

National identity, representation of 'Us' and 'Others' in international relations

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Outline

- Psychology of international relations?
- Complexity of national identity
- Representing significant others

Psychology of international relations?

Exploring international relations

Psychology certainly does not give sufficient (full) explanation of political decisions but is it necessary to explore them?

Systemic approaches

(Neo)realist accounts: rationalist framework (homo economicus) explaining from interdependencies and power distributions.

Psychologists overemphasize actors flawed judgments and choices, while neglecting the impact of genuine conflict of interest.

Psychological approaches

A situation has to be defined, perceived by actors, who act upon their belief.

Beliefs are constructed reflecting cognitive constraints and motivated distortions.

Levels of psychological explanation

Individual	beliefs, preferences, decisions
Group	group decisions, groupthink, organizational processes
Societal	public opinion, identity formation, ideologies (e.g. nationalism)

Theories and uses

Classic attitude research	attitudes toward international affairs,
Psychohistory, psychobiography (psychoanalysis)	understanding leaders' personality: early childhood experiences
Group processes, groupthink	understanding fallacies in foreign policy decisions
Prospect theory	non-rationality of rational choice
Studies of nationalism, national stereotypes, images, social identity	understanding international conflict

Complexity of national identity

Components

Functions

Perspectives of study

Social psychology

National identity in different disciplines

history	origins and history of a nation
philosophy	nation as a value, an ultimate end
cultural anthropology	cultural analyzes, cultural comparisons
political science	political institutions, international relations
sociology	social, societal structure of a nation
economics	economic causes and consequences
psychology	relations between individual and community, social behavior

Components of national identity (Smith)

National identity is a complex phenomenon:

- a historic territory, a „homeland“;
- common myths and historical memories;
- common, mass public culture;
- common legal rights and duties for all members;
- a common economy with territorial mobility for members;
- national sentiments, attachment to the nation;
- nation as a cognitive frame of reference.

Functions of national identification

Functions of nation in personal and community life:

- locates the community in time and space;
- enables territorial control over economic resources including manpower;
- reinforces the state and provides political legitimization;
- elicits social bonds between members (through shared values and symbols);
- socialization of members as 'nationals and citizens';
- defines a social space for their members.

Definitions for nationalism

Four different definitions for nationalism:

- general process of **forming and maintaining** nations or nations-states;
- consciousness of **belonging to the nation** (national sentiments, attitudes, aspirations for its security, prosperity);
- **social and political movement** to achieve the goals of the nation and realize its national will;
- **an ideology** (including a cultural doctrine) for the realization of national aspirations and national will.

Nationalism as an international ideology

Billig: not national identity – nationalism as ideology

- National identity is constructed (by politicians) and serves to maintain dominance and power structures.
- Nationalism is the most popular ideology today (of the first person plural).
- Can be developed by internationalism.
- It is constructed also by a banal process.
- Replaced religious ideologies.
- Justifies violence.

