

## THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL (ETHNIC) IDENTITY

### *O PAPEL DA MÍDIA NA FORMAÇÃO DA IDENTIDADE NACIONAL (ÉTNICA)*

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**Abstract.** The public beliefs are formed under the significant influence of the media. Such an influence can have both positive consequences, in particular, strengthened national identity, and negative consequences — the sowing of enmity, doubts, the destruction of authority. Therefore, the aim of this study is to analyze the role of the media in the formation of national identity in terms of three components: the provision of information by the media, the reaction of citizens and state initiatives. The study employed statistical analysis, survey results, correlation analysis, and content analysis. The current state of the national (ethnic) identity of Ukrainians was described in the research, its significant growth during the period of independence (up to 84.6% in 2022) was noted. The role of the media in the formation of national identity was analysed according to the three identified vectors of influence. The academic novelty of this study is the approach to analysing the role of the media in the formation of national identity in terms of three components: information provided by the media; citizens' reaction to this information; state initiatives that mediate the relationship between the media and society.

**Keywords:** National (ethnic) identity; Media; Mass media; Disinformation; Propaganda; Fake news; Media literacy

**Resumo.** As crenças públicas são formadas sob a influência significativa da mídia. Tal influência pode ter consequências positivas, em particular, identidade nacional fortalecida, e consequências negativas — a sementeira de inimizade, dúvidas, a destruição da autoridade. Portanto, o objetivo deste estudo é analisar o papel da mídia na formação da identidade nacional em termos de três componentes: o fornecimento de informações pela mídia, a reação dos cidadãos e iniciativas estatais. O estudo empregou análise estatística, resultados de pesquisa, análise de correlação e análise de conteúdo. O estado atual da identidade nacional (étnica) dos ucranianos foi descrito na



pesquisa, seu crescimento significativo durante o período de independência (até 84,6% em 2022) foi observado. O papel da mídia na formação da identidade nacional foi analisado de acordo com os três vetores de influência identificados. A novidade acadêmica deste estudo é a abordagem para analisar o papel da mídia na formação da identidade nacional em termos de três componentes: informações fornecidas pela mídia; reação dos cidadãos a essas informações; iniciativas estatais que mediam a relação entre a mídia e a sociedade.

Palavras-chave: Identidade nacional (étnica); Mídia; Mídia de massa; Desinformação; Propaganda; Notícias falsas; Literacia midiática

## 1. INTRODUCTION

It is indisputable that the media play a significant role in shaping the political beliefs of society (Marukhovskiy et al, 2024). A number of researchers associate the media with the democratic development of states — both as a stimulant and as a threat (Wodak, 2022, Lorenz-Spreen, 2023, Monsees, 2023).

The influence of mass media can be both positive, in particular, contributing to the strengthening of national identity, and negative. The latter is achieved through disinformation campaigns, manipulation, and propaganda (Caled & Silva, 2022; Muhammed & Mathew 2022, Kaur & Gupta, 2023). In the case of Ukraine, this influence is mostly exerted by the pro-Russian mass media, which, most often, sow doubts, discord and divert attention from real problems in a hidden form by covering other topics that are beneficial to them (Erlich et al. 2023, Erlich & Garner 2023, Tolz & Hutchings, 2023).

The Russian war in the information space began long before the events in Crimea and Donbas in 2014. Certain successes of Russia in this war were achieved through the promotion of propaganda on the favourable ground of social uncertainty and the crisis of the value system that arose after the collapse of the USSR (Hrytsenko, 2022).

Disinformation and propaganda are one of the key threats to national identity generated by the mass media (Bessarab et al, 2022). The success of disinformation campaigns depends, first of all, on the reaction to them and the perception of such participants in social relations as society, the journalistic community, and the government. This necessitates studying the role of the media in the formation of national identity in terms of three dimensions corresponding to the identified key participants.

The purpose of this study is to analyse the role of the media in the formation of national identity in terms of three components: the provision of information by the media, the reaction of citizens and state initiatives. The aim involves the fulfilment of the following research objectives:

- study the current state and statistical indicators regarding national identity in Ukraine;
- determine the role of compliance with journalistic standards in the formation of national identity;
- research of media literacy indicators and their connection with national identity;
- description of reforms for the recovery of Ukraine in the field of national identity and comparison with international practice.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The formation of national (ethnic) identity is intricately linked to national security, underscoring the significance of this topic and its high academic relevance. National identity issues intersect with national values, culture, religion, and other country-specific factors. Ditlmann and Kopf-Beck (2019) address the vigorous debate within German media concerning the definition of distinctly German values and culture. They employed an inductive approach to national identity and, through population surveys, identified four distinct classes of identity in Germany.

