# National Identity Attachment and Its Variables

Tri Windari
*Western Michigan University*

Follow this and additional works at: https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws

Part of the Women's Studies Commons

# National Identity Attachment and Its Variables

By Tri Windari[1]

**Abstract**

National identity and nationalism have continued to influence economic, social, and political behavior despite their fluidity in a globalized and modernized world. Drawing on Benedict Anderson's concept of "imagined communities" and the Social Identity Theory by Henri Tajfel and John Turner, national identity as a part of social identity is dynamic and plastic. It is relatively influenced by external and internal factors of individuals, including time and space. This fluid trait makes national identity difficult to explain and measure. This study utilizes a qualitative method based on secondary sources to analyze national identity attachment variables that affect it by focusing on the individual level. This study found that education, age, gender, ethnicity, religion, and media access have contributed to an individual's national identity attachment. This study may contribute to improving the literature for understanding national identity attachment in diverse societies, analyzing its political behavior, and address the problems of racism or ethnoreligious-linguistic conflicts. By extension, it may also lead to better policymaking.

*Keywords*: Education, Media access, Gender, Dominant groups, Fluid character, Imagined communities, Social identity theory

**Introduction**

Nationalism and national identity have been shown to affect a country's social, economic, and political life. In a globalized world where people interact and move around more freely and frequently, the sense of nationalism and national identity still do not lose their impacts on citizens across countries. There is still an unclear definition of national identity, due to its complicated nature. However, despite this imprecision, national identity has proven to have substantial impacts on human lives and on nations throughout history. This paper will describe national identity attachment in relation to variables such as age, gender, religion, ethnicity, education, and media access.

National identity is a type of social identity; it is dynamic and fluid in character. Whether it is a result of modern socioeconomic political dynamics or primarily based on ethno-linguistic and cultural commonalities, the most important aspect to note when it comes to national identity attachment is that it is based on Anderson's (1991) argument that it is "imagined." This means that the idea of being attached to a certain national identity occurs in an imagined realm. The people in one country or in a nation-state believe they are a part of a certain country or nation-state. And they feel connected to one communal entity without necessarily knowing each community's

[1] Tri Windari has a Bachelor of Arts in Politics and Governance from Gadjah Mada Univ., Indonesia, 2002; Master of Arts in Political Sci. from Western Michigan Univ., USA, 2020; Master of Arts in International Politics from the Univ. of Melbourne, Australia, 2008; a PhD candidate at Western Michigan University; Interdisciplinary Studies Doctorate in Political Sociology; a lecturer at Lambung Mangkurat University, South Kalimantan, Indonesia, Faculty of Social and Political Science. Their email is tri.windari@wmich.edu.

members, yet while still holding a strong sense of membership. Since national identity is subjective and occurs in an individual's mind, it is not easy to precisely address this idea. Interestingly, even though this identity is imagined, history has shown that it can be used as one of the most powerful political tools to mobilize people or members of a community. Throughout history, national identity has also proven to affect many aspects of life, despite globalization.

*Why Study National Identity?*

Research has been conducted to analyze national identity in relation to globalization. Dutch national identity may have been eroded due to globalization and the efforts of intellectuals and public officials to provide a new context of its national identity. This is done because globalization and the increasing diversity of the Dutch population need to accommodate the global changes, national demands, and the demands of the various identities living in the country. It resulted in a form of varied renegotiation of national identity. It came as a result of various globalizing trends (Lechner, 2007). This attempt is relatively similar to other countries' attempts in maintaining national identity in a globalized world.

National identity crisis in a globalized world is rooted in the ineffectiveness of nation-states' self-governance (Zhuojun and Hualing, 2014). Thus, globalization is not the biggest cause of a decline in national identity because the survival of a nation is dependent upon the nation's strategies for improving nation-building and democratic governance. Globalization may create a global identity, but global identity may be temporary and situational (Rivera and Carson, 2015), thus it cannot replace national identity. The ideology of nationalism is also vital; it is the most powerful discourse in collective identity, which comprises the discussion on unity and division (Calhoun, 1994).

National identity is useful for developing and maintaining empathy and solidarity among fellow citizens, as Guibernau explains, "National identity fosters closeness, empathy and solidarity among fellow nationals" (Guibernau, 2007, p. 170). Sentimental attachment towards a particular nation can be built by emphasizing the nation's uniqueness from others. In order to do this, Barrett, Lyons, and del Valle (2004) explain the process of Social Categorization Theory (SCT) in connection with Social Identity Theory (SIT). In this theory, the individual conducts a categorization process—a process of comparing one national identity with others—to identify oneself with a particular national identity. So, the salience and meaning of other social identities have an essential role in influencing a specific social identity, such as national identity or ethnic identity. And the salience and meaning perceived in national identity lead to people's attitudes and behavioral intentions where a strong national identity can be a central identity (Korostelina, 2007).

