

# Inter-Ethnic Relations in Europe

Class 1

## Social groups and their boundaries.

"Financed from the financial support ELTE won from the Higher Education Restructuring Fund of the Hungarian Government"



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## Ottherness in the animal kingdom

- Species: the largest group of animals where two individual animals are capable of reproducing fertile offspring
- Recognition of own species – recognition of alien
- Genetic program
- Imprinting: in the critical period right after birth young animals recognize their parents just by being exposed to them. Birds which imprint on their parents immediately follow them around.

– (multilink: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2UIU9XH-mUI>)



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# Homo sapiens

- The species of human being (unity)
- The process of becoming human: humanization (anthropogenesis)
  - Multilink: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pzmZjO1RDOQ>
- Universals: (linguistic competence, emotional intelligence, basic emotions, anger, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness and surprise)
  - Multilink: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IAWGyy7Y2Uo>
- Genetic variety of the human body
- Cultural variety of the human body

# The Tower of Babel

- Genesis 11

Now the whole world had one language and a common speech. <sup>2</sup> As people moved eastward, <sup>[a]</sup> they found a plain in Shinar <sup>[b]</sup> and settled there.

<sup>3</sup> They said to each other, "Come, let's make bricks and bake them thoroughly." They used brick instead of stone, and tar for mortar. <sup>4</sup> Then they said, "Come, let us build ourselves a city, with a tower that reaches to the heavens, so that we may make a **name for ourselves**; otherwise we will be scattered over the face of the whole earth."

<sup>5</sup> But the LORD came down to see the city and the tower the people were building. <sup>6</sup> The LORD said, "If as one people speaking the same language they have begun to do this, then nothing they plan to do will be impossible for them. <sup>7</sup> Come, let us go down and confuse their language so they will not understand each other."

<sup>8</sup> So the LORD scattered them from there over all the earth, and they stopped building the city. <sup>9</sup> That is why it was called Babel <sup>[c]</sup>—because there the LORD confused the language of the whole world. From there the LORD scattered them over the face of the whole earth.



## The need for human self-definition

- Indetermined animal (Nietzsche )
- Language as the house of building (Heidegger)
- Many languages, many houses of being
- "We [English speakers] have the same word for falling snow, snow on the ground, snow hard packed like ice, slushy snow, wind-driven snow -- whatever the situation may be. To an Eskimo, this all-inclusive word would be almost unthinkable...." Whorf, Benjamin Lee. 1949. "Science and Linguistics" Reprinted in Carroll 1956.

## The name

- “every name of an ethnic character, in ancient times, was differential and oppositional. There was present in the name which people assumed the intention, manifest or not, of distinguishing itself from the neighboring peoples” (Emile Benveniste)
- Ingroup and outgroup
- Strangeness



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## Construction of otherness

- Creating divide among human beings by means of categorization and naming
- Maximizing intergroup difference, and minimizing intragroup difference
- Malignant intergroup processes (misunderstanding, misattribution, suspicion, distrust, frustration, aggression, destructive, entitlement)
- Multilink:  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZlvjZfbn45I>



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## Semiotics of identity

- Elaboration of the body (tattoo, masking, distorting)
- Social anatomy (clothes)
- Rites and cults
- Symbolic and encirclement of space
- Totem and taboo
- Temptation of otherness



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## Group reality

- Taken for granted reality
- Construction of time and space
- Typification
- Relevances
- Norms, values, standards
- Systems of control and exclusion
- Stigmatization



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# Ethnocentrism

- The ingroup as standard
- Pride
- Superiority
- The “view of things in which one’s own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled rated with reference to it” Sumner, W. G. *Folkways*. New York: Ginn, 1906.
- Contempt and scorn for the outgroup



# Gemeinschaft

- “Natural” state
- Reality of the body
- Birth and kinship
- Certainty of motherhood
- Matriarchate
- Transition to patriarchate
- Passage to nomadism to territorialism
- Division of labor by gender and age
- Immediate relation to the members of the community

– Multilink: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9f4F-o10Cd0>

## Structure and power

- Father, chief, authority
- Order
- Use value of services and goods
- Exchange as a form of economy
- Essential will (Tönnies)
- Common fate



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## Gesellschaft

- Transition to community to society
- Incest taboo (Oidipus, Orestes)
- Mediated relations between members of the society
- Exchange value of goods and services
- “Elective will) (Tönnies)
- Emergence of cities as the major scene of social events



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## Structure and power

- Hierarchy
- Organizations
- Complex division of labor
- Legitimization
- Order
- Politics (internal and external)

# Political development

- Band
- Tribe
- Chieftainsip
- State/empire
- Nation state
- Confederation and federation
- Global state?

– Multilink: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W-F8R9oPILl>



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# Literature

- Tönnies Ferdinand: Community and civil society, Cambridge University Press, 2001



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# Homework

- Make a summary table demonstrating the major differences between “community” and “civil society” in a PPT

dimensions	community	civil society



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# Inter-Ethnic Relations in Europe

## Class 2 Ethnocentrism

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## “Us” and “Them”

- Ingroup, Outgroup
- Conflict and harmony between groups
- Levels of conflict
  - Cognitive
  - Affective
  - Interests
- Cooperation, competition,
- Assimilation
- Fight, annihilation
  - Collective rape
  - Mass murders
  - Taking infants and kids
- Fixing borders



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# Establishing borders between ingroup and outgroup

- Categorization
- Stereotyping
- Prejudice
- Assumption of collective character

## Ethnocentric world of Lilliput

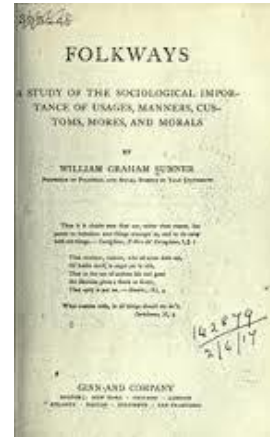
- “For as to what we have heard you affirm, that there are other kingdoms and states in the world inhabited by human creatures as large as yourself, our philosophers are in much doubt, and would rather conjecture that you dropped from the moon, or one of the stars; because it is certain, that a hundred mortals of your bulk would in a short time destroy all the fruits and cattle of his majesty’s dominions: besides, our histories of six thousand moons make no mention of any other regions than the two great empires of Lilliput and Blefuscu. Which two mighty powers have, as I was going to tell you, been engaged in a most obstinate war for six-and-thirty moons past.” (Swift: Gulliver’s travel)





## Sumner on ethnocentrism

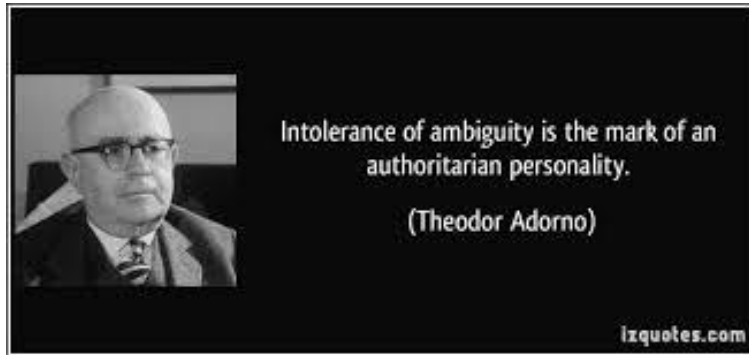
- According to Sumner (1906), "ethnocentrism is the technical name for this view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" (par. 15). In other words, what people in one culture find natural and normal, people in another culture might find absurd, and even disgusting. Moreover, these ideas of what is right and wrong, good or bad, can change over time and over cultures.



## Psychological consequences of ethnocentrism

- Universal grammar of intergroup logic
- Rigid and absolute division of the social world into ingroup and outgroup
- Unconditional loyalty to the ingroup
- Animosity to the outgroup
- Repression of conflict within the ingroup and aggression (fantasies and projections against the outgroup)

# Authoritarian personality



## Malignant social processes between groups

- Mutual exposure
- Clash of taking for granted assumptions
- Misunderstanding of the situation
- Misattribution of the intentions
- Suspicion and distrust
- Frustration
- Hostility
- Reversed regression
- Endurance of the conflict
- Transgenerational sense of injustice
- Retribution and destructive entitlement



## Sherifs's Robbers Cave experiment

- Three phases of the experiment
  - 1 formation of the ingroup
    - Organization of activities promoting ingroup identification and cohesion
  - 2 emergence of conflict
    - Bringing the two groups into conflict with each other and creating intergroup tension
  - 3 conflict resolution
    - Attempts to reconciliation the two conflicting groups through attainment of superordinate goals

# Phase 1

- 22 subjects, 11 year old, WASP boys, middle class status, 7 days long project
- Experimental creation of ingroup experiences leading to group identification
- Territorial separation of the two groups
- Hiking in the park and swimming
- Selection of group name (Eagles and Rattles)



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## Phase 2

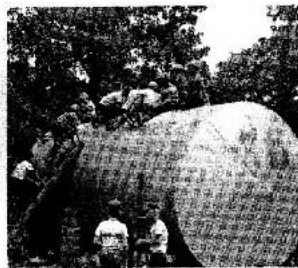
- Series of competitive activities (tournaments, loose-win-games)
- Increased antagonism between the two groups
- Physical attacks, symbolic aggression (name calling, singing of offending songs)
- Refusal to take part in common events



## Phase 3

- Conflict resolution
- Attempt to bring about cooperation between the two groups
- Solving problems together
- The resources and efforts of the individual group are inadequate to find the solution
- The necessity to work together
- Repair of the water problems
- Collection of money from both groups for a movie that they wanted to watch
- Establishing superordinate goals which were to be attained by cooperation

**(Below) Intergroup interaction after the introduction of superordinate goals.**



**Members of both groups climb up to see if the water tank is empty.**



**Members of both groups cluster around and take turns trying to clear the faucet.**

# Clashing worlds

- Taken for granted assumptions
- Natural attitudes
- Typifications
- Relevances
- Gods and demons

– Multilink: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3inhQffPIAI>



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# Experimental ethnocentrism

- Minimum group paradigm:
  - The minimal conditions required for intergroup discrimination
  - No preexisting familiarity or social tension between groups were necessary to give rights to discrimination
- Experiments of Henri Tajfel in Bristol University (1967)
- The tendency to discriminate based on a flimsy and irrelevant category of group membership
- Overestimators and underestimators of the number of dots
- Emergence of ingroup favoritism, and derogation of outgroup



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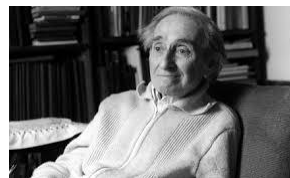
Boy No. 1 (in-group)	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Boy No. 2 (out-group)	1	3	5	7	9	11	13	15	17	19	21	23	25

Maximising the difference

Largest reward to in-group  
Maximum joint profit

## Common fate

- Kurt Lewin: it is not the similarity or dissimilarity of the individuals, that constitutes a group, but interdependence of fate
- Ferenc Méri: the group is constituted by the common experience, community of norms and rules
- The need to belong





# Collective identity

- Self-categorization (reduction of uncertainty)
- Widening circles of identification (from the self to “us”)
- External and internal categorization
- Social ecology (increased likelihood of encounter with members of the ingroup)



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## The legacy of ethnocentrism (solidarity within the group, and aggression toward the outgroup)

- Racism (“the white man’s burden”, “lebensraum”)
- Chauvinism
- Political prejudices
- Religious prejudices
- Machoism
- Feminism
- Professional sense of superiority
- Soccer fans



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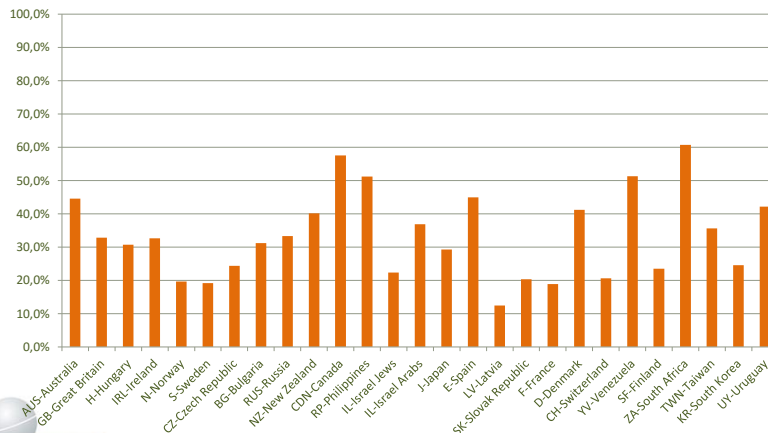
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# Data on ethnocentrism of contemporary nations

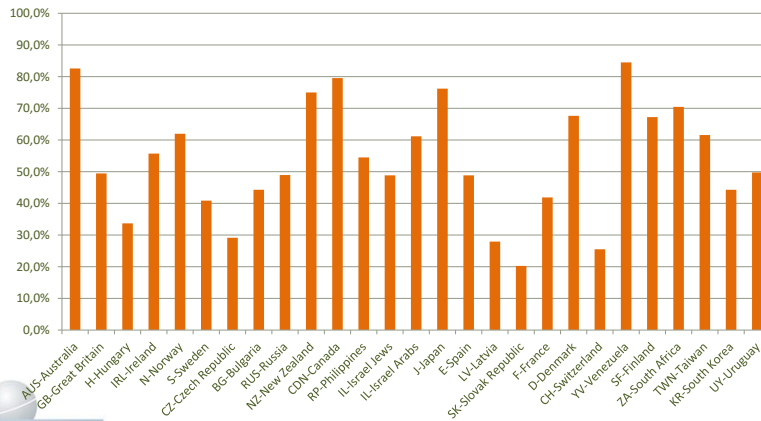
- ISSP cross national comparative data
- Year 2003
- 27 countries
- National representative sample
- 5 point Likert scales



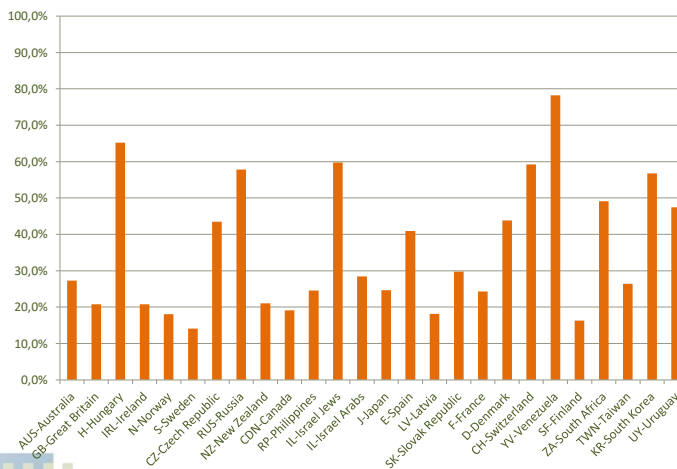
“The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like the (country nationality)”  
percentage of respondents who agree



## “Generally speaking, my country is a better country than most other countries” percentage of respondents who agree

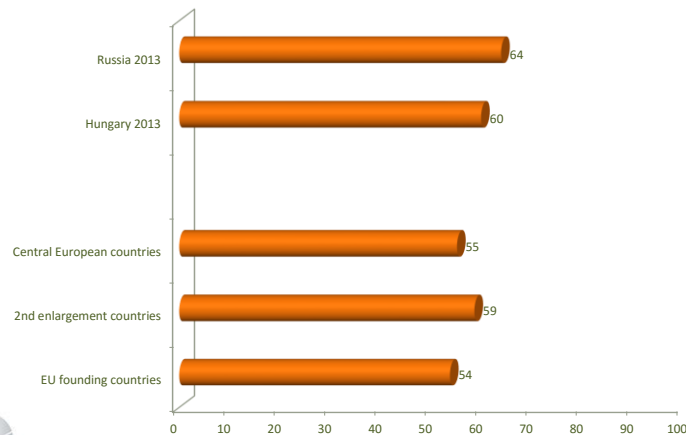


## “People should support their country even if the country is in the wrong” percentage of respondents who agree



## Ethnocentrism in Hungary, Russia, and Europe (ISSP 2013)

percent of those who agree 3 ethnocentric statements



## Literature

- *Tajfel H, Billig M G, Bundy R P & Flament C. Social categorization and intergroup behaviour. Eur. J. Soc. Psychol. 1:149-77, 1971*
- György Csepeli, Antal Örkény, Mária Székelyi: *Grappling with National Identity. How Nations See Each Others in Central Europe.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 2000
- LeVine Robert A., Donald T. Campbell: *Ethnocentrism: Theories of Ethnic Attitudes, and Group Behavior* New York: John Wiley and sons 1972

# Homework

- Make a short video interview with a soccer fan of any Hungarian Football Club



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# Inter-Ethnic Relations in Europe

## Class 3

### Ethnic groups in harmony and tension

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## ‘Ethnies’ (A.Smith)

- Common name
- “we”-ness
- Common myths of descent
- Canonized historical memories and heroes
- Traditions
- Common fate
- Endogamy
- Economic localism
- Underlying sense of historical and cultural community
- Sense of homeland
- Continuity between formulation of ethnies, races, nations



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# Cooperation and competition

- Cooperation as interdependence resulting common/mutual benefits
- Competition as interdependence resulting selfish benefits
- Both forms of interdependence can exist on individual and collective levels



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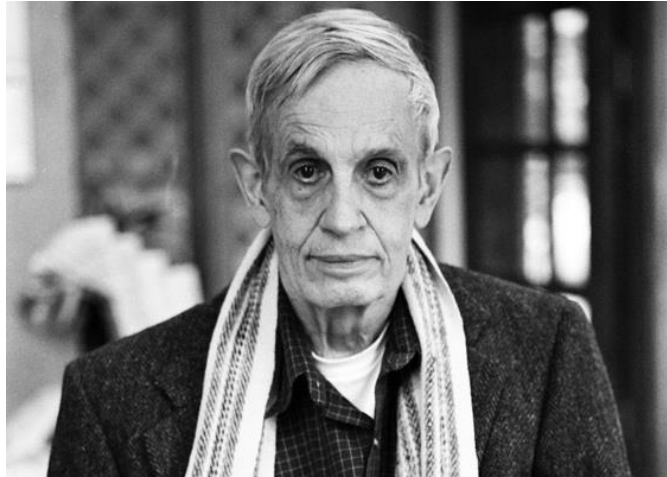
# Game theory

- Modeling competition and cooperation between rational decision makers
- Prisoners dilemma
  - Two members of a criminal-gang are arrested. Each suspect is in solitary confinement without means of communicating with the other. The prosecutor lacks sufficient evidence to convict the pair on the charge. The prosecutors offer each prisoner a bargain. Each prisoner is given the opportunity either to: betray the other by testifying that the other committed the crime, or to cooperate with the other by remaining silent. The offer is:
    - If A and B each betray the other, each of them serves 3 years in prison
    - If A betrays B but B remains silent, A will be set free and B will serve 5 years in prison (and vice versa)
    - If A and B both remain silent, both of them will only serve 1 year in prison (on the lesser charge)



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## John Nash and Game Theory



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### Possible outcomes of the prisoner dilemma

- A purely rational self-interested suspect would betray the other suspect. Consequently the only possible outcome would be for the rational suspects to betray each other (competition)
- They would get a better reward if they both kept silent (cooperation)
- The lesson of the game that in the long run the competition is a more profitable strategy than cooperation
- In real life, however, this lesson is not taken into consideration seriously



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# War?

- It is a truism that human beings are to act together. The inter-ethnic reality, however, does show the opposite tendency.