A common thread across many nations is the substantial influence of media on the formation of national identity, though this influence varies regionally. Örnebring (2019) highlights that Western perspectives predominantly consider journalism's role within democratic frameworks, where media autonomy from state power is emphasized. This Western-centric view may not hold in other contexts; for instance, in some Asian countries, responsible journalism is expected to respect state leadership and avoid content that might disrupt social order. Tong (2019) illustrates this by noting that critical journalism in China is limited due to the government's overt and covert media control mechanisms.

These divergent approaches to journalism—Western and Eastern—affect national identity formation in different ways (Zhylin et al., 2022). The Western model prioritizes societal interests, while the Eastern model aligns with state interests. Both approaches underscore the importance of journalistic standards and ethics. Breaches in professional ethics, such as the dissemination of disinformation, can undermine trust in media and potentially bolster trust in government if the authorities in power are trusted by the populace. Ognyanova et al. (2020) argue that misinformation primarily erodes media trust but can increase trust in the government when it aligns with public sentiment. Van der Linden et al. (2020) demonstrate that in the U.S., partisan biases influence citizens' ability to identify fake news, with partisan support often overshadowing critical analysis.

Tenove (2020) emphasizes growing governmental concerns about disinformation's threat to democratic values and advocates for the development of counter-disinformation policies. Similarly, Malotiya et al. (2023) explore misinformation's impact on democracy, defining identity as the understanding of individuals and groups regarding their essence in relation to others and power systems.

Improving media literacy is a crucial strategy in combating disinformation. Bukina (2022) observes that a society's self-perception in relation to the state is closely linked to national and international security. Media literacy is particularly vital during wartime, as seen in Ukraine, where distinguishing between enemy propaganda and factual news is essential. Hameleers (2022) finds that disinformation supported by factual elements is perceived more credibly than unfounded claims. Thus, combining media literacy with fact-checking emerges as the most effective strategy against disinformation. Maliarenko (2021) asserts that the strength of democratic traditions within a society is paramount in defending against destructive propaganda and manipulation.

The reviewed literature suggests that the media's influence on national identity should be examined through key vectors: adherence to journalistic standards, enhancement of media literacy, implementation of legislative measures, and adoption of relevant policies.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

#### Research design

The first stage of the research contains a description of the current state and statistical indicators of the national (ethnic) identity of Ukrainians. At this stage, the change in the indicators of the national identity of Ukrainians during different periods of independence and the influencing factors were identified.

The second stage involves determining the role of compliance with journalistic standards in the formation of national identity. Compliance with journalistic standards by leading channels of Ukraine was analysed. The results of the analysis made it possible to form a list of directions of strategic manipulations, which is facilitated, first of all, by non-compliance with journalistic standards, as well as to determine their consequences.

The third stage demonstrates the dynamics of the media literacy level of the population of Ukraine. A correlation analysis was conducted between the national identity indicator

determined at the first stage of the study, and the level of media literacy, which made it possible to describe their mutual relationship.

The fourth stage reveals the key initiatives that exist in Ukraine regarding the restoration of national identity in the context of the media. At this stage, international practices of the use of media for the formation of national identity were also reviewed, giving grounds to note the specifics of approaches to this issue in different countries.

### Sample

Ukraine is an interesting example for studying the role of the media in the formation of national identity because of the information war unleashed by the Russian Federation long before the encroachments on the territory of Ukraine, as well as the influence of pro-Russian propaganda. The sample of indicators for assessing national identity consists of: the percentage of respondents who consider themselves, first of all, citizens of Ukraine for the years 1992-2022; the nationality with which respondents associate themselves (in 2017 and 2022); criteria for determining nationality (in 2017 and 2022).

The values of the indicators are taken from the results of surveys of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (Dembytskyi 2022, Kulyk 2023). Indicators for assessing compliance with journalistic standards (percentage of materials presented by Ukrainian TV channels in which 1 or more journalistic standards were violated) and media literacy of Ukrainians (the Media Literacy Index) were obtained from Detektor Media (2023). Media is considered in the work as a whole: the role of both traditional and digital media is analysed.

