## Nikos Fokas – Gábor Jelenfi – Róbert Tardos Eötvös Loránd University Department of Sociology Budapest

# Cognitive maps, social distance and national stereotypes in times of crises.

The case of Greece and Hungary

In order to compare public opinion concerning the refugee problem.

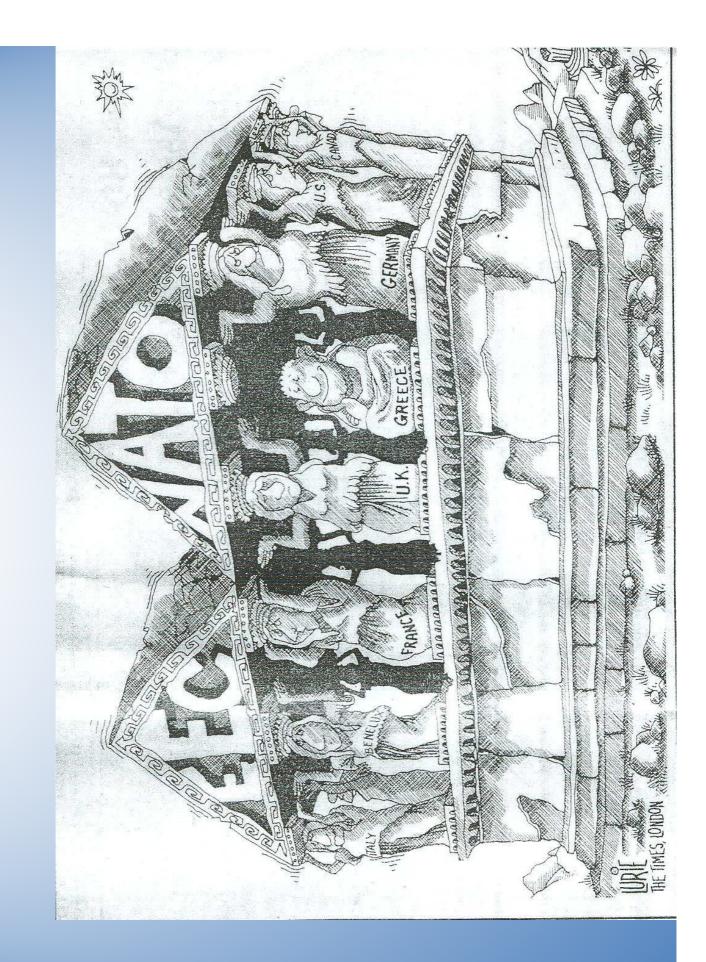
- In collaboration with National Centre for Social Research (EKKE) in Athens we conducted two parallel online surveys in Hungary and Greece at the beginning of 2017.
- Aspects of ingroup/outgroup relationships, values and stereotypes.

- It is clear that the analysis of stereotypes was very timely particularly in the case of Greece because since the outbreak of the debt crisis negative stereotypes became widely common in the European mass media. Allow me to present two characteristics examples.
- What is surprising is that the second cartoon was first published in 1981.

## Referendum, July 2015

- Lazy
- Crafty
- Conceited





Our starting point was the seminal 'semanl work of Buchanan and Cantril, which was first published in 1953.

## How Nations See Each Other

A Study in Public Opinion

#### by William Buchanan and Hadley Cantril

Greenwood Press

1953

First applied after WW2 as part of a nine-country comparative survey assessing friendly and hostile relationships in auto-and heterostereotypes.