As Heraclitus has stated in his fragment no.53 *'war is father of all and king of all: some he shows as gods, others as men; some he makes slaves, others free'*

- The term 'war' does not refer solely to physical violence, it is just to state that in human encounters inter-ethnic conflict serves as a means of self-assertion



# Peace?

- Peace is a state of harmony between different ethnic groups that is characterized lack of violence
- Peace however more than absence of hostility and retribution
- It is a state of prosperous inter-ethnic relations based on reconciliation, mutual understanding, and sense of equality

# Social psychology of ethnic exclusion and inclusion

- Exclusion
  - The need for certainty and order
  - Anxiety within
  - Aversion of otherness
  - Social dominance
  - Hate and prejudice
  - Unambiguity of the boundaries
  - Target groups
  - The idea of ethnic cleanness
  - Scapegoating
- Inclusion
  - Tolerance
  - Self-awareness
  - Social equality creed
  - Multiple identity
  - Diversity
  - Social responsibility
  - Open mind
  - Integration of minorities
  - Self criticism



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## The road to the war

- Sense of injustice, grievance, restoring “justice”
- ill-structured problem
- Unpredictability
- Hubris
- Exaggerated collective self
- Derogation of the enemy
- Bias judgements
- “Fog”, Clausewitz
- Availability, heuristics



Multilink: <http://www.slideshare.net/ghostexorcist/destroy-this-mad-brute>



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- *War is the realm of uncertainty; three quarters of the factors on which action in war is based are wrapped in a fog of greater or lesser uncertainty. A sensitive and discriminating judgment is called for; a skilled intelligence to scent out the truth. (Carl von Clausewitz)*



## Process of war

- Continuous exceptional states
- Fight
- Normlessness
- Nothing is forbidden
- Win-or-loose outcome

## The bitter taste of success

- Fear of revenge
- Rewriting of history
- The need for new enemies
- Unbearable burden of the memory of war



## Defeat

- Disbelief and rejection
- Euphoria
- Lethargy
- Suffering because of the retribution of the victors
- Search for causes
- Scapegoating
- Vindictiveness
- Revenge

# Reconciliation

- Redefinition of the interethnic (international) situation according to the principle of non-zero-sum games
- Identifying superordinate goals
- Building tolerance, intergroup empathy
- Facilitating intergroup encounters
- Sharing and communicating memories
- Socialization and resocialization
- Civic initiatives from bottom-up

Multilink: <https://www.niot.org/>



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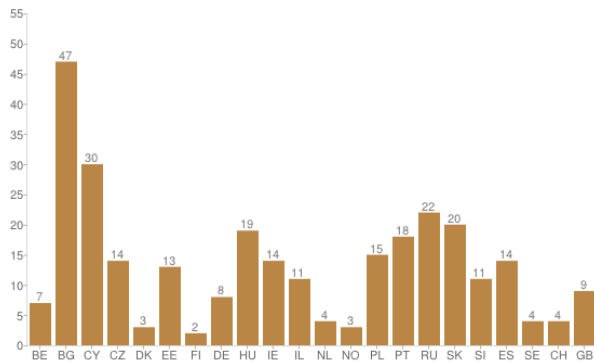
***"I pledge to stand up to all forms of hate, bigotry, and bullying. I will not stay silent in the face of intolerance based on race, ethnicity, sexuality, gender, religion, ability or any other factor. I will work together with my neighbors to create safer, more inclusive communities for all."***



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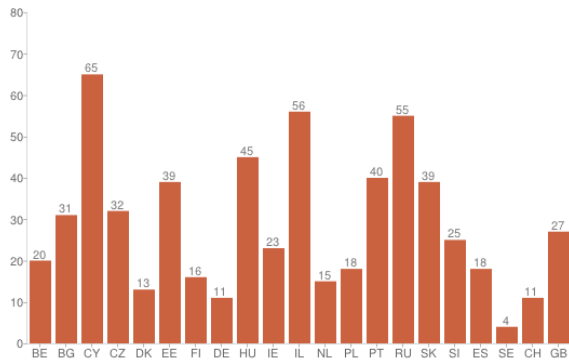
# Fear and distrust in Europe in 2013



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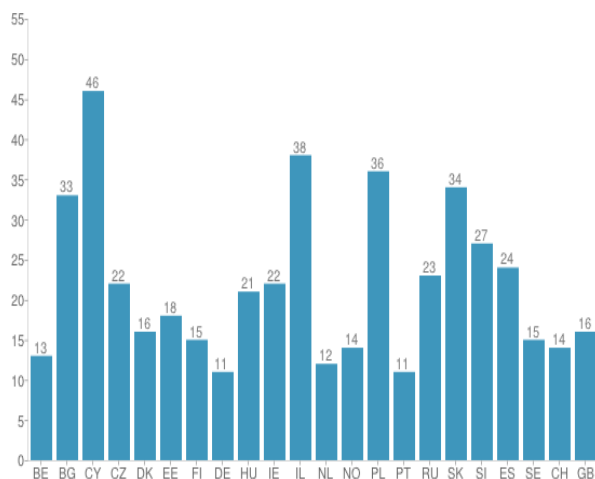
# Prejudice in Europe in 2013



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## Right wing extremism in Europe in 2013



## Literature

- Wolfgang Schivelbusch: *The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning, and Recovery*. London: Picador, 2004

# Homework 1

- Write a comment on Howard Rheingold's: The new power of collaboration presentation
  - » [https://www.ted.com/talks/howard\\_rheingold\\_on\\_collaboration](https://www.ted.com/talks/howard_rheingold_on_collaboration)
- Do you agree or disagree, but you have to explain



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# Homework 2

- Please, watch the movie and be ready to discuss it in class
- Lord of the flies
  - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=br31uZloBgs>



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# Inter-Ethnic Relations in Europe

## Class 4 Theories of the nation

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## Opposite approaches

- “continuity” vs. “discontinuity”
- “essentialism ” vs “constructionism”
- “cultural” vs. “political”
- “collective” vs. “individual”



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# What we are talking about?

- “The nation is a historically formed, stable community of people, united by community of language, of territory, of economic life and of psychological make up which expresses itself in community of culture” Stalin, I.V. 1913.



- “A nation is a named community of history and culture, possessing a unified territory, economy, mass education system and common legal rights” (Smith, A, 1989)

## Visit Google's Site in Your Local Domain



# Fuzziness

- The nation is not a 0-1 concept
- Ongoing process
- Scenes of human drama
- Brought about by language
- Collective memories



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# Nation and nationalism

- Nationalism is the blood in the body of the nation
- Ideology setting the goal of self-determination of the existing or potential nation
- Dream vs. Reality
- Program vs. “business as usual” (Miklós Szabó)



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# Perennialism

- Antiquity and Middle Ages
- Equation of ancient (Greek, Persian, Egyptian) nations with present day nations
- The view of lineal descendency of the medieval counterparts
- Nations as “organic” and “natural” units



## Arguments for perennialism (or primordialism)

- Enduring cultural communities
- Culture that remained recognizably distinct to their own populations and to outsiders
- “ethnic communities” of history and culture
- Common name
- Myths of common history and descent
- Territorial stability
- Religion
- Solidarity (“we”-ness)

# Modernism

- The nation is a construct of elites
- Transition from agriculture to industrialisation
- Mass-education system
- Common legal rights
- Common market
- Territorial separation



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# 'Ethnies' (A. Smith)

- Common name
- Common myths of descent
- Canonized historical memories and heroes
- Traditions
- Common fate
- Endogamy
- Economic localism
- Underlying sense of historical and cultural community



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## The transition from ethnies to nation

- Minority takes the lead
- Claim for a demarcated territory
- Naturalization of the nation
- Reconstruction (not invention) of the past
- Economic unification
- Bureaucratic control
- Mass scale identity-building
- Media



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## Imagined communities (B. Anderson)

- Imagined because of the size of the group
- Limits of imagination (self-segmentation)
- Sovereignty
- Solidarity
- Printing (mass communication)
- God is dead (Long live the nation)

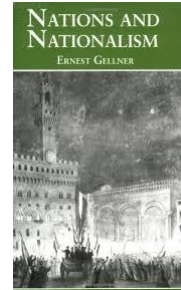


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# Arguments for modernism

- It is nationalism which engenders nations and not the other way around
- Selection, transformation, invention
- Nationalism as a means of class rule
- Nationalism as a means of social mobility
- Industrialization and the need of broad social communication
- Acceleration of social entropy

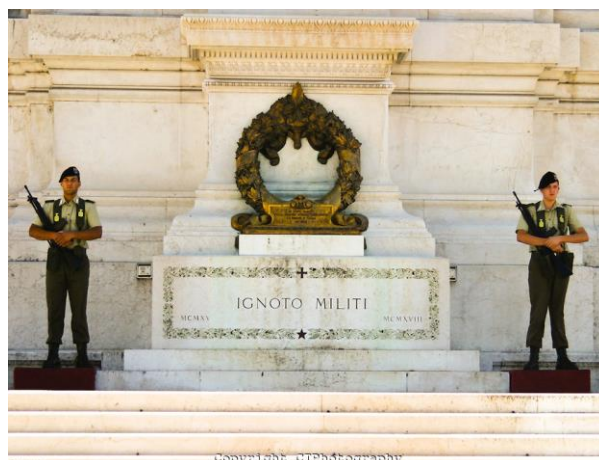


# Social entropy

- Demolishing the barriers based on previous, pre-industrial social structure
- Regional, kin, professional and rank groupings with ordered elements
- Replacement of this structure with a new structure where the actors are distributed random
- The need for a shared culture
- New loyalty (to the state unequivocally)

# Invention of the tradition

- Calendar setting (national holidays)
- Heroes, graves, birth-houses, battlegrounds
- Fake linguistics
- Archeology
- Rites, celebrations, songs, texts







VV & K London

THE UNKNOWN WARRIOR'S GRAVE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.  
SHOWING THE AMERICAN CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL

No. 92



## The threshold of becoming a nation

- Historic association with a current state
- Existence of a long-established cultural elite, possessing a written national literary and administrative vernacular
- Capacity to conquest

## Core elements of the nation state

- Pre-existing networks of common language, culture and tradition
- Common myths as starting points of “reconstructing” the nation
- National semantic universe
- Territorial claims justified as rights
- Readiness to fight
- Patriotism/Chauvinism
- Symbols
- Sovereignty
- Capital
- Bureaucracy
- Armed forces (army, police, borderguards)
- International recognition
- Borders
- Common market
- Legal system



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## Volk

- Volk, collective entity
- Soul, culture, custom, “folkways”
- Sentiments, feelings, emotions
- Ancestry-ascribed membership
- Führer-Volk relationship



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# People

- Collection of individuals
- Contract
- Participation
- Representation
- Taxation
- Rights (“habeas corpus”)
- Citizenship-achieved membership



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# Relevant literature

- Anthony D. Smith's The Ethnic Origins of Nations
  - Organic concept of nation building – essential approach
  - Nationalism builds on pre-existing kinship, religious and belief systems
  - Historical roots
- Benedict Anderson
  - Constructivist theory
    - Nation as political and cultural construction
- John Hutchinson
  - modernization
  - rationalization
  - political institution
  - centralization
  - homogenization
  - Secularization
- Rogers Brubaker



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# Literature

- Benedict Anderson Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (1983)
- John Hutchinson Modern Nationalism (1994)
- Rogers Brubaker. "Ethnicity, migration, and statehood in Post-Cold War Europe" The Fate of the Nation-State. Ed. Michel Seymore. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2004. 357-374.



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# Homework

- Can Transnistria be considered as a nation state or not? Write a short essay!



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# Inter-Ethnic Relations in Europe

Class 5

Social entropy and its default

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## The agrarian society (social stratification without mobility)

- Political, bureaucratic, military and cultural elite
- Division of labour
- Permanent and standardized scripture
- Small minority of privileged ruling class
- Great majority of agricultural producers
- Rigid separation between the rulers and the ruled
- Rites de passage (intergenerational transfer of the same positions)



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## The industrial society (social structure with mobility)

- Transformation of the agrarian society into industrial society
- Perpetual cognitive and economic growth (dynamism)
- Men located in the social structure cannot rest in the same positions all their lives, and they cannot transmit their positions from parents to sons and daughters
- Egalitarianism concerning chances
- Social structure based on achievement
- New niches
- Education for all





## Nationalism

- The need of communication among all members of the society by means of written, impersonal, context-free messages
- Standardization of language
- Shared set of values
- Nation as a group which persists as community
- Confluence of national and social development



# ΕΝΤΡΟΠΙΑ

- The term **entropy** literally means „*turning toward*“
- Entropy has frequently been associated with the amount of order and disorder in a thermodynamic system.
- Entropy in thermodynamics expresses the randomness of the constituents of a thermodynamic system.
- A closed system always tends toward evolvment into a state with a maximum of entropy.
- The concept of entropy has entered to sociology as a general metaphor for a randomness of dissipation of any constituents of the social system in a society

- Multilink: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ykUmibZHEZk>



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## Social entropy and the nation state

- The transition from agrarian society to industrial society is a movement from immobility to mobility of individuals
- Shift from pattern to randomness
- The nation-state as a framework providing replacement of the old fixed structures by internally random and fluid totality



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## Obstacles to social entropy

- In the course of the transition from agrarian society into industrial society, segments of agrarian society were partially eroded
- Some ethnic categorization effects continued to exist
- The majority, however, consisted of individuals whose internal (self) categorization and external categorization defied the tendency of entropy resistance
- Entropy resistant categorizations had a marked tendency not to become evenly dispersed throughout the entire population of the nation-state
- As a consequence, entropy-resistant individuals were concentrated in one or another segment of the society
- Fissures, chasms, conflicts were generated by entropy resistance



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## Gellner's example of social entropy

- Suppose a society contains a certain number of individuals who are, by an accident of heredity, pigmentationally **blue**: and suppose that, despite the passage of a number of generations since the initial establishment of the new industrial society and the official promulgation and enforcement of a policy of „equality of chances”, most blues persist in occupying positions at the top of the new social pyramid. As a consequence non-blues will see that blues tend to capture too many of the advantages available in the whole society. That would make blueness a social-entropy characteristics in social psychological and sociological sense of the word.
- Suppose a society that in addition to the blues contain a certain number of individuals who are pigmentationally **yellow**. Suppose that, despite the passage of a number of generations since the initial establishment of a policy of „equality of chances” most yellows persist in occupying positions at the bottom of the new social pyramid. As a consequence non-yellows (blues and non-blues) will see that yellows tend to capture too few of the advantages available in the whole society. The would make yellowness a social-entropy characteristics again in the social psychological and sociological sense of the word.
- The entropy resistant characteristics in both cases will engender social psychological and sociological effects only if it is reasonably natural one rather than artificially invented.



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## Distribution of goods and entropy-resistance

- If there is uneven distribution of a natural collective trait in the wider society trouble may well ensue.
- Differential access to cultural, economic, political and network capital
- Inequal distribution of various sorts of capital among majority and entropy-resistant minority groups
- Failure to communicate between majority and entropy resistant minority groups
- Invisible wall of stereotypes, prejudices, illusory correlations between the majority and entropy resistant minority groups
- Conflicts between new entrants and native members of the national community

## Social resources among immigrants and autochthonous people

LOCALMULTIDEM survey 2008

Country	Origin	Education			Age	Active	Inactive
		Low	High	education			
Switzerland	immigrant origin	45%	55%	100%	35	62%	38%
	autochthonous	17%	83%	100%	48	66%	34%
Spain	immigrant origin	52%	48%	100%	41	83%	17%
	autochthonous	48%	52%	100%	51	58%	42%
France	immigrant origin	43%	57%	100%	36	67%	33%
	autochthonous	37%	63%	100%	45	62%	38%
Great Britain	immigrant origin	31%	69%	100%	40	73%	27%
	autochthonous	27%	73%	100%	42	79%	21%
Hungary	immigrant origin	10%	90%	100%	33	87%	13%
	autochthonous	35%	65%	100%	37	56%	44%
Italy	immigrant origin	23%	77%	100%	53	81%	19%
	autochthonous	28%	72%	100%	51	57%	43%
Norway	immigrant origin	58%	42%	100%	41	78%	22%
	autochthonous	20%	80%	100%	52	84%	16%
Sweden	immigrant origin	32%	68%	100%	42		
	autochthonous	17%	83%	100%	48		

# Literature

- Gellner, E. Nations and Nationalism. Cornell University Press (2009)



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# Homework

- Please look for entropy resistant minorities in Europe (at least one), and write a sociological report.



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# Inter-Ethnic Relations in Europe

## Class 6 Passages to modernity

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# Challenges to Gemeinschaft

- Writing
- Incest
- Politics and sovereignty
- Money
- Marketplace
- Law
- State



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# Consequences of modernization

- Dominance of industry and trade over agriculture
- Commercialization of the agricultural production
- Bureacracy/Central administration
- Military force
- Geographic and social mobility
- Urbanization
- Cultural revolution (spread of education)
- Mass media
- Increase of standard of living
- Single imagination of unity
- Increase of intercultural encounters

# Modernization

## Three values of modernization

liberty  
property  
equality

## Three institutions of modernization

market  
nation state  
social class

## Three processes of modernization

individualization  
rationalization  
secularization

# Value set of modernity

- Freedom and liberty (freedom of the individual, liberty of the community)
- Property (the right to own value added physical entities including the right to consume, sell, rent, transfer, exchange.)
- Equality (the assumption that since „man is born free“ everybody is equal before the law)



# Market

- Economic institution allowing actors to be involved transactions to exchange any type of products and services
  - The means of exchange is money
  - There are two major roles in the market: buyers and sellers
  - Buyers fuel forces of demand and sellers represent forces of supply
- Competition among participants determines prices

# Nation state

- Nation state as a political framework
- Citizens and foreigners
- Nation building (national semantic universe)
- Nation state from absolutist state
- Nation states from empire
- Capital city, bureaucracy, frontiers, postal services, customs, taxes, money, education, culture, infrastructure

# Social class

- From estates into classes
- Downward and upward mobility
- Social stratification
- Social inequality
- Proletarians and bourgeoisie
- Social pyramid
- Elite, middle class, underclass



# Individualization

- Birth and death
- Sense of uniqueness
- Sense of irreversibility
- Increase of option and decrease of ligature
- Risk taking
- Self-interest
- Motivation to achieve



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# Rationalization

- Process of modernization where a growing number of social actors select the course of their actions based on empirical costs/benefits calculations or considerations of efficiency instead of deriving from non empirical considerations of faith
- In the course of modernization rationalisation encompasses society in its entirety including economy, politics, administration, science, healthcare, social policy



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# Secularization

- Secularization is the process of modernization resulting in the disappearance of religious institutions from the public sphere
- Secularization can involve the loss of property of the church
- Religion ceases to be a ligature instead it becomes subject of option
- Privatization of religious belief

# Typology

- Political nations: States becoming nation states
- Cultural nations: nations becoming states
- Small nation-states
- Federations



# States becoming nation states

- England
- France
- Spain
- Absolutism assumes national character



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# England

- Why a God's name, may not we, as else the Greeks, have the kingdom of our language?" (Spencer) The form of English verse was as much a political as an aesthetic matter
- The distribution of syllables in a line of verse and the distribution of power in the state
- Sovereignty over English
- Poets and rulers



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## Stage

- Socially inclusive public theater
- Theater of a nation
- Popularity
- Mingling kings and clowns
- Union of high and low
- Enacting history



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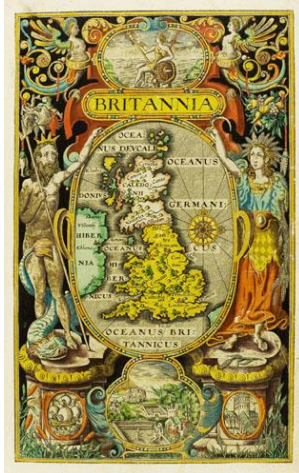
## Space

- Land's revelation of itself
- Maps
- Chartographers
  
- Land and power (royal arms displayed)
- Saxton
- Camden's Britain
- Speed's Theatre of the Empir of Great Britain



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## Passage from dynasty to nation

- Cultural transformation of the state
- King, people, language
- Inclusion
- The rhetoric of nationhood is a rhetoric of uniformity and wholeness
- Political and cultural unity of the nation

# France

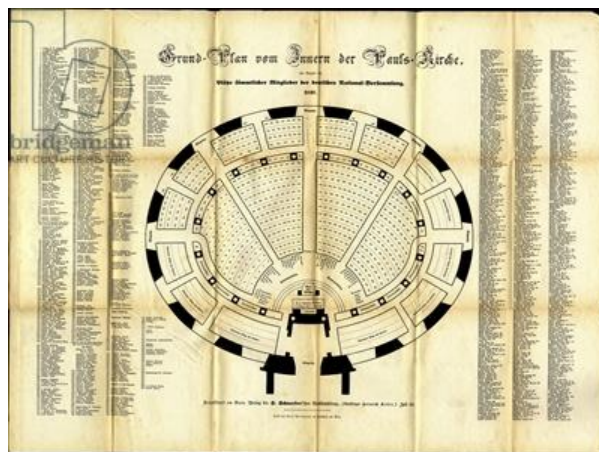
- The Kingdom of France (absolute state)
- The people of France
- Inclusion
- Mission
- The production of Frenchmen
- Wars



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## Seating arrangement of the Frankfurter Nationalversammlung in 1848



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# Grimm

- Grimm was given a seat all of his own, directly opposite the Speaker, in the central aisle between the Right and the Left, symbolizing the importance of his services for the nation



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# Germany

- Holy German Empire (no existing unity)
- Romanticism
- Volk as the subject
- Freedom
- Response to the challenge of Other (anti-)
- Resistance
- Spirit
- Language
- Race (ancestry)
- Ressentiment
- Anti-Semitism



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# Russia

- Greatness, glory, monarchy
- Language
- Western comparison
- Napoleonic wars
- Self-dissatisfaction
- Westernizers
- Slavophiles
- Orthodoxy, Nationhood, Monarchy



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# Nation-building in Eastern Europe

- Empires (Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Osman Empire, Russian Empire)
- Small nations without statehood
- Imagined greatness
- No clear boundaries
- The role of intelligentsia (language, culture, history)
- Fear of extinction
- Minderwertigkeitsgefühl



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# Miroslav Hroch

- Social conditions of National Revival in Europe. A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations. 1986.
- Phase A: Awakening
- Phase B: Agitation
- Phase C: Movement
- Phase D: Realization



## National awakening

- Poets, musicians, scholars
- Collection of information about the history, culture, and customs
- Creation of the national discourse
- Memory of former statehood
- Absolute priority to the values of the nation over all other values and interests

## National agitation

- Social change
- Social and political crisis
- Crisis of legitimacy
- National program
- Patriots, fighters, martyrs



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## National movement

- The need for social mobility
- Media
- Education
- Reliance on external forces
- Economy



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# Independence

- Territory
- The wish for homogeneity
- Intolerance
- The conflict between ethno-nationalism and civic nationalism
- Minorities
- Changing borders in Europe
  - Multilink:  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0iujPuYZBt8>

## Map of Europe in 1910 and 1920



# Challenges of globalization

- Challenges of globalization
- Devolution of the nation state
- European Union
- International political organization
- Multinational business organization
- Global civil society
- Ethnic and religious revivals
- Info communicational revolution
- Migration



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# Literature

- [Perry Anderson: \*Passages From Antiquity to Feudalism\*](#). London: New Left Books, 1974
- [Miroslav Hroch](#): *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations*. Columbia University Press, 1985



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# Homework

- The role of language in the development of nation.
  - Please, write an essay!