## 4. METHODS

The study employed the method of statistical analysis for assessing the dynamics of the studied indicators. This made it possible to assess how Ukrainians' perception of their own national identity changed during the period of Ukraine's independence. The survey method is used in the work by processing the results of surveys conducted by KMIS and drawing analytical conclusions.

The benefit of this method lies in the collection of information necessary for making empirical conclusions. Correlation analysis was used to identify the relationship between the Media Literacy Index of Ukrainians and the national identity indicator. This made it possible to identify the relationship between the level of media literacy and the perception of identity, which made it possible to draw conclusions about the dependence of perception on the level of media literacy.

Content analysis was used during the analysis of initiatives to restore Ukrainian national identity. This method is useful for identifying the strengths, weaknesses and prospects of such initiatives through content analysis.

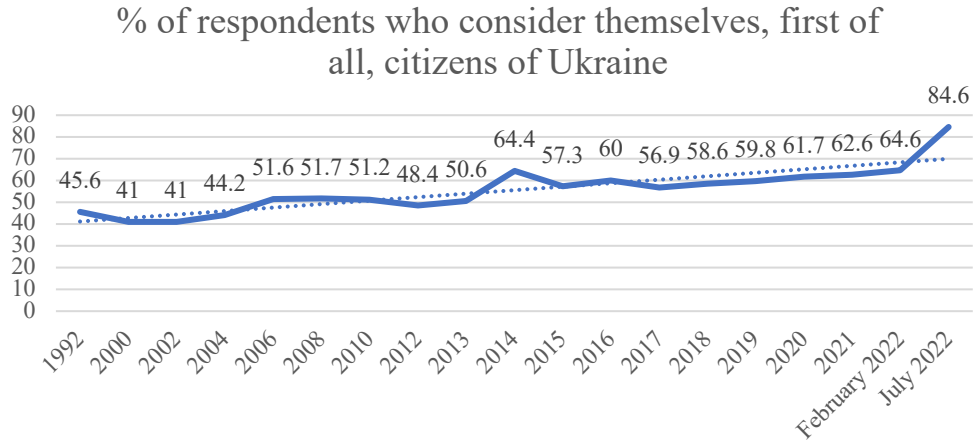
## 5. RESULTS

### National (ethnic) identity of Ukrainians: current state (statistical analysis)

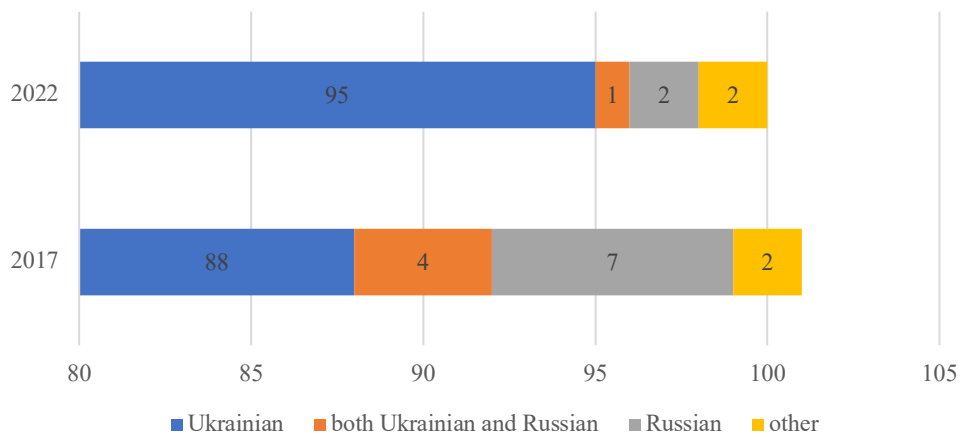
The analysis of influencing factors and their role in the formation of national (ethnic) identity involves the study of its current state and dynamics. So, the example of Ukraine during the period of its independence makes it possible to trace the changes in the self-determination of Ukrainians in relation to their national identity (Figure 1).