# Peripato survey, 2017

## **Question BC1.1**

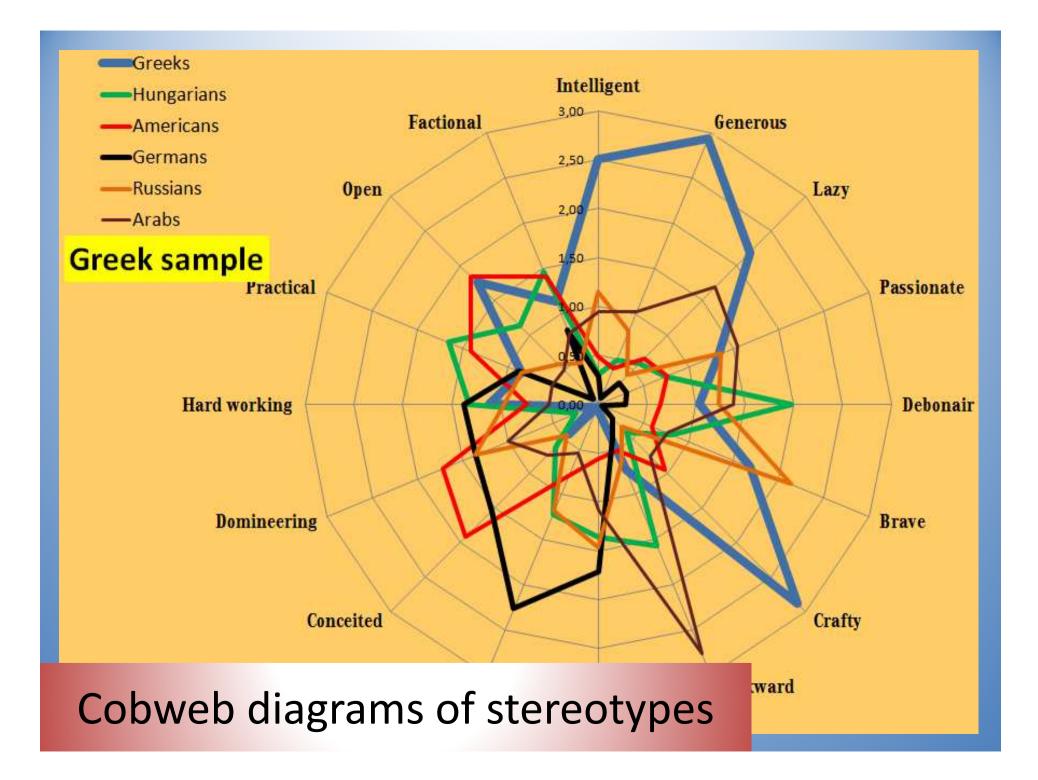
In the table below there is a list of attributes. Choose three attributes that you consider most characteristic of ...

attributes			
Conceited	Backwar		
	d	nations	
Brave	Generous	Americ	Germ
Self-	Open	Greeks	Russia
controlled		Hungar	
Practical	Crafty	•	mans
Intelligent	Passionat	ians	
	e		
<b>NI</b> •			

Here're a few selected examples of the results emerging from our survey concerning national stereotypes.

 Based on the attribute designation frequency, or more precisely, on the so-called "odds ratios" we calculated the cobweb diagrams both in Greek and Hungarian samples.

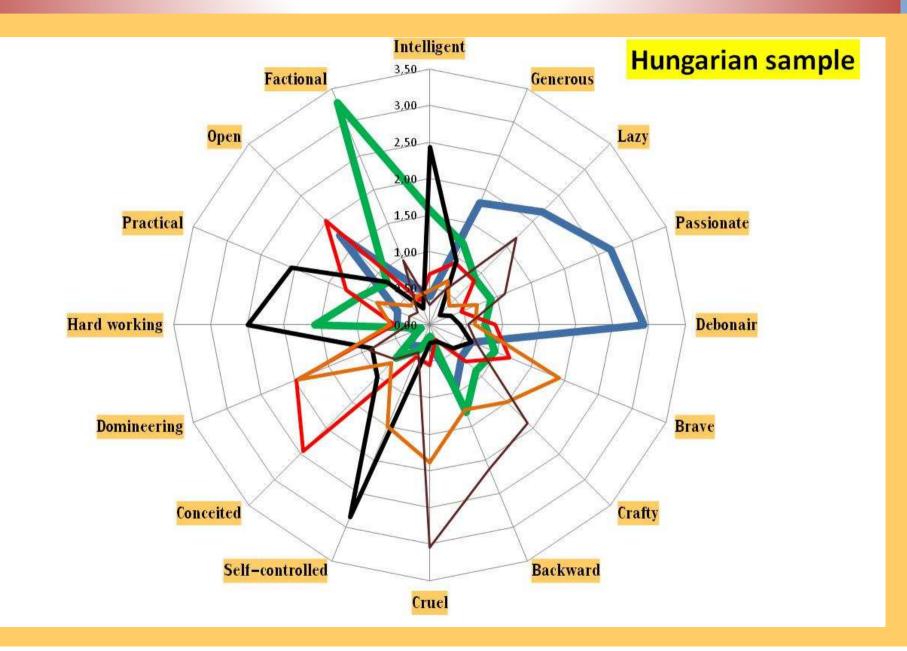
- From these diagrams, it emerges that the Greek autostereotypes (see blue line), are much stronger than their. Based on these stereotypes it seems that
- Greeks have a definitive idea as to what kind of people they are.
- It's worth mentioning that of the four stronger stereotypes, two – intelligent and generous– are positive, while two – lazy and crafty – are rather negative.



•The autostereotypes of Hungarians are much weaker than of Greeks and one negative attribute the "factious" or "factional" dominates over all others.

On the other side, it is very interesting that Hungarians' stereotypes concerning Greeks are also quite strong.