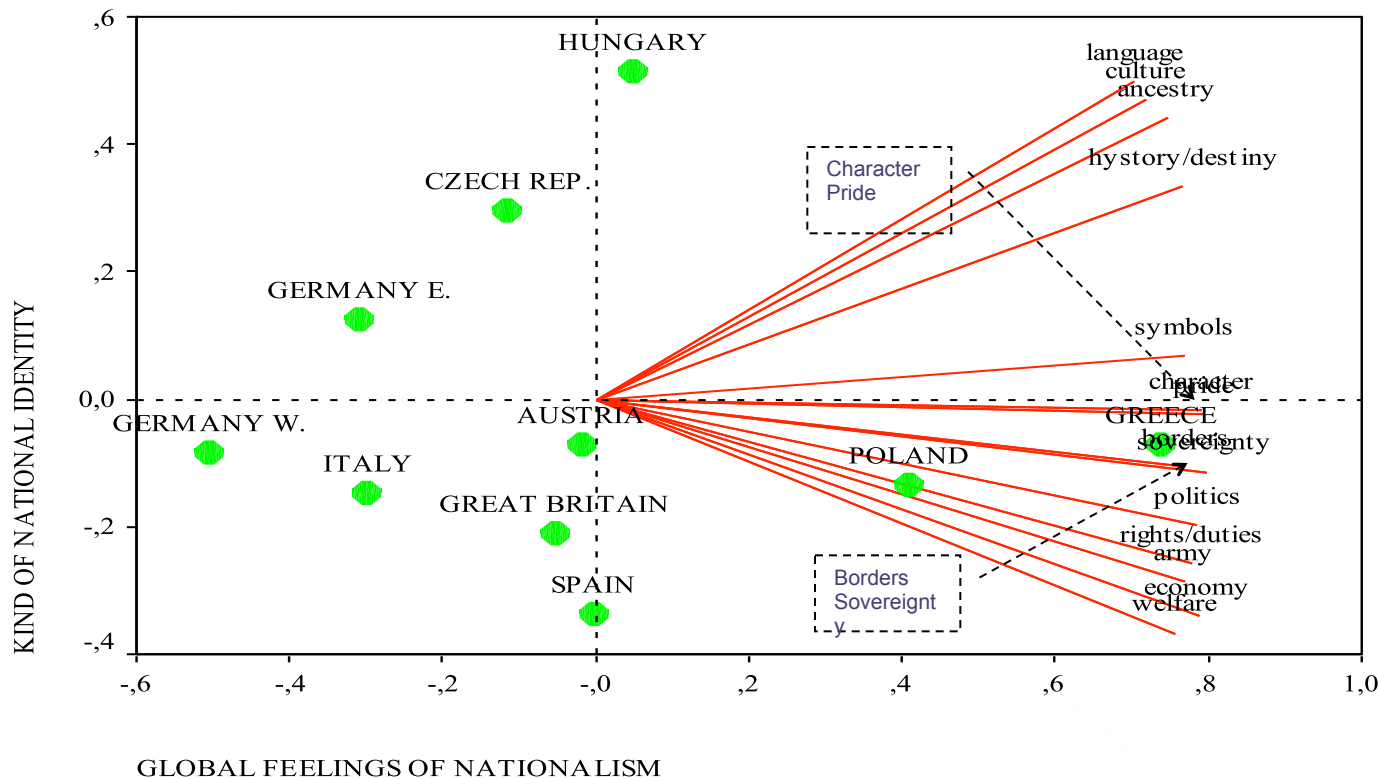
Attachment to different social categories (Euronat)

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
AUSTRIA	Village	Nation	Region	EU	Europe
CZECH REPUBLIC	Village	Nation	Region	EU	Europe
GERMANY EAST	Village	Region	Nation	EU	Europe
GERMANY WEST	Village	Nation	Region	EU	Europe
GREAT BRITAIN	Village	Nation	Region	USA	EU
GREECE	Nation	Village	Region	EU	Europe
HUNGARY	Nation	Village	Region	EU	Europe
ITALY	Village	Nation	Region	EU	Europe
POLAND	Nation	Village	Region	EU	Europe
SPAIN	Village	Nation	Region	EU	Europe

Representing the nation (Euronat)

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
AUSTRIA	Language	Culture	Borders	Rights/D.	Welfare
CZECH REPUBLIC	Language	Culture	Symbols	Ancestry	Hist/Dest
GERMANY EAST	Language	Culture	Ancestry	Hist/Dest	Rights/D.
GERMANY WEST	Language	Culture	Rights/D.	Hist/Dest	Politics
GREAT BRITAIN	Language	Borders	Sovereig.	Pride	Symbols
GREECE	Symbols	Language	Ancestry	Hist/Dest	Pride
HUNGARY	Language	Culture	Hist/Dest	Ancestry	Symbols
ITALY	Language	Culture	Ancestry	Rights/D.	Symbols
POLAND	Symbols	Language	Hist/Dest	Ancestry	Culture
SPAIN	Language	Culture	Borders	Rights/D.	Character

Representations of the nation (Euronat)



Ruiz, Kotic, Kiss, 2006

Representing significant others

Explaining intergroup relations

Three theoretical models:

Realistic conflict theory (Sherif)

Conflicting interests elicit opposition.

