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Global images in a catnet approach

How Greeks and Hungarians see themselves and others

Abstract

The paper presents an attempt to study national-ethnic images and cultural distances with a new conceptual approach and a revival of the Buchanan–Cantril-technique utilizing contemporary network methodology. The conceptual framework related to cognitive maps derived from perceived attributes of other nations and their own called for a renewed application of the catnet concept introduced by Harrison White. Our survey took place in 2016/17, administered online in a joint project with samples of Greek and Hungarian internet users. Respondents' three choices out of sixteen adjectives for six national/ethnic objects (Americans, Greeks, Hungarians, Russians, Arabs, and Germans) provided the basic data for mapping national stereotypes and their configurations. The analyses build on the conceptual separation of ingroup and outgroup foci, the distinction of the stereotypes alongside the dimensions of warmth and competence, and the differentiation of cognitive–instrumental, expressive–self-presentational and ruling–symbolic skills/knowledge styles. The visual patterns outlined by Ucinet/Netdraw two-mode analyses manifest varieties of semantic networks under various sociocultural settings and historical-political backgrounds. Our findings, employing a selected set of segmentation criteria, show the impact of recent financial and migration crises on the cognitive maps of various segments of the Greek and Hungarian study populations.

Keywords: catnet; comparative research; cultural distance; national stereotype; semantic networks; two mode networks

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1. Introduction

The financial-economic and social shocks of the last decade had a strong impact not only on the international relations themselves but also on the beliefs and images concerning them. They affected, among others, the way as their own position and that of other nations is seen in the publics of various countries. The catnet concept introduced by Harrison White offers a plausible departure to grasp such mental configurations in both structural and cultural network approaches. It provides a look into not only how certain categories structure networks, but also how the modularity of relationships affects the contours of social perception. The conception allows for extensions like a joint mapping of individual countries, peoples, and their groupings alongside with the attributes attached to them. The 2016-17 parallel Greek-Hungarian survey initiated by the MTA-ELTE Peripato Research Group took two countries as their scene. Both have been substantially affected by the crisis phenomena of the last decade and yield a lot to compare on account of significant similarities and differences in their historical backgrounds and actual conditions. Adapting the classical methodology by Buchanan and Cantril for assessing national stereotypes and cultural distances and building on up-to-date techniques of network analysis, our analysis targets various configurations of the nations/attributes matrix in an explorative manner. While presenting the cases and interpreting the findings, we also make use of qualitative insights.

The *conceptual introduction* of the paper explains the analytical potential of the catnet concept with possible extensions. It devotes special attention to the cultural turn of the network approach, just as the advances in the domains of network homophily and the two-mode line of analysis. Besides the affective and cognitive dimensions of global perception with the related ingroup/outgroup orientations and knowledge styles, our analytical strategy also tackles the contexts differentiating the stereotypes. In outlining a *background for the Greek and Hungarian cases* of comparison, historical-political documents, social philosophical observations, and literary contents also get a part besides empirical research antecedents. The self-portraits in both countries are heavily affected by conceptions of a boundary situation between East and West, respectively, South and North, but ideas of exceptionality as well. In addition to survey sampling, fieldwork, and analysis details, the *methods* section also describes how the study populations were segmented by various dimensions. Next, the *findings* display the visual configurations for the stereotype profiles of the Greek and Hungarian populations. Distinct aspects of segmentation, helping to highlight the global images in certain population segments differing from the general pattern, are also presented. The way of perception of economic crisis plays thereby a decisive role in both cases. More specifically, a particular representation of sharply polarized international relations was observed for those mostly hit by the crisis in the Greek case. The *concluding* chapter interprets the findings with an outlook to case contexts and research perspectives.

2. Conceptual frameworks

2. 1. The catnet concept and its extended potential

The cognitive maps, semantic networks, and discursive configurations emerging from the systems of beliefs constituted by national and ethnic stereotypes present a research area that calls for a renewed application of the *catnet* concept introduced by White (1965, reprinted in 2008). The exploitation of this idea is still rare in empirical studies of world views and belief systems. Theoretical and methodological developments of social network analysis in recent decades, like the cultural turn (as reviewed by DiMaggio, 2011), a new focus on homophily (see McPherson et al., 2001) and the advance of two-mode approach (see Borgatti & Everett, 1997) may, however, mobilize this potential.

In White's original conception, the fusion of the notions of category (abridged cat) and network (abridged net) in a new concept, "catnet" serves to manifest *the duality of collective entities constituted by perceived categorical similarity and patterns of interaction based on relational cohesion and structural equivalence*.¹ The idea sets forth the outlines of a special look at social objects that is different in important ways from most structural approaches of a network-like apparatus. Beyond direct ties, such a departure attaches great significance to more or less latent long-chain formations linked by some common attribute, potentially allowing for closer touch based on any forms of acquaintanceship. Such common attributes may extend from categorical properties like gender or membership in various associations² to being affiliated with less bounded cultural groupings (like taste preference of certain musical genres or various sports activities). The degree of relevance that one or another attribute gets in public discourse and status valuation may define their role in the formation of network ties. The same stands for the reverse: the more modular a set of ties (*net*) emerges related to some attribute homophily, the more relevance the given attribute (*cat*) can gain regarding the identity of the respective social circle.

The catnet idea implies a continuous interplay of categorical and network aspects. A given object may be once conceived as related to a category and then, depending on the specific context and the angle of observation, as related to a network. Duality, the theoretical idea of *the two-mode approach* (see Breiger, 1974) *juxtaposing two different aspects in a common frame of network analysis*, closely fits this conceptual design. Catnet is thus a network formation the character of which is simultaneously shaped by both „catness" and „netness"³ (*net* projected onto *cat*, and *cat* projected onto *net*, just as a two-mode network can be technically transformed with respect to both sides into a one-mode matrix by projecting one side in relation to the other). To also indicate the dual character of the catnet concept, the related formations can be both structurally and culturally interpreted depending on the aspect of the investigation.⁴

¹ Besides White's works, the interpretations by Azarian (2005), Santoro (2008) and Diani (2013) are also taken hereby into account. (White's own texts actually tend to avoid strictly definitional formulations).

A repeated reference by White is the typology by Bott (1957) related to marital partners' segregated networks versus the conjugal ones.