#### **Cobweb diagrams of stereotypes**

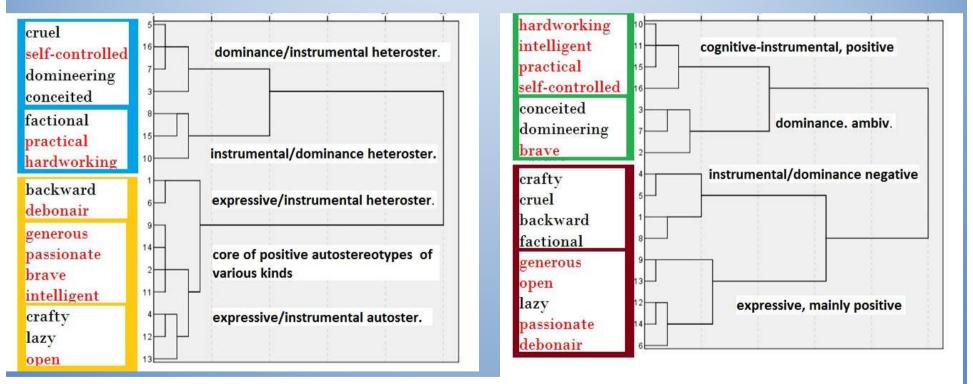


Dendrogram clustering of attributes

based on an SPSS Hierarchical Cluster Analysis of In odds ratios (Ward, Zstandarization, with attributes as variables, nations as cases

**Greek** sample

**Hungarian Sample** 



A more "*warmth*" - auto/heterostereotypical (in/outgroup-related) orientation of the *Greek*, a somewhat more *competence*-related one of the *Hungarian* pattern. Constantine Tsoukalas Free riders in Wonderland, 1992

**Greeks think they are authentically "Greek"** when they sing, dance, dream, laugh, feel, give, make love, or fight, eventually when they are clever, successful, or shrewd at the expense of others or the collectivity ...

## Constantine Tsoukalas Free riders in Wonderland, 1992

...

but never when they pursue, materialize, or submit to rational collective or societal goals.

## Some global statistics

dispersion scores of country\_attribute log odds ratios and global properties of semantic network patterns for the Greek and Hungarian samples (SPSS; Ucinet)

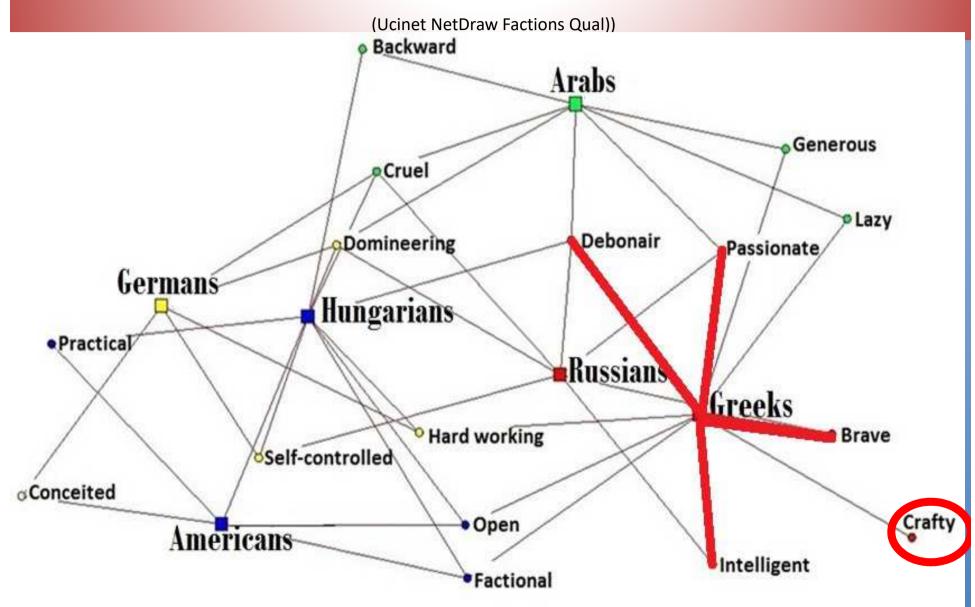
Standard Deviation of LN (OR)		Network (2-mode) Cohesion (Ucinet)		n (Ucinet)	
Greek sample	Attribute objects	Hungarian sample	Greek sample	measures	Hung. sample
0,908	All nations	0,770	0,438	Density	0,333
0,500	(Total SD)	0,770		Normalized	
<b>1,423</b> Own nation	0,824	0,707	distance	0,577	
_,	(Auto)	Auto) Density is the number of ties	divided by n*m (N of rows and cols in matrix)		
0,779	Other nations	0,764	Normalized Distance is Average Distance (geodesic path length divided into minimum possible in bipartite graph of given node-set sizes).		
	(Hetero)		Pasidas a high	er rate of significa	ntly correlated