National identity can create and strengthen solidarity among fellow nationals and unite the diverse members of the country. Social identity is a strong feeling of connection towards a particular social group; it is socially constructed and influenced by the processes of social structures (Korostelina, 2007, p. 15). In a world where certainty and stability are not guaranteed, social identity provides individuals with a sense of protection due to the sense of belonging to national identity and by creating boundaries with other identities (Korostelina, 2007, pp. 15, 29).

National identity also provides a specific moral agenda and moral philosophy to adhere to. It shapes the attitudes/actions and responsibilities of the government and citizens based on their position's understanding in the world and the perspective attached to national identity (Poole, 1999): "Social identity theory suggests that strong identification with the in-group leads to the development of intergroup prejudice, negative attitudes, and conflict behavior" (Korostelina, 2007, p. 50). Thus, national identity can also escalate ethnic conflicts and their impacts. However, it can

also moderate the impact of ethnic conflicts if members of one nation-state/country with high ethnic diversity have a stronger sense of national identity than their ethnic identity.

In line with this, national identity can be a uniting or inclusionary force that can reduce ethnic conflicts (Transue, 2007). By feeling connected to their national identity and fellow nationals, people are more likely to support programs that might help minority groups. The variation in the salience of different identities influences the people's opinions and their attitudes toward racial policies. It shows that national identity can help us predict policy preferences. Horowitz conducted research on ethnic conflicts and investigated possible solutions for uniting nations (1985). It can also predict preferences for nuclear policy among American college students (Kosterman and Feshbach, 1989). In the economic sector or consumer behavior, the attachment of individuals to a certain national identity may also help analyze and predict their preferences for certain national products (Zeugner-Roth, Žabkar, & Diamantopoulos, 2015).

For individuals living in one area all their life, national identity perhaps tends to be taken for granted. However, for those enjoying lives in more than one country, national identity may be questioned. Therefore, the study of national identity remains important in a changing world. Even though in a globalized world there are more various actors are involved in the process due to the increasing intensity and frequency of interconnection among people and institutions, such as NGOs, international corporations, immigrants, and refugees. The global phenomena and various human mobility add to the complexity of national identity conception. But the role of the nation is not disappearing, instead, it is adjusted. Thus, national identity still holds the power to guide, affect, and direct people's attitudes and behaviors socially, economically, and politically. As an imaginary concept and as a social identity, national identity attachment is the result of a continuous process. It is created and keeps being re-created in people's lives through all their life experiences. The individual's national identity attachment cannot be separated from its affecting variables. Six selected variables will be discussed in this article.


**Analysis**

*Conception of National Identity*

The discussion on nationalism is essentially dominated by two fundamental positions: a group of scholars often referred to as modernists, who believe that a nation is established on modern motives such as political and economic factors, and another group of scholars, often referred to as primordialists or ethnolinguistics, who believe that a nation is established on uniqueness and ancient tradition along with identities that are closely related to religious-ethnolinguistic identities. Different conceptions of nationalism and national identity are built on these two dominant arguments.

Some scholars who fall under the modernist viewpoint include John Breuilly, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, and Rogers Brubaker. They believe that a nation is created to fulfill the demands of political and economic needs that move it toward a modernization process. The process of modernization requires people to adapt to rapid changes and specifications in a modern economy where people are directed to work in specific expertise. This condition will lead to traditions are created and recreated to fulfill the demands (Hobsbawm, 1983, 1991). Therefore, the political units and elites (individuals and groups fighting for independence) are necessary to create political arguments for the establishment of a new political entity in the form of a nation (Breuilly, 1993; Brubaker, 1996; Gellner, 1983). And this is the beginning of a state creation that can be found in the history of ex-colonized countries such as Indonesia and Malaysia. In this view, the

conception of national identity is embedded in the political mobility for fulfilling modern demands. Since rational calculations in the modern world are tightly connected in this analysis, it denotes the Rational Choice Theory (Downs, 1957).

Governments implement strategies to establish and maintain national identity. Guibernau (2007) describes different strategies to construct a single national identity. First, the construction is usually based on the dominant ethnic group in the boundaries of the state who share the same history and culture. Second, the state needs to create and spread a set of symbols as well as rituals to reinforce a sense of community. Third, the state must establish and implement a clear definition of civil and legal rights which include political, economic, and social rights. Fourth, the state creates common enemies to unite the citizens and strengthens the unity. Finally, the state uses the national education and media system to disseminate the image of its national identity such as through its symbols, values, traditions, principles, common enemies, and the image of a "good citizen" (Guibernau, 2007, p. 25). This national identity-building can also lead to the creation of a new common identity that is tolerant to diversity and can serve as a mechanism for conflict de-escalation (Korostelina, 2007).