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# Inter-Ethnic Relations in Europe

## Class 7

### The three historical regions of Europe

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## Jenő Szűcs: The Three Historical Regions of Europe

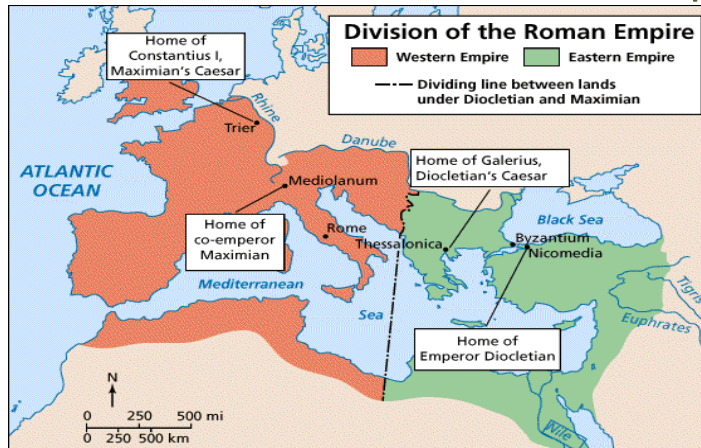
- In Keane, J. 1988. *Civil Society and the State. New European Perspectives.* London: Verso. 291-332.



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# Western and Eastern Roman empire



See also multilink: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9LfdXoL3Xck>

## Occidens (West)

The Eastern border of the Carolingian Empire around AD 800 was the line running southwards across Europe from the lower course of the Elbe-Saale, along the Leitha and the Western border of Roman Pannonia.

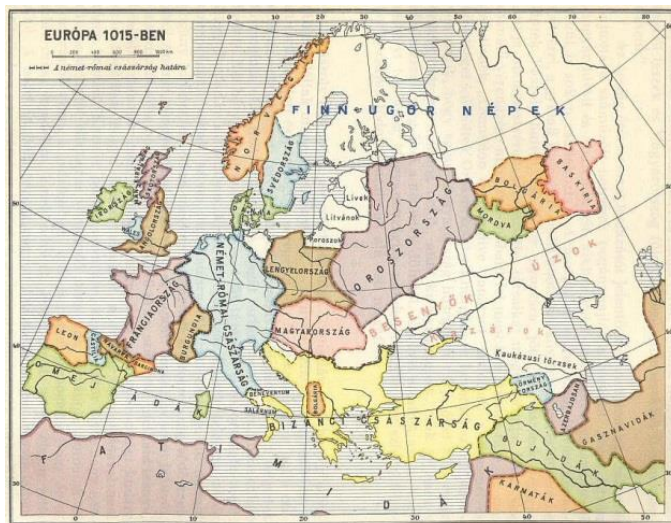
Ironically enough, this was the line that divided Europe into two „camps” in 1945. It is as if Stalin, Churchill and

Roosevelt had studied carefully the status quo of the age of Charlemagne before letting the Iron Curtain to fall.



# Orient (East)

The other pole of Europe was Byzantium which had occupied the Eastern part of the Roman Empire. Byzantium's intention was to defend the heritage of the „Romans” from the „Barbarians” by maintaining a defensive rigidity. Byzantium inherited Rome's centralized, bureaucratic state structure in the East. The workings of medieval Europe remained incomplete in this region. The overwhelming majority of this region was to become Russia.





## Expansion of the West in the Middle Ages

- After the millenium a new border was emerging in Europe running parallel to the previous border running southwards across the lower course of the Elbe-Saale and along the Leitha. This new border stretched from the Lower Danube up to the eastern Carpathians and further north across the forests that separated the West Slavs from East Slavs reaching the Baltic regions in the 13th century. The expanded West included Scandinavia as well. The eastern borders of Western Europe might be illustrated by the dissemination of Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance styles of architecture. These were the borders of the Polish and Hungarian Kingdom and further north the borders of the area ruled by the Teutonic Knights (later to become East Prussia).



# Regression

The eastern border of the late Carolingian Empire was to become after 1500 a very sharp line of demarcation cutting Europe into two parts again.

Europe's Eastern part became the scene of the second serfdom that can be considered as a regression from point of view of economic and social development.

Western Europe lost its eastern extension.

A new region has emerged inserted between Western Europe and Eastern Europe. This area has been termed by an imperfect but nonetheless acceptable consensus as „East-Central Europe“.

## Structural differences between West and East

### West

- From the bottom
- Expansion, growth
- Local autonomy
- Small circles of freedom
- Marketization,
- Urbanization
- Freedom of property
- Industrialization
- Individualism, Merit
- Rationalization
- Secularization
- Democracy
- Civic society

### East

- From the top
- Stagnation
- Centralization , unlimited state power
- Lack of freedom, autonomy
- Lack of market
- State settlement
- State control over property
- Agrarian production
- Privilege
- Spiritualism
- Preservation of church authority
- Authoritarianism
- Militarization

# Moscow and London in 1900



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## The hidden dimension of the European culture

- **Culture of credit**
- Trust
- Pride
- Empathy
- Pro-capitalism
- Responsibility
- Citizen
- Rule of law
- **Culture of levy**
- Distrust
- Complain
- Envy
- Anti-capitalism
- Scapegoating
- Subject
- Rule of “morals”

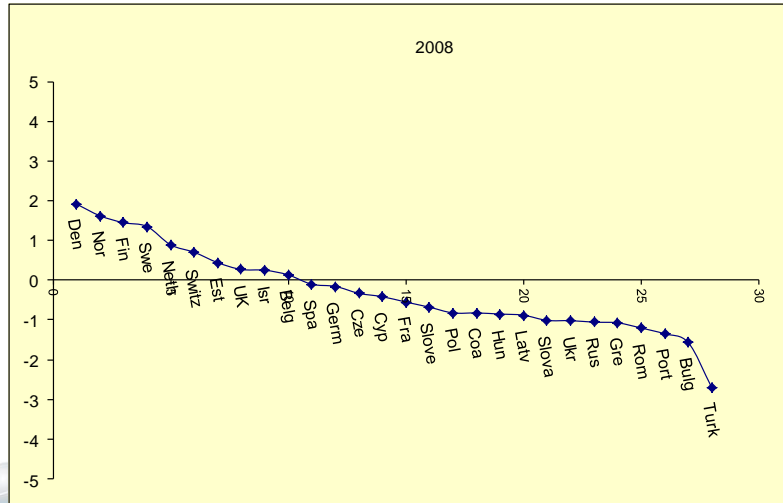


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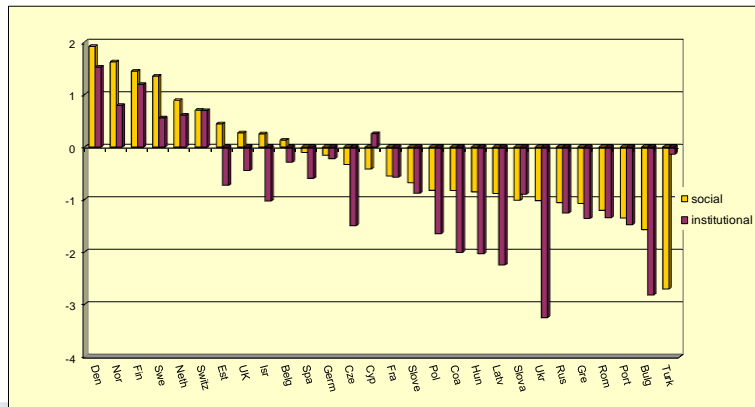
## Social Trust in European countries in 2008 (ESS)

5 point scale averages



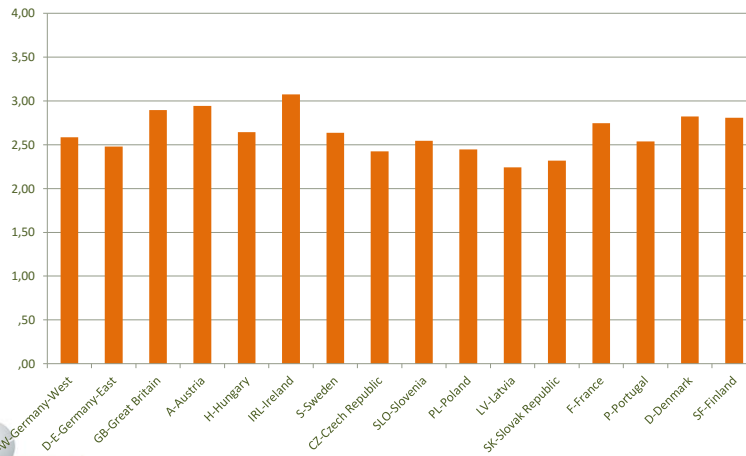
## Social Trust and Institutional Trust in European countries in 2008 (ESS)

5 point scale averages



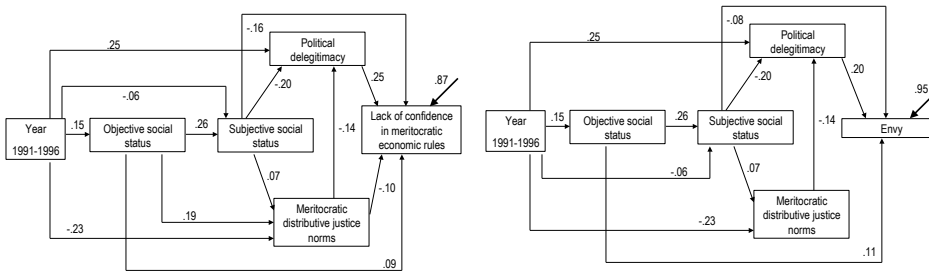
# Level of national pride in the EU member states

four point scale averages, 2003 (ISSP)



## Lack of confidence in market economy and envy in the mirror of time in Eastern Europe 1991-1996 (ISJP data) regression path models

- Five years of transition and lack of confidence in market economy
- Five years of transition and special envy



# Literature

- Jenő Szűcs: Three Historical Regions of Europe In Keane, J. 1988. Civil Society and the State. New European Perspectives. London:Verso. 291-332.



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# Data: ESS survey, 2012

- The European Social Survey (ESS) is an academically driven cross-national survey that has been conducted every two years across Europe since 2001. The survey measures the attitudes, beliefs and behavior patterns of diverse populations in more than thirty nations.
- The ESS questionnaire includes a well-established 21-item measure of human values, which was developed by the Israeli psychologist, Professor Shalom Schwartz. The 'Human Values Scale' is designed to classify respondents according to their basic value orientations. The Human Values Scale has been included in every ESS round to date.
  - See: <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/data/themes.html?t=values>



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# Homework

- Please, try to prove Jeno Szucs's Tree historical regions of Europe by cross tabulating the Schwartz value test by countries



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# Inter-Ethnic Relations in Europe

## Class 8

### Minorities in the modern nations states



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## Formation of the majorities in the nation state

- Transition from feudalism to capitalism
- Erosion of feudal sub-groupings (estates, guilds, ethnic groups etc.)
- Emergence of territorial and work units whose membership is fluid, has a great turnover, and does not engage or commit the loyalty and identity of members
- The result is an internally random and fluid totality, within which there is much less certainty provided by genuine sub-groupings



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## The semantic power of the word „Minority“

- „Minority“ stems from „minor“ (Latin)
- Minor= smaller, less, slight
- Childhood experiences („small“ vs. „big“)
- Results of the experiment on the development of the Hungarian national consciousness (Perceptions of Hungary's size in age 6 and age 10)
- Lenin's semantic trick („Bolsheviks“ who were in fact in minority, and „Mensheviks“ who were in fact in majority)



## Perceptual disadvantages

- Hamilton and Gifford (difference in perception of categories „A“ and „B“ as a function of frequency of exposure by written narratives)

- Multilink:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LRLkwwG5nPE>

# Illusory correlation

- Minority status as rarity
- Rarity as a cause of alert
- „just world hypothesis”
- Information of „unjust world” alerts
- „rarity” and „unjust quality” combined result in illusory correlation causing cognitive disadvantage of people perceived by the majority as minority members

# Disadvantages of being minority

- Lack of economic resources (poverty)
- Lack of political capital (powerlessness)
- Lack of social capital (limited network, distrust, enviousness)
- Lack of cultural capital
  - external categorization
  - loss of language
  - deprivation of history
  - denial of positive self-identity

# Varieties of discrimination

- Every day practices of discrimination (locution, avoidance, aggression, segregation)
- Discrimination in the media (unfair representation, denial of the right of self-determination)
- Discrimination in the public sphere (discriminatory decisions of public servants)
- Discrimination in the legal sphere (e.g. Nuremberg Laws, Apartheid)



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# Social psychology of the minority-majority relations

- Ranked relationship
- Negative contingency (lose-lose)
- Fixed boundaries
- Majority superiority
- Interiorization of the majority's views on behalf of the minority
- Minority anxiety
- Self-fulfilling prophecy (majority contempt-minority aggression-justification of discrimination)



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## Minority's passive responses to discrimination

- Interiorization of the majority representation
- Self-hate
- Contra-selection of leaders
- Churn and assimilation
- Compensation



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## Minority's active responses to discrimination

- Politics of identity
- Fight for recognition
- Restoring social justice
- Accumulation of economic, social, political and cultural capitals
- Emancipation

– Multilink: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=flshl\\_qxxew](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=flshl_qxxew)



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## Types of minority groups

- Historical minorities (ethnic, national, religious minorities)
- Immigrants
- Life-style minorities (creative class, LHBT)
- Deviants and stigmatized
- Elite and underclass



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## Uncertainty in capitalist society

- The nation as a pool of the assimilated majority
- Collective mobility
- Uncertainty of existence and insecurity
- Lack of social psychological support due to the erosion of feudal subgroupings
- Fears of downward mobility, contempt of the poor
- Fears of failure, resentment against the wealthy



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# The underclass

- Concentration at the bottom
- „Natural“ category
- Perceived inferiority
- Self-hate (interiorization of the external view)
- Fear of being pushed downwards among members of higher social standing
- Anti-minority prejudice as a way of coping the fear of being pushed down
- „dirty“, „lazy“, „poor“, „ignorant“

# Gypsies

- „Gypsies are dark skinned and black haired. They empty your pocket on the bus or tram. They are ugly and wretched. They are shaggy burglars. They steal your chicken or the bedsheet from the washing line. They are crooks or bums or at least both. Gypsies collect antiquities and cheat you. They broke into your car and organize the flat mafia. They rob and kill helpless elderly people or seize their home. Gypsies are thieves, beggars or criminals. One way or another, they try to trick you.” (Gyula Szilágyi. 18 April, 2008. Élet és irodalom)

# Romantic idealization

„Over shores covered by forest,  
in the time of a mute eve's  
noise and song sail your tents over,  
over fires you cook with.

(...)

In the first rays of the morning  
your free trace will be quite lost,  
but your peaceful out-going  
will not have the bard of your”

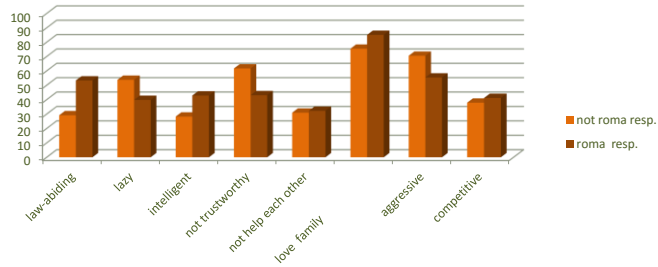
*A. Pushkin: The Gypsies. 1830. Yevgeny Bonver's  
translation.*

# Id-stereotypes

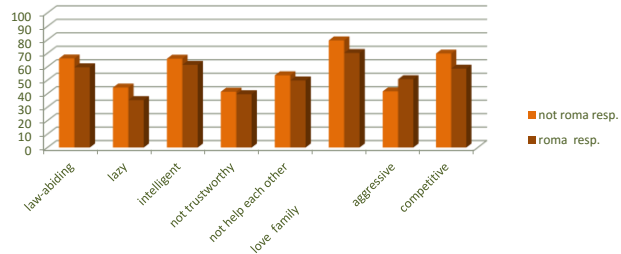
- Lustprinzip (pleasure principle)
- Repression of the unconscious, inaccessible part of our personality
- The troubled relationship between the unconscious and conscious part of our personality
- „Psycho-pathology of everyday life” (Freud)
- Projection, scapegoating, intergroup aggression
- Underclass as target-group

Thinking about Gypsies and not Gypsies , what kind of characteristics come to your mind? (100 point scale means)

• For Roma



• For non Roma



## The longest hatred

- The endurance of the category of „Jew”
- Social and symbolic exclusion in feudalism
- New cognitive needs stemming from the logics of the transition from feudalism to capitalism
- Literacy, motivation to learn, rational thinking, communication skills, familiarity with the world of knowledge
- Match of the Jewish skills and the needs of capitalism





# Political anti-Semitism

- The conditions of the ascending Jews were painful and fraught with tension
- Whatever their individual merits to the acquaintances and encounters from the ranks of the random non-Jewish majority they will be seen as alien intruders (pushy, aggressive, clannish, egoist)
- The trap of assimilation (if they assimilate they are blamed for intrusion, if they do not assimilate they are blamed for uninvolvedness)



# Super-ego

- The „Super-ego” drives the person for perfection
- It includes the person’s ego-ideals, strategic goals and the agency called „conscience” that represses the drives, fantasies and feelings that are not in correspondance with the ideals, goals, and norms

## The Jews as target groups of the Super-ego stereotypes

- Devaluation of success
- Ressentiment (Nietzsche) against the elite
- The need for levelling
- Reassignment of the pain that accompanies a sense of own's failure into an external scapegoat
- Denying responsibility for oneself

## Dictatorship of the mediocracy

- Reduction of uncertainty by creation of certainties
- Building walls of intolerance
- Exclusion and discrimination
- Repression of counter-culture



## Complexes in the majority-minority relationship

Majority complex:

Fear of downward mobility

Ressentiment and anxiety

Minority complex:

Shame

Paranoia



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## Improving majority-minority relationships

- Fair media representation (devoid of illusory correlations)
- Desegregated schools
- Zero tolerance against discrimination in public
- Non-discriminatory behavior of the elite as a single reference group for the rest of the society

– Multilink: <https://www.niot.org/>

– Multilink: <https://www.facebook.com/toleranciakorok>



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# Literature

- Henri Tajfel The Social Psychology of *Minorities*. Minority Rights Group (December 1978)
- Horowitz: Ethnic groups in conflict. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985



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# Homework

- At the [konfliktuskutato.hu](http://konfliktuskutato.hu) site select one conflict, and write a case study of it!
  - Multilink:  
[http://konfliktuskutato.hu/index.php?option=com\\_maps&view=layouts&Itemid=192](http://konfliktuskutato.hu/index.php?option=com_maps&view=layouts&Itemid=192)



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# Inter-Ethnic Relations in Europe

## Class 9

### The stock of knowledge of the national consciousness

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## Tools of national imagination

- Name
- Self-categorization
- Thematisations
- Typifications (Normalcy, Taken for granted reality)
- Relevances
- Stereotypes
- Interpretations
- Symbols
- Scripts
- Creed



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# Name

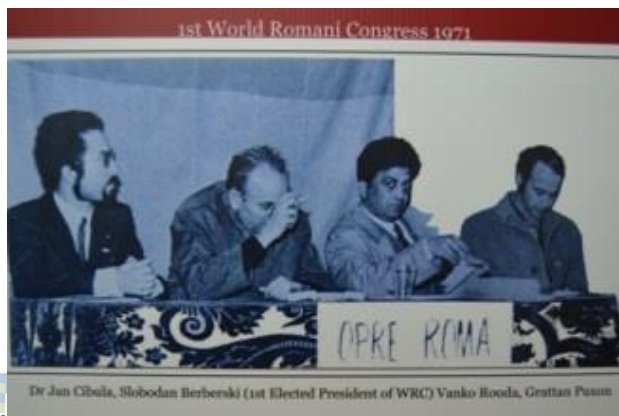
- Adjective, noun
- Identification (internal and external)
- Positive connotations
- Ingroup-outgroup differentiation
- The right to have a name
- Politics of identity and recognition



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Based on the existence of a so-called “Romani Nation”, the song “Gelem, Gelem” was proposed as the official Romani anthem and a common flag was created. The motto “Opre Roma!” became the political credo of the Romani Movement and its fight for social justice and equality. The choice of the terms “Rom” and “Romani” as official designations was to do away with old prejudices and help create new self confidence. Slobodan Beberski was elected Honorary president, Dr. Jan Čibula from Czechoslovakia (Vice-)President, and Grattan Puxon, Head of the British Gypsy Council, General Secretary, and commissions were established which dealt with war crimes, social and educational conditions, as well as the language and culture of the Roma.