Social identity theory (Tajfel)

Social categorization makes the difference.

Functional theories

Interrelations reflected in representation.

Worldviews

↻ *What counts for foreign policy decision-makers when judging a nation?*

- region,
- geographical position,
- Policy toward the US,
- ideological position (in political or religious matters)
- size (economic military potential).

Richard Cottam:

- threat - opportunity
- cultural similarity
- difference in potentials

National images (Alexander)

Relationship pattern

Goals compatible
equal status
equal power

Image of the other

Ally

Goals incompatible
equal status
equal power

Enemy

Goals incompatible
lower status
less power

Dependent (colony)

Goals incompatible
lower status
greater power

Barbarian

Goals incompatible
higher status
greater power

Imperialist (conqueror)

Lebanese view of the USA

Alexander, Levin, Henry

- Lebanese images of the US: more barbarian than enemy, imperialist, ally
- Enforces: identified with Arabs, Palestinians, if high on SDO.
- Mitigates: identified with Christians, Western world

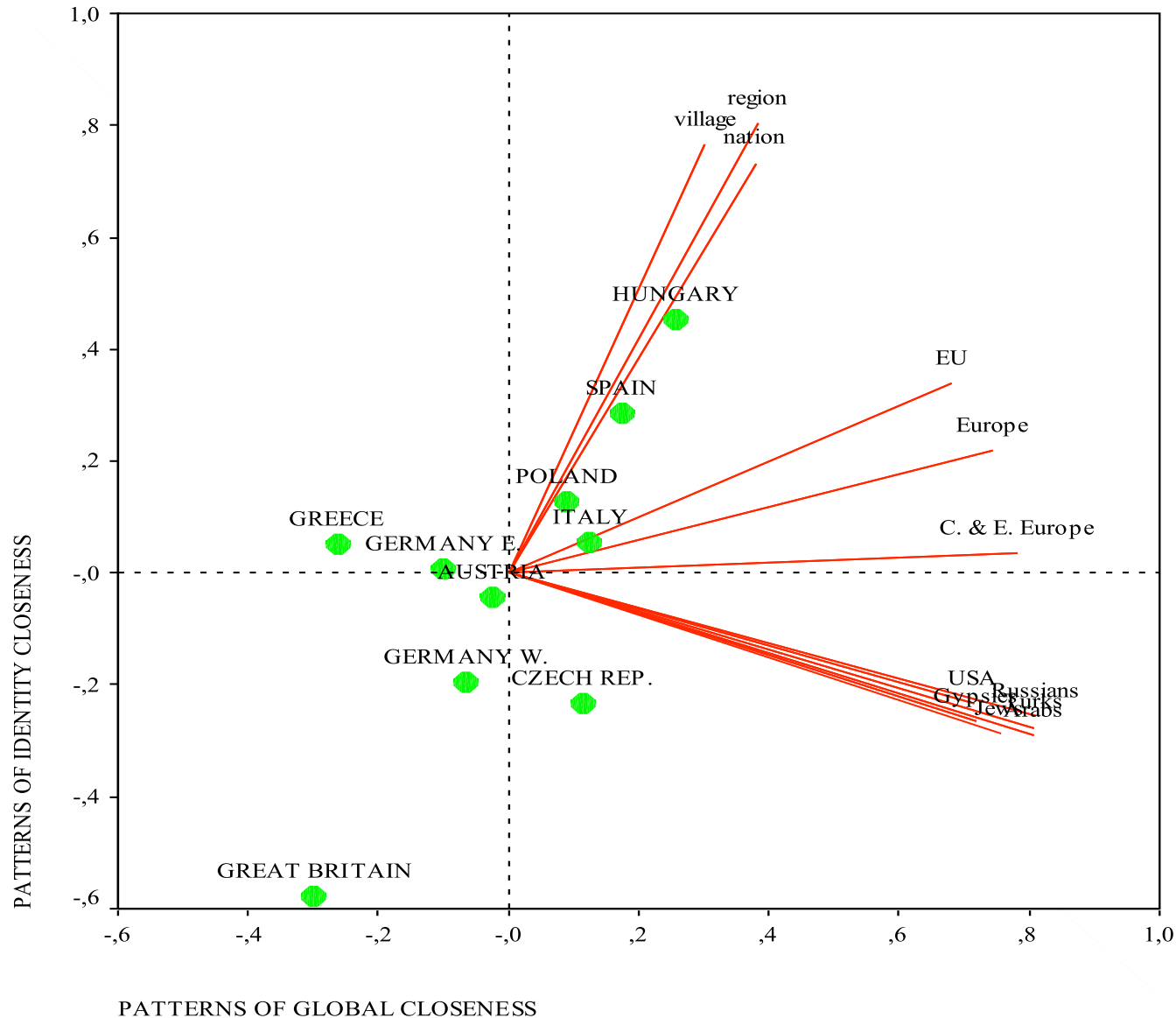
Europe: a new superordinate social category?