Benedict Anderson (1991) claims that a nation is an "imagined community"; it is socially constructed. This imagined community is founded on a strong sense of belonging to one national identity among members who feel connected without necessarily knowing each other. The members of this community/nation also believe in the boundaries set within a specific territory and believe in its sovereignty. And because of this belief, they are willing to defend and sacrifice in the spirit of comradeship with other members. Throughout history, numerous instances show people willing to sacrifice their lives for "this imagined identity." Nationalism is considered "the central political movement of modern times" (Breuilly, 2001); moreover, "Nationalism as everyday culture has never been stronger; nationalism as everyday politics never weaker" (Breuilly, 2001, p. 45). Thus, even though the attachment towards this national identity only exists in an imaginative sphere, it holds a strong spirit and can significantly affect the lives of its members and members of other nations. "…conceptions of national identity are not static and inert, instead, they are shaped by the sociocultural context…" (Berkel, Molina, & Mukherjee, 2017, p.363) such as politics, media, and history. The conceptions of national identity will be created and recreated along with the dynamics of society.

Korostelina (2007) defines three concepts of national identity: the *ethnic concept*, *multicultural concept*, and *civic concept*. Yuwanto (2019) defines it in two concepts*: ethnicity* and *civic culture*, whereas Zein (2018) categorizes it into: *thick* and *thin* national identity. Tian (2017) also divides it into: *civic-institutional* and *ethnic-cultural* concepts. The *ethnic concept* is based on religious and cultural assumptions which tend to be exclusive, and the *civic concept* is based on civic culture.

Therefore, attachment to national identity may also depend on individuals' origins and the way they perceive national identity itself. This perception is dynamic because it is affected by the interaction and experiences of individuals within their surroundings—politically, socially, and economically, whether at the institutional or personal level.

*Social Identity Theory*

Identity is a complex phenomenon; it is psychological, lying deep in the human mind, and it is not easy to investigate (Westle, 2014). There are impacts or differences in attitudes towards immigrants between ethnic identities and civic identities. Ethnic identities tend to prefer ethnic homogeneity, anti-multicultural attitudes, ethnic prejudice, high demands for citizenship laws and

immigration restrictions. However, when ethnic and civic national identities are associated with policy attitudes, both show the characteristics of political conservatism and right-wing affiliation to slightly more of a degree with ethnic national identity (Westley, 2014).

Social identity is "a feeling of belonging to a social group, as a strong connection with social category, and as an important part of our mind that affects our social perceptions and behavior" (Korostelina, 2007, p. 15). It is socially constructed and affected by the process of current social structures. National identity is a part of social identity. This is where Korostelina's and Anderson's arguments are connected. The "imagined communities" are socially constructed and lie in the imaginative sphere of their members. Therefore, Social Identity Theory based on Tajfel and Turner's analysis and Anderson's concept of national identity have similar grounds. The process and the strategy of building and maintaining a national identity contain elements of social identity construction.

"Identity turns on the interrelated problems of self-recognition and recognition by others" (Calhoun, 1994, p. 20). It means that identity is shaped based on how we recognize ourselves and how others recognize and judge us. Recognition of one's identity is crucial in the analysis of identity, including social identity. There is a complex relationship between how identity is shaped and maintained, social contexts, and the individual's reaction to identity. Social location is the fundamental reference for social identity (Calhoun, 1994). Since social context has a significant role in shaping social identity, the role of the socialization process and the power of social structure are significant. Calhoun (1994) believes that ethnic conflict is caused by feelings of alienation and injustice. Therefore, the perception and attachment of individuals toward a particular social identity are also shaped by how individuals perceive other identities and their interactions with other identities. National identity contains the elements of history and culture in addition to political positions (Deaux, 2000). It means that the position of individuals in the power structure and in the society historically may also determine individuals' attachment to their national identity.

Society is created through a continuous process of interaction between individuals and groups (Calhoun, 1994). To understand how society is created, one must have an understanding of social processes, particularly when it comes to pride and shame's vital role in the creation of social bonds (Calhoun, 1994, pp. 281-287). A sense of inclusion, justice, recognition, and pride can lead to a sense of integration with a community. When individuals feel that they are being treated as a part of the group—being treated fairly and their identity is respected—the individuals will feel more integrated into the community. Societal pride can generate solidarity, while shame can indicate or cause alienation. Emotions are important in social relationships, as Calhoun argues, "The emotions are the psychological sides of social relationships, just as relationships are the social aspects of the emotions" (Calhoun, 1994, p. 298). This interaction may play an important role in the process of comparing identities which affects social identities' formation. National identity-building strategies often involve the construction and dissemination of a specific image of national identity. This process takes the essential role of national education and media systems (Guibernau, 2007).

The theoretical approaches of social identity consist of three views: first, social identity as a membership which focuses on individual self-conception; second, social identity as a role which focuses on its function; and last, social identity as a collective identity which includes the achievements of collective aims (Korostelina, 2007, pp. 21–23). Scholars (such as Korostelina, Tajfel, and Turner) agree that social identity theory covers three processes by individuals, namely the process of categorization among various identities, social identification to a particular social

identity, and finally social comparison. The development of an individual's social identity also affects how individuals view the world and their roles in the process of categorization.

Culture is related to social identity in a way that "identities replace culture" and "are formed in history and practice through the collective work of evoking, confirming, or declining participation in collective practices" (Korostelina, 2007b, p. 28). It is also described by Eric Hobsbawm (1983 and 1991) in his "invented traditions". It shows how culture and identity are very closely connected and intertwined.