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# The English weather



# Hungarian Plains



## The “Magyar Vizsla”



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## Dutch windmill



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# Russian summer



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# Italian seashore



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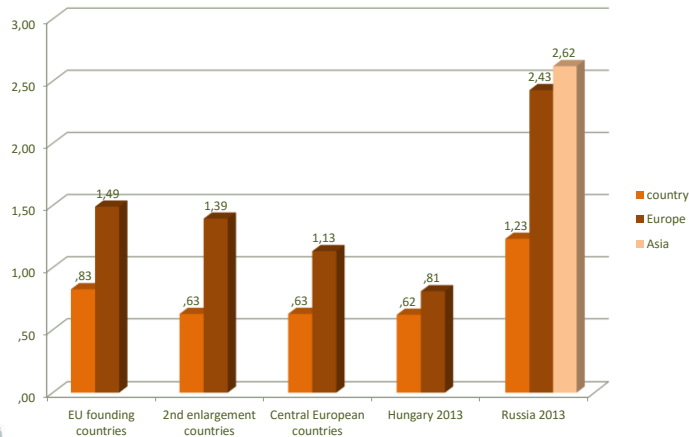
# Chinese landscape



# Self-categorization

- “Who I am?”
- Social identity theory (Tajfel-Turner)
- The need to be categorized
- Spontaneous national identity
- Closeness, familiarity
- Pride and shame
- Widening circles of self-categorization  
(neighborhood, county, country, continent)

## Perceived closeness of the country and the continent in different regions of Europe (averages, larger is the number bigger is the distance)



## Thematizations

- Setting the national scene
- Nature (landscape, fauna, flora, climate)
- Anthropology (body, customs, habits)
- History
- Politics
- Culture
- Society
- Economy
- Sport
- Everyday life (gastronomy, leisure, cloth)

# sports

**LONDON 2012 MEDAL TABLE**

POS	COUNTRY	Gold	Silver	Bronze	TOTAL
1.	United States	46	29	29	104
2.	China	38	27	22	87
3.	Great Britain	29	17	19	65
4.	Russia	24	25	22	71
5.	South Korea	13	8	7	28
6.	Germany	11	19	14	44
7.	France	11	11	12	34
8.	Italy	8	9	11	28
9.	Hungary	6	4	5	15
10.	Australia	7	14	12	33
11.	Japan	7	10	21	38
12.	Kazakhstan	7	1	5	13
13.	Netherlands	6	9	8	23
14.	Ukraine	6	5	9	20
15.	Cuba	5	5	5	15
16.	New Zealand	3	3	3	9
17.	Iran	4	3	3	10
18.	Israel	4	3	5	12
19.	Czech Republic	3	3	6	12
20.	North Korea	4	1	1	6
21.	Spain	3	1	1	5
22.	Poland	0	1	0	1
23.	Hong Kong	0	0	1	1

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# Gastronomy

**SOUTHERN ITALY**  
Olive Oil, Tomato, Parsley

**SPAIN**  
Olive Oil, Pepper, Garlic

**TUNISIA**  
Chili, Cumin, Coriander Seed

**WEST AFRICA**  
Chili, Tomato, Peanut

**HAWAII (USA)**  
Sea Salt, Kuku Nut, Seaweed

**LOUISIANA (USA)**  
Paprika, Mustard Seed, Cayenne Pepper

**MIDWEST (USA)**  
Coriander, Parsley, Mustard

**YEMEN**  
Cardamom Seeds, Coriander, Garlic

**YUCATAN**  
Sour Orange, Garlic, Achote

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## Relevances

- Qualifications, justifications, rationalities
- Morality (virtues and sins)
- Aesthetics
- Psychology/National character
- Economy (agrarian, industrial, commercial)
- International relations –recognition of interdependence, intergroup empathy, conflict resolution)

- **Karakter**



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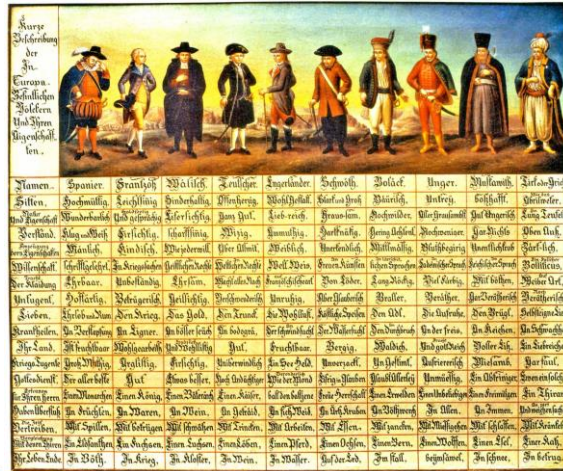
## Stereotypes

- Collective character
- Visibility
- Assumptions
  - Morality
  - competence
- Auto-stereotypes
  - Mainly positive
- Hetero-stereotypes
  - Mainly negative



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Short description of peoples living in Europe and their characteristics

Names	Spanish	French	Italian	German	English	Swedish	Polish	Hungarian	Russian	Turkish or Greek
<b>Mores</b>	haughty	reckless	sneaky	open hearted	shapely	strong and big	rough	dishonest	evil	like April weather
<b>Nature and type</b>	wondrous	fair and talkative	jealous	rather good	lovely	cruel	like a deer (?)	the cruelest of all	like a Hungarian	the young devil
<b>Intellect</b>	smart and clever	careful	sharp	funny (=smart)	dainty	stubborn	haughty	even less	none at all	pretty clever
<b>Characteristics</b>	manly	childish	as others may wish	always game	feminine	incognizable	mediocre	savage	endlessly rude	tender
<b>Science</b>	literate	war sciences	divine law	earthly law	worldly wisdom	liberal arts	foreign languages	Latin	Greek	false politician
<b>Clothing</b>	decent	inconsistent	decent	imitates all	the French fashions	made from leather	long frocks	colourful	wears fur	like women
<b>Negative virtues</b>	arrogant	deceitful	mean	wasteful	restless	superstitious	braggard	traitor	always suspicious	even more deceitful
<b>What they adore</b>	fame and glory	war	gold	drinking	lust	fine foods	the nobility	rebellion	beating	their own selves
<b>Illnesses</b>	constipation	syphilis	evil disease	gout	tuberculosis	edema	hernia	epilepsy	pertussis	depression
<b>Their land</b>	fertile	well cultured	spectacular and nice	good	fertile	hilly	forested	rich in gold and fruits	lots of ice	lovely
<b>War virtues</b>	magnanimous	shrewd	careful	invincible	a hero of the seas	undeterred	vehement	rebellious	tedious	all lazy
<b>Liturgy</b>	the very best	good	somewhat better	even more pious	changing like the moon	zealous in faith	faithful alone	indifferent	renegade	not any better
<b>Ruled by</b>	a monarch	a king	a patriarch	an emperor	this or the other	free lords	an elected one	anyone	a volunteer	a tyrant
<b>Have excess of</b>	fruits	merchandise	wine	corn	pastures	ore	fur	everything	bees	tender and soft things
<b>Passtime</b>	play	betrayal	gossip	drinking	work	eating	quarrel	idling	sleep	complaint
<b>Animal comparison</b>	elephant	fox	lynx	lion	horse	ox	bear	wolf	donkey	cat
<b>How they die</b>	in a boat	in war	in a cloister	in wine	in water	on the ground	in the stall	by sword	in the snow	by deceit

# Interpretations

Interpretations serve as a means of formulation of the problems, setting goals, finding solutions, evaluation the outcomes of the actions

- Dichotomization (ingroup, outgroup)
- Rationalization (self-justification)
- Compensation (stems from inferiority complex)
- Cognitive dissonance reduction (fear of extinction)
- Attribution (Scapegoating)

Multilink: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_0V\\_xf3OQgM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_0V_xf3OQgM)



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# Symbols

- Analog signs
  - Icons
  - Primordial origins
  - Emotional significance
  - Songs (anthem)
- Multilink: <http://www.nationalanthems.me/anthems/>
- Flag, coat of arm
  - “Holy places”
  - Memorials
  - Dates of historical memory
  - Relics



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## Scripts

Scripts are behavioral schemes enabling members of the community to present and reinforce their membership

- Rituals
- Holidays
- Commemorations
- Feasts
- Ceremonies





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## An invented nation: “Ethnian”

- Name
- Being
- History
- Heroes, traitors
- Mother language
- Character
- Politics
- Comparison

## Creed/Name

- The name “Ethnian” is of ancient derivation. Its meaning is “our nation” which was used by the Ethnians to designate themselves and to differentiate themselves from all those who are not Ethnians. It was never easy to be an Ethnian, it is not belonging, but service and obligation to all those who ever belonged to the Ethnian nation, who belong to it now, or who will belong to it in the future

## Creed/Symbols

- We were born Ethnian, we live as Ethnians and we will die as Ethnians. Ethnians are bound together by feeling and awareness expressed through the symbols of Ethnian being, The unity of Ethnian colors, Ethnian land and Ethnian sky are supplied by nature and express the existence of the nation through nature.
- In the Ethnian coat of arms and national song we find the echoes of the Ethnian mission of all times, which emerged when the first sentence of the Ethnian language was enunciated and remains valid as long as Ethnian will be spoken in the world.

## Creed/Being

- There are no alternative to te Ethnian being. Whoever is not Ethnian what it means to be Ethnian, cannot feel the joy and pride which fill all Ethninans when they think of their own nation. Nor can strangers feel the sorrow and pain which permeates the heart of every Ethnian when fickle fate, the countless blows, the times of troubles and woes come to mind. Those who do not partake of these feelings do not deserve to be called Ethnians, no matter how hard they may try to imitate Ethnians in language and behavior. False Ethnianism is even more dangerous than the open enemy, with regard to whom the Ethnians know where they stand, and know how to deal with them. To be an Ethnian is an eternal battle, the front lines of which only the true Ethnian can perceive.

## Creed/History

- The greatest lesson of Ethnian history is that the Ethnians were invariably successful and in the vanguard once they set aside their quarrels and fought together. As soon as party-strife, and lack of unity raised they ugly heads Ethnians became subject to defeat, victims of catastrophes. Ethnian survival was always the primary command of the Ethnian national fate. Wherever Ethnians live is not a mere piece of ground, it is the fatherland, drenched in Ethnian blood. It is this blood right that the Ethnians own the Ethnian land, their home in space and time.

## Creed/Heroes-traitors

- Ethnial history obligates us. We must remain true to our Ethnial heroes who had never died completely. They continue to live among us, encouraging us in the struggles as of present and the future. There were some who tired in the fight, became disloyal to the country, abandoned the flag. Our contempt for them only strengthens the national resolve and the desire for action, that this may never happen again.

## Creed/Language

- The Ethnial heroes speak to us in our language- the language which is understood by our successors and ancestors alike. This language cannot be truly understood by those who merely speak it, but to not feel and think Ethnial. The Ethnial language bears the secret of Ethnialism. Only the greatest, primarily the great Ethnial poets, had the privilege of observing the secrets of this essence and to bequeath it to later generations through their immortal works.

## Creed/Anthropology

- The true bearers of Ethnian history and Ethnian culture are the Ethnian people. The great Ethnians have always come from among the people, conveyed the Ethnian essence in their works, realized the Ethnian mission in their action. The Ethnian race cannot be mistaken for any other. The Ethnian land produces the Ethnian person, who differs from all others. Ethnian characteristics are rightfully admired, even by those not borne Ethnian. Pure Ethnian descent is obvious in the features, in the bold gaze of the eye, the carriage, not to mention the inimitable tones of pure, zesty Ethnian speech. Ethnian race and fate are two aspects of the same whole, they cannot be rent asunder.

## Creed/Character

- The Ethnian soul is irrational, it is boundless in its emotions, responds to love with love, hatred to hatred. Hence the hospitality is typical of Ethnians, but also their indomitable hatred of the enemy. Underneath the unbridled Ethnian mood, however, there is rigorous discipline. The Ethnian mind controls the passions and the outcome is Ethnian wisdom, so admired by others, which characterizes Ethnian people and leaders alike.

## Creed/Politics

- The wisdom dictates the basic principles of Ethnian politics. Ethnian politics is the politics of survival and development which teaches to promote whatever strengthens the Ethnian life-world, and to fight against every parasite that feeds on the root of healthy Ethnian life. There is no better policy than the love of the Ethnian people. The Ethnians have their right to exist and will not sell this right for any other. The Ethnian bill of rights is inalienable.



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## Creed/Comparison

- This small nation is represented in world culture, in sports, in the vanguard of creative intellectual life in a ratio far exceeding its numbers. In many ways it deserves “great power status”, achieved by feat of arms, by dubious commercial manipulation nor by self-centered economic development. The Ethnians cannot forget their mission which thrusts upon them a leading role in the region of Europe where they live. While the Ethnian nation expands to its natural boundaries it demands only what others consider normal security and the right to national existence.



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# Literature

- György Csepeli: *National Identity in Contemporary Hungary*. Social Science Monographs, Boulder, Colorado. ARP, Inc. Highland Lakes, NJ. Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York.
- J. Th. Leersen: *National Thought in Europe*. Amsterdam University Press 2006



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# Homework

- A comparative study on national holidays in European countries (the number of countries are 5)



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# Inter-Ethnic Relations in Europe

## Class 10

### Spontaneous national identity, membership and national pride

"Financed from the financial support ELTE won from the Higher Education Restructuring Fund of the Hungarian Government"



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## Conceptualization and Operationalization of national identity

- **Conceptualization**
  - Theoretical framework
    - See class 1
  - Cross national empirical researches
  - Major dimensions
    - See Dekker, Csepeli
- **Operationalization**
  - Measurement of attitudes
  - Scales
  - Standardization
  - Comparativeness



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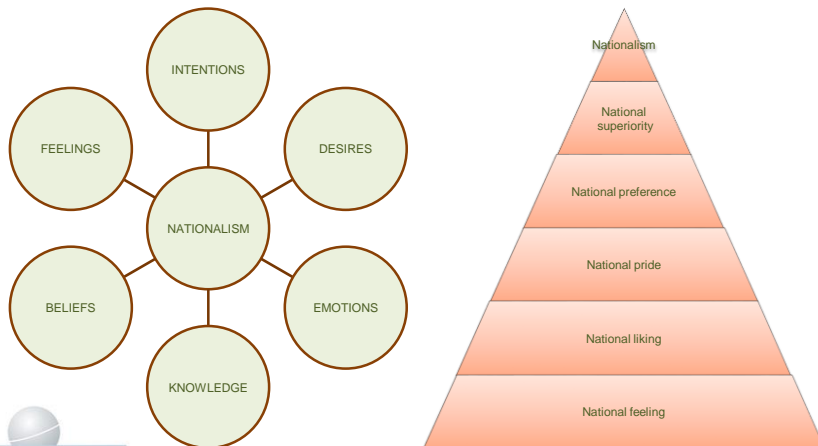
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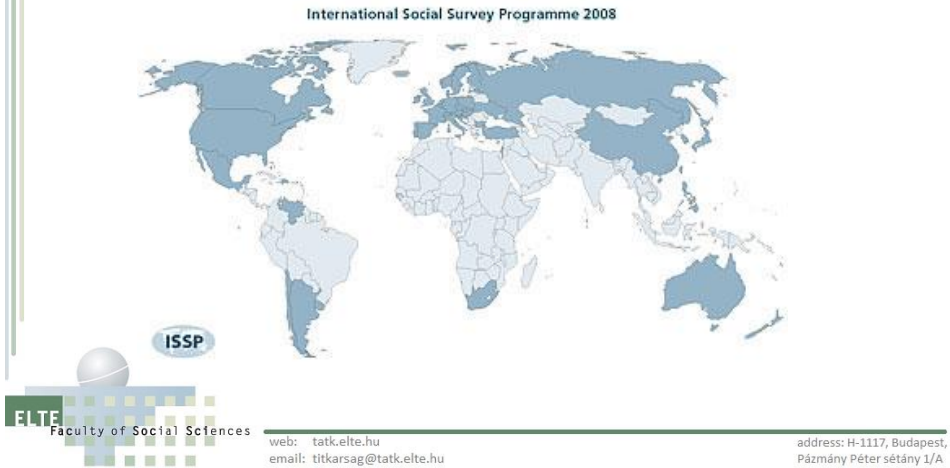
## Stock of Knowledge of National Identity Model 1



## Stock of Knowledge of National Identity Model 2



# ISSP participating countries



## Data

- **Three waves of research**
- 1995, 2003, 2013
- International Social Science Survey Programme
- Russia and Hungary has participated in each waves, data already available
- Other countries available from 1995, 2003
- Representative national samples (minimum=1000 in each wave)
- Country selection: EU member countries and Russia

## ISSP national identity 1995, 2003, 2013

- Spontaneous national identity
- National categorization
- Ethnocentrism
- National pride
- Nationalism
- Xenophobia
- Autochthonous population and immigrants
- European Union



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## Spontaneous identity (ISSP)

In the following list which category is the most important for you in describing who you are?

- Professional
- Ethnic
- Nationality
- Gender
- Generational
- Religious
- Political
- Family status
- Social Class
- Regional



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## Personal social identity-preferences, in 2003 frequency of the most important categories

	occupation	ethnic background	gender	age group	religion	Pref political party	nationality	family or marital status	social class	The part of country you live in	Na. refused
Germany-West	14.7%	5.1%	13.3%	4.1%	3.1%	1.1%	3.1%	27.8%	2.0%	3.8%	22.1%
Germany-East	17.8%	4.1%	18.3%	5.5%	1.6%	0.0%	5.3%	24.5%	3.4%	5.7%	13.7%
GB-Great Britain	9.1%	1.7%	7.0%	3.0%	2.2%	0.2%	6.7%	40.6%	1.5%	1.4%	26.7%
A-Austria	17.2%	5.0%	8.8%	2.5%	3.9%	1.0%	8.5%	39.0%	3.1%	5.5%	5.6%
Hungary	13.0%	7.9%	7.0%	12.0%	3.1%	1.2%	0.0%	31.9%	5.7%	11.7%	6.5%
Ireland	14.5%	2.9%	7.9%	2.8%	7.4%	0.5%	14.9%	37.3%	0.7%	3.8%	7.4%
Sweden	7.0%	0.4%	6.5%	2.1%	1.1%	0.7%	2.8%	24.6%	0.4%	1.3%	53.1%
Czech Republic	26.0%	4.2%	15.3%	8.9%	2.3%	0.9%	8.5%	25.6%	3.1%	4.6%	0.5%
Slovenia	17.5%	11.4%	9.8%	5.9%	2.8%	0.3%	10.0%	24.4%	1.6%	11.6%	4.7%
Poland	16.0%	1.6%	9.2%	3.8%	9.6%	0.3%	12.0%	29.9%	2.3%	4.0%	11.2%
LV-Latvia	22.4%	12.2%	8.0%	10.1%	2.9%	0.0%	1.2%	35.3%	4.1%	2.6%	1.2%
Slovak Republic	14.5%	1.5%	10.9%	3.7%	12.2%	0.6%	4.8%	40.6%	0.8%	6.4%	4.0%
France	13.6%	6.9%	19.7%	5.5%	4.2%	1.8%	14.7%	18.7%	5.5%	5.9%	3.5%
Portugal	12.7%	2.7%	18.0%	5.4%	3.2%	1.1%	14.7%	29.6%	1.9%	5.5%	5.2%
Denmark	7.4%	0.8%	3.4%	2.0%	1.4%	0.5%	3.5%	41.3%	1.0%	1.2%	37.5%
Finland	13.8%	1.0%	5.4%	5.4%	2.4%	0.9%	12.4%	10.5%	1.4%	1.5%	45.3%
Russia	25.5%	10.2%	8.5%	8.0%	2.1%	0.6%	2.9%	27.5%	6.5%	7.2%	1.0%
<b>SUM</b>	<b>15.9%</b>	<b>4.9%</b>	<b>10.4%</b>	<b>5.5%</b>	<b>3.8%</b>	<b>0.7%</b>	<b>7.7%</b>	<b>29.3%</b>	<b>2.9%</b>	<b>5.0%</b>	<b>13.9%</b>

## Emotional attachment, closeness

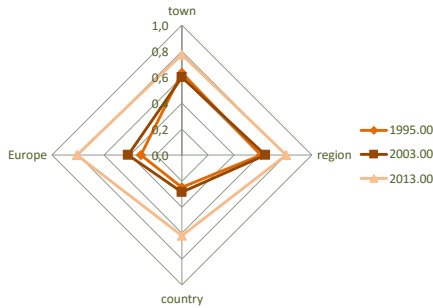
Q. 1. How close do you feel to... (Please, check one box on each line)

	Very close	Close	Not very close	Not close at all	Can't choose
a) your town or city	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b) your [county]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c) [COUNTRY]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d) [Continent; e.g. Europe]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[1. Precode: "Feel close to" is to be understood as "emotionally attached to" or "identifying with".