A more polarized pattern of Greek

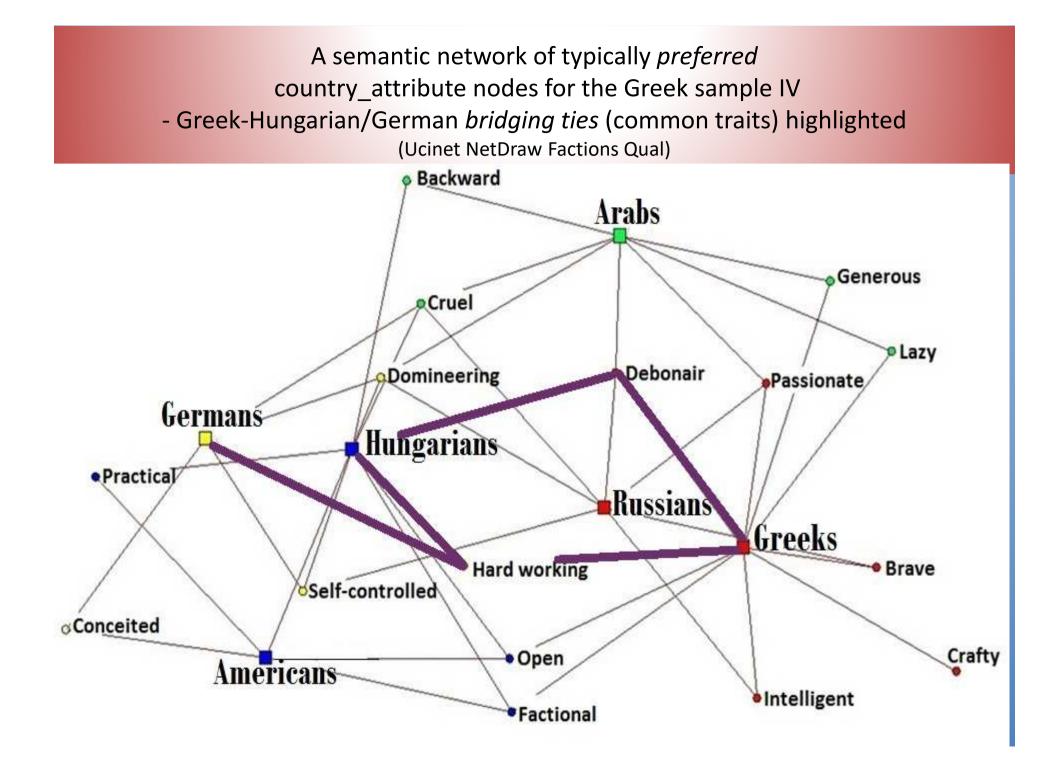
*evaluations* as to the a preference or avoidance of various attributes; this difference is *due to the aspect of autostereotypes* (while dispersion scores for other nations are practically the same) Besides a higher rate of significantly correlated ties, the *network pattern of the Greek evaluations* is *also more polarized* with regard to relations of closeness and distance (as outlined by country\_attribute nodes) Next are a few examples from our first results based on the **2-mode network analysis**. The two modes are of course the nations and the attributes. The majority of preferred Greek autostereotypes are positive such as *debonair*, *passionate*, *brave* and *intelligent*. *Crafty* is only partially positive.