It is necessary to understand social process and how social identification is processed in social identity theory. Social identity theory and social categorization theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1985) explain that when people identify themselves as a part of a broader group, it will reduce competition, conflicts, and negative evaluations including negative stereotyping, whether among themselves and/or others within those broader groups. Huddy and Khatib (2007) also show the advantage of using social identity theory in their research on national identity and political participation.

*Selected Variables: National Identity and Age*

Age matters when it comes to the process of developing national identity (Barrett et al., 2004). As a social identity, national identity formation cannot be separated from social context. It means that age and the duration of the socialization process may impact national identity. It includes how long the person is exposed to various national and other social identities. It is based on Barret et al. (2004)'s research on the development of national identity using Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Social Categorization Theory (SCT) among children and adolescents. Hussak (2017) found that the concept of national identity changes as children are growing up. He discovered that young children tend to use biological-based markers like the color of the skin which is stable and inherent to conceptualize national identity. However, the use of these markers declines as they grow up.

Age is determinant in the acculturation process in relation to language acquisition and changing lifestyle. The younger the person is, the easier it for him/her to adapt to a new country (Barker, 2015). Life processes such as marriage, settling down, and working are also determined by age. Social interaction is relatively determined by age, for example, when it comes to choosing friends and time-spent for social activities. Individuals at the age of 20s and 40s may use their time differently and with different kinds of people. For example, those at the age of 20s tend to spend time hanging out with friends and having fun, while those at the age of 40s tend to focus on family and professional life. This experience may affect how individuals compare and perceive their own identities.

Perception of national prejudice, which affects individual national identity attachment, differs depending upon the age of children and adolescents based on cross-sectional and longitudinal studies (Raabe and Beelmann, 2011). Age also impacts how people in many Western European countries perceive their national identity. Based on Pew Research Center, young people in these countries associate their national identity less with Christianity, birthplace, and bloodline/ancestry compared to older people (Pew Research Center, 2018). Differing perceptions of national identity based on age can also be seen in Europe, Australia, and Canada. Older U.S. Americans (50 years and older) are also more likely (44%) than young Americans (18-34 years) to cite the importance of religion with national identity (18%); the biggest gap is in Greece with a 26-point difference (Pew Research Center, 2017). National identity attachment associated with faith, birthplace, and ancestry/bloodline falls into the category of ethnic cultural or *thick* concept of national identity. National identity attachment develops and changes with

age; it shows that older generations across countries tend to associate themselves with the ethnic-cultural concept of national identity.

*National Identity and Gender*

In this article, gender is divided only between males and females because of the current gender division in this study and the data availability. Men and women may perceive experiences in a different manner as they deal with different expectations from society and different obstacles in life. Some of the differences between men and women were shown in managerial styles (Statham, 1987), in becoming politicians (Mezey, 1978), in the attitude of negotiation and cooperativeness (Eckel et.el., 2008); (Eckel and Grossman, 1998), in leadership styles (Eagley and Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001), and in the information processing (Putrevu, 2001). Research has shown that there are some differences in the degree of national identity between men and women who have spent time abroad (Zein, 2018).

National identity is analyzed in this study using Social Identity Theory based on Benedict Anderson's "imagined community" in which its existence lies in the imaginary sphere. Thus, the process of socialization of nationalism, including the cultural elements in that process and the way it is conceptualized and socialized, has an important role in scrutinizing national identity and gender. National identity and nationalism are not free from gender biases and expectations regarding gender roles; Billig explains, "…the creation of nation-state may have brought women into political life…, (but) citizenship still is often gendered in the details of its entitlements and duties" (Billig, 1995, p.124). As a consequence, it is men that are expected by the state to participate in warfare. Even though women also have to sacrifice their sons, husbands, and brothers, national identity and patriotism tend to be perceived from the perspective of men or masculinity which may belittle women's role. Although women have been increasingly participating in the military, their numbers are still relatively small across countries and are considered less significant. Billig (1995) argues for "banal nationalism" which states that national identity should not only be measured by dramatic and intense forms like military participation. It is because in times of peace, national beliefs, practices, and representations continue to be replicated.

There has been research on the exclusion or lack of involvement of women in the formation and ideology of national identity including in political, social, and economic dynamics across countries. Gender cannot be separated from the formation of national identity because "national-identity formation is the process of construction of shared meanings regarding the nation-state, the natural culture and heritage, and members of the community." (Moghadam, 1999, 138). Gender is crucial for identity formation and nation-building (Elmhirst, 2000); men and women's roles cannot be removed from this topic (Yuval-Davis, 1997). Even though the conceptualization of national identity tends to be male-gendered, "the notions of an ideal society are often linked to the ideal woman" (Moghadam, 1999, 138). Women are considered the markers of cultural identity and their behavior may signify the membership of groups. The image of a nation is often displayed in women with traditional clothes performing the country's cultural roles. The national identity image of women and men is often displayed differently with women mostly display and are expected to perform cultural feminine elements of national identity. In Indonesia, due to patriarchal culture, women tend to be associated with the role as mothers and wives where their life is dependent on their husbands (Elmhirst, 2000). The women's national identity image display is essential, but it does not always mean that women are positioned equally as or higher than men.