# Spontaneous identity in 1995, 2003, 2013

- Hungary



- Russia

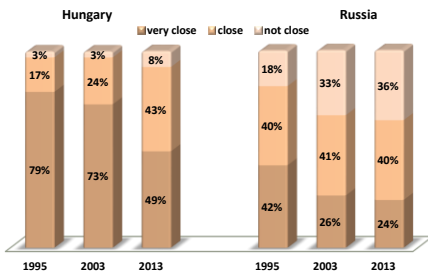


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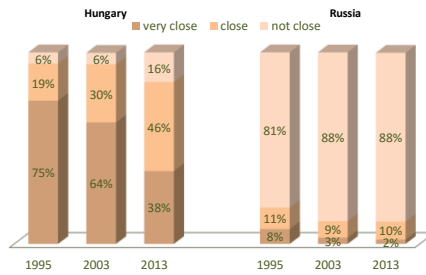
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# Spontaneous identity percent in 1995, 2003, 2013

- Attachment to the nation



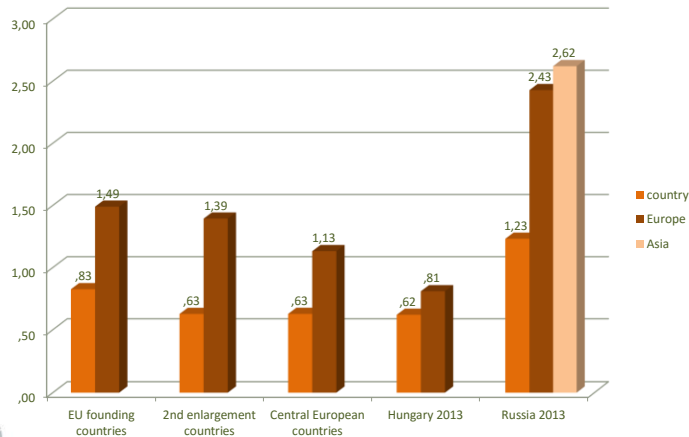
- Attachment to Europe



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# Spontaneous identity in Europe (2003), Hungary and Russia (2013)



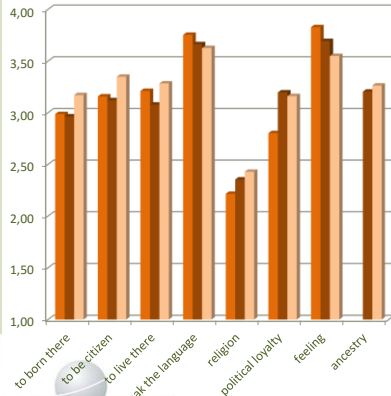
## National categorization

Some people say that the following things are important for being truly [NATIONALITY]. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is... (Please, check one box on each line) Insert nationality corresponding to COUNTRY.

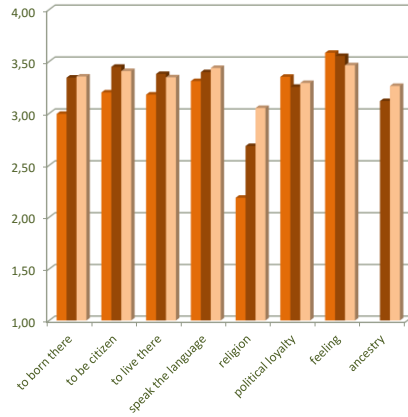
	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not important at all	Can't choose
a. to have been born in [COUNTRY]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. to have [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] citizenship	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. to have lived in [COUNTRY] for most of one's life	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. to be able to speak [COUNTRY LANGUAGE]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. to be a [religion]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f. to respect [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] political institutions and laws	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
g. to feel [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
h. to have [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] ancestry	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

## National categorization 4 point scale means in 1995, 2003, 2013

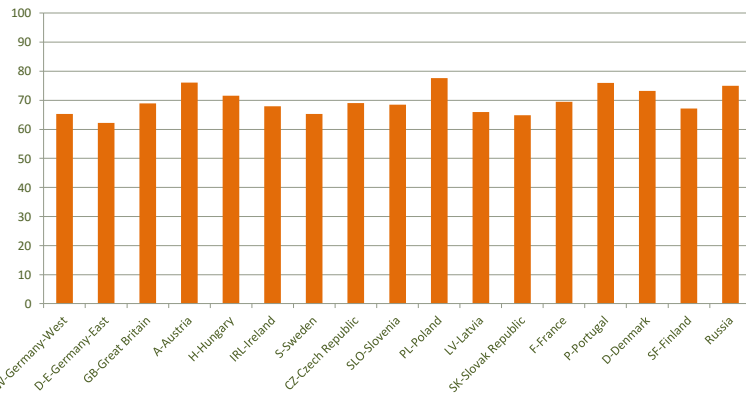
### • Hungary



### • Russia

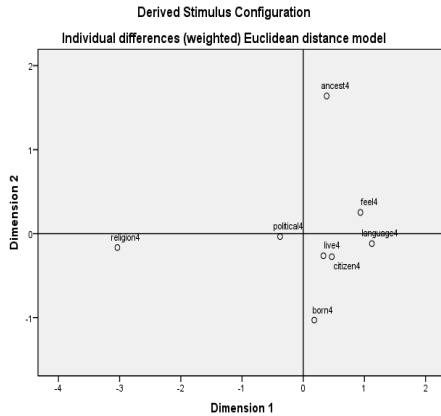


## National categorization: From exclusive to inclusive in 2003 100 point scale means

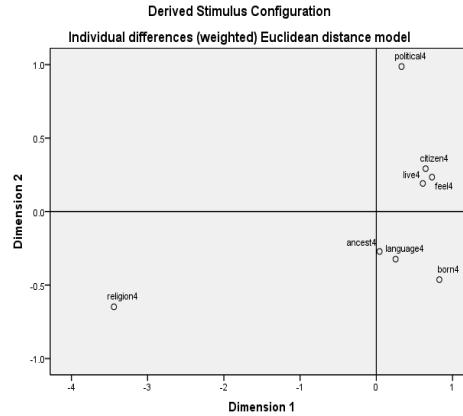


# Multinomial scaling in 2013 in Russia and Hungary

- Hungary



- Russia



## National Pride

How proud are you of [COUNTRY] in each of the following? (Please, check one box on each line)

	Very proud	Somewhat proud	Not very proud	Not proud at all	Can't choose
a. the way democracy works	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. its political influence in the world	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. [COUNTRY'S] economic achievements	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. its social security system	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. its scientific and technological achievements	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f. its achievements in sports	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
g. its achievements in the arts and literature	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
h. [COUNTRY'S] armed forces	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
i. its history	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
j. its fair and equal treatment of all groups in society	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

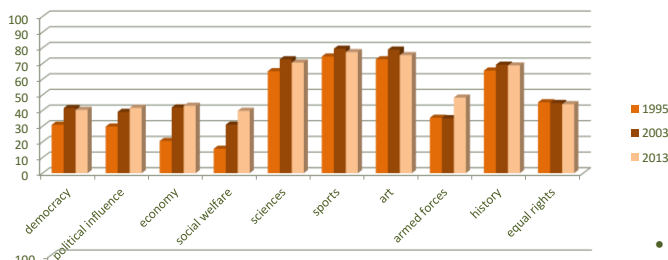




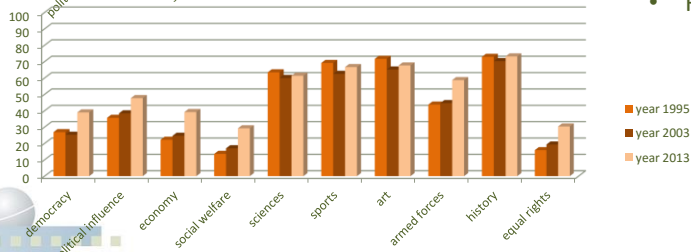
## Sources of national pride in Hungary and Russia

100 point scale means in 1995, 2003, 2013

- Hungary

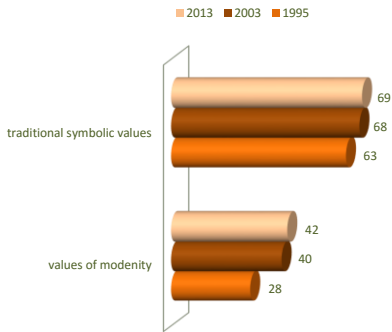


- Russia

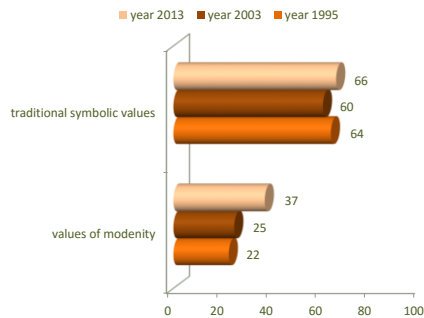


## Symbolic and modern sources of national pride in Russia and Hungary 100 point scale means in 1995, 2003, 2013

### • Hungary

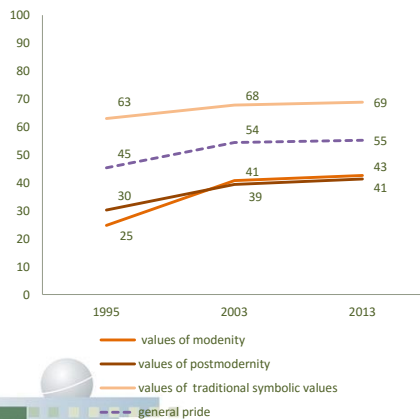


### • Russia

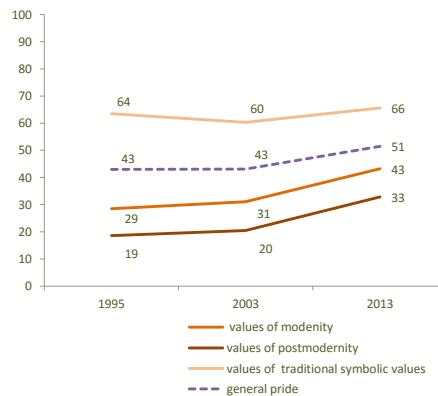


## Symbolic, modern and postmodern sources of national pride in Hungary and Russia 100 point scale means in 1995, 2003, 2013

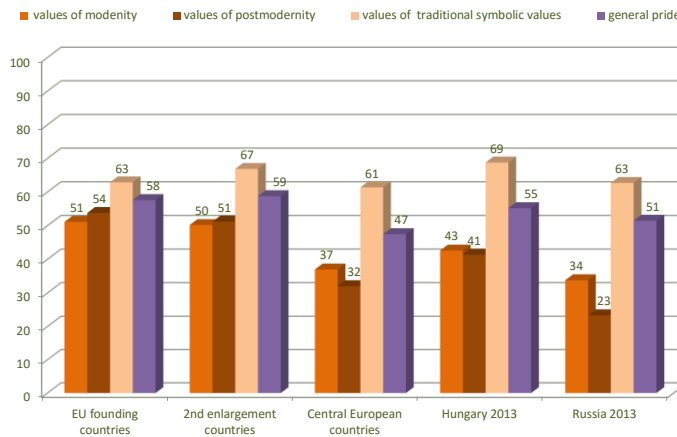
### • Hungary



### • Russia



## Symbolic, modern and postmodern sources of national pride in Hungary and Russia (2013), in the EU regions (2003) 100 point scale means



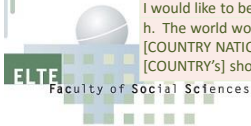
## National complain

- Multilink:  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VGgkHytiOME>

# Ethnocentrism

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Please, check one box on each line)

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Can't choose
a. I would rather be a citizen of [COUNTRY] than of any other country in the world	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. There are some things about [COUNTRY] today that make me feel ashamed of [COUNTRY]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like the [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Generally speaking, [COUNTRY] is a better country than most other countries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. People should support their country even if the country is in the wrong.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f. When my country does well in international sports, it makes me proud to be [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
g. I am often less proud of [COUNTRY] than I would like to be.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
h. The world would be a better place if [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] acknowledged [COUNTRY's] shortcomings.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



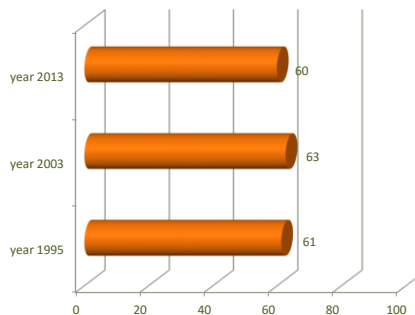
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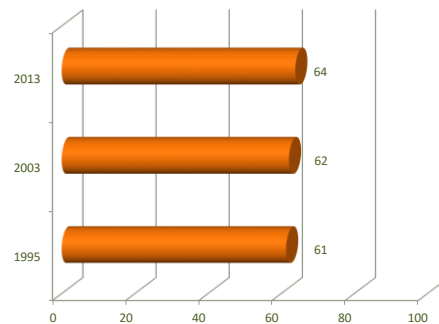
## Ethnocentrism in Hungary and Russia

aggregated 100 scale means in 1995, 2003, 2013

- Hungary



- Russia

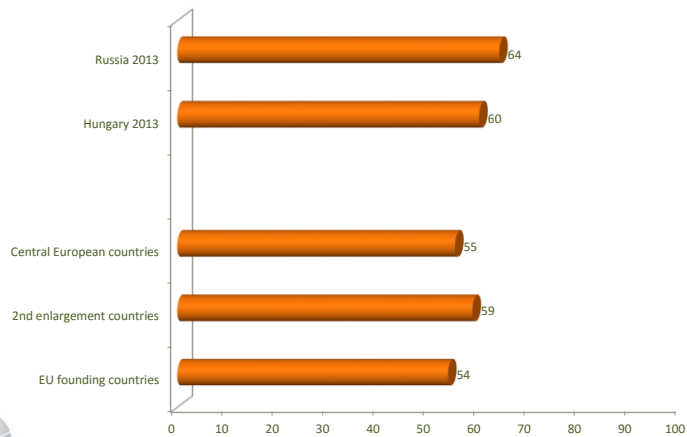


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# Ethnocentrism in Hungary and Russia (2013) and in the EU regions (2003)

aggregated 100 scale means in 1995, 2003, 2013



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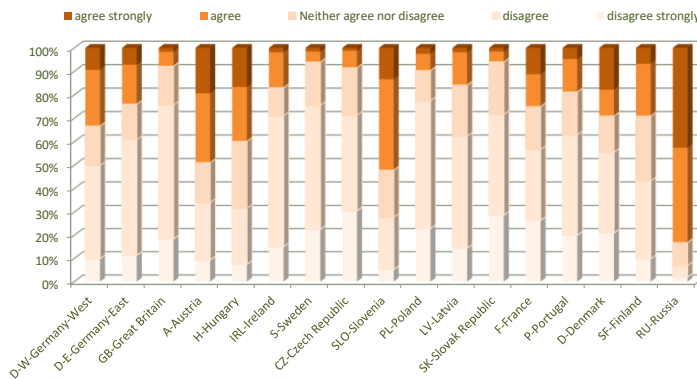


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## Things about [COUNTRY] feel ashamed In the EU and Russia, 2003

percent



## Literature

- H Dekker, D Malova, S Hoogendoorn: [Nationalism and Its Explanations](#) Political Psychology 24 (2), 2003, 345-376
- Smith, Tom W., "National Pride in Specific Domains," Chicago: NORC, 2006.
- Coenders, Marcel, "Nationalistic Attitudes and Ethnic Exclusionism in a Comparative Perspective: An Empirical Study of Attitudes toward the Country and Ethnic Immigrants in 22 Countries," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nijmegen, 2001.
- Haller, Max, "National Identity and National Pride in Europe: A Study of Nine Member States of the European Union," in [La Questione Nazionale Oggi](#), edited by Gaspare Nevola. Roma: Carocci, 2002.

# Data analysis

- ISSP National Identity Modul, 1995, 2003
  - » The ISSP National Identity module consists of three surveys from 1995, from 2003, and from 2013 in countries all over the world. The last two surveys were partial replication of the 1995 study. The ISSP National Identity module mainly deals with respondents' identification(s), aspects of national pride and support for his/her own nation, attitudes towards national and international issues, attitudes towards foreigners and foreign cultures, and views on what makes someone a true member of his/her nationality.
- Questionnaire
- Data file

# Homework

- In the ISSP 1995-2013 data file compare the measures of pride and shame in selected European countries (five or more countries, from different regions). Try to find explanations for the differences.

# Inter-Ethnic Relations in Europe

## Class 11 Nationalism, ethnocentrism and xenophobia

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# Nationalism

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Please, tick one box on each line)

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Can't choose
a. [COUNTRY] should limit the import of foreign products in order to protect its national economy.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. For certain problems, like environment pollution, international bodies should have the right to enforce solutions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. [COUNTRY] should follow its own interests, even if this leads to conflicts with other nations.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Foreigners should not be allowed to buy land in [COUNTRY]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. [COUNTRY'S] television should give preference to [COUNTRY] films and programmes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
a. Large international companies are doing more and more damage to local businesses in [COUNTRY].	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Free trade leads to better products becoming available in [COUNTRY].	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. In general, [COUNTRY] should follow the decisions of international organizations to which it belongs, even if the government does not agree with them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. International organizations are taking away too much power from the [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] government.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. Increased exposure to foreign films, music, and books is damaging our national and local cultures.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f. A benefit of the Internet is that it makes information available to more and more people worldwide.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

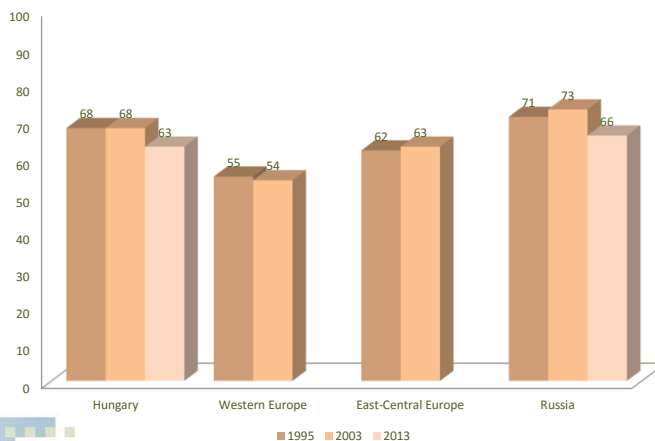


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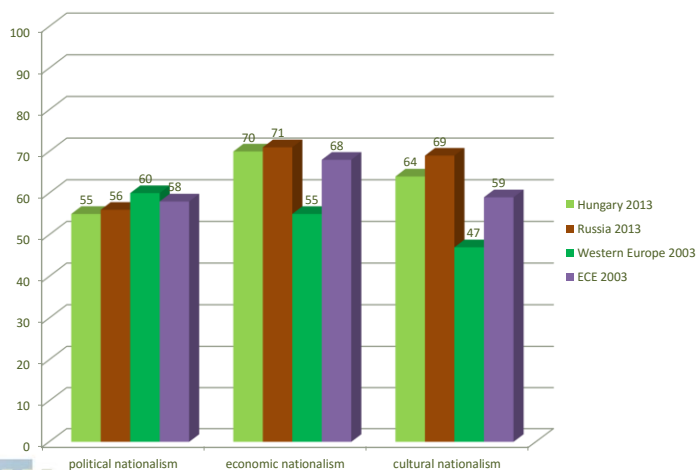
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## Strength of Nationalism in Hungary, Russia, and the EU regions aggregated scale, 1995, 2003, 2013



## Political, economic and cultural nationalism in Europe (2003), Hungary and Russia (2013)



# Xenophobia

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Please, tick one box on each line)

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Can't choose
a. Immigrants increase crime rates	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Immigrants are generally good for [COUNTRY'S] economy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in [COUNTRY]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Immigrants improve [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] society by bringing in new ideas and cultures	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. Government spends too much money assisting immigrants.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

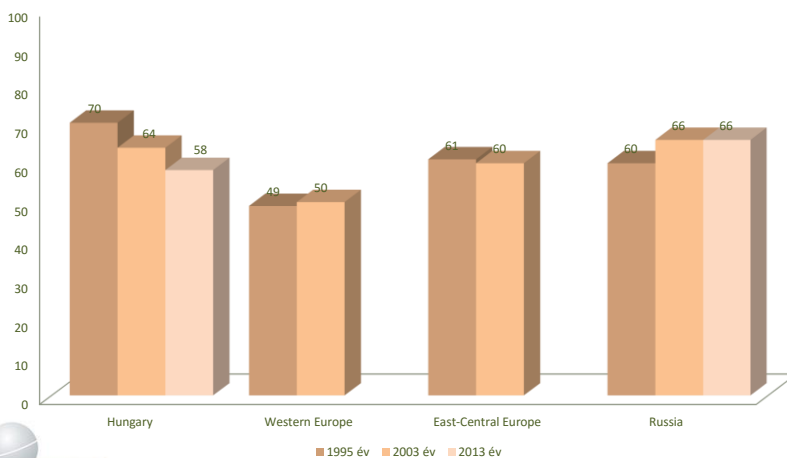
	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Can't choose
a. It is impossible for people who do not share [COUNTRY's] customs and traditions to become fully [COUNTRY'S NATIONALITY]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Ethnic minorities should be given government assistance to preserve their customs and traditions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



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## Strength of xenophobia in Hungary, Russia, and the EU regions 1995, 2003, 2013