National identities open to Europe

Representations of Europe

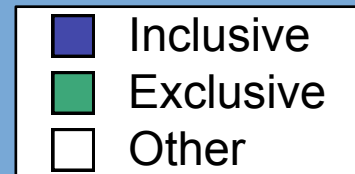
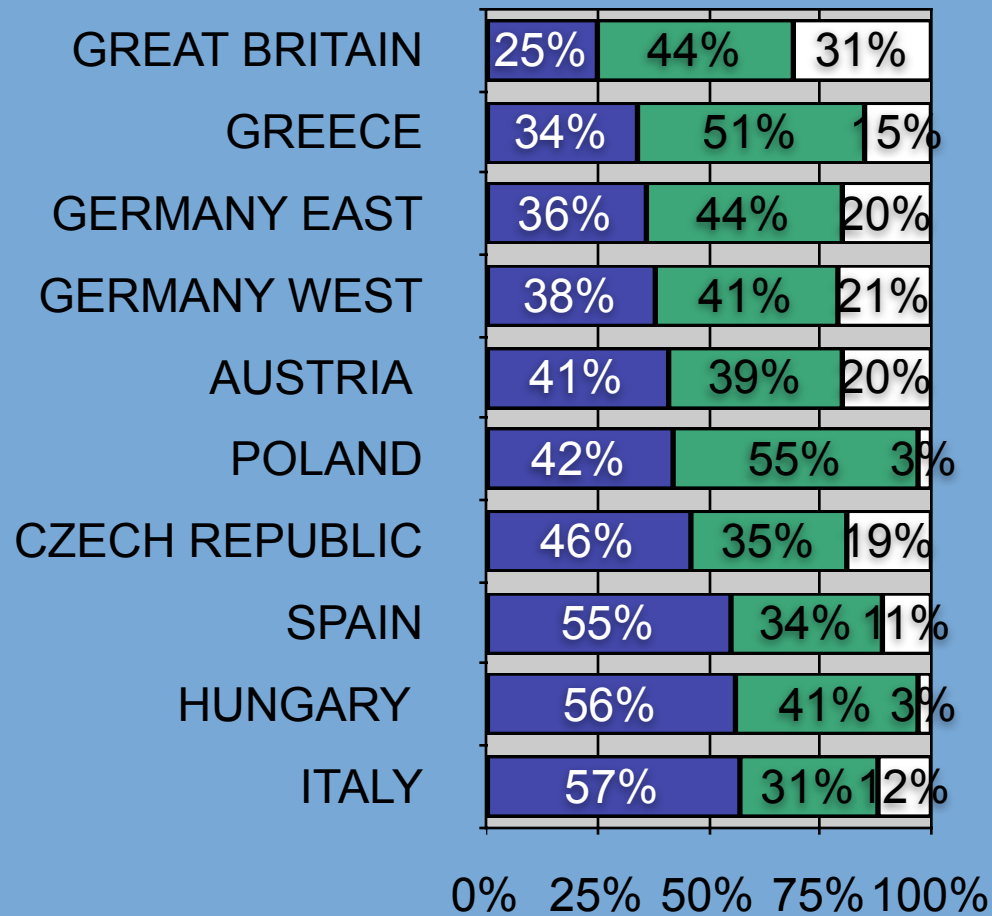
Europe and the US

Social distance: ingroups/outgroups?