Because men and women are perceived and treated differently by the nation-state and society generally, it is expected that the attachment of national identity between men and women

will vary. However, significant variations are not shown between men and women's national identity attachment in Australia (Wickes, Smith, & Phillips, 2006). Gender also does not show any differences in the acculturation process (Barker, 2015). But other research has revealed differences as Zein (2018) finds that Indonesian men residing in the UK express a higher degree of national identity rather than Indonesian women there. American men also express a higher degree of national identity compared to American women (Berkel, Molina, and Mukherjee, 2017).

National identity as a part of social identity in this study is analyzed from the perspective of Social Identity Theory. It means that it includes the process of socialization and the sense of belonging towards a particular national identity. Across countries the conceptualization of national identity tends to be male-gendered, and the representation of good citizens tends to be associated with male characters, such as defending the country by becoming soldiers or male political figures.

Based on Social Identity Theory men and women may behave differently due to their awareness of their gender status (Swan and Wyer Jr, 1997). This happens when men perceive themselves and are perceived by others as the members of the dominant group, while women perceive themselves and are perceived by others as the members of the minority group. However, people who are aware that they belong to a minority group may act more assertive; they "…may be motivated to compensate through dominance or assertiveness." (Swan and Wyer Jr, 1997, p.1275). Because of this, there may be a variation in women's national identity attachment compared to men. National identity as a social identity cannot be shaped on its own because it is affected by its surroundings. Gender equality may play a role in the variation of national identity between men and women because gender equality will also determine how women perceive themselves and are perceived by society.

Furthermore, conceptions of national identity are also affected by culture on how society perceives the differing roles of men and women. In the U.S., "traditional family values" have preserved the hierarchy in the society where men are positioned to be dominant over women; their roles are distinguished (Collins, 1998). Culture, which includes the elements of family values, also affects how society portrays nationalism, whether it is in a more masculine or feminine way. Men and masculinity are considered as the prototype of Americans compared to women and femininity. Women may perceive themselves as less fully American than men which may impact their sense of national identification (Berkel, Molina, and Mukherjee, 2017).

Therefore, even though there has been an inconsistent result on the study of national identity attachment and gender, there are more findings suggesting that men tend to have a stronger association with national identity than women. Further study is needed to explain its intersection with women's cultural roles and gender equality.

*National Identity and Ethnicity*

Ethnic identity is closely tied to national identity: "National identity and ethnic identity are examples of group identities that can be held concurrently or alternately, with differing levels of salience over time and across situations" (Liu, Lawrence, Ward, & Abraham, 2002, p. 4). Malaysians belonging to the dominant groups preferred to identify themselves based on their ethnic groups (Malays), and Singaporeans tended to identify themselves based on their national identity as Singaporeans rather than mentioning their ethnic groups, such as Chinese, Indians, or Malays (Liu et al., 2002).

On the other hand, in the United States, white American men—considered to be the members of the dominant group—tend to be more nationalist than other groups particularly compared to minority groups such as Blacks and Asians (Berkel, Molina, and Mukherjee, 2017).

In this country, individuals of the dominant group tend to be viewed by general society as having more national identity compared to individuals from other groups. Since national identity is also affected by external factors, it leads individuals from minority groups to feel a lesser sense of belonging to the country. Dominance is not measured solely numerically; it can also be understood as historical or in terms of political power. In the United States, political power is still dominated by white American men. Therefore, white American men had a greater national identity score compared to individuals of ethnic minority groups (Berkel, Molina, and Mukherjee, 2017).

Self-recognition and individuation are important when it comes to national identity. The process of individuation is significant because individuals are directly the members of the nation with whom they identify themselves intrinsically and interact with it immediately and as a whole. Nationalism is shaped in different international contexts and from different domestic experiences (Calhoun, 1994, p. 321).

Ethnicity is important when it comes to how individuals associate themselves with a certain national identity. In Southeast Asian countries including Indonesia, ethnicity is a major source of conflict (Suryadinata, 2015). There is a division between indigenous people (indigenism) and Chinese descendants in Indonesia. Chinese descendants are considered "outsiders" or "not fully Indonesians". They have also experienced different treatment - politically, socially, and economically (Suryadinata, 2015) that may affect their national identity attachment. For example, the Chinese descendants were forbidden to participate in politics, and their economic rights were limited before Indonesian Reformation 1998. Indonesian society also tends to divide itself between Chinese descendants and indigenous people (*pribumi*) that leads to a certain degree of exclusion of Chinese descendants including in social life.

*National Identity and Religion*

Religion is an important part of a culture. Religion is often intertwined with culture when it comes to shaping a society and its identity. It is frequently connected with ethnolinguistic identity. Religious identity is often a part of cultural identity. Muslim Indonesians residing in the UK tend to show a higher Indonesian national identity compared to non-Muslim Indonesians residing there (Zein, 2018). It may indicate how Islam as the dominant religion has been very influential in Indonesia and its relationship with politics has never been settled (Suryadinata, 2015); (Alfitri, 2018).