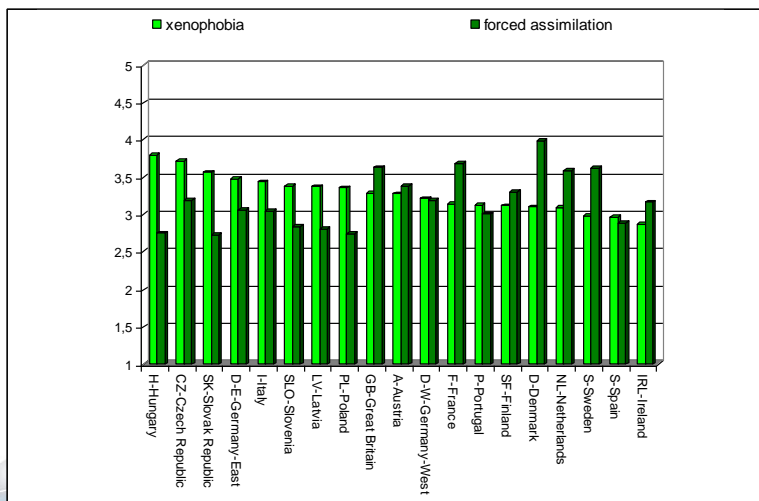


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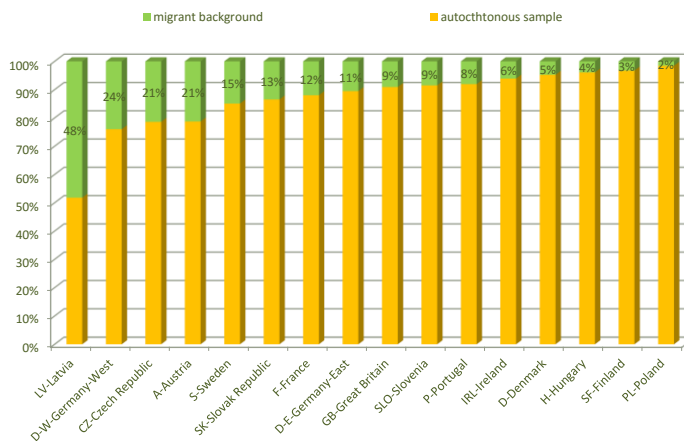


### Xenophobia and assimilationist attitude in EU countries, scale average (1 to 5) by country in 2003

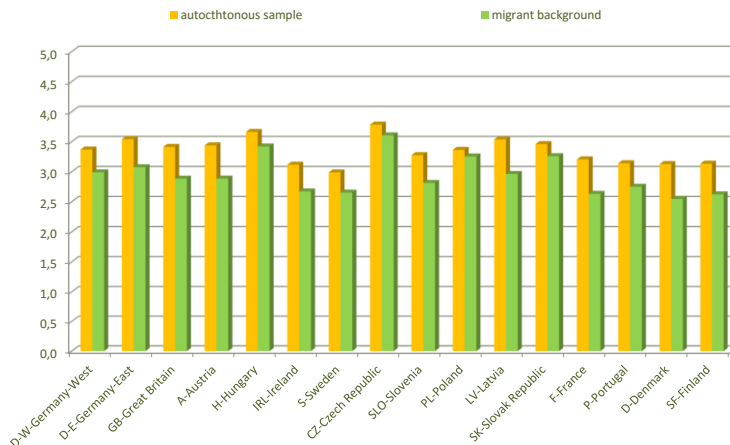


- Xenophobia and assimilationist attitude do not correlate each other
- In Eastern Europe xenophobia is high and assimilationist attitude is low
- In Western Europe xenophobia is low and assimilationist attitude is high
- Conclusion: two versions of attitude toward otherness can be distinguished: overt and covert version of xenophobia

## The proportion of first and second generational immigrants in the EU countries, percent (2003)



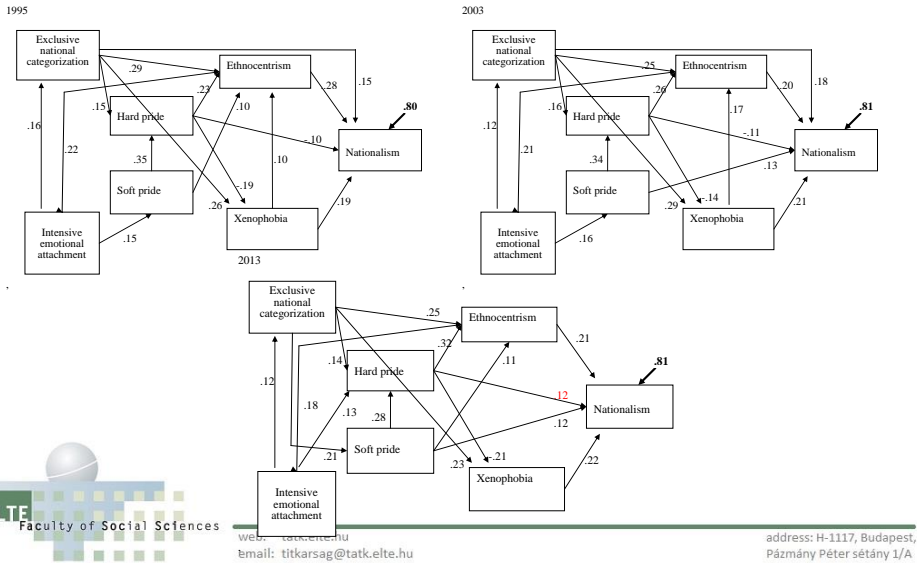
## Strength of xenophobia among autochthonous and migrant origin people in 2003 in the EU countries, scale means (1 to 5)



## Explanatory model building of national identity

- Emotional attachment, closeness
- Exclusive national categorization
- National pride, modernity values
- National pride, symbolic-cultural values
- Xenophobia
- Ethnocentrism
- Nationalism

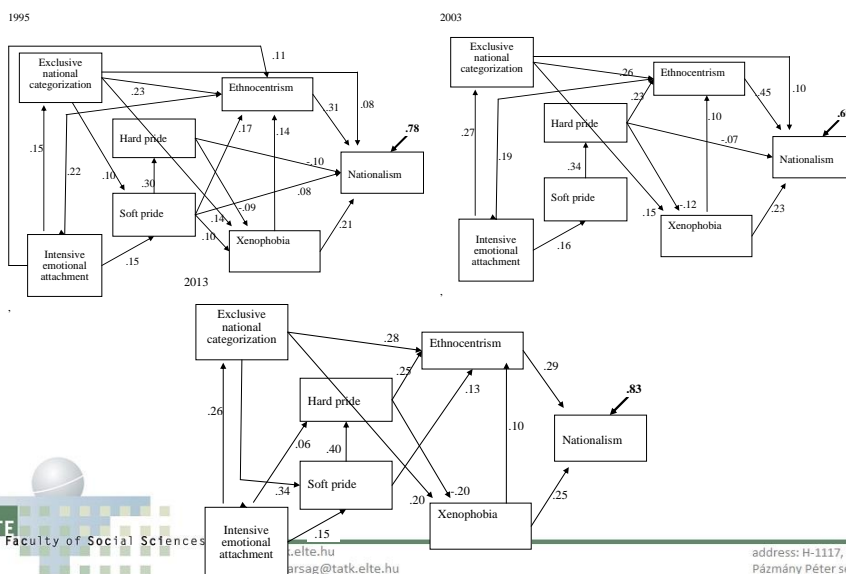
## The Hungarian nationalism, linear regression explanatory path models in 1995, 2003, 2013



## Conclusions from the three path models

- Ethnocentrism, exclusive national categorization, and xenophobia lead to increased nationalism
- Modern sources of pride decrease nationalism
- If modern sources of pride are embedded in relationship with ethnocentrism, then a reverse effect becomes effective leading to nationalism
- Inclusive national categorization and modern pride reduce xenophobia, and tend to inhibit nationalism, but only in 2013
- Exclusive national categorization was leading directly to nationalism in 1995 and 2003, in 2013 however this relation ceased to exist

## The Russian nationalism, linear regression explanatory path models in 1995, 2003, 2013



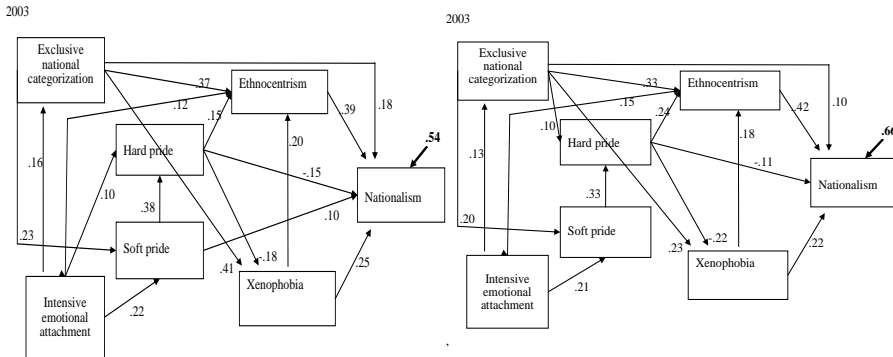
## Conclusions from the three path models

- The tendencies in Hungary and Russia are pretty similar
- As opposed to Hungary the existing and positive relation between xenophobia and ethnocentrism endures between 1995 and 2013
- The modern sources of pride tend to reduce xenophobia and consequently nationalism in each period. This effect becomes stronger and stronger with the passing of time
- Exclusive national categorization was leading directly to nationalism in 1995 and 2003, in 2013 however this relation ceased to exist

## The linear regression explanatory path model of nationalism in Europe, 2003

- Western Europe

- Eastern Europe



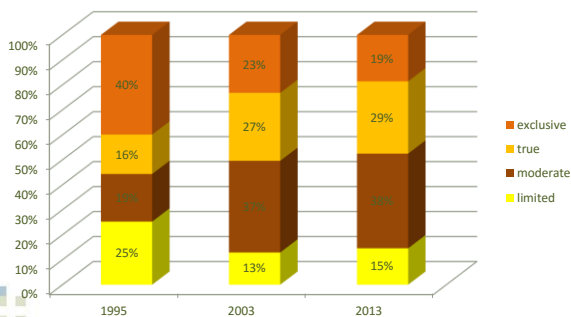
## Conclusions of the two path models

- The structure of path to nationalism is conspicuously similar in East and West (these models do not show how widespread is nationalism in two parts of Europe)



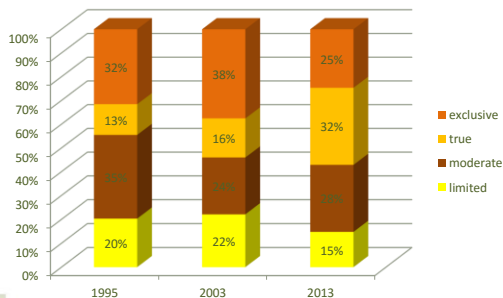
## Clusters of national identity in Hungary in 1995, 2003, 2013 K-mean cluster method

	Nationalism	Ethnocentrism	Xenophobia	Modernity pride	Cultural-symbolic pride	Exclusive categorization	group percent
limited	55	40	59	21	58	52	17.5
moderate	63	62	52	46	71	67	31.3
true	77	76	66	54	77	88	24.0
exclusive	74	61	79	22	58	79	27.1



## Clusters of national identity in Russia 1995, 2003, 2013 K-mean cluster method

	Nationalism	Ethnocentrism	Xenophobia	modernity pride	cultural-symbolic pride	exclusive categorization	group percent
moderate	59	54	52	29	70	67	28.2
limited	61	41	61	14	39	61	19.5
exclusive	84	72	79	16	61	83	32.2
true	77	79	63	58	80	85	20.1



# Literature

- Max Haller (et al): National identity in comparative perspective, in. The ISSP, 1984-2009. Charting the globe. (Ed. Max Haller, Roger Jowell, Tom W. Smith) Abingdon, Oxon ; New York : Routledge, 2009
- Csepli, Gy. and Antal Örkény (1999) "International Comparative Investigation into the National identity", *Review of Sociology*, Budapest, pp. 95-114.
- Örkény, Antal (2011) "European Identity and National Attachment: Harmony or Dissonance", in. *Corvinus Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* Vol.2 (2011) 1, pp. 33–61, see also <http://cissp.uni-corvinus.hu/index.php/cissp/index> pp. 536-63.



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# Data analysis

- ISSP National Identity Modul, Russian data, 1995, 2003, 2013
  - » The ISSP National Identity module consists of three surveys from 1995, from 2003, and from 2013 in countries all over the world. The last two surveys were partial replication of the 1995 study. The ISSP National Identity module mainly deals with respondents' identification(s), aspects of national pride and support for his/her own nation, attitudes towards national and international issues, attitudes towards foreigners and foreign cultures, and views on what makes someone a true member of his/her nationality.
- Questionnaire
- Data file



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# Homework

- The changing facets of Russian nationalism. Please, analyze the data in 1995, 2003 and 2013!



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# Inter-Ethnic Relations in Europe

## Class 12 Antisemitism

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## Why always the Jews?

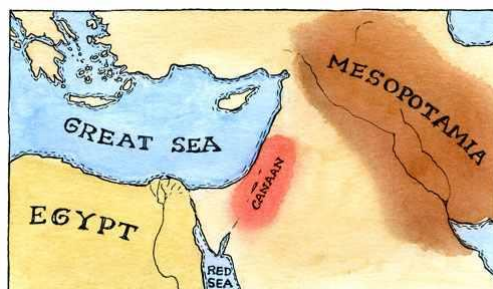
- Hannah Arendt on „eternal antisemitism”
- No arbitrary choice
- Jewish side (lack of political ability and judgment due to enduring diaspora existence)
- Non-Jewish side (ressentiment)
- Fundamental contradiction between a political body based on equality before the law and a society based on inequality of the class system



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## The strip between Egypt and Mesopotamia



## God, Abraham, Isaac



# Nomadism

- The Jews were a small band of nomads, inserted among such mighty empires as Babylonia, Assyria, Phoenicia, Egypt, Persia.
- Abraham's encounter with God who proposes a covenant



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# The paradox

- Those people who left monuments behind as a record of their existence have vanished with time, whereas the Jews who left ideas, have survived.
- Babylonians
- Persians
- Hettites
- Philistins
- Ancient Egyptians, Greek, Romans



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## The script

- Wandering
- Enslavement
- Decimation
- Exile
- Discrimination
- Fragmentation
- Dispersion
- Return

## Character traits

- Adaptability
- Flexibility
- Intelligence
- Quickness
- Readiness to decide
- Abstraction
- Idealism
- Critical spirit

## Narrative 1: The miracle of the Jews

- Miracle of the Jews: Up to the destruction of Jerusalem AD 70 as late as the rebellion of Bar Kochba, the Jewish nation was in no wise different from other normally constituted nations, such as the Roman or the Greek. The wars between the Romans and the Jews resulted in diasporing the Jewish nation to the four corners of the world. In the diaspora the Jews fiercely resisted national and religious assimilation

## Narrative 2: Diaspora as inevitability

- The diaspora of the Jews does not all date from the fall of Jerusalem. Several centuries before this event, the great majority of Jews were already spread over the four corners of the world. Well before the fall of Jerusalem, more than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the Jews no longer lived in Palestine. The fundamental reason for Jewish emigration must be sought in the geographical conditions of Palestine. (Mountainous country, bridge position between the Euphrates and the Nile.) The geographical conditions of Palestine therefore explain both the Jewish migration and its commercial character.



# History

- Endurance (the Jews and their everchanging conflicting partners)
- Jewish history: history of the Western Civilization
- Antiquity, Middle Age, Modernity, Post-Modernity
- Basic paradigms of Western morality: the 10 Commandments



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## Jewish innovations in antiquity

- Invisible one and eternal God
- No rites of resurrection rites
- Communication with Him in writing (Bible)
- Praying
- Establishment of the Mosaic Code
- Commentaries, interpretations (Talmud)
- The concept of sin (internalization of control)
- Prohibition of human sacrifice
- Synagogues (instead of temples)



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## Jews and Greeks in the Roman Empire

- Hellenistic world (Roman might, Greek culture)
- The need for import
- Traders, foreigners (Greeks, Jews)
- Roman contempt of trade
- Jewish privileges, Greek jealousy
- Greek resentment (loss of status, disorganization of Greek civilization)
- Competition (for citizenship)
- Mutual contempt (Greeks regarded the Jews as barbarians, Jews regarded Greeks as heathens without morals)



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## Means of survival in diaspora

- Independent communal life (Jews in antiquity had jurisdiction over their own community)
- Synagogue (place of prayer and assembly)
- Family
- Study (Tora, Talmud, Mishna)



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## Ethnocentric misrepresentation of peculiar Jewish religious observances

- Monotheism (atheism)
- Idea of the chosen people (separation)
- Sabbath (lack of respect)
- Dietary rules
- Kosher rules
- Ritual slaughter of animals (cruelty)
- Circumcision (stubbornness)
- Ban on pictures (lack of creativity)



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## Ilusory correlations

- The Jews are...
- Ridiculous
- Disrespectful
- Superstitious
- Irrational
- Criminals
- Perilous



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## Metaphysical divide

- insertion of Evil between the Jewish and Christian faiths
- Accusation of deicide (Murder of Christ)
- Abandonment of God
- Collective guilt
- Punishment of God



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## Culture of hatred

- rebelliousness
- sensualism
- adultery
- infanticide (ritual murder)
- witchcraft
- Devil's anatomy
- desecration of the Eucharist
- sowing the Black Death
- poisoning wells
- blaming for natural catastrophes (earthquakes, floods)



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## Negative space

- Symbolic
- Economical (world of exchange-value, money)
- Social
- Territorial (Ghetto)
- Expulsion-Readmission
- Eviction to Eastward



## Emancipation

- French revolution (1789)
- Breakdown of the feudal order (restrictions, privileges abolished)
- The age of ghetto has ended.
- The French revolutionaries disbanded the anti-Jewish laws in France in 1792 and Napoleon carried this revolution with him during his war of conquest.
- Full citizenship was granted generally in Western and Central Europe between 1848 and 1870

# Competitive society

- Competing individuals
- Competing classes
- Competing political ideologies (socialism, conservatism, liberalism)
- Competing nations (nationalism)
- Winners and losers



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# Match of skills (modern demands- Jewish offers)

- Literacy
- Ability to learn
- Urban experience
- Communications skills/Knowledge of foreign language
- Translation
- Proneness to abstraction
- Mathematics
- Lack of bonds (freedom of the mind)
- Achievement motivation



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## Resistance to social entropy

- Neither class/nor estate
- International network (throughout the diaspora)
- Conflict of values (modernity vs. traditonality)
- Social mobility
- Misperception of the winners
- Resentiment of the losers



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## From „Judenhass” to „scientific Antisemitism”

- Race as scientific ground
- Differences between races (Body)
- Superiority-Inferiority
- „Racial purity”
- The idea of elimination



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## The German „Sonderweg”

- Forced modernization
- Niches of modernization to be filled by Jews
- Latecomer of nations
- Authoritarian structure
- Militarism
- Nationalism
- Capitalism as „alien”
- „The Jewish Question”
- Ethnic definition of membership in the nation



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## Austro-Hungary

- Identity problem
- Jewish migration
- Austrian anti-Semitism
- „Jewish influence” (in culture, economy, politics)
- Political opposition to Jews



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# Backwardness

- Feudal majority
- Challenge of modernization
- The demand of modern services
- The supply of foreigners
- Support of the state
- Popular resistance (anti-Semitism)



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# Wilhelm Marr

- Wilhelm Marr, the Patriarch of Anti-Semitism (1819-1904)
- Radical, republican, journalist („Victory of Judaism over Germanism”)
- Living in despair (insecurity, frustration, deprivation)
- Identification of the Jews as a race
- Semites (speakers of semite languages)
- Identification of language groups as racial groups
- Focussing on Jews (omitting Arabs)



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## „Semitism” and „Anti-Semitism”

- Political context-Friend and Enemy (C.Schmitt)
- Struggle, fight, war, conflict
- „Semitism” as perceived intrusion of the Jews (into politics, culture, economy, private life)
- Justification of aggression
- „Anti-Semitism” (offense disguised as defense)
- „Anti-Semite” the fighter against the Jews

## Psychological causes

- The Jews provided the Gentile with a tangible, isolated, simply defined evil, a thing that made injustice understandable
- They have become recipients of subconscious anger, hate, envy
- Outlet for repressed barbarity, hostility, frustration and fear
- Release for numerous natural and neurotic pressures, guilt, anxiety, alienation, self-hate, barbariousness and perversity
- Circumcision might have evoked fears of castration in the subconscious of the uncircumcized West

# Anti-Semitic Personality

- Anti-Semitism is a personality disturbance, manifesting a regression to the ontogenetic and phylogenetic stage of the development of the ego when hatred, the predecessor of the capacity to love, governed its environmental relationships. It is this psychology of hate from which the human race suffers, and which, as well as other morbid conditions generated anti-Semitism.