The results of the study presented in Figure 1 determine the national identity of Ukrainians depending on the answer to the key question “Who do you consider yourself to be first of all?”. Accordingly, the graph curve in the figure shows the percentage of Ukrainian citizens who answered this question with “citizen of Ukraine”. It is worth noting that the share of Ukrainians who first and foremost consider themselves citizens of Ukraine has changed significantly over

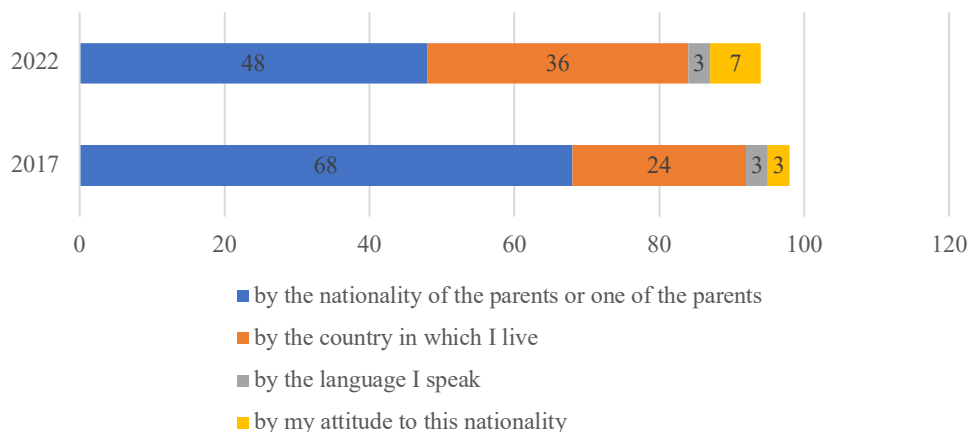
the 30 years of Ukraine’s independence with the development of national self-determination. A particularly sharp change occurred after a full-scale invasion. Additional information can be obtained by analysing the results of the studies in which the answer options related to the Russian Federation were presented (Figures 2 and 3).



**Figure 1.** % of respondents who consider themselves citizens of Ukraine (built by the author based on Dembitskyi (2022))



**Figure 2.** Nationality with which respondents associate themselves (built by the author based on Kulyk (2023))

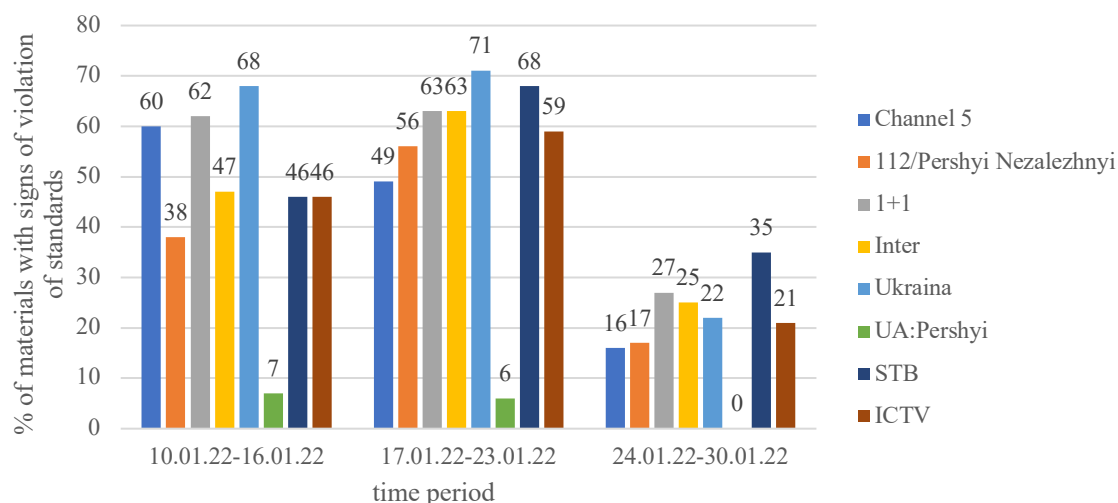


**Figure 3.** Criteria for determining nationality (built by the author based on Kulyk (2023))

The analysis of Figures 2 and 3 confirms the existence of a stable tendency towards the growth of national identity. In 2022, compared to 2017, more and more citizens consider themselves Ukrainians because they live in Ukraine, regardless of origin, and project this civic identity to the category of nationality, which, according to tradition, was ethnic. At the same time, there is still a small share of the population that considers itself to be of Russian nationality (2% in 2022).