Therefore, the role of religion, especially dominant religions, in multi-ethnic states most frequently cannot be neglected when it comes to examining the process and creation of nation-building. Citizens of Indonesia may perceive and connect with their national identity differently depending on their positions in society. This can be analyzed through individuals' interactions with fellow nationals, the government, and the government's treatment to religious groups.

Across European countries, the U.S., Australia, and Canada where Christianity is the dominant religion, we can also see the influence of Christian religion in the perception of national identity (Pew Research Center, 2018 and 2017). Around the world, Islam is the most common state religion, but Christianity is the most common religion to receive privileges from governments. In general, most countries favor a certain religion whether officially or unofficially. It is usually the dominant religion that affects national identity and social-economic dynamics most as well as political interaction among individuals (Pew Research Center, 2017). Thus, individuals belonging to the dominant religion in the country tend to show higher national identity attachment compared to individuals of non-dominant religions.

*National Identity and Education*

Education has an essential role in the nation-building process. Through national education a state conceptualizes and maintains national identity and instills national values in its citizens. Compulsory education plays a key role in shaping the foundation of national identity (Byung-Jin, L., 2003). The state usually uses the national education system, particularly compulsory education, to disseminate its national identity image (Guibernau, 2007).

Harris (2012) revealed that education lowers national identity in ethnic and civic components in developed countries. It is due to educated individuals' confidence in their own competitive capacity in the job market as well as their less concerns for cultural elements' importance in national identity conception. Ethnic components of national identity refer to cultural elements and ancestry of the citizens, while civic elements refer to the rights and obligations of the citizens to their countries. A high education level can increase and decrease national identity depending on the socioeconomic context. Individuals with high education in developed countries expressed a lower degree of national identity, but for highly educated people in developing countries, it is the opposite. Highly educated people from developed countries tend to feel more secure with labor market competition than less educated people in the same country. This leads them to feel more secure and thus less likely to support immigration restrictions. Harris (2012) utilized the support for immigration restriction as a part of national identity measures.

Erhart (2016) conducted research based on secondary data from the International Social Survey Program across 30 countries from 2003 to 2013. He discovered that greater national identity leads to less favorable attitudes toward immigrants; the level of education functions as the significant predictor for these attitudes. Higher educated individuals tend to have more favorable attitudes toward immigrants. The relationship between education and national identity is the most consistent finding across countries compared to other variables. Using Social Identity Theory, he explained that education facilitates individuals to perceive reality and interaction with less prejudice.

Idris, et.al (2012) also confirm the essential role of the nation-building process through education. They show that students who graduated from different types of schools or education institutions have different levels of national identity attachment.

*National Identity and Media Access*

Media has an important position in how individuals perceive reality and react to situations. Globalization and advanced communication technology have made this role more prominent than ever before. Ramasubramanian and Murphy (2014) explain "… mass media act as key socializing agents in shaping individuals' attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors. They are an important (and often the primary) source of information for individuals about places, peoples, and cultures, especially when direct contact is absent." Using the analysis of Social Identity Theory and the conception of national identity, which presents in the imaginary sphere, (Anderson, 1991) highlights the crucial role of media in shaping individuals' conceptions of and attachments to national identity. Media communication has been used as a window and the guide to perceive and to understand reality whether direct contact is possible or absent. For example, international students tend to use media communication and films to understand friendship or college life in the host country where they study before their study departure. The habit of using media for this purpose may continue even though they are already in the host country and they have the opportunity to build friendships with other students through direct contact. Thus, the image

projected by the media contributes to shaping the attitudes and perceptions of international students.

Exposure to pro-democracy and frequent use of Facebook negatively impacted Chinese national identity of college students in Macau (Wang, 2017). This study shows that the majority of Macau students use Facebook to get news and keep in touch with their friends and relatives. The young generation tends to trust the news circulated by people they know on Facebook; therefore, it was proven to be the most effective way for spreading positive news about China to build its national identity. The media has also affected the conception of national identity in the US, particularly in defining gender stereotypes (Berkel, Molina, and Mukherjee, 2017). Media source preferences among Americans are divided based on political party affiliation (Jurkowitz, 2020, Pew Research Center); this is further proof that media access has been very influential in shaping the political behavior of individuals.

The conception and meaning of national identity are affected by media framing and priming whether individuals will perceive national identity in a more "ethnic-cultural concept" or in "civic-institutional concept". The accessibility and frequency of accessing the media is also deemed necessary to shaping the concept based on Social Identity Theory (Tian, 2017). The state realizes the fundamental character of media in the nation-building process; therefore, the media system is used by the state to disseminate its national identity image through national symbols, values, traditions, principles, common enemies, and depictions of the image of a "good citizen" (Guibernau, 2007).


**Conclusion**

This qualitative research based on secondary data demonstrates that national identity is fluid and cannot be separated from its context. Social Identity Theory and the character of national identity, which is imagined, show that national identity attachment is affected by various variables in individuals' lives and is an ongoing process. This study found that age, gender, ethnicity, religion, education, and media access influence the attachment of national identity.