³ Following White's original explications in first employing the term catnet with a journal publication Tilly (1978, p. 63.) designed a plausible two-dimensional scheme based on "catness" and "netness".

⁴ This conceptual flexibility permits a variety of empirical applications. Knoke (1990) raised such potential regarding political networks though with few actual references. Boudourides (2011) mapping the matrix of a set of civic organizations and their ideological-political orientations can serve as one recent example.

It is obvious to speak of a network in the sense of natural actors' interactions following the traditional usage of network (or sociometry) studies. Such an approach can, however, be extended to corporate ones (whether of organizations, associations, or smaller or larger communities) and to cultural groupings or symbolic formations as well. Groupings like civic associations, political camps, voting blocs or fan crowds plausibly present themselves to the use of the catnet term (with some illustrations, "the leftists", "the 'conservatives", or "the ultras" of a team). The sharper such *collective formations* define themselves in opposition to similar groupings in a given field, the more clearly they stand as distinct categories in the *public discourse*.

2.2. A catnet look at global images

How does all this apply to mental constructs like images of other groups, such as nations, ethnic groups, and their groupings? White's classical formulation (1965) provides guidelines for such inquiry. Contrary to a "dried-up" structural emphasis, a frequent subject of criticism regarding the network approach, the whole conception is still imbued with cultural elements related to perception, representation, and *frames*. White's (1965) presentation also touches upon the ideologically coloured question of social groups and classes as subject-driven realities or mere constructs created by some outer angle.⁵ Speaking of "isolate representation" versus "total integration", he distinguishes a category constituted by a set of isolate units only combined by some common attribute, from an integrated entity with shared beliefs (White, 1965, p. 5). White's examples for the latent type of complex network structures with a catnet character also involve nation (1965, p. 14); this short excursion is of special relevance to our closer subject and calls for further extensions.⁶

Ethnic-national meaning constructs provide some clues to such a frame of interpretation by themselves. Though countries, peoples, nations appear as relatively clear-cut units, their origin and historical evolution imply an array of distinctive features. Anderson (2006) highlights how cultural and political impacts generate "imagined communities" in the formation of national identity. Barth (1998) focuses on the role of personal contacts in the formation of ethnic boundaries. The set of terms like "nation-states", "state-nations", "culture-nations" also mirrors a multitude of geographic, historical, and political factors differentiating the national terrain. The focus of the study on cognitive maps goes beyond individual (country etc.) entities building on the tendency of everyday beliefs to reduce the manifold picture into ingroup and outgroup images on the one hand and easy to handle larger sets on the other, covering whole regions or continents.

2.3. Studying national stereotypes, global configurations, and cultural distances

When approaching *cognitive maps* of the "world outside" presenting themselves in stereotypical images as permitted by *survey techniques*, the direct targets relate to distinct ethnic/national entities. Our research, however, will focus not so much on these specificities but on the more general "global images", *ingroup/outgroup boundaries*, and *cultural distances*

⁵ This issue of class is raised with special emphasis in some recent treatments of the catnet concept such as by Krinsky & Mische (2013).

⁶ As bases for such an extension, White's later exposition (2008) of the catnet concept explicitly refers to the two-mode (Breiger, 1974) and the homophily approaches (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001) even if not directly related to nation-like conceptions and stereotypes.

that can be outlined for the Greek and Hungarian publics. The selection of six country-objects (the two above and four ones with more general relevance) presents a problem-oriented “sampling” from among the set of nations and ethnic identities. An important methodological guide was provided by the classical comparative study by Buchanan and Cantril (1953) adapted with attention to the period span and contemporary issues related to our study. The national-ethnic units included in the adapted instrument are meant to represent certain positions on the global terrain and specific skills, mentalities, or knowledge styles as they appear in the Greek and Hungarian public narratives.

The complex matrix of national-ethnic entities and collective attributes is assumed to be significantly reduced by the character of auto-stereotypes, the portraits of own groups’ identity. A further reduction is attached to the tendency of drawing crude images of the world outside merging countries into more comprehensive larger units. The cognitive maps to be outlined by network techniques embrace relations between various *countries and peoples connected by common (or separated by differing) attributes*. On the other hand, the sets of *stereotypical attributes representing more general skills and mentalities* will also be targeted *as they cluster around the groupings of distinct countries*. The specific *attributes that define identities* in the public discourse and the exclusive or inclusive boundaries of “We-groups” and the perceived groupings of friends and foes (the social classification of “You” and “Them”) are thereby all of key importance.⁷

The general attitudes toward the outer world, the perceived friendliness or hostility of external protagonists play a special role in shaping the identities at issue. While the settings of *closure and local isolation* push the instinctive predispositions of perceived *warmth*, sympathy or antipathy to the fore, *more intensive contacts* tend to differentiate these beliefs by bringing *skills and competence* also to the fore.⁸ As cognitive horizons broaden, the images of the national-ethnic entities and their groupings also diversify with the attributes and general knowledge styles attached to them.⁹

The portraits of “this is the way we are” and “those are the ways they (x, y, etc.) are” evolve amidst a constant interplay of structural and cultural aspects. Larger groupings of national-ethnic entities get cognitively combined for perceived geographic, historical-political, etc. proximities just like for stereotypical features of skills and knowledge styles.¹⁰ Our *two-mode network approach* permits to reveal both *national-ethnic configurations* and the clustering of related *attributes* separately, but it also allows for a more complex *joint analysis*. For example, if larger formations like “the Westerners” or “the Easterners” emerge from the analyses, they

⁷ See Lizardo (2011) on the interrelations of network structure and cultural characteristics.

⁸ Fiske et al. (2007) distinguish between warmth and competence as universal dimensions of social cognition; how a nation or ethnic group is located along these dimensions depends on their structural relationships.

⁹ In coining the term “discipline” White (1992) built on studies of social behaviour by Argyle (1975) and Bales (1970) revealing some general dimensions of interaction (friendly/hostile, dominant/submissive, instrumental). The triple typology that as further elaborated by White (2008) is akin to the typology of skills and knowledge styles applied in our study (see Angelusz & Tardos, 1995 for an earlier appearance).