# A semantic network of typically *preferred* country\_attribute nodes for the Greek sample II

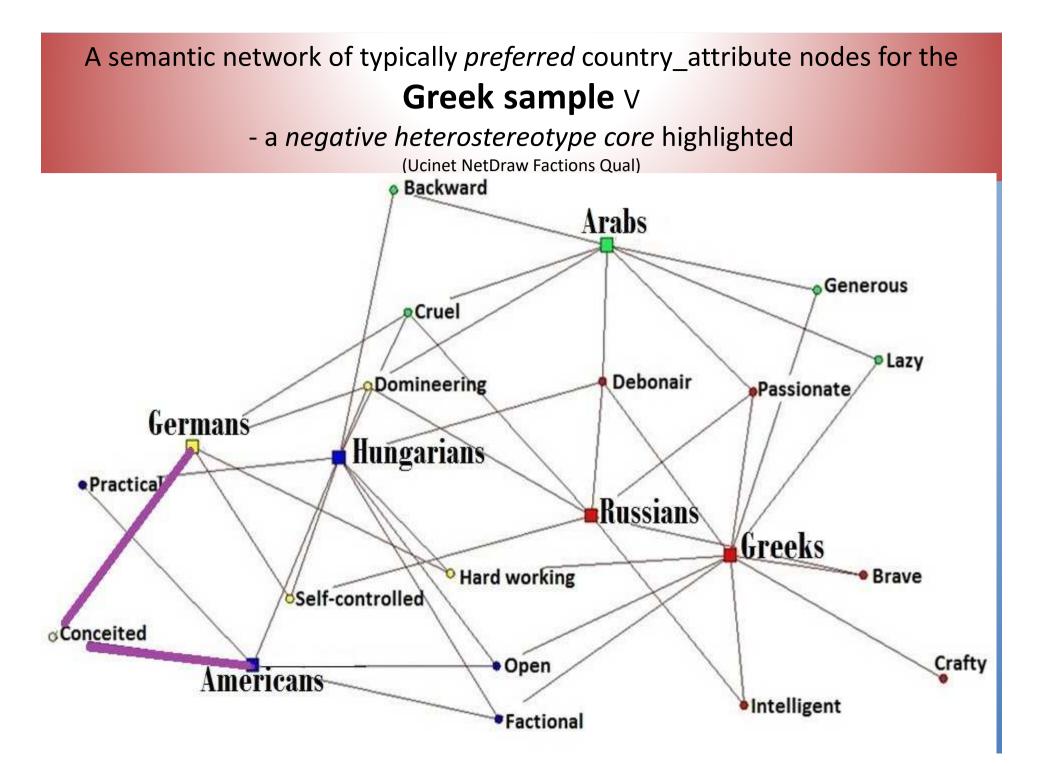
#### - the Greek positive self-image core highlighted