**References**

Alfitri. (2018). Religion and Constitutional Practices in Indonesia: How Far Should the State Intervene in the Administration of Islam? *Asian Journal of Comparative Law* 13 (2) (December 2018): 389–413. https://doi.org/10.1017/asjcl.2018.20.

Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London, England: Verso.

Barker, G. G. (2015). Choosing the best of both worlds: The acculturation process revisited. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 45, 56–69. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2015.01.001.

Barrett, M., Lyons, E., & del Valle, A. (2004). The development of national identity and social identity processes: Do social identity and self-categorisation theory provide useful heuristic frameworks for developmental research? In M. Bennett & F. Sani (Eds.), *The development of the social self* (pp. 159–188). New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Berkel, Molina, and Mukherjee. (2017). Gender Asymmetry in the construction of American national identity. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. Vol 41 (3), 352-367, https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684317707710.

Billig, Michael. (1995). Banal Nationalism. London. Sage Publication

Breuilly, J. (1993). *Nationalism and the state* (2nd ed.). Manchester, England: Manchester University Press.

Breuilly, J. (2001). The state and nationalism. In M. Guibernau & J. Hutchinson (Eds.), *Understanding nationalism* (pp. 32-52). Cambridge, England: Polity.

Brubaker, R. (1996). *Nationalism reframed: Nationhood and the national question in the new Europe.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Byung-Jin, Lee. (2003). Education and National Identity. *Policy Futures in Education*. Vol 1(2), pp. 332-341.

Calhoun, C. (1994). *Social theory and the politics of identity*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Collins, Patricia Hill. (1998). It's all in the family: Intersections of gender, race, and nation. *Hypatia*, 13(3), pp. 62-82. Border crossings: multicultural and postcolonial feminist challenges to philosophy. Blackwell Publishing. Retrieved at http://www.jstor.org/stable/3810699.

Deaux, K. (2000). Models, meanings, and motivations. In D. Capozza & R. Brown (Eds.), *Social identity process* (pp. 1–14). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Downs, Anthony. (1957). *An economic theory of democracy*. Harper.

Eagley, Alice H and Johannesen-Schmidt, Mary C. (2001). The leadership styles of women and men, *Journal of Social Issues*, 57 (4), pp. 781-797. Retrieved at https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00241.

Eckel, Catherine, Oliveira, Angela CM de, & Grossman, Philip J. (2008). Are women (perceived to be) more cooperative than men? *Negotiation Journal*, 24(4), pp. 429-445. Retrieved at https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1571-9979.2008.00196.x.

Eckel, Catherine and Grossman, Philip, J. (1998). Are women less selfish than men?: Evidence from dictator experiments. *The Economic Journal*, 108 (May), pp. 726-735, Retrieved at https://ssrn.com/abstract=1883574.

Elmhirst, Rebecca. (2000). A Javanese Diaspora? Gender and Identity Politics in Indonesia's Transmigration Resettlement Program. *Women's Studies International Forum* 23 (4), pp. 487–500. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-5395(00)00108-4.

Erhart, Ryan (2016). A cross-national examination of prejudice toward immigrants: the role of education and political ideology. *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research*. VOL. 8 NO. 4 2016, pp. 279-289, © Emerald Group Publishing Limited, ISSN 1759-6599. DOI 10.1108/JACPR-02-2016-0212.

Gellner, E. (1983). *Nations and nationalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Guibernau, M. (2007). *The identity of nations*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.

Harris, Pavla. (2012). Worldwide Patterns and Determinants of National Identity: The Varied Influence of Education. *Sociology. Graduate Theses & Dissertations*. 18.https://scholar.colorado.edu/socy_gradetds/18

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1983). *The invention of tradition*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1991). *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Horowitz, D. L. (1985). *Ethnic groups in conflict*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Huddy, L., & Khatib, N. (2007). American patriotism, national identity, and political involvement." *American Journal of Political Science,* 51(1), 63–77. doi:10.1111/j.1540-5907.2007.00237.x.

Hussak. (2017). Early Conceptions of National Identity: Causes and Consequences. *Psychology. Graduate Theses & Dissertations.* https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/handle/2142/97700

Idris, et.al. (2012). The role of education in shaping youth's national identity. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 59, pp. 443-450

Korostelina, K. V. (2007). *Social identity and conflict: Structures, dynamics, and implications*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kosterman, R., & Feshbach, S. (1989). Toward a measure of patriotic and nationalistic attitudes. *International Society of Political Psychology*, 10(2), pp. 257-274. doi:10.2307/3791647

Lechner, Frank J. (2007). Redefining National Identity: Dutch Evidence on Global Patterns. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 48 (40), pp. 355-68. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020715207079535.

Liu, J. H., Lawrence, B., Ward, C., & Abraham, S. (2002). Social representations of history in Malaysia and Singapore: On the relationship between national and ethnic identity. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 5*(1), pp. 3-20. Doi:10.1111/1467-839X.00091

Moghadam, Valentine M. (1999). Gender, national identity and citizenship: Reflections in the Middle East and North Africa. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East*, 19 (1), pp. 137-157. Duke University Press.