¹⁰ To take some stereotypical examples, “we” and “small peoples like us” are “peaceful and friendly” while “big powers” are “aggressive and threatening”. The “Europeans”, “our relatives” are “intelligent” and “generous” while the “Southerners” or the “Easterners” are “lazy” and “backward”. These mechanisms also work in an opposite way from perceived attributes to their bearers like those „skilled in implementation” are “the Westerners”, etc.

can be interpreted not only in terms of country nodes and their territorial zones but also in terms of clusters of attributes with more or less distinctive qualities in public beliefs.

2.4. Change and segmentation of images

The fixations of stereotypic tendencies, however resilient to the complexities of the outer environment, do not stay forever. They are not only exposed to the *changes in settings*, but also to the *variety of frames related to structural positions and cultural orientations*.¹¹ Larger crises, conflicts in global relations may entail significant shifts in cognitive maps, too. The differentiation of images varies among *various population segments* depending on the degree of *exposure to crisis* phenomena, furthermore the spectrum of *information and character of media* at disposal and the *radius of trust* in other groups. These aspects of segmentation will also be examined throughout the analyses. The parallel existence of various global images in a given society may loosen the overall catnet contours. However, in cases of sharply differing ideological platforms, even the opposite can take place toward rigidly contrasting stereotypes.

3. Greek and Hungarian self-images. A historical-cultural and political background

The twin problems of the 2008 financial crisis and the 2015 refugee influx have left a lasting impact on Greek and Hungarian societies.

The credit crisis itself, and especially the way it was handled, brought sharply to the fore the relationship of these countries and nations with the various global and EU institutions, as well as with the other member states. In Greece, in the spirit of some kind of South European, Mediterranean identity, the crisis was increasingly interpreted as European North/South division.

During the 2015 refugee crisis, the arrival of a previously not experienced mass of refugees of different cultural backgrounds raised the century-old issue of “Who are we?” and “Where do we belong?” even more sharply. In Hungary, the self-image of “Christian Europe’s last line of defence” reappeared, and this metaphor also strengthened in Greece in the images of “border region” and “the advance outpost of the West”. In both countries, self-positioning along West/East and North/South axes has been a major element of political discourse during various epochs. Works of art and literature, aside from some sharp-eyed professionals of social history and political philosophy, responded to public thinking in many respects more sensitively than social research.

The next observations of scientific, literary, or journalistic character yield some qualitative insights related to the historical-cultural context and the social-psychological background of the two examined cases, Greece and Hungary.

“*We belong to the West*,” stated the then prime minister of Greece, Karamanlis, clearly arguing for joining the European Economic Community (predecessor of EU) in 1979. Yet following the credit crisis unfolding in 2008, the opposite standpoint revived as pronouncedly represented by his counterpart Papandreu declaring “*Greece should rather belong to the Greeks*”. President Sartzetakis had been close to this position when, in 1985, he put forward the feeling “*we are a*

¹¹ As to the role of cultural contexts in self-image formation, see Markus & Kitayama (2010).

brotherless nation". (Recalling the historical slogan in the case of Hungary "*we are on our own*", which was also the title of an influential journal in the 1930s).¹²

The idea of Greek exceptionality also appears in more theoretical approaches. "*Greece is a non-Islamic, Balkan country which does not speak Slav or Turkish, but Greek. ... It is a country which has formed privileged imagined relations with Western Europe and its civilisation due to the European processes*" (Tsoukalas, 2014a, p.45). Concerning the consequences of the credit crisis, which had become dramatic by the 2010s, the same author states that "*our feeling, that Greece would have become a normal, western state, has collapsed*" (Tsoukalas, 2014b, p.15).

Over the past centuries, normality as a social situation was largely connected to the West in Hungary, too, although the shifts in historical circumstances resulted in fluid transitions. The in-between situation was depicted with the metaphor "Ferry-land" by the poet Ady (1905, p.633), "*Ferry-land: even in its most daring dreams it is only roaming back and fro between two shores. From East to West, or rather the other way round.*" This duality is illustrated by the fact that the title of the then most noted literary journal in Hungary was *Occident* in the inter-war period, yet the editor-in-chief's article launching the first issue was entitled "People of the East" (Ignotus, 1908).

All this corresponds to the Hungarian historian Szűcs's theory (1983) about Europe's historical regions presenting East-Central Europe, including Hungary, as an intermediate one stranded between Western and Eastern Europe. Socio-structural elements were erected in the West over several centuries, and here they came about in hardly one and a half around 1000. So they remained inorganic, incomplete, and hybrid. Hungary paid for this enforced situation with the characteristic age forms of mental structure. They include the hereditary "domineering spirit" and its pair "the serf's subjugation", "rebellious self-suggestion" and "resigned acceptance of matters" (Gyurgyák 2017).

To describe this interim situation, Hungarian writers were fond of going back to historical periods such as the 16th and 17th centuries with the rivalries between the Habsburg and the Ottoman empires, as well as the trap-like situation of the country's lasting break-up into three parts. Zsigmond Móricz, who personally embodied this ambivalent orientation moving between the journals *Occident* and *People of the East* he himself established, put it in the mouth of a scheming figure in his novel about this subject not without some self-irony: "We are Eastern people, we need a great name, grandeur and splendour in order for the diamond to sparkle." (Móricz, 1964, p. 177) Historical circumstances did not favour the organic development of bourgeois values either. As Gyurgyák (2017) stated, in Hungary attitudes characteristic of serfs and peasants, including elements of respect for traditions, hard work, self-exploitation, distrust, selfishness, backwardness, envy, and hatred for masters, and attitudes of the aristocracy, nobility and the gentry including elements of experience in administration, historical aptitude, the inclination to control, materialism, over-consumption, egoism, respect for authority, favouritism and status awareness were lastingly typical.

¹² *We are Alone*, social-political and literary journal, appearing between October 1938 and October 1944. Political orientation: extreme right.

In the case of *Greece*, the debt crisis in 2010 made it clear for the whole world that, while Greeks achieve significant success in realizing their individual goals, they must face up to its opposite concerning their collective aims. Greek society and state as a collective entity underachieve. While several features of modern instrumental rationalism have gained ground at an individual level of economic behavioural forms in Greece, the *whole of Greek society* continues to resist the corresponding up-to-date structural and institutional forms. Western liberalism “led to the internalization of a general norm demanding that the free individual willingly submit to law” (Tsoukalas, 1995, p.193). In Hungary, there is a similar belief that over the centuries, Westerners have learnt to cooperate in the spirit of jointly established systems of norms and of mutual trust (Schöpflin, 1989, p.71).