**The role of compliance with journalistic standards in the formation of national identity**

Compliance with journalistic ethics and mass media standards is one of the important ways of countering propaganda, which will ultimately contribute to the strengthening of national identity. However, the analysis of the content of journalistic articles and studies (Detektor media 2023) testifies to non-compliance with journalistic standards by Ukrainian TV channels. Figure 4 shows the percentage of materials for each channel that violated 1 or more journalistic standards.



**Figure 4.** Percentage of materials presented by Ukrainian TV channels in which 1 or more journalistic standards were violated (built by the author based on Detektor Media (2023))

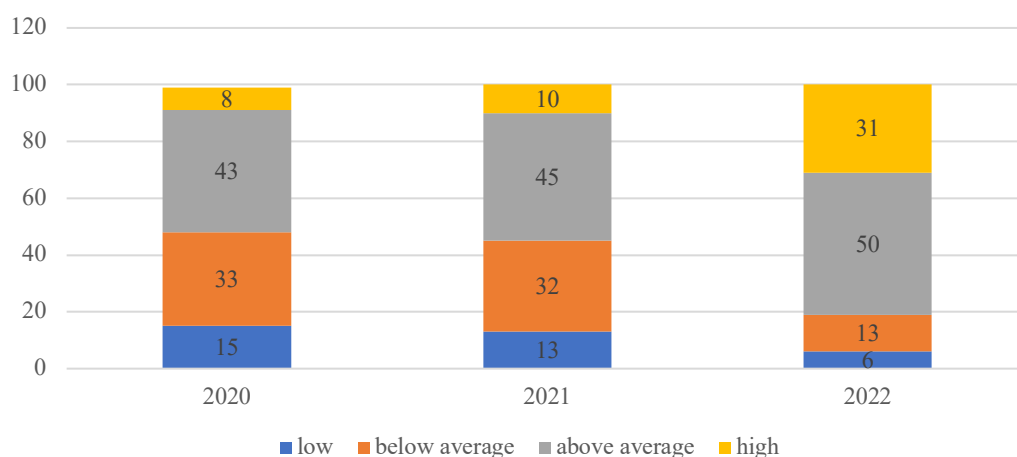
Figure 4 shows that, on the eve of the large-scale invasion, most Ukrainian TV channels had problems with observing journalistic standards. A deeper analysis of the content of the press identified the key areas of strategic manipulation used by the pro-Russian media to spread pro-Kremlin narratives at the level of meanings:

- exaggerating the importance of internal state problems (for example, corruption) along with ignoring or minimizing the destructive impact of the Russian threat, including at the time of the beginning of the invasion in 2014;
- expansion of the context of news materials, aimed at depriving viewers with an insufficient level of media literacy of thorough guidelines, refutation of authorities;
- spread of invented propaganda and revanchist topics, manipulations related to popular political figures, etc.

If these goals are achieved, the threats to the national identity of Ukrainians increase, and therefore it is necessary to use counter-propaganda measures. One of the most effective measures is the acquisition by the population of the skills to recognize propaganda, manipulative content and critically analyse the information received.

### Media literacy as an important factor of Ukrainian national identity

Media literacy is an important factor in combating disinformation, which helps to increase the national identity of Ukrainians. However, statistics show a significant leap in the level of media literacy of Ukrainians only after the full-scale invasion, when citizens had to learn to recognize false information and look for truthful answers to pressing questions (Figure 5).