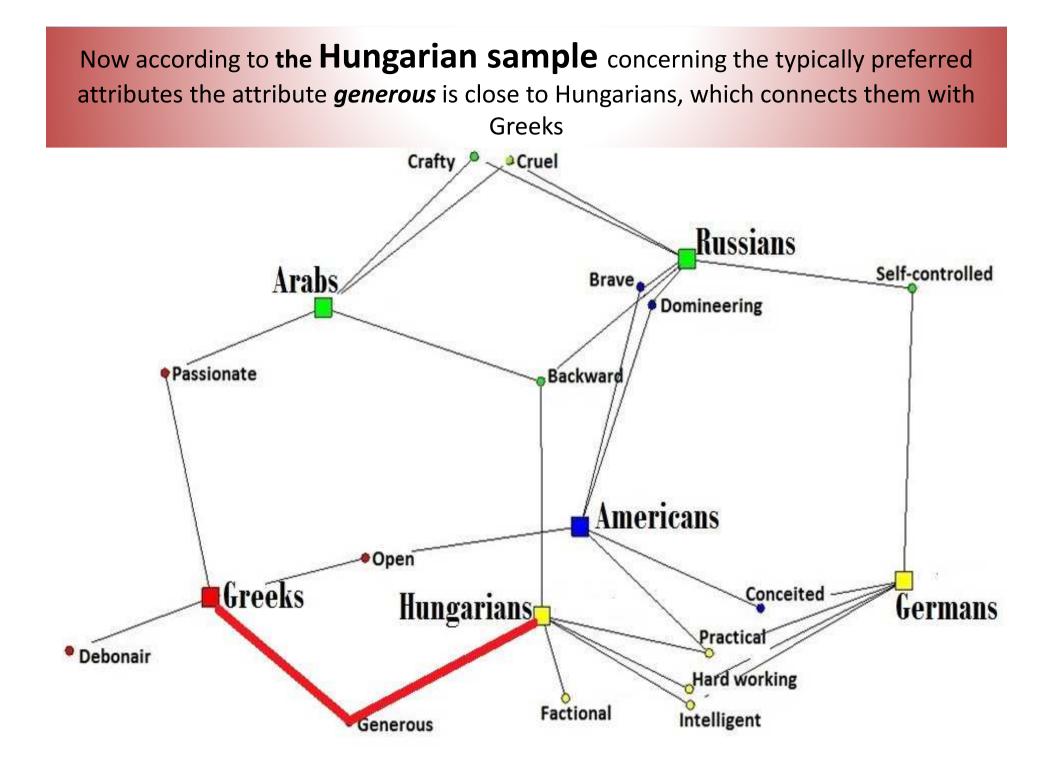


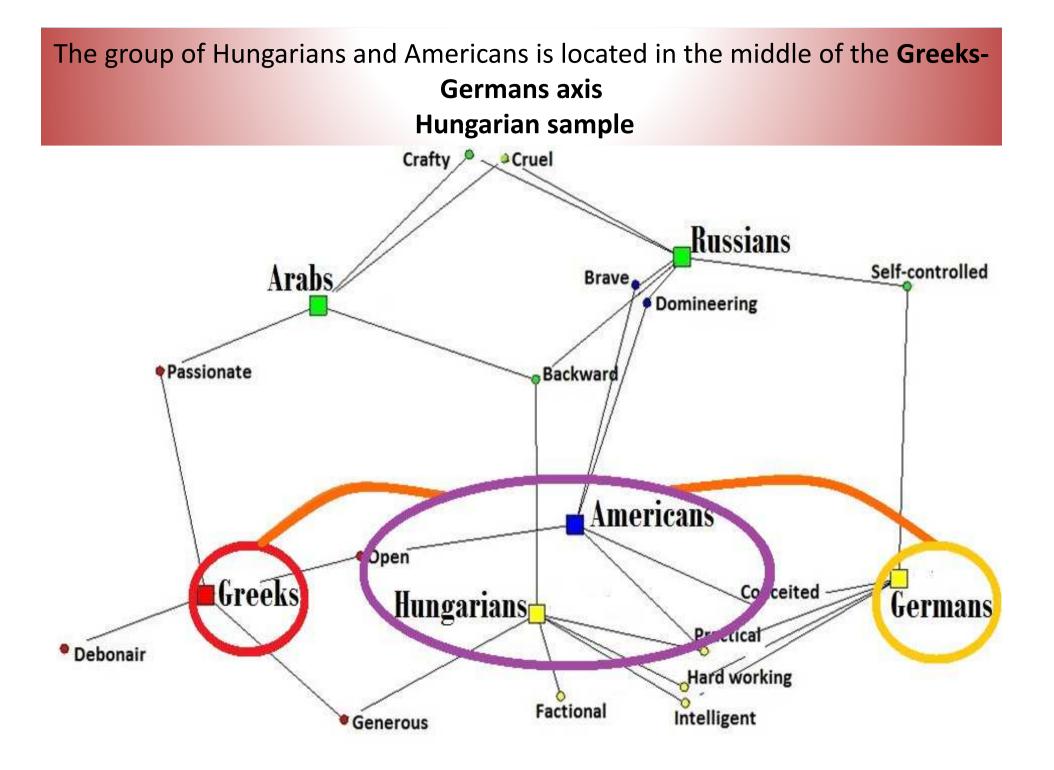
 Between Greeks and Hungarians *debonair* and *hardworking* represent strong ties while the last one(!) connects Greeks and Germans(!).



 Germans and Americans are commonly characterized as *conceited*. I think this a summary evaluation of western-type societies by Greeks.

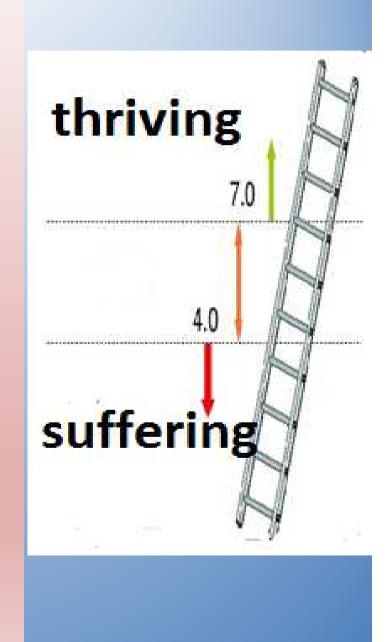






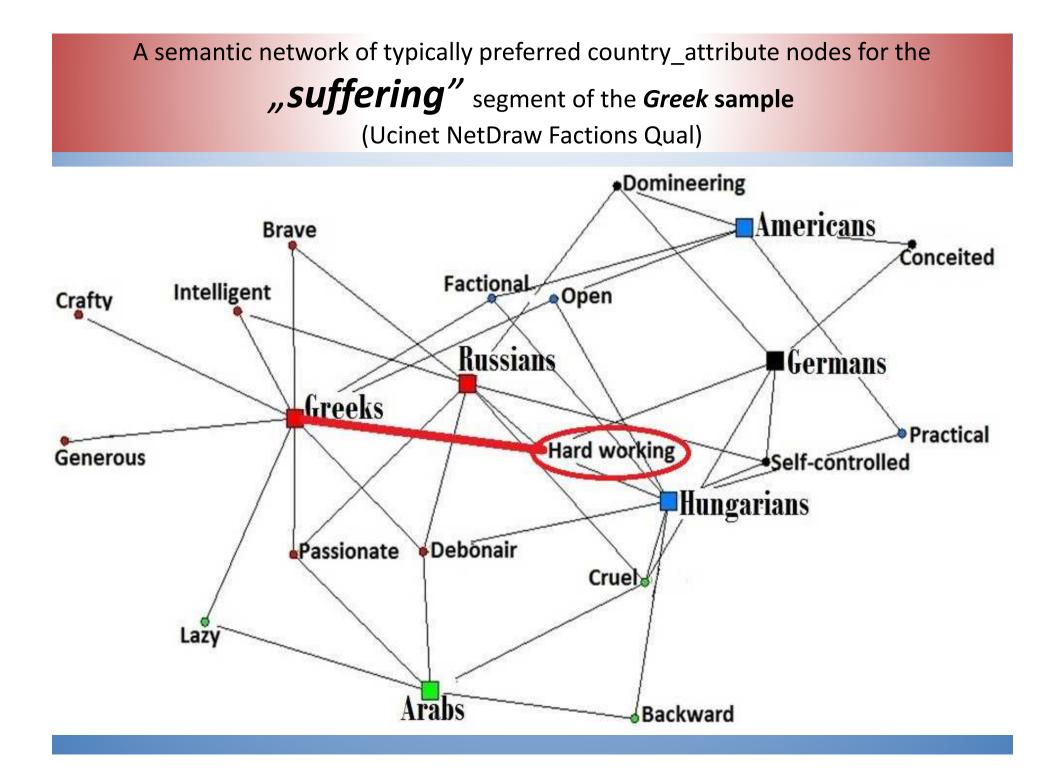
- A composite index based on the aggregation of 7 variables was calculated.
- Contained indicators related to personal situations, satisfaction with economic situation and perception of most important problems.