In Tsoukalas’s conception, the role of economic activity based on the individual’s personal network relations is significant in modern western societies. However, categorical notions such as honour, discipline, and professional competence set a normative limit to it. According to this train of thought, in Greece, in contrast, reciprocity and expressive, relation-establishing self-representation are stronger than contractual obligations. In Greece, normative rules valid for everyone are interpreted as a deficit in relation to freedom.

A sharp-eyed traveller could state as early as in the 19th century that “to Greeks love of freedom is identical with the contempt for laws and any legal authority” (About, 1854, p.45). The appearance of migrants in several waves since the 1990s in Greece presented an excuse for questioning the existence of a norm-maintaining community for many people.

As in the novel by Tsitas (2013) depicting an allegorical portrait of today’s crumbling Greek everyday life, the protagonist drifting down amidst family traditions and the vulnerability of employment in a fragile wild market echoes the current clichés of public discourse: “... absolute horror. You see them everywhere” (p.91). “Albanians and Russians seized our cafés. They will acquire our society much faster than we can imagine.” (p.52) From this bottom view perspective, our hero is enthralled by “the rule-abiding behaviour of the English in terms of time, money, and payments – everywhere. Swedes take second place, far above Mediterranean people – with regard to finances.” (p.58) Russians provide the negative example in terms of instrumental references.

Hungary is a convincing example of how the political-cultural circumstances of any time are not mechanically mirrored in public opinion. So, the ruling ideology of the pre-1990 decades, for example, regarding various nations and international relations, could not really become dominant in everyday life. As research on national stereotypes from the given period highlighted (see Hunyady, 1998) in contrast with the then cultivated framework of political-ideological alliances, the public images of modernism and progress were rather attached to “those on the other side”, the western, and not the eastern countries.

4. Data and methods

4.1. Comparative survey of stereotypes in a network approach

Greece has not been involved in major intercultural comparative surveys (e.g., WVS, ESS) continuously during the last decade. Hence, our online survey conducted in 2016-17 in Greece and Hungary in a parallel way provides a unique opportunity for contrasting beliefs and attitudes in these countries. The present study focuses on a questionnaire block of national stereotypes originally developed by Buchanan & Cantril (1953). The module was administered on subsamples of 907 Greek and 1000 Hungarian Internet-using respondents aged 18-70.¹³ Due to the disparities of digital penetration in the two cases, the samples contain a higher proportion of educated, urban, and young respondents than is characteristic of the overall populations (see Table A1 in the online supplement on the socio-demographic composition of the samples).

Our adaptation of the above mentioned classical technique produced some balance of the positive and negative adjectives, with some increase of the latter aspect in the questionnaire. The scope of attributes was also expanded with special regard to some ingroup and outgroup features of national-ethnic stereotypes. While the original variation highlighted the friendliness/hostility aspect in the post-war context, our adapted version put emphasis also on attributes of competences (see Fiske et al., 2007) as well as on the knowledge styles based on cognitive-instrumental, expressive (connection-creative, self-representing) and dominant-symbolic skills. The selection of items also relied on qualitative approaches of national stereotype research (like Tsoukalas, 1995) and some belles-lettres sources, too, as presented in the previous section. Respondents could choose three attributes from a list of 16 items¹⁴ referring to a six-element group of the national-ethnic units, which included the Greeks and Hungarians, and also Americans, Russians, Germans, and the Arabs.

Following a relational line of analysis (see, e.g., Baldassarri & Goldberg, 2014; Breiger 2010; DiMaggio 2011; DiMaggio & Goldberg 2018), our network-like data treatment builds on a bipartite data-matrix. Its input is derived from the perceived connections of certain national-ethnic groups with some collective attributes.¹⁵ The matrix scores are generated by the relative occurrences of these attributes with the given nationalities in the two samples. The cognitive schemes of the study-populations are outlined by techniques of network analysis. The use of the two-mode network technique for mapping global images from national stereotypes is, in our knowledge, a new application in cultural analysis.¹⁶

4.2. Analysis

Our survey tackled two types of entities: nations and attitudes, which constitute each other through their linkages. Their stereotyped cognitive maps in the two populations are depicted by two-mode tools of network visualisation. The cultural distances and knowledge-style

¹³ The total amount of samples was 1908 people in Greece and 2000 respondents in Hungary with the web surveys conducted by stratified sampling and socio-demographic criteria. The research was undertaken by MTA-ELTE Peripato Research Group along with the National Centre for Social Research (EKKE) in Athens. The questionnaires also involved blocks on the perception of economic crisis, social trust, values, news consumption, questions of migration, civil participation.

¹⁴ The attributes were: open, debonair, practical, domineering, hardworking, passionate, factional, crafty, brave, lazy, conceited, generous, self-controlled, backward, intelligent, cruel.

¹⁵ Faust (2005) presented an important extension of two-mode network analysis toward latent relationships.

¹⁶ A somewhat similar though not network-like approach was presented by Fiske et al. (2007), employing a multi-dimensional analysis.

dimensions are revealed from the clustering of nations and attributes in distinct cultural groupings.

The input data used for the direct two-mode analysis (see Borgatti & Everett, 1997) contain the stereotypical features attributed to nations as obviously typical (with much mentioning) and obviously not typical characteristics (scarce, or no mention). Our questionnaire allowed the respondents to attach the same attribute to two or more nations, which entails the co-occurrence of “typical” or “non-typical” characteristics in pairs or groups of nations. In turn, the co-occurrence of certain characteristics with certain nationalities joins these attributes into semantic clusters. With visual configurations embracing both nations and attributes, the direct two-mode treatment of the input data yields a joint outline for both aspects of our study.

The aggregated 6x16 multiple response cross-tabulations, including each nation/attribute mention, present the starting points of the analyses. Considering several options (among them log odds ratio, χ^2 p-value, too), the two-mode matrices were transformed to a network analysis format through adjusted standardized residuals (of the χ^2 tests).¹⁷ The positively significant (typically chosen) and the negatively significant (typically non-chosen) attribute values highlight the salient and the typically non-characteristic features for each nationality. This implies a matrix setup combining two 6x16 contingency tables with 6 columns (for countries/nationalities) and 32 lines altogether (for both the significantly chosen and the neglected attributes). The (0 1) binary matrix contains cells having the value of 1 when the respective cell-attribute is either positively, or negatively significant with respect to a nationality and an attribute, otherwise 0.