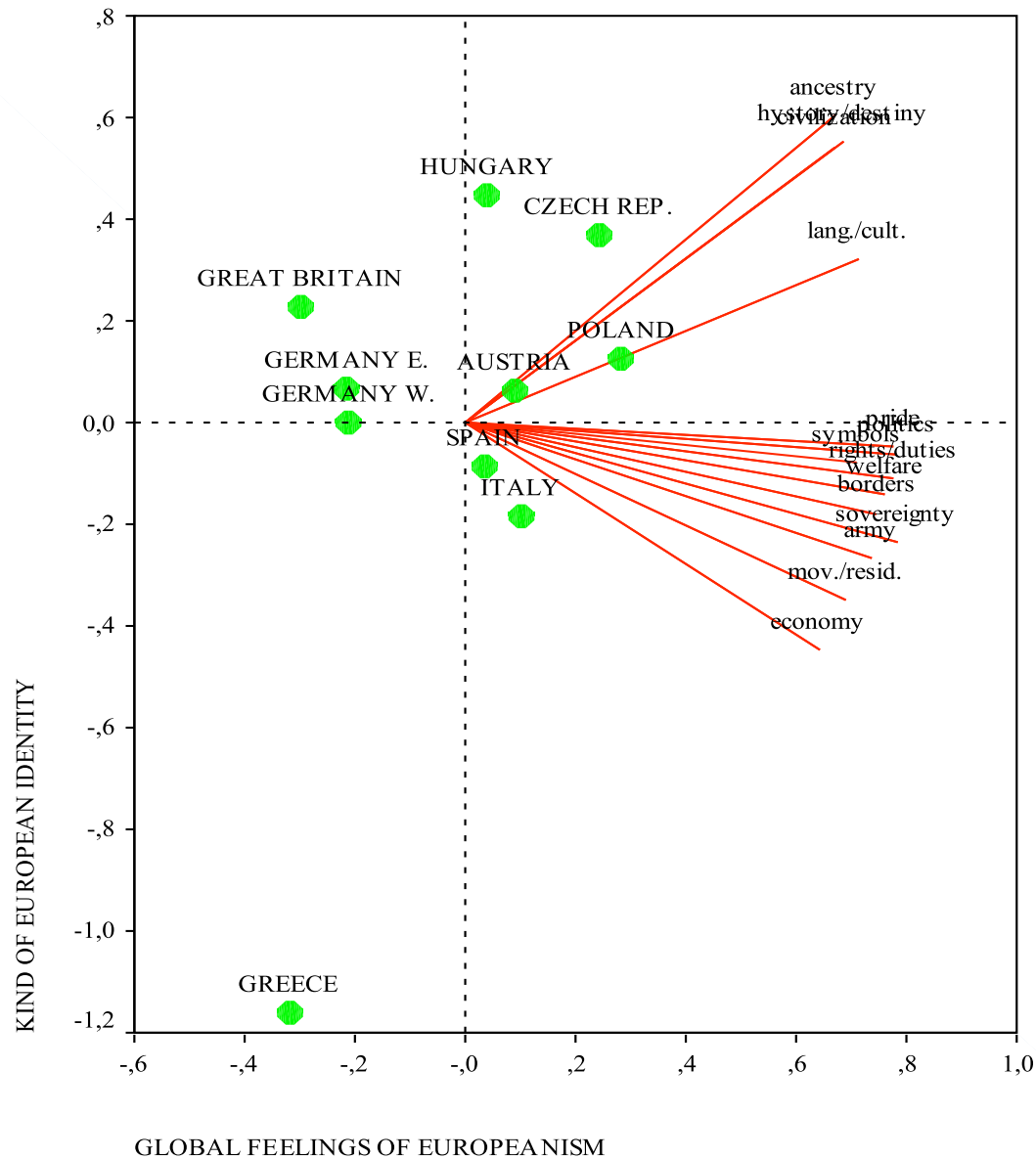
Ruiz, Kosic, Kiss, 2006

National and European identity



Kiss, 2005

Representations of Europe



Ruiz, Kosic, Kiss, 2006

Thank you for your attention!