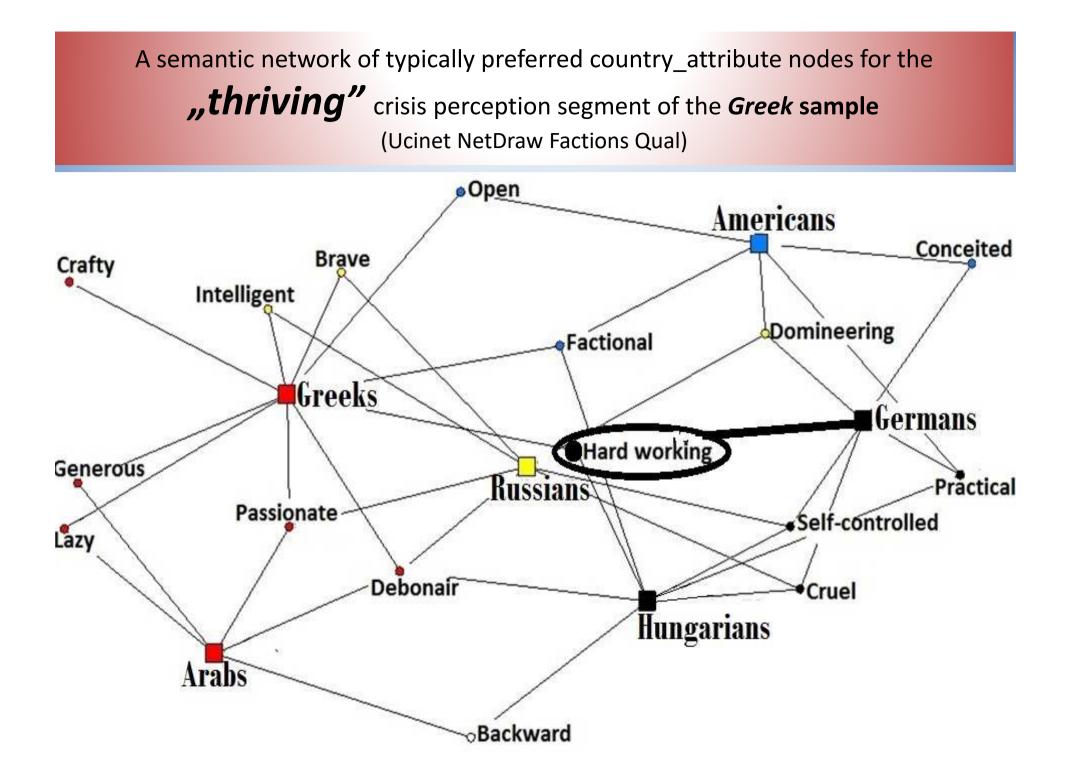
- Both samples were divided into three
  categories based on the relative rates of the aggregate scores.
- We adopted labels used by the Cantril ladder, *"suffering"* and *"thriving"* segments on the poles of crisis perception.



Generally the *"suffering"* segment was more prevalent in the Greek sample, while the *"*thriving" one relatively larger in the Hungarian case.

 It's noteworthy that in the "suffering" segment the attribute "hard working" is close to Greeks while in the "thriving" segment this attribute was transferred to Germans.





- The changes between the *"thriving"* and *"suffering"* segments in the Hungarian sample are less than in the Greek sample.
- The Greek total sample is more defined by the "suffering" segment, less difference is observed in the Hungarian case.
- Finally, based on some general statistics, we may conclude that the Greek evaluation was more polarized first of all due to the aspect of autostereotypes as well as in regard to relations of closeness and distance.