Mezey, Susan Gluck. (1978). Does sex make a difference? A case study of women in politics. *Western Political Quarterly,* 31(4), pp. 492-501. Retrieved at https://doi.org/10.1177/106591297803100403.

Poole, R. (1999). *Nation and identity*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Pew Research Center. (2017). Faith: Few strong links to national identity. Retrieved at https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2017/02/01/faith-few-strong-links-to-national-identity/.

Pew Research Center. (2018). Views of national identity differ less by age in Central, Eastern Europe than in Western Europe. Retrieved at https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/12/04/views-of-national-identity-differ-less-by-age-in-central-eastern-europe-than-in-western-europe/.

Pew Research Center. (2020). U.S. Media Polarization and the 2020 Election: A Nation Divided. Retrieved from https://www.journalism.org/2020/01/24/u-s-media-polarization-and-the-2020-election-a-nation-divided/.

Putreva, Sanjay. (2001). Exploring the origins and information processing differences between men and women: Implications for advertisers. *Academy of Marketing Science*, 10 (1), pp. 1-14.

Raabe and Beelmann. (2011). Development of Ethnic, Racial, and National Prejudice in Childhood and Adolescence: A Multinational Meta-Analysis of Age Differences. *Society for Research in Child Development*.Vol. 82 (6), pp. 1715-1737.

Ramasubramanian and Murphy. (2014). Experimental studies of media stereotyping effects. *Laboratory Experiments in the Social Sciences*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-404681-8.00017-0.

Rivera, Joseph de, and Harry A. Carson. (2015). Cultivating a Global Identity. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 3 (2), pp. 310–30. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v3i2.507.

Statham, Anne. (1987). The gender model revisited: Differences in the management styles of men and women. *Sex Roles* 16(7/8), pp. 409-429.

Suryadinata, Leo. (2015). The Making of Southeast Asian Nations: State, ethnicity, indigenism, and Citizenship. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte.Ltd.

Suryadinata, L. (1985). Government policies towards the ethnic Chinese: A comparison between Indonesia and Malaysia. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science, 13*(2), pp. 15–28. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24490869.

Swan, Suzanne & Wyer Jr, Robert S. (1997). Gender stereotypes and social identity: How being in the minority affects judgements of self and others. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23(12), pp. 1265-1276. The Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Inc.

Tajfel, H. (1982, February). Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual Review of Psychology,* 33, pp. 1-39. doi:10.1146/annurev.ps.33.020182.000245

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-37). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1985). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (2nd ed., pp. 7-24). Chicago, IL: Nelson Hall.

Tian, Yufeng. (2017). Chinese National Identity and Media Framing. *Sociology. Graduate Theses & Dissertations*. https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=8162&context=etd

Tohidfam, M., and Dalili. (2015). National Identity Turns, in the Age of Globalization. *Philosophy Study*. Vol.5 (2). pp.70-77. David Publishing. https://doi.org/10.17265/2159-5313/2015.02.002.

Transue. (2007). Identity salience, identity acceptance, and racial policy attitudes: American national identity as a uniting force. *American Journal of Political Science,* 51(1). pp. 78-91. DOI: 10.1111/j.1540-5907.2007.00238.x.

Wang, H. (2017). Media exposure and national identity formation among college youth in postcolonial Macau. *Issues & Studies,* 53(4), 1750009. doi:10.1142/S1013251117500096

Westle, Bettina. (2014, Sept.). *How to measure or not to measure national and European identity*. Paper presented at the ECPR General Conference, Glasgow, Scotland. https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/d000a579-cd86-4ea0-9f05-bf1631ec635f.pdf

Wickes, R., Smith, P., & Phillips, T. (2006). Gender and national identity: Lessons from the Australian case. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 41(3), pp. 289-308. DOI: 10.1080/10361140600848929.

Yuval-Davis, N. (1997). Gender and nations. London. SAGE.

Yuwanto. (2019). Politics of national identity: Comparative analysis on Indonesia and South Korea. Retrieved on April 10, 2019, at https://ejournal.undip.ac.id/index.php/politika/article/download/4849/4396.

Zein, R. A. (2018). What's the matter with being Indonesian? A social representation approach to unravelling Indonesian national identity. *Revista de Psicología Social*, 33(2). pp.390-423. doi:10.1080/02134748.2018.1435219.

Zeugner-Roth, K.P, Žabkar, Vesna, & Diamantopoulos, Adamantios. (2015). Consumer Ethnocentrism, National Identity, and Consumer Cosmopolitanism as Drivers of Consumer Behavior: A Social Identity Theory Perspective. *Journal of International Marketing*, 23 (2), 25-54. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1509/jim.14.0038.

Zhuojun, Wang., and Hualing, He. (2014). National Identity in the Era of Globalization: Crisis and Reconstruction. *Social Sciences in China* 35 (2). pp. 139-54, https://doi.org/10.1080/02529203.2014.900889.