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Perception of the Balkan conflict

Perception of allies

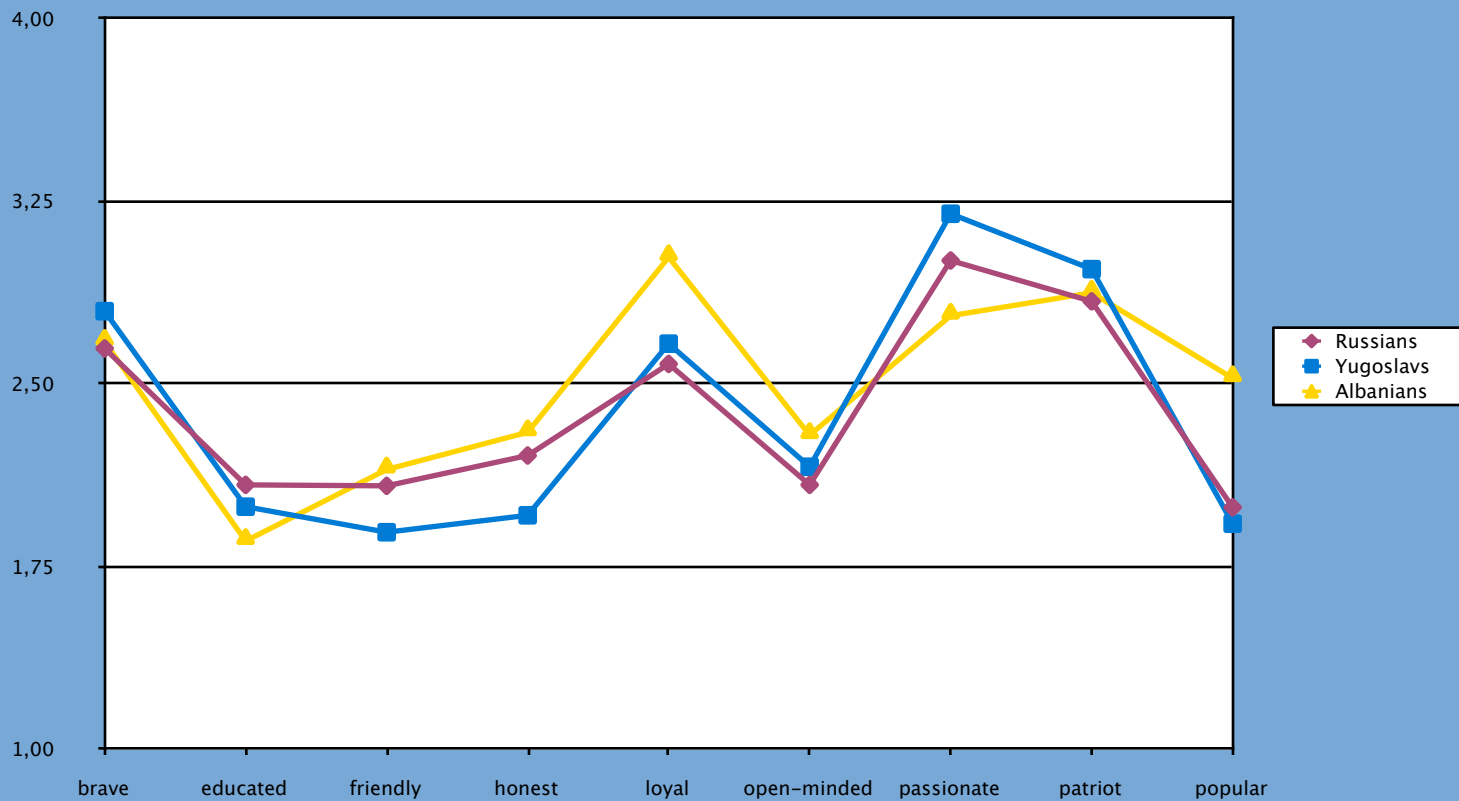
Nations from the „other side”