In network terms, the cell values of these binary two-mode matrices give the edges linking attributes with nationalities. As an introductory step, structural analyses were carried out by SPSS Ward hierarchical cluster analysis to unveil the underlying dimensions of stereotypes and the clustering of knowledge styles (just as of countries’ groupings). The results of the procedure are dendrograms, which correspond to the graphical representation of the hierarchical tree.

In the centre of our visual analyses, we identified community structures (see Girvan & Newman, 2002) based on the two-mode facilities of Ucinet Netdraw. Modularity statistics allowed for assessing the fitness of various graphic patterns. The 2-mode Factions partitioning technique was used to find sub-groups with both relational and positional features of direct or indirect relations. The community-groupings comprising both aspects of our study, nations, and attributes, provide the outlines of network patterns with categorical characteristics, also presenting themselves to qualitative interpretation.

4.3. Segmentation of the survey population

Results on belief networks based on total populations may imply fallacies inasmuch different subgroups can exhibit different patterns with particular logics on their own (see DiMaggio & Goldberg, 2018). To corroborate the validity of our findings, but also to reveal further characteristics of substantive relevance, we defined some criteria of conceptual relevance to

¹⁷ We took the significant cell values into consideration by post-hoc analysis with Bonferroni adjustment (Agresti, 2019).

segment our study populations with regard to various “thought communities”. Three dimensions were thus defined.

The first of these dimensions segmented the population by their perceived exposure to the economic crisis. The second refers to the character of various information milieus, whereas the third to the trust radius of intergroup relations. We separated three sub-groups in each dimension.

The *degree of being stricken by the economic crisis* was approached by a composite index of seven variables. These related to the evaluation of the personal situation, the country’s economic situation, life satisfaction (built on two scales by Cantril, 1965), and a question on the felt important problems. Adopting the original category labels, the sub-groups were named “suffering” and “thriving” on the two poles of sensing the crisis (and “middle” with those in-between).

The segmentation with respect to *information milieus* differentiates between those with characteristically tabloid-related media consumption and those with selective behaviour taking traditional and new media also into account. The latter respondents who are more likely to exhibit political interest) were also divided according to the ideological colour of the respective channels. In both country-cases, the segments were labelled by the “infotainment”, the “(extreme-) right and the “left-wing liberal” information milieus embedding them.

The questions regarding the *radius of trust* embraced various target groups from the family to the “strangers”. Three segments were separated again, from those having trust only in the closest ties to those trusting more distant groups too, referring to minimal, narrow and broad trust radius.¹⁸

¹⁸ See more details of segmentation in the online supplement.

5. Results

Cognitive maps from national stereotypes – self-images and global configurations

Prior to more complex analyses, we will review the characteristics which present themselves regarding the surveyed Greek and Hungarian populations by simple distributional indicators. They already reveal much about the character of self-images, the sharpness of ingroup/outgroup differences, as well as some outstanding elements of global profiles.

A traditional clustering procedure in the next phase will serve to outline the general dimensions of stereotypical features and their organisation according to distinct knowledge styles. Relying on some novel methods, visual analyses of two-mode configurations will follow. The findings will be presented for the Greek and Hungarian samples separately before a comparative discussion in the concluding section.

5.1 The Greek patterns

5.1.1 Basic characteristics and structural elements of stereotypes

Greek auto-stereotypes are very pronounced on the whole and are largely positive. Attributes such as ‘intelligent’ and ‘generous’ stand out, but also ‘passionate’ and ‘brave’ strengthen the emphasis of “warmth-related”. The element ‘non-cruel’ supports this image as a significantly chosen attribute. The self-critical element is represented by the ambivalent presence of ‘lazy’ compensated by the also present ‘hardworking’ and the attribute referring to the absence of self-discipline. More detailed analyses of the meanings of ‘crafty’, which appears emphatically, reveals that it also has some positive tone and cannot be regarded as a specifically negative attribute.

Positive and negative features are mixed in the case of the other five national-ethnic entities. Concerning the former, American, and German stereotypes are emphasised mainly by competence-related attributes (‘practical’, ‘hardworking’, ‘self-controlled’). For «Russians» and «Arabs,» such warmth-related references as ‘passionate’ and sometimes ‘brave’ or ‘open’ are emphatic. The presence of negative distancing attributes such as the ‘conceited’ characteristic of «Americans» and «Germans», or the ‘cruel’ characteristic of «Russians» and «Arabs» and partly the ‘domineering’ too, add to the respective profiles. The stereotypes connected to «Hungarians» are somewhat more positive, yet they are relatively more blurred and less significant.

Fig. 1. Clustering of stereotype attributes in the Greek baseline sample

The clustering of attributes (including on this occasion only the significantly mentioned attributes as typical) marks the primary role of self-references in the structuring of attributes in the Greek case (see the dendrogram in Fig. 1). Greek auto-stereotypes are dominated by elements of an "expressive-connectionist" knowledge style largely with a positive tone. Greek hetero-stereotypes are mainly dominated by attributes of "dominance" and "cognitive-instrumental" skills; the former ones are mostly negative; the latter ones have a mixed character.

5.1.2 Two-mode networks of nations and attributes

Having a look at the two-mode network of nations and stereotypes outlined based on the Greek sample with a view to its general structure, its strongly segmented and modular character may first impress (see Fig. 2). On the basis of the mutual matching of nations and stereotypes, or its opposite, three nation-attribute groupings are outlined. Due to the attributes considered to be close to them, «Americans» and «Germans» are regarded as *western-like* and «Greeks», «Russians,» and «Arabs» as *eastern-like* in a social and cultural-historical sense. Each got into the same category, while «Hungarians» were thought to be of 'intermediate' character constituting a separate group.

Fig. 2. Image pattern¹⁹ by the Greek baseline sample (Netdraw Factions Quality 3, modularity fitness -,398)

As shown in section 4.3., the full sample has been segmented according to distinct criteria. Fig. 3 and Fig. 4 display some of these segmented solutions. It is noteworthy that the “eastern-like” category of nations and attributes occurring in the entire sample appears in both the “suffering” segment of crisis perception (Fig. 3) and in the “left-wing liberal” information milieu (see Fig. A3.3 in the online Appendix).

