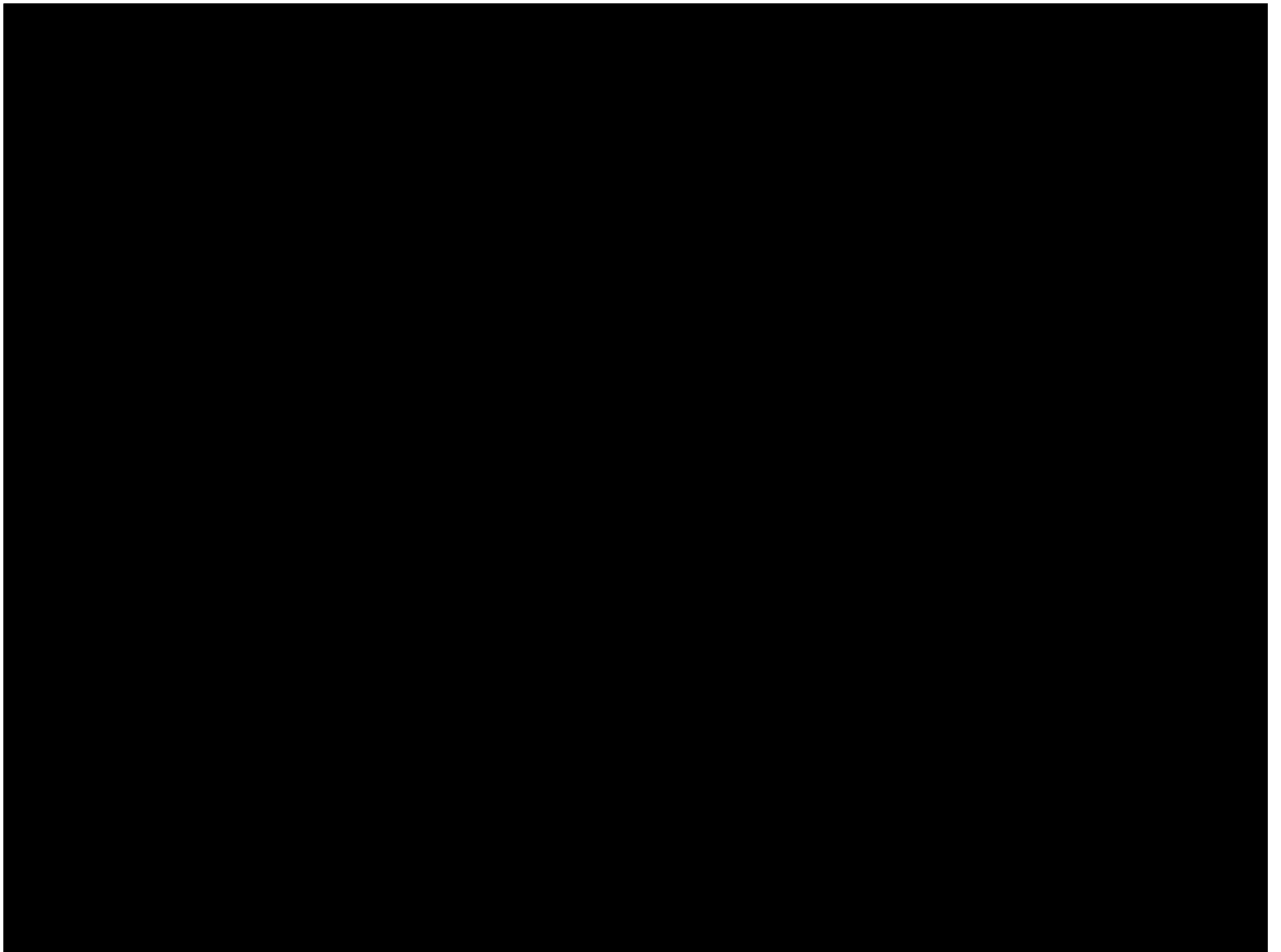
Detailed findings:

- ✓ The ending of the episode influenced receptive output
- ✓ The impact on locals and migrants is partially divergent:
 - Locals decreased prejudices more than migrants.
- ⇒ The impact of a crime series depends on the design of the episode, particularly with regard to the ethnicity of the murderer and a harmonic perspective at the end, but not on the use of the criminal frame as such.

Conclusion

- ✓ Positive effect of well-ordered mass media as a contrast to the dissimulation of order in the real world
 - ✓ Mobilizing effect of the internet, but limits in establishing order
 - ✓ "Shit storms" seduce (young) people to participate in anti-social activities
 - ✓ Lack of internet literacy among young and elderly people
 - ✓ No influence of internet on national identity
 - ✓ The relevance of mass media in stabilizing communities is underestimated
- ⇒ The challenges how the managing of national identity via the media will develop in the future

Thank you for your attention!



Project: *Media, Patriotism, Integration*

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Book in preparation

- Dynamics of National Identity. Media and Societal Factors of What We Are. London: Routledge

Research period and sampling

Panel-survey:

1st Wave: May 21st-May 27th 2011

2nd Wave: June 13th –June 14th 2011

3rd Wave: June 27th – June 28th 2011

Quota Sample; Participants in all three waves:

N=1042.

Consisted of:

- 738 subjects of Austrian nationality,
- 195 subjects of German nationality,
- 102 subjects of other nationalities
- 7 subjects with missing data

⇒ Not representative, but sufficient variability in the sample to allow for subgroup comparisons and diachronous evaluations!