Perceiving politicians

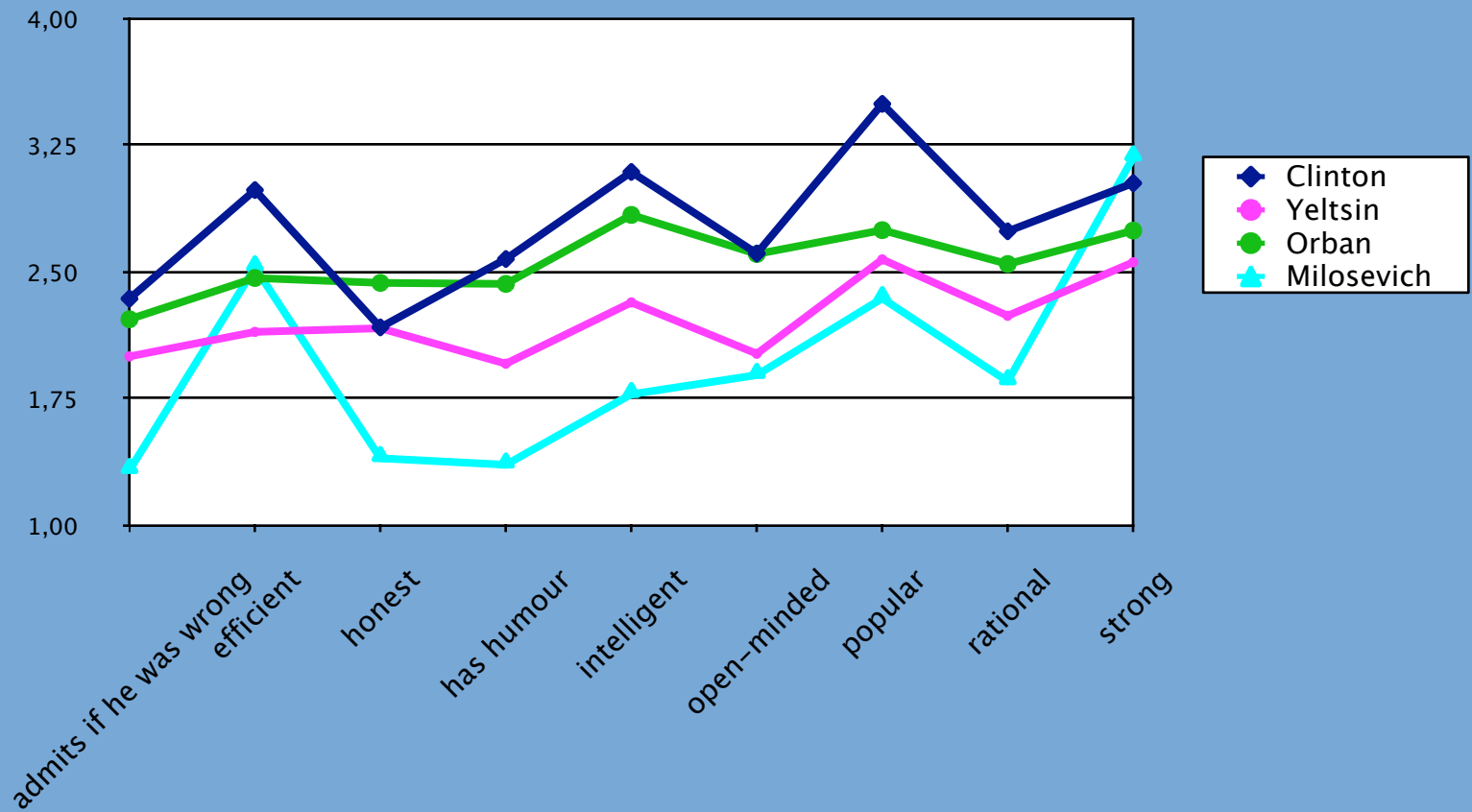
Perception of allies in the Balkan



Nations from the other side



Leaders' perception



Additional aspects to national identity

Inter-group differences in representing the nation (Hungarians)