Fig. 3. Image pattern by the Greek “suffering” segment (Netdraw Factions Quality 3, fitness -,474)

In the grouping including «Hungarians» and «Germans», as a difference from the baseline setup, the neutral or sometimes positive image of the «Hungarians» is replaced by affiliation

¹⁹ Attributes with no significant connection are omitted.

with a German (perhaps an even broader western/northern European) profile, which is seen especially negative by these segments. ‘Cruel’ became a joint attribute of «Germans» and «Hungarians» in both, turning thereby the peripheral yet rather positive Hungarian image of the entire sample into negative. In contrast with the pattern of the entire sample, a large part of the counter-attributes is absorbed by this cluster. The Greek segment of those having suffered most by the post-2010 debt crisis seems to have attributed their troubles to the adamant expectations of austerity attached to Germans. The negative judgement was also spread to the «Hungarians».

«Americans» constitute a one-nation category in the ”suffering” and ”left-wing liberal” segments. The American image is relatively more balanced and fulfils a kind of mediating role among the ”antagonistic” groupings. ‘Conceited’ and ‘domineering’ connect them with «Germans» in both segments; ‘open’ connects with «Greeks», while ‘domineering’ connects with «Russians». As a further feature in the ‘suffering’ segment, the positive attributes of the “eastern-like” grouping were added by ‘intelligent’ also used for the «Russians».

The “thriving” Greek segment, the other endpoint of crisis perception, thought themselves relatively close to the «Americans» just like «Hungarians». The latter were characterised if not with the typical “western-like” attributes but as likable at least regarding the ”warmth” dimension. The comparison of the “suffering” and “thriving” segments, although by no direct evidence, suggests that a pre-crisis self-image relatively close to the West was still more widespread in the Greek public.

Fig. 4. Image pattern by the Greek ”(extreme) right” segment (Netdraw Factions Quality 3, fitness -,511)

The specific profile of the “(extreme) right” segment by the criterion of information milieu (Fig. 4) joins «Russians» in the same category as «Germans» and «Americans». The ‘domineering’ and ‘cruel’ attributes get hereby amplified in a general mistrust regarding superpowers, added by some attributes such as ‘non-open’, ‘self-controlled’, ‘non-crafty’. In this segment, similarly

to the baseline sample, «Hungarians» constitute an independent but more positively judged group.

5.2. The Hungarian patterns

5.2.1 Basic characteristics and structural elements of stereotypes

Although the Hungarian self-image is characterized on the whole by positive attributes, they are less pronounced. The only attribute whereby significant self-assessments stand out is 'factious' in the traditional infamy of a 'national curse' with an explicitly negative character. Warmth- and competence-related attributes occur in Hungarian auto-stereotypes more or less equally. A significant part of competence-related images (such as 'intelligent', 'practical', 'hardworking') connect with the «Germans» and «Americans», while the negative emotional attributes (such as 'cruel' or 'crafty') with the «Russians» and «Arabs». The most positive evaluations ('passionate', 'open') on the sympathy dimension are given to the «Greeks», also somewhat close with regard to their population size.

Fig. 5. Clustering of stereotype attributes in the Hungarian baseline sample

In the Hungarian case, the organization of attributes is led by the objective character of knowledge styles somewhat apart from the specific nation-attributes. The hierarchical clusters of cognitive-instrumental and expressive-connectionist attributes are most clearly separated

(see Fig. 5). Dominance-related attributes are differentiated into a clearly negative sub-cluster with a hostile image of “savagery” and a more ambivalent one with a mix of authority and charisma.

5.2.2 Two-mode networks of nations and attributes

The modular structure of the two-mode network outlined based on the entire Hungarian sample is organized in three clearly separate sub-groups (Fig. 6). As a basic difference from the Greek pattern, the «Greeks» are placed in a joint sub-group with the «Hungarians». Attributes such as ‘non-domineering’ and ‘hardworking’ connecting the two nationalities also occurred in the Greek pattern, though with some asymmetry, somewhat closer to the «Hungarians» than the «Greeks» themselves. In contrast, some “warmth-related” emotional attributes such as ‘non-domineering’, ‘generous’, and ‘non-cruel’ occur for both in the Hungarian sample. These attributes together present the image of a country-group which is not in a dominant position though not on the periphery but the semi-periphery and is embodied with mostly positive attributes.

The “western-like” category that includes «Germans» and «Americans» also appears in this pattern. At the same time, negative attributes of the domineering and cognitive-instrumental types come into prominence via ‘backward’, ‘cruel’, ‘crafty’ among attributes of the ‘eastern-like’ grouping with «Russians» and «Arabs». In contrast with the Greek pattern, the positive expressive attributes related to the «Russians» are missing in the Hungarian sample. This case also demonstrates that even if there is a seemingly similar pattern with respect to nationalities, the character of distinct sub-groups can only be interpreted with the background of specific attributes and general knowledge styles. With reference to the conceptual concepts of the introductory part, the *catnet* nature of groupings composed of the same nationalities can be very different depending on their attribute and style contents.

Fig. 6. Image pattern by the Hungarian baseline sample (Netdraw Factions Qual 3, fitness -,542)

Segmenting the Hungarian population by crisis perception and the information milieu resulted in partly different versions.

Fig. 7. Image pattern by the Hungarian "suffering" segment (Netdraw Facions Quality 3, fitness -,546)

The 'suffering' segment, according to crisis perception, indicates two shifts as compared to the whole sample (Fig. 7). The emergence of the attribute 'backward' reinforces the self-critical character of auto-stereotypical attributes in the self-image. In this version of cognitive patterns, the «Hungarians» are already seen separate from other countries, even from «Greeks». From this generally more critical aspect, the «Greeks» constitute a joint sub-group with the «Arabs» judged negatively on the whole. It is only the 'non-domineering' attribute that connects the «Hungarians» with the «Greeks» in this "suffering" segment.