# Holocaust Functionalism vs. institutionalism

- Ideology and propaganda and agitation
- Identification of the target group
- Psychological fence of the target group
- Legal fence
- Exclusion
- Concentration
- Ghettoization
- Deportation
- Extermination

## Bureaucratic antisemitism

- Emotionlessness
- Cool rationalism
- Distribution of responsibility
- Inventors
- Statisticians
- Lawmakers
- Propagandists
- Executors



## Europe conquered by Hitler

- East: Einsatzgruppen
- Psychological disturbances (stress)
- Turning point: Wanssee (January 20, 1942)
- Establishment of annihilation camp
- Destruction of east European Jewry
- Deportation of Western European Jewry
- Deportation of Central and South European Jewry

## Search for a word

- „a crime without a name” (W.Churchill)
- Die Endlösung
- Holocaust: a great or complete devastation or destruction, especially by fire
- (burnt whole)
- Sacrifice, an offering made by fire into the Lord
- Shoah (catastrophe and heroism)
- The war against the Jews (L.Dawidowicz)
- The Destruction of European Jews (R.Hilberg)

## Silence of victims

- Sources: DEGOB testimonies, witness testimonies at trials, diaries, letters, memoirs, documentary films, fiction
- Lack of total perspective, fragmentation, incomplete knowledge, accidentality, selectivity, involvement, partisanship, self-presentation, self-justification
- Eyewitness accounts of events may at times be less credible than studies made after the fact and by people at some distance from it
- Suicide as communication (Celan, Borowski, Levi)

## Silence of perpetrators

- Himmler in 1943: „In our history this is an unwritten and never-to-be written page of glory”
- „Sept.2. 1942. Was present for the first time at a special action at 3pm. By comparison Dante’s Inferno seems almost a comedy. Auschwitz is justly called an extermination camp.” (J. Kremer)
- „good cause”
- Blaming the victims
- Moral indignation („excesses”)
- „confession”



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## Silence of God

- Return to chaos
- Damage done to our traditional concepts of God and Man
- Most serious, most alarming



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# Research of antisemitism across Europe

- **GFE survey data 2008**

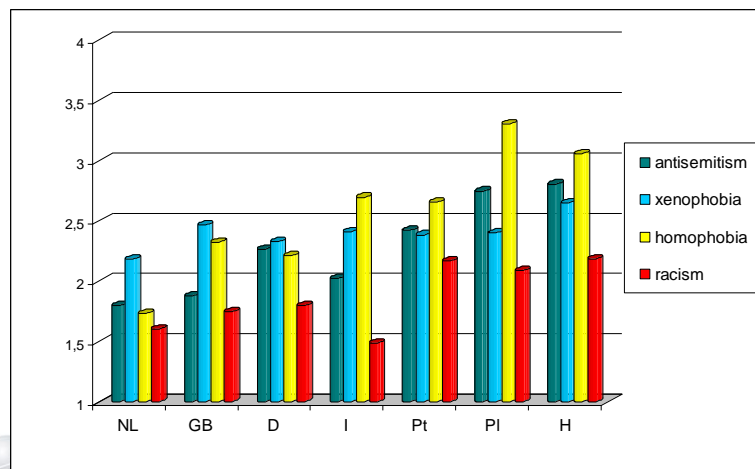
- We use data from 7 European countries, data was collected in late 2008 through telephone in: Great Britain, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal and Poland.
- Number of cases in the sample: 7019 with ~1000 cases per country.
- Project: Group-Focused Enmity in Europe, lead by Zick and Heitmeyer



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Means of countries on indices measuring prejudices against four outgroups (scale 1 – 4)



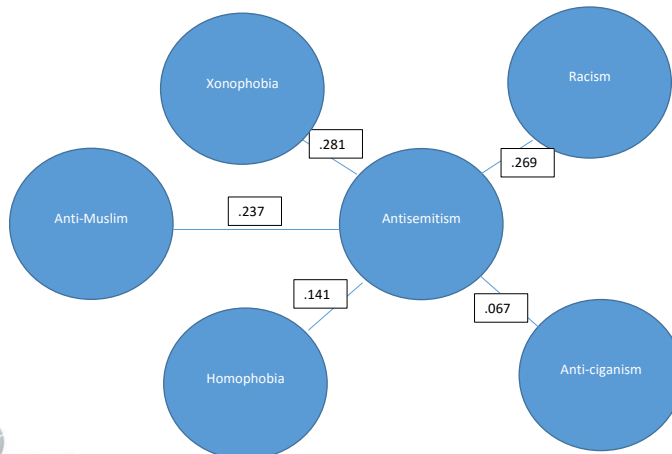
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## The correlation of antisemitism and other forms of prejudices in EU countries in 2008

	antisemitism and xenophobia	antisemitism and racism	antisemitism and antimuslim
Great Britain	.362	.336	.331
Germany	.411	.275	.351
Hungary	.281	.269	.237
Italy	.298	.267	.248
Netherlands	.270	.281	.270
Portugal	.114	.210	.153
Poland	.353	.254	.193

## Correlation between antisemitism and other forms of prejudice in 2008 in Hungary





## Explanatory linear regression model of antisemitism in different European cities, 2008

	Great Britain	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Netherlands	Portugal	Poland
Authoritarianism	<b>.093</b>	<b>.162</b>	-.021	.048	.026	<b>.119</b>	<b>.160</b>
Social dominance	-.033	<b>.167</b>	.024	<b>.118</b>	.068	-.036	<b>.139</b>
Political alienation	<b>.252</b>	<b>.253</b>	<b>.191</b>	<b>.128</b>	<b>.171</b>	<b>.193</b>	.052
Social distance	-.016	.021	.086	.031	.007	-.015	.048
Personal threat	<b>.134</b>	<b>.198</b>	.076	<b>.141</b>	<b>.164</b>	.052	.049
Personal trust	-.051	-.073	-.068	-.074	<b>-.174</b>	-.036	<b>-.114</b>
Negative emotions in intergroup relations	<b>.137</b>	-.084	<b>.102</b>	.002	-.077	.068	<b>.180</b>
Insecurity	-.065	<b>.169</b>	.078	.035	.070	-.010	.074
Adjusted R square	.220	.377	.075	.105	.158	.074	.151



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## New antisemitism

- Inability to cope with the trauma of the holocaust
- Holocaust denial
- Relativization of the Holocaust
- Controversial attitudes toward the state of Israel
- Emergence of Muslim antisemitism
- Rise of xenophobia in Europe



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# Literature

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- György Csepeli 2015. National Remembrance, National Oblivion In Kuligowski, Waldemar, Papp, Richárd (eds) *Sterile and Isolated? An Anthropology today in Hungary and Poland*. Poznan-Wielichowo: Instytut Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza. Wydawnictwo ITIP- 101-110,
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# Data analysis

- **Group Focused Enmity (GFE) survey**
  - » Representative survey on Group-Focused Enmity in Europe. This survey was conducted from October until December 2008. In each of eight countries 1.000 representatively selected citizens were interviewed by telephone. Respondents were 16 years or older. Germany, Britain, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal, Poland and Hungary participated in the study. Interviews focused on prejudices towards several different target groups, on attitudes towards democracy and Europe and on individual fears, worries and orientations.
- Questionnaire
- Data file



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# Homework

- Option 1. Social-demographic differences in European antisemitism in different countries, based on GFE data
- Option 2. Analysis of the Nazi documentary film Ewige Jude
  - Multilink:  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9DOI3FqCZJE>



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# Inter-Ethnic Relations in Europe

## Class 13 Anti-Roma sentiments

"Financed from the financial support ELTE won from the Higher Education Restructuring Fund of the Hungarian Government"



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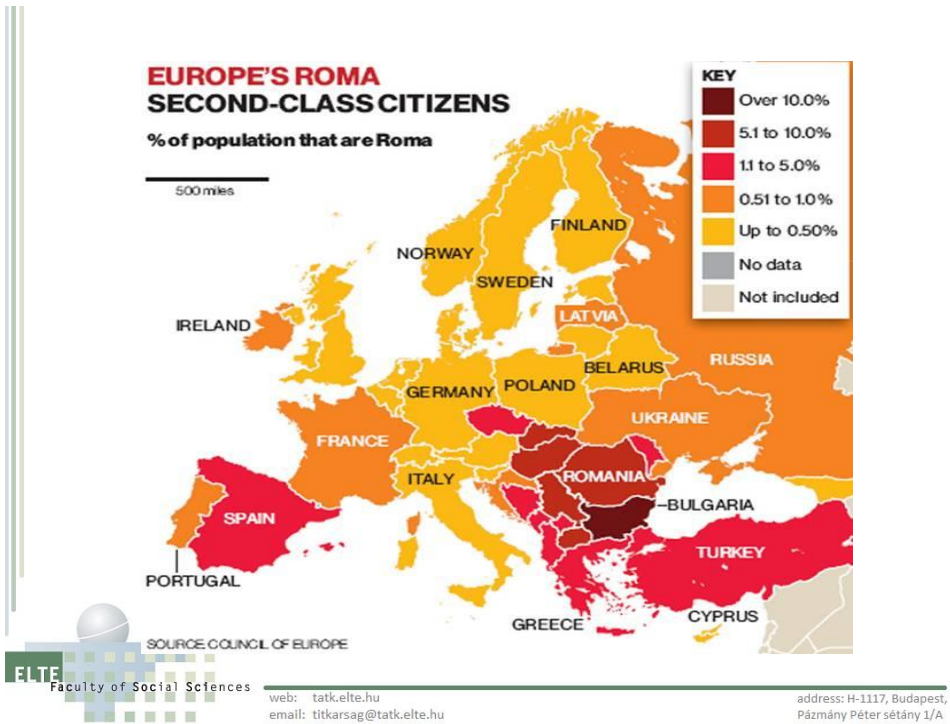
## Fuzzyness

- Conflicting internal and external categorizations
- The power of the situation over definition
- Statistical difficulties
- Failure of essentialism
- Constructionism
- Estimated population in Europe (10 millions)
- In Eastern and Central Europe (8-9 millions)
- Migration potential



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## Accommodation of the unaccommodated

- Marginality/in-between position
- Nomadism, wandering, moving
- Economic niches
- Being simultaneously outside and inside
- Priority of oral communication
- Situationism
- „Gemeinschaft” pattern of being

## Unpeaceful coexistence of archaic and modern

- Resistance to social entropy — formation of underclass (overlapping categorizations of being „Gypsy” and being „poor”).
- Negative space (physical and metaphysical)
- Self-hate
- Assimilation and evaporation
- Concealment
- Obsessive concern
- Becoming superfluous
- Slyness and cunning
- Internal exploitation/usury
- „Clowning”
- Bad conscience of the state (dysfunctional public policy in education, health care, employment, social policy, research for the sake of research)
- False identity politics
- Fighting back: militancy



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## Malignant social processes

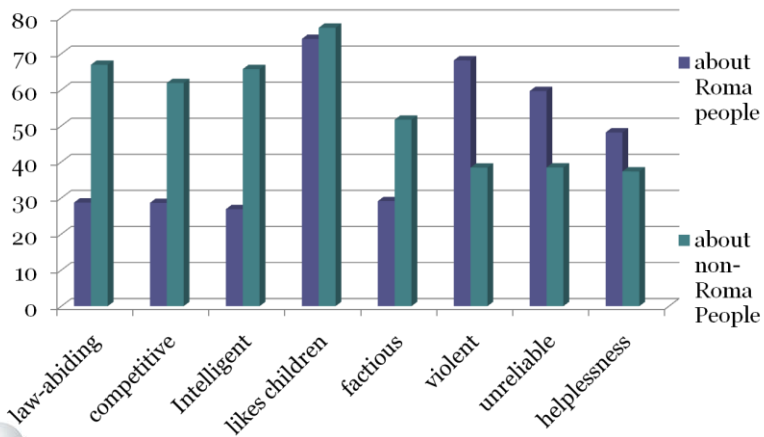
- Mutual misunderstanding, suspicion, distrust
- Frustration/Aggression
- Destructive entitlement
- Restricted structure of encounters „Communal experiences” (I. Bibó)
- Self-fulfilling prophecies
- Frustration of the adjusted majority (repressed Lust-prinzip, projection, the „Gypsy within”)
- Everyday civil war



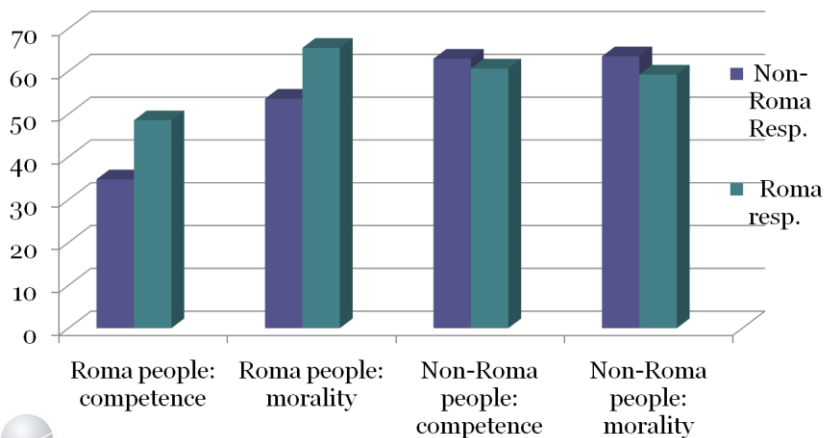
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## Stereotypes of the Roma among the majority, 2005

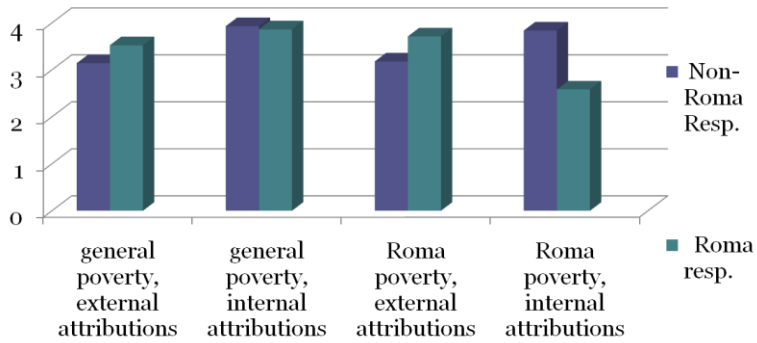


## Stereotypes of the Roma among the majority, 2005

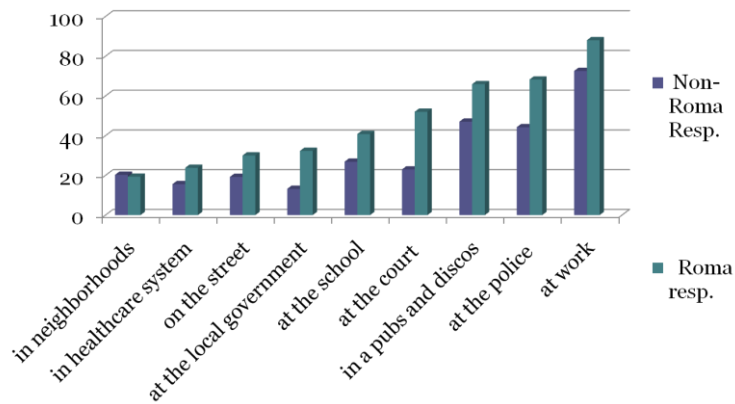


## Attribution of poverty

non-Roma and Roma respondents, 2005



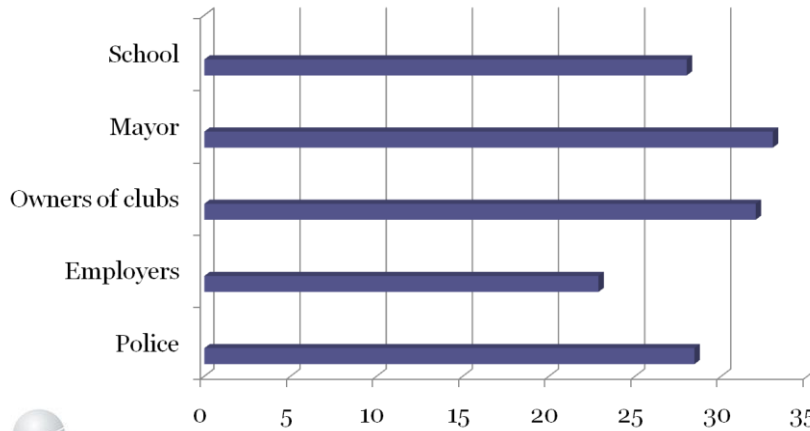
## Perceived discrimination of the Roma in public spaces by the Roma and non Roma respondents, 2005





## Percentage of those who are accepting discrimination of the Roma in various social fields 2005

in the majority sample, percent

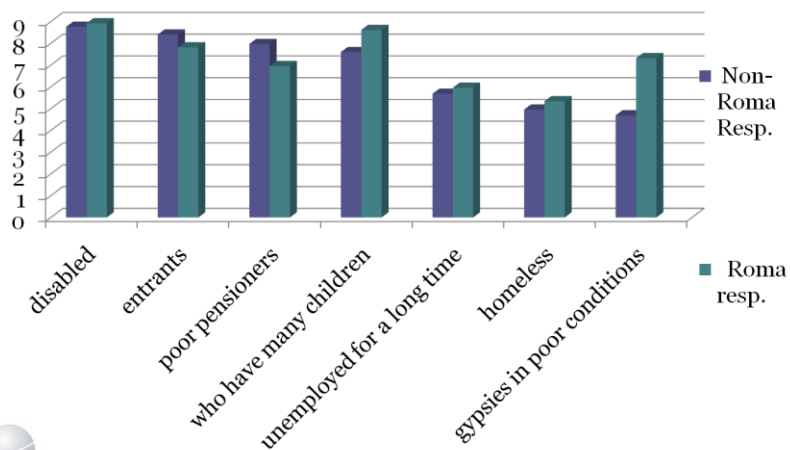


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## Solidarity toward social groups, 2005

non-Roma and Roma respondents, rank



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# Breaking the ring of necessity

- Complexity- no single cause, no single solution. Dangers of simplification.
- SWOT Map
- Local approach
- Customization
- Inclusion-Deliberation
- Roma studies done by Roma researchers
- Roma interface (entrepreneurs, judges, priests, teacher, physicians, police officers, media anchors, mayors, MPs)
- Conflict Monitoring („early warning systems”)
- Mediation/Deliberative Polling

# Deliberating poll, closing TV program

- **Attached video**

# Social and human requisites of the emancipation of the Roma minority

## INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

- well-proportioned society
- open up mobility channels
- economic, social, political capital
- meritocratic motivation
- human assets: trust and confidence
- ethnic bonds, social ties
- communitarian solidarity

## SOCIETAL LEVEL

- Shared consciousness
- Collective memory
- Group solidarity
- Communitarianism
- Recognition
- Participation
- Respect
- Positive image instead of negative stigma



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## Best Practices

- Wi-Fi village
- Digital High School (Northern Hungary)
  - Multilink: <http://www.digitaliskozepiskola.hu/dk/index.php>
- „Sure Start” (Szécsény county)
- Self-Help Microcredit Program
- Social Farming
  - Multilink: <http://www.gombaforum.hu/2013/technologia/gombauzemszendroladon/>
- Cooperatives
- Carrier programs (Romaversistas, Gandhi High School, Small Tigers)
  - Multilink: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gandhi\\_School](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gandhi_School)



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## Tasks of the majority

- Consensus of the economic, political, cultural and church elites
- Zero tolerance toward discrimination in the public service
- Fair media representation, PC speech
- Desegregated schooling, democratic political education
- Europe as a superordinate goal (Europe as community of values)

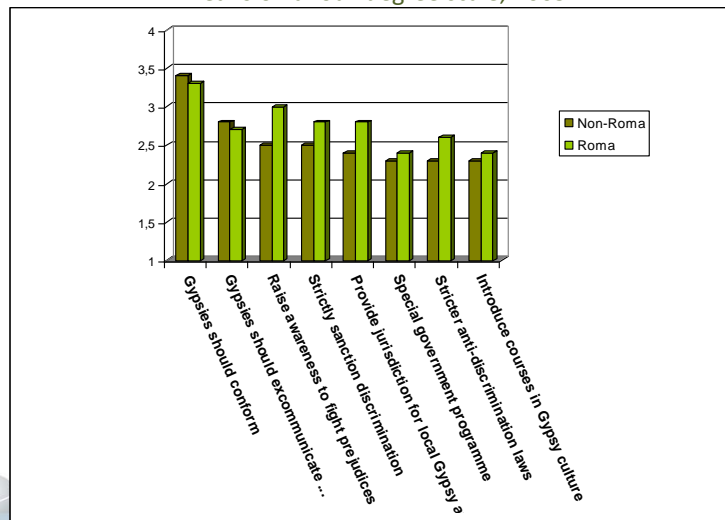
## What the STATE should do?

- Anti-discrimination: rule of law
  - Guarantee of human right and political justice
- Enhance equal opportunity
  - in labor market
  - at school
  - regional level
  - settlement level
- Social inclusion: welfare social measures
  - positive social justice norms, welfare distribution
- Tolerance building and democratic political socialization
- Promoting multiculturalism

# Emancipation

- Universal human values
- Sameness and difference of the human condition
- Roma contribution to the High Culture
- Communication of fate
- Superordinate goals
- Cross categorizations

What could be done in order to reduce conflicts between Roma and non Roma society?  
means on a four-degree scale, 2005



## Literature

- György Csepeli, Antal Örkény and Mária Székelyi: “Attitudes and Stereotypes of Hungarian Police toward Gypsies “, in: Örkény-Phalet (szerk.) *Ethnic Minorities and Inter-Ethnic Relations in Context: A Dutch-Hungarian encounter*. Aldershot-England: Ashgate, 2001, pp. 217-230.
- György Csepeli, Antal Örkény and Mária Székelyi: “Ambitious education. The role of family, school and friends in the development of successful Romany life courses”, *Romani Studies* 5, Vol. 13, No. 1 (2003), pp. 53-72.
- Antal Örkény : „A Bottom-up View of Equal Opportunities for Roma”, in. Edwin Poppe – Maykel Verkuyten (eds.) *Culture and Conflict*. Amsterdam: Aksant, 2007 pp. 245-262.
- György Csepeli, Antal Örkény : The Making of a Minority: Competing claims of definitions of being Roma in contemporary Hungarian society. (under publication)



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## Homework

- Make a summary of the Roma strategy of the European Union based on internet resources!