	<i>elite</i>		<i>Nat/EU identity</i>		<i>Gene- rations</i>	
COMMON CULTURE, CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS	0		0		0	
COMMON LANGUAGE	0		0		0	
COMMON ANCESTRY	0		0		+	*
COMMON HISTORY AND A COMMON DESTINY	0		0		0	
COMMON POLITICAL AND LEGAL SYSTEM	-	*	-	*	0	
COMMON RIGHTS AND DUTIES	-	**	0		+	**
COMMON SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SECURITY	-	**	-	*	+	**
NATIONAL ECONOMY	0		-	*	+	**
NATIONAL ARMY	-	*	-	**	+	**
COMMON BORDERS	0		0		0	
FEELING OF NATIONAL PRIDE	0		0		+	**
NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY	-	*	-	**	+	**
OUR NATIONAL CHARACTER	0		0		+	**
OUR NATIONAL SYMBOLS (THE FLAG, THE HYMN)	0		0		0	

Intergroup differences in perceived social distance (Hungarians)

	<i>elite</i>		<i>Nat/EU identity</i>		<i>Generations</i>	
THE INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OR VILLAGE WHERE YOU LIVE/HAVE LIVED MOST OF YOUR LIFE	0		0		-	**
THE INHABITANTS OF THE REGION WHERE YOU LIVE	0		0		-	**
FELLOW HUNGARIANS	0				-	**
EUROPEAN UNION CITIZENS	0		-	**	0	
FELLOW EUROPEANS	0		-	**	0	
PEOPLE FROM CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE	+	*	-	**	0	
ARABS	0		-	**	0	
TURKS	+	*	-	**	0	
RUSSIANS	+	**	-	**	+	*
UNITED STATES' CITIZENS	0		-	**	0	
GYPSIES	+	*	-	**	0	
JEWS	0		-	**	-	*
Chinese	0		-	**	0	

What basis for modern states?

↪ *Why modern states are built on nations?*

Integrates

Multidimensional
Stabil attachment

Social class

Contrasts social groups

Spatially dispersed communities.

Based on personal interests.

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Emotionally not significant.

Religion/Church

Integrates different social groups

No prescribed territory.

Based on shared values.

Often connects with ethnic identity.

Emotionally strong attachment

Nation

Integrates different social groups

Integrates a common symbolic territory.

Based on shared values, common interest, equal rights.

Strongly connects to ethnic identity.

Emotionally strong attachment.

When is the nation?

Three theoretical positions on the origins of nations:

Primordialists

Nations are eternal.

Nations are always there in human history.

Psychologism: need for social support.

Group selection.

Basic social distinction: „we” and „they”.

Ethnosymbolists

Nations have ethnic roots.

Historic constrains and elite construction.

Cultural and political nationalisms are independent.

„We” and „they”, shared symbols, name, territory and history.

Modernists

Nations are modern phenomena.

Elite (political, business, cultural, religious) construction.

State has a primary role in defining a nation (nation-state).

Representing Europe

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
AUSTRIA	Mov/Res	Civiliz.	Econ.	Lang/Cult	Welfare
CZECH REPUBLIC	Civiliz.	Lang/Cult	Army	Borders	Hist/Dest
GERMANY EAST	Mov/Res	Econ.	Borders	Civiliz.	Rights/D.
GERMANY WEST	Mov/Res	Econ.	Civiliz.	Lang/Cult	Borders
GREAT BRITAIN	Mov/Res	Lang/Cult	Civiliz.	Rights/D.	Welfare
GREECE	Econ.	Mov/Res	Borders	Army	Lang/Cult
HUNGARY	Civiliz.	Lang/Cult	Econ.	Hist/Dest	Borders
ITALY	Econ.	Mov/Res	Army	Rights/D.	Lang/Cult
POLAND	Civiliz.	Lang/Cult	Mov/Res	Pride	Politics
SPAIN	Econ.	Mov/Res	Lang/Cult	Rights/D.	35 Borders