**Figure 5.** Media Literacy Index of Ukrainians (built by the author based on Detektor Media (2023))

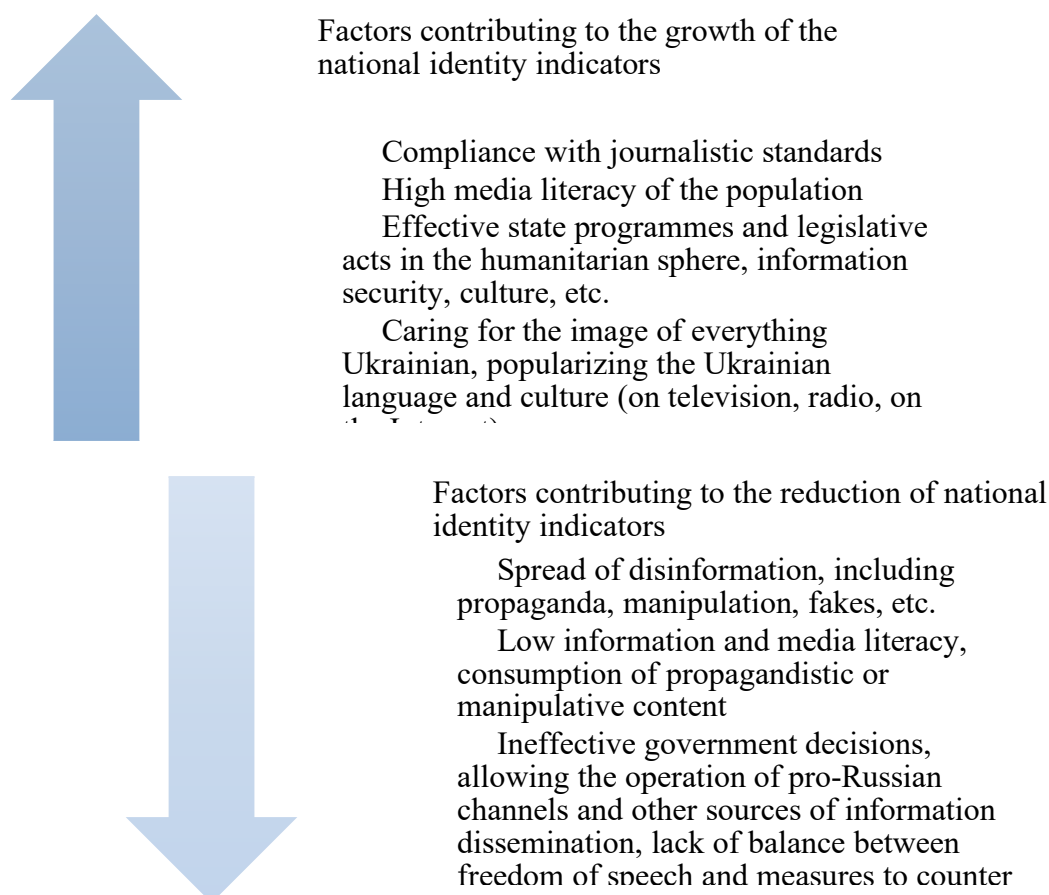
The conducted analysis gives grounds to assume that there is a dependence between the level of media literacy and the national identity indicators of Ukrainians. For this purpose, a correlation analysis was conducted between the national identity indicator (Figure 1) and the Media Literacy Index of Ukrainians (Figure 5) (an indicator representing the sum of the percentage of users with a level of media literacy above average and high was analysed). A correlation analysis revealed actually 100% relationship between the said indicators (the exact value was 0.99609630491257).

### Reforms for the recovery of Ukraine in the field of national identity: state measures and international experience

UaReforms (2024) platform is designed for the discussion of various government proposals and reform documents with a wide range of stakeholders. This platform contributes to the development of a consolidated public position regarding the introduction of necessary changes in the state. The platform presents the visionary documents of the vision of Ukraine 2023, in particular, Vision of Ukraine 2030: Social and Humanitarian Sphere, which, among other things, is about national identity. The document includes language, culture, national memory, and state-church relations in the field of national identity. The media play an important role in the proposed national identity reforms as a tool for covering key decisions and events, as well as directly spreading national values, especially language and culture, among citizens. The analysis of the document itself shows that taking into account the proposals formed in it will contribute to the improvement of national identity, including with the active support of the media.

The development of further measures aimed at the formation of national identity with due regard to the role of the media can be based on international experience in this area. In the USA, special emphasis is placed on the use of Internet platforms as the main means of influencing the formation of identity. Such platforms can reflect different aspects of the identity

and culture of certain ethnic groups. In Europe, traditional media such as television and radio still play a large role. In particular, in Germany, these channels spread linguistic and cultural diversity among users. In Japan, an approach based on a combination of traditional media and new, for example, Internet platforms, is used to reflect cultural traditions and modern trends. In China, the formation of national identity is significantly influenced by censorship and the selectivity of information provided to viewers. A general list of factors related to the media sphere that influence the formation of national (ethnic) identity is provided on Figure 6.