A no less essential shift of the overall pattern of this segment is the «Russians» joining the same category with the «Germans» and «Americans», which thus loses its "western-like" character. Somewhat similarly to the "(extreme) right" segment of the Greek case, the grouping of "super-powers" emerges as a towering hostile force with the attributes 'domineering' and 'self-controlled' both suggesting a sense of authority ('non-factions' and 'brave' also play a role). Also reminding of the Greek case, the respondents in the "thriving" segment positioned themselves (that is the «Hungarians») jointly with the «Americans» and «Germans», though more pronouncedly close to the West mainly based on positive and cognitive-instrumental ('intelligent', 'hardworking') attributes (see Fig. A3.16 of the online Appendix).

As another similarity with the Greek experiences, the Hungarian "right" segment from the aspect of information milieu presents a characteristic pattern (Fig. 8)²⁰ especially different from the general configuration. «Hungarians» are seen as an existing part of a "western-like" model; the Hungarian self-image enters the set of the respective countries, which can generally be

²⁰ It must be added that in the Hungarian case the segments "thriving" and "right information milieu" resemble regarding their political preferences.

characterised by attributes such as ‘intelligent’, ‘hardworking’, ‘practical’ and ‘non-backward’. The micro-analysis of this pattern reveals that ‘intelligent’ and ‘hardworking’, skills of cognitive-instrumental character, directly connect «Hungarians» to «Germans», while the joint position with «Americans» is only brought about by a shared cultural distance toward the other groupings. The image of «Greeks» appearing with the «Arabs» in the same category is associated with more negative attributes (including ‘non-intelligent’) compared to the general pattern. In this ‘right’ segment, the «Russians» represent the pure domineering character.

Fig. 8. Image pattern by the Hungarian "right information milieu" segment (Netdraw Facions Quality 3, fitness -,585)

As a third segmenting factor, our analysis involved a trust radius, which resulted in more differentiation in the Hungarian than the Greek sample. Respondents who were more open to other groups and outside relations, positioned themselves in the same grouping also with «Arabs» besides «Greeks», especially on the basis of attributes which are different from the "instrumental" and "domineering" ones (see Fig. A3.20 in the online Appendix). This kind of self-image suggests a sense of community with small countries and peoples. In the global pattern of this segment, the further sub-groups of "westerners" («Americans» and «Germans») as well as of the «Russians» are all represented with mixed attributes (the former have more positive ones corresponding to the general pattern of the Hungarian case). This "broad trust" pattern can be compared to the peripheral self-image of the Greek "suffering" segment; however, the negative counter-image of the European centre appears more moderately.

The segmentation analysis generally also suggests that «Hungarians» regard «Greeks» close to themselves (except for the "suffering" segment with no connection). In most segments, the commonality is based on expressive-connectionist attributes, and 'non-domineering' is also a kin feature. The latter attribute is reciprocated by the Greek part as well. Still, an element of asymmetry is presented by more appreciation by the Hungarian respondents toward «Greeks» (such as being 'generous' and 'not cruel').

A qualitative survey²¹ conducted a few years ago among the Greek ethnic minority living in Hungary may add to this asymmetry of mutual images. As a result of their dual identity, they can speak of Hungarians as Greeks and of Greeks as Hungarians. According to their life career interviews, they think that Hungarians “work differently” from the Greeks, and their “behaviour is far more controlled” (Koltai, 2013).²² They describe themselves as far more exhibitionist than Hungarians, and they rarely stand in the middle emotionally. They emphasised optimism, openness, informality, and a positive attitude in their stereotypes of Greeks in Greece. All this agrees with the expressive-connectionist features of the Greek sample in the present survey.

6. Conclusion

In a network approach of national stereotypes, our study presented an array of findings on how global images organize in the Greek and Hungarian publics.

Among the common structural characteristics, the nation/attribute two-mode network configurations reveal a dominant “*Western-like*” component with both country-cases. The content of such a *centre-block* differs, however, by the specific attributes attached to them, resulting in different nation/attribute profiles for the respective categories. While the Greek cognitive maps merge Americans and Germans into one subgroup mainly for negative traits of dominance, the same nation-set is embodied by the Hungarian pattern with a positive image of modernism.

As a key *outgroup aspect* of the *Greek pattern*, no positive attribute emerges to connect the “Western-like” and the “Eastern-like” clusters, no linkage toward either the Germans or the Americans. The Greek respondents expressed their general impression toward Germans by lack of mentions, especially of positive ones.

With a side reference to a popular content from the height of the Greek debt crisis, the anchor of a 2012 video parody (titled Greece versus Germany) speaking a funny Greek with a German accent contrasted Greek passion and generosity with a cold and calculative German conduct as a caricature-like manifestation of Greek auto- and (German-related) hetero-stereotypes.²³

The Greek pattern embodies only the *national self-portrait* with a longer list of positive attributes. This corresponds to the idea of “uniqueness” widely shared in Greece and presenting a source of national pride. Also, in accordance with this general picture, the Eastern-like nation/attribute set appears in its core with the Greek profile.²⁴

²¹ As a consequence of the 1946-49 Civil War in Greece, some 7,000 refugees arrived in Hungary. Besides maintaining their Greek identity, the majority successfully integrated into Hungarian society. The staff of the Eötvös Loránd University conducted more than seventy life career interviews with second-generation Greeks of dual identity between 2011 and 2014.

²² It is noteworthy that while the attribute ‘self-controlled’ in the Greek sample of the survey connects Hungarians and Germans, one of the interviewees seemed to have recognized in himself a certain “Germanic Hungarian” mentality striving for precision.

²³ Most Greek viewers found the caricature-like self-portrait not only fitting but likable too, identifying with the self-complacency of public discourse somewhat looking down on rule-abiding boredom (“We still know how to live, the Europeans do not”, meaning the Westerners).

²⁴ As a special addition to the project, a *content analysis* was carried out on newspaper texts targeting the public discourse from another side (see the online supplement for some details). This included the same national-ethnic entities as our survey and various activity domains representing the skills and knowledge styles of our conceptual framework. The results for the *Greek media* confirmed the survey findings inasmuch the domestic reports cultivated a positively shaded theme structure (like culture, tourism, traditions, science etc.) for the whole period covered, differently from the conflict-laden outer topics.