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# Inter-Ethnic Relations in Europe

## Class 14

### Migration and the emergence of the new minorities in Europe



"Financed from the financial support ELTE won from the Higher Education Restructuring Fund of the Hungarian Government"

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## Nomadism and sedentarization

- Lifestyle where mobility is most efficient strategy for survival
- Peripatetic nomadism, keep moving and offering services (craft, trade, entertainment) to the resident population
- Setting of the population, finding territory as opposed to nomadic way of life



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## Earlier trends of migration

- Great migrations in early medieval times
- Colonization, peregrination, crusades, pilgrimage, peripatetic nomadism
  - The ambivalence of Other



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## Migration in the modern age

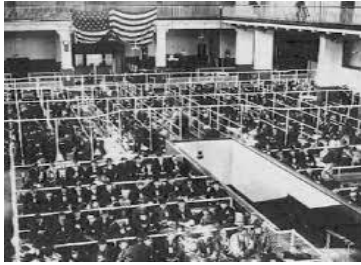
- Migration from agrarian society into industrial sector
- Movement from the periphery to the centers
- Urbanization, formation of metropolitan cities
- Melting pot
- Forced migration (labor camps, deportations)
- Genocides and forced population exchanges
- Political migration
- Tourism
- Migration of academics
- Globalization and internationalization of business, knowledge and politics
- Global refugee movements (ICT)



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## Migration and Hungary

- Political outmigration waves (1711, 1849, 1920, 1945-46, 1956)
- Hungary as a point of attraction (Jews, Armenian, Greeks, Serbs)
- Labor outmigration migration in the Monarchy to America
- Migration of ethnic Hungarian into Hungary after 1920 continuously
- 1944 Holocaust
- 1945 deportation of the German minority and the population exchange between Hungary and Slovakia
- A permanent moderate outmigration between 1960 and 1989
  - Multilink: Egyutteles c. film

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## Categories of migrants

- Alien (social psychological category)
- Regular immigrant
- Irregular immigrant
  - asylum seeker
  - Protected immigrant
- Temporary employee
- Short term resident
- Long term resident
- Tourist, traveller



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## Clusters of migrants

- Diaspora and network
  - Diaspora is a group of migrants who live outside the area in which their ancestors live
  - Network is a group of migrants who are connected to each other and connection transgresses borders
- Minority group
  - Group of migrants who are perceived as different from the majority according to the category of their origin (ethnic or religious)



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# Theories of migration 1

- **Neo-classic economy**
  - Flow of population from the poor countries and the rich countries
  - Labor supply and labor need
  - Wage differences
  - Judgement of wage differences, judgement of labor demand
- **New economic theories**
  - Push and pull effects
  - Migration of a rational choice, Ubi bene ubi patria
  - Household income strategies
  - Risk taking
  - Cost benefit analysis
  - Deteriorating economic situation in the home country



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# Theories of migration 2

- **Dual labor market**
  - Demand for cheap labor force
  - Nish jobs
  - Brain drain
- **World system**
  - Centrum – periphery, East-West, South-North
- **Network theories**
  - Family reunion
  - Social network, exchange and supply of information
- **Multiple causality**
- **Political, legal, administrative determinants**
  - Political repression and disturbances in the home country
  - Legal and administrative conditions concerning to the migration status in the host countries



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## Contexts of research

- Migration potential
- Demography
  - age
  - gender
  - Family status
  - children
- Social status
  - Education
  - Occupation, unemployment
  - Income, and financial situation
  - Language knowledge
  - Family role set
- Goals
- Cultural factors
  - Networks
  - identity
  - Diaspora effects



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## Focal points of migration research

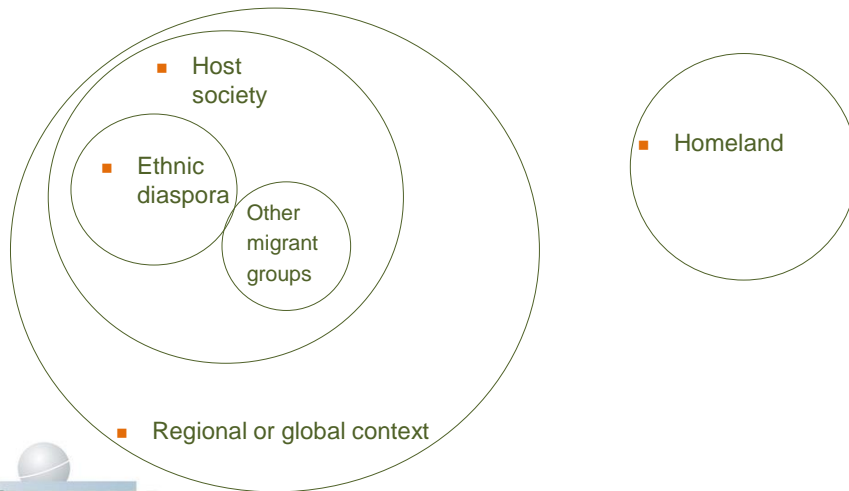
- Migration carrier
  - Striving for achievement
    - Classical economic theory, macro level, wages and jobs
    - New economic theories, micro level, individual and household level, rational choice, risk minimalization, dual labor market
  - Prospects of social, and economic integration
    - Cultural contexts, network, information, social capital
    - cumulative effect
  - Identity building
  - Levels of political participation
- Profits and deficits, embedment and conflicts
- The nature of social environment created by the majority (from xenophobia to tolerance)
- Traditional vs. new migrant strategies



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## Migration strategies and their inter-group contexts



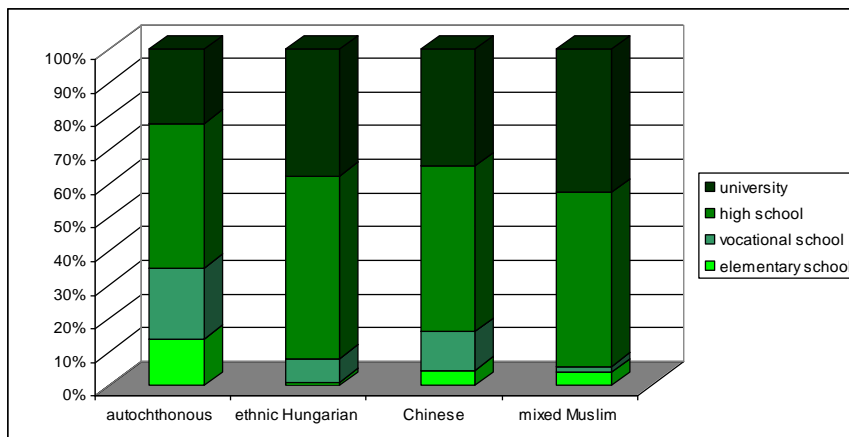
## Migration strategies

- strategies
  - Assimilation
    - Structural accommodation and identity change, break with the homeland
  - Segregation
    - Structural coexistence and identity maintenance, bonds with homeland
  - Trans-nationalism
    - No territorial base, fulfillment of social and economical functions, keep moving

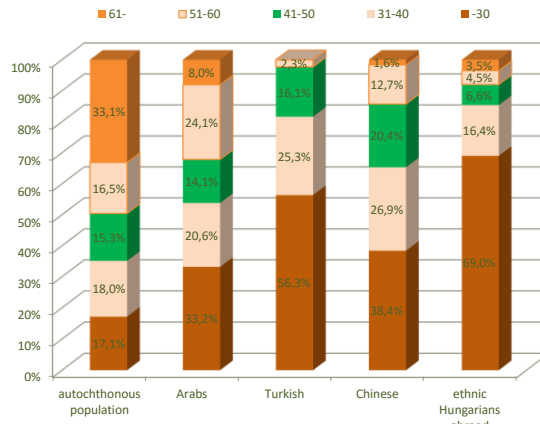
# Investigations into the major migrant groups in Hungary,

- Two surveys:
  - 2008, Four groups, each of them consisted of 400 respondents
  - 2009, Six groups, each of them consisted of 200 respondents
    - Turks, Arabs, Chinese, Vietnamese, Ukrainians, Ethnic Hungarians
- Method: snowball sample taking,
- Face to face interviews
- Languages of the interviews:
  - Hungarian, English, or the mother tongue
- Intercultural difficulties: gender, trust, interpretation

## Highest level of education by migrant groups (resistance to social entropy) 2008

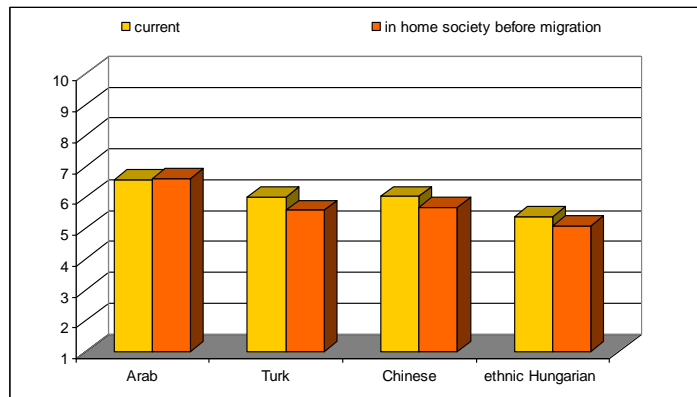


## Distribution of the age groups in the four migrant subsamples and the host society, 2008



## Perception of the achieved status at home and in the host country, 2008

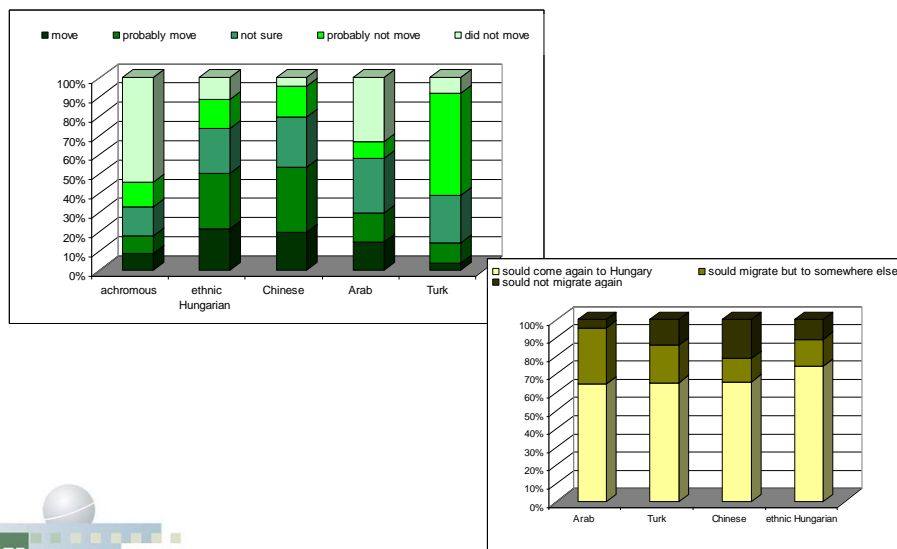
10 point scale average



## Factors playing role in the success of migration

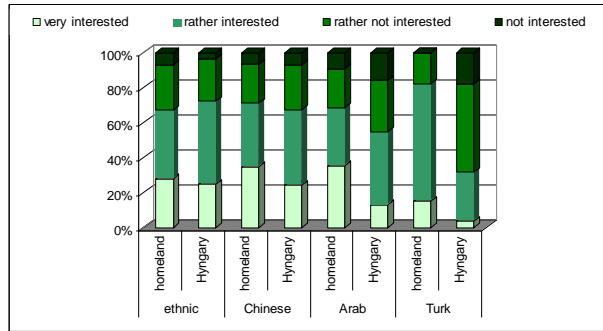
- Attachment
- Political involvement
- Trust and confidence
- Social network
- Closeness, distance
- Perceived discrimination

## Attachment to the host country, 2008

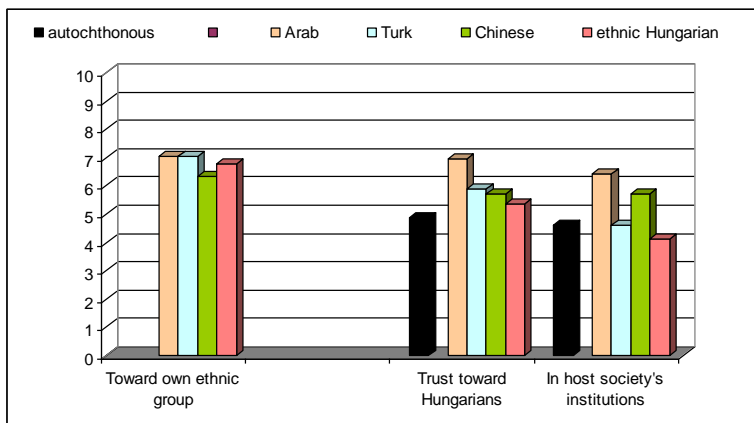




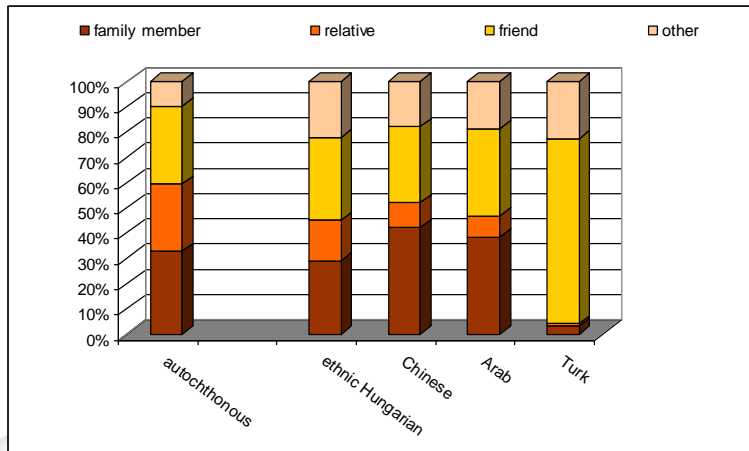
## Political involvement in the home country and the host country, 2008



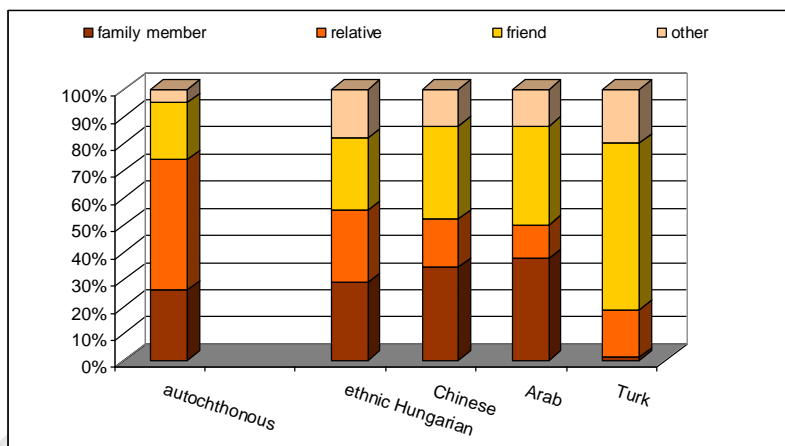
## Trust and confidence, 2008 10 point scale



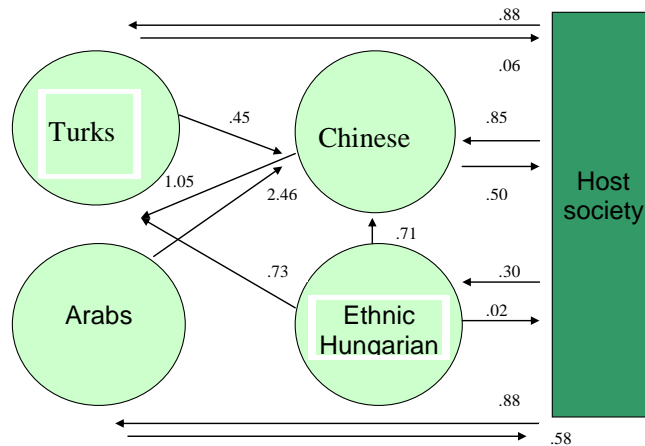
## Composition of social network in personal relations, 2008



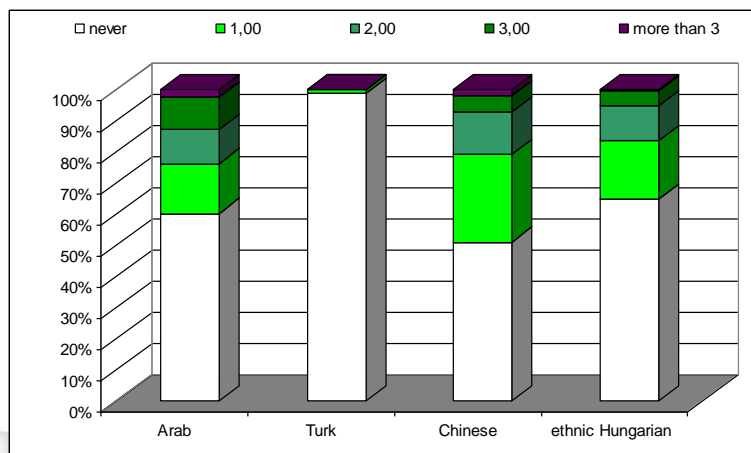
## Composition of social network in financial conflict resolution, 2008



## Closeness and distance (Bogardus scale) 2008



## Reported discriminatory experiences by origin, mother tongue, color, language usage, accent, migrant status, religion, 2008

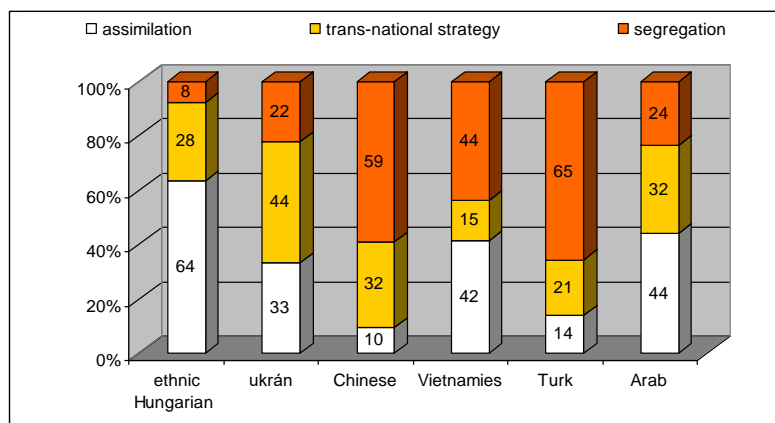


## Strategies of migration (based on the results of the 2009 research)

Cluster variables:

- Migrant status variables (length, original goals, future plans, legal status)
- Social achievement variables (status and status profit, reference groups, mobility)
- Subjective status variables (satisfaction)
- Attitude variables (closeness and distance, social distance, involvement, trust and confidence, fears and frustrations)
- Cultural variables (mother tongue, composition of network)

## Result of cluster analysis: migration strategies in different migrant groups 2009



# Migration as a global challenge

- Fault line wars
- Radical change of the political conditions of the social, economic and political injustices
- Rise of resentiments in the non Western countries
- Facilitation of communication globally
- Mass learning by doing
- Inadequate response of the West to the challenge to the global migration



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# Data analysis

- LOCALMULTIDEM - Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants' Social Capital in Europe
  - » The main objective of this project is to study the degree of political integration of the foreign immigrant population in several European cities, and therefore to study multicultural democracy at the local level. The survey involved collecting information in 2008 at the aggregate (or macro) level through a claims-making analysis of the discursive opportunities relating to migrants in each of the cities and countries studied. It contains data for 9 cities: Barcelona, Budapest, Geneva, London, Lyon, Madrid, Milan, Stockholm and Zurich.
- Questionnaire
- Data file



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# Literature

- Antal Örkény, Mária Székelyi, and Zoltán Várhalmi:  
LOCALMULTIDEM Hungarian country report. (manuscript) 2008
- *Patterns of Migration in Central Europe*, eds. Claire Wallace and Dariusz Stola, Palgrave, London, 2001
- Antal Örkény, Mária Székelyi: „Role of Trust in the Social Integration of Immigrants”, *Demográfia. English Edition*, 2009. Vol. 52. No. 5., pp.124-147



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# Homework

- Option 1. The role of media in the recent refugee crises in Europe with a focus of 2015 events. Representation and misrepresentation. Please make a short report!
- Option 2. LOCALMULTIDEM data analysis. How do see each others the immigrants and the autochthonous people in different cities in Europe?



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