 We also sought to reconstruct how Greek and Hungarian mass media contributed to the construction of the national stereotypes and more generally to the construction of the public images concerning the studied nations.

- We collected all articles from the online editions of two Hungarian – NOL (Népszabadság Online) and MNO (Magyar Nemzet Online) – and two Greek – To Vima and I Kathimerini – political dailies spanning the years 2004-2016.
- These dailies were chosen on the basis of their common traits.

 Out of the mentioned database, we first collected every article available from 2004 to 2016 concerning the six nations – Americans, Arabs, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, and Russians.  Studying these articles it became clear that the attributes themselves – such as Conceited, Backward, Brave, Generous, Self-controlled, Open, Practical, Crafty, Intelligent and so on – of national stereotypes barely 'occur in this database.

		attributes		
nations		Conceited	Backwar	
Americ	Corm		d	
		Brave	Generous	
Greeks	Kussia			
Hungar	Arabs	controlled	Open	
ians		Practical	Crafty	
		Intelligent	Passionat	
			e	

We constructed fourteen, synthetic situations, or rather, fields of activity, which according to our hypothesis take place similar positions on

- the cognitive-instrumental,
- the expressive-emotional

and

 the symbolic-dominance axes than the above mentioned, applied stereotype attributes.

#### Fields of activity in Hungarian and Greek media

- "aggression",
- corruption",
- development",
- invention",
- "science",
- "pictures",
- "protest",

- "cult\_arts"
- "tradition",
- "contests",
  - "tourism",
  - "finance",
  - "crisis",
  - "tech"

#### Each of the labels

"aggression", "corruption", "development", "invention", "science", "protest", "pictures", "cult\_arts", "tradition", "contests", "tourism", "finance", "crisis", "tech"

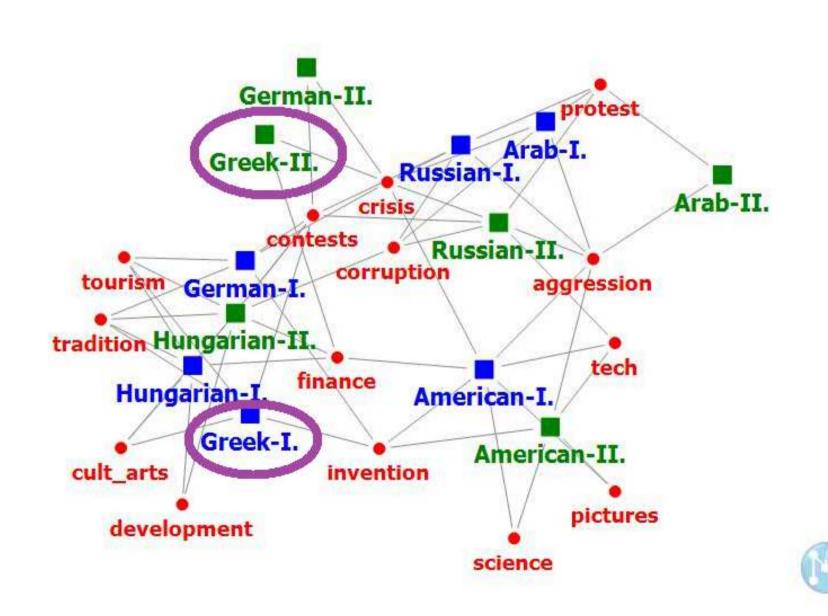
marking these fields of activity reflect the aggregated result of searches based on several keywords.

For example the label "*aggression*" marks the aggregated result of searches based on keywords *aggression, violence, threat, war,* and *terror*.

- In the course of the research we found that the 2008 financial crisis was a genuine dividing line.
- In accord, we compare the (I) pre-crisis 2004-2008, and the (II) post-crisis 2009-2016 periods.

 The diagram below shows, on the basis of the Hungarian media, how the nations' position changes in the post-crisis period as compared to the pre-crisis years – in the two-mode network of nations and activities' fields. A semantic network of typically preferred country\_ fields of activity nodes.

#### Hungarian media.



- The diagram reflecting the analysis of the Greek media present relatively stable Greek position, but this does not mean any lack of changes in relationships with fields of activity.
- Its links to activities such as "corruption", "invention", "contests", "tech." became less highlighted while a synthetic crisis situation made the scene.

A semantic network of typically preferred country\_ fields of activity nodes. Greek media.

#### Hungarian-I. Hungarian-II. German-II. Russian-I. German-I. Arab-I. contests corruption crisis aggression finance **Russian-II**. developmen American-I. Greek-II. Arab-II. Greek-I. pictures tourism protest American-II. tradition cult\_arts tech science invention