The *Hungarian* stereotypes, whether of themselves or of others, present a wider dispersion than the Greek ones. The Hungarian respondents were most definitive with respect to negative features, particularly toward Arabs (with special regard to the instrumental attributes) and then Russians too (especially in the warmth-related affective and the dominance respects). The latter pictures exhibit a traditional though not convivial world.²⁵

Summing up some general features of the outside representations, the Hungarian configurations suggest some distancing from the East, and even more from the South, while the Greek ones rather manifest opposition to some centre-image of big powers. Both refer to a semi-periphery situation, though the Greek ‘suffering’ segment even shifts to a periphery standpoint. The latter pattern differs not only from the Greek “thriving” but also from the Hungarian “suffering” counterpart. Though a hostile image of the Centre is present in both crisis-hit cases, the self-image of the Hungarian segment is more isolated (even if accompanied by some sympathy toward those from the East and South, for some expressive attributes perceived as kin).

Also, the Hungarian segment of ‘sufferers’ exhibits a different pattern of attribution than the Greek one. The latter tends to rely on a mechanism blaming others, while the former seems to acknowledge its own part too (as is shown by the presence of ‘backward’ in the self-portrait).

Turning to some substantive features of the Greek self-portraits and their “Eastern-like” affiliations, they are mostly based on expressive traits of contact-creating and self-representing (like ‘passionate,’ ‘debonair’ or ‘brave’ connecting to Arabs, respectively to Russians). These findings concert with Tsoukalas’ insight (1995, p.199-200) that the Greek national self-portraits mirror not so much norms and values than attitudes, habitual traits, and life feelings.

In the light of the deep resentment in the Greek public, no matter which political side, regarding the widely spread image of lazy Greeks in the European media after the 2010 debt crisis, its appearance may seem curious among the self-attributes. The matter is more complicated than simply “others should not say what we too think of ourselves”. As suggested by the parallel presence of ‘hardworking’ in the “suffering” segment, we may assume that the traditional self-image element of a leisurely lifestyle is accompanied by an emphasis on Greeks’ solid work attitudes. However, our cross-section survey provides no direct proof of this change.

The combination of the attributes ‘intelligent’, ‘crafty’ and ‘lazy’ refers to a rule-evading opportunism which considers law and norms as “extra costs” constituting a challenge for all to figure out how to get around them (the observations going back to About (1854), then Tsoukalas (1995)). These insights also suggest a large room for one-sided rent-seeking behaviour with a “free-rider” character putting a heavy burden on mutual confidence. At the same time, trust in Greece typically relies on direct interaction and embedded relations.

Luhmann (1995) somewhat revising his theory of functional differentiation explicated a “Southern” model (relying mainly on Italian experiences) whereby universal principles of an impersonal character, such as contractual obligations of a normative sort, play a secondary role relative to the network symbolism of reciprocity, sympathy, and reputation. Networks of

²⁵ Certain parallels can also be observed with the contents of Hungarian online press. The thematic profile of the domestic focus is close to the Greek media self-portrait, and it is also similar that this pattern remained throughout the period. It is a particular feature, however, that contrary to the initial period when the domains outlined for the Greeks and Germans were close to the domestic aspects, a significant departure occurred after 2008 resulting in a somewhat isolated domestic position.

personal relationships blur the boundaries between corruption and non-corruption by an emphasis on the primordial distinction of inclusion/exclusion. All this is contrary to the Western model of social organization that limits the pursuit of self-interest in economic and social behaviour by the normative claims of honour, or professional competence (as also explained by Schöpflin, 1989).

The waves of Osman invasion departing from Middle Asia certainly exerted a lasting impact on Southern Eastern Europe (including Greece) after the weakening and crashing Byzantium. This influx also diffused to the marginal territories of Eastern Central Europe, having earlier absorbed some elements of the Western-like social structure (Szűcs, 1983). This path was then turned off also in an adaptation to the religious division of Latin and Orthodox Christendom and the Osman control in Southern Eastern Europe (Gyarmati, 1989).

All these influences shaped the societies of Eastern Central Europe into a particular intermediate character. These century-long impacts also entailed some imprinting on Hungarians' thinking to keep a distance from the East and even more the South. Ady's poetic "Ferry-land" metaphor grasped the borderline character of commuting between sides for epochs (1905). This also manifests itself in dual traits of social structure like the institutional mix of feudalism and capitalism during the industrial take-off, or the dual economy of centrally controlled state socialism paralleled by some market elements. Overarching epochs, the significant role of informal ties, and paternalistic relationships add to this mixed pattern at various domains of social life in Hungary.

Alternative versions of Hungarian self-positioning emerged from our analyses with respect to *West and East*. The baseline pattern clearly exemplifies an intermediary image between a "Western-like" cluster seen more positively, mainly in instrumental regards and an "Eastern-like" one regarded with more criticism. The joint position with Greeks in the self-portrait is both an expression of friendly feelings toward "small countries" and also some appreciation of "Southern-like" expressive contact-creating skills somewhat perceived as kin.

Some segments differentiate this baseline picture. The relatively "well-off" Hungarian respondents considered the country as part of the "Western-like" grouping. In turn, those most severely affected by the economic crisis perceived the presence of a dominant set of powers and a country left on its own. Furthermore, as segmented by the radius of trust, those with the most receptive attitudes toward other groups tend to couple a "small-country-like" attitude relative to hostile forces with some positive feelings toward remote people of remote origins too.²⁶

Although the Greek cognitive maps contain no attributes attached to Hungarians only, the respective profiles also display some intermediary character with some expressive links to the "Eastern-like" and some instrumental ones to the "Western-like" groupings. The former feature reminds of the Hungarians' Greek-related hetero-stereotypes but with less element of positional and habitual community.

²⁶ The context-related character of auto-stereotypes is supported by earlier research on Hungarians outside the country (see Csepeli et al., 2002). The self-portraits of Hungarians living in Transylvania displayed a pronounced cognitive-instrumental emphasis (while hetero-stereotypes contained mainly negative attributes like 'lazy' and 'aggressive' for Rumanians in Transylvania which reminds of the "Eastern-like" profiles of our survey).

Our findings are explorative but may orient future research on related lines.²⁷ The next steps may involve the formulation of specific assumptions, also taking advantage of media analyses and possibly a wider comparative framework.

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²⁷ A significant conceptual stimulus is provided along this line by the recent rise of research into cultural contents and semantic networks (see Edelmann & Mohr, 2018).

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