**Figure 6.** Factors of the media sphere affecting national identity

Figure 6 is based on the experience of Ukraine, but the factors mentioned may be relevant for other countries and regions. It is important to note that the role of mass media in the formation of national identity is significant in any country and is primarily determined by the standards of journalistic activity and their observance, the level of media literacy of the population and the state policy in the field of media.

## 6. DISCUSSION

The analysis carried out in this research correlates with the subject of the studies of Ukrainian and foreign researchers. However, its results may vary depending on the region studied and the scientific approaches used. In the study of Ditlmann and Kopf-Beck (2019), conducted on the basis of German data, four identity classes were identified. These include: a heritage-based class with a marked emphasis on language and culture (39%), an ideology-based class (democracy, freedom, welfare, security and economy) (19%), a legal-formalist class, related to the legal requirement for citizenship (26%), and class based on typical German traits (16%). This study presents a different understanding of national identity than in the author's



work, because in it national identity is understood mostly as an idea of oneself as, first of all, a citizen of one's country. At the same time, the classes identified by the researchers may refer to the self-definition of Germans as German citizens with an emphasis on certain features, individual for each. The definition of such features in the Ukrainian context can be a promising direction for further research.

Örnebring (2019) noted the important role of journalism in democratic processes. However, the researchers do not consider democracy a necessary prerequisite for journalism. We can agree with this, because the results of the author's research show that journalism also exists in countries where democracy and freedom of speech are not priority values. This fact raises the question whether the results of the author's work on the identification of a close relationship between media literacy and national identity will be relevant for such countries. Media literacy involves a critical evaluation of the information provided, and if there is strict censorship in the country and information is covered selectively, there may be problems with determining the level of media literacy and its connection with national identity. Tong (2019) demonstrates the importance of this problem in his work on the suppression of critical journalism in China, where neither the market nor digital media technologies act as liberalizing forces in the country. Comparing this work with the author's research, we can conclude that the results of the author's research may not be relevant for countries such as China because of significant differences in contexts, so the study of the formation of national identity in China needs other approaches.

Ognyanova et al. (2020) and Van der Linden et al. (2020) provided evidence that the effect of the publication of fake news and disinformation often depends on the attitude of society and its political biases. However, in the author's opinion, these studies could be improved by a deeper assessment of the impact of fake news on viewers with different levels of media literacy. This would make it possible to assess which factors in users' judgments are decisive - critical thinking or party preferences. According to the study's analysis, increasing media literacy will promote critical thinking, and thus preference-based fakes will not have a significant impact on viewers with high levels of media literacy.

Tenove (2020) also touches on the topic of the spread of disinformation and notes the risks to democracy arising from anti-disinformation policies. In other words, these policies themselves can undermine democratic values such as freedom of speech. The results of the author's research give grounds to partially disagree with this statement, because the disinformation policy can include such measures as, for example, conducting campaigns to increase public awareness that do not limit freedom of speech. Therefore, it can be noted that the policy of combating disinformation is necessary, and its effectiveness and compliance with democratic norms depends on the methods and measures used.

Reddi et al. (2023) deal with the issues of disinformation and identity propaganda. In their study, identity propaganda is a destructive phenomenon that marginalizes certain socio-demographic groups and is a weapon of political elites to achieve their goals. The author's work differs significantly from this study, as identity is considered in a different context. The formation of national identity in Ukraine is not aimed at the marginalization of certain population groups, but is a natural phenomenon caused by the need to support, develop and revive Ukrainian language and culture, historical memory.

Hameleers (2022) notes that journalists and government play a key role in the fight against disinformation, because they have the opportunity to a certain degree "to counteract the political consequences of communicative untruthfulness, strengthening their role as educators, observers and fact-checkers." We can partially agree with this, but it is important to remember that not all governments and journalists necessarily adhere to professional standards, which brings the media literacy of the population to the fore in the fight against disinformation. This opinion is confirmed by Maliarenko (2021), who states that it is possible to block fakes to combat disinformation, but such serious steps have certain negative consequences (in

particular, regarding freedom of speech), and therefore the increase in media literacy and the education of users are much more effective.

Bukina (2022) created a “thematic map of Ukrainian media literacy”, which includes, among other things, a library of media literacy. This issue was not covered in the author’s work, while the media literacy library is an important source for raising public awareness. For example, the AUP media literacy library contains analytics, a blog, news and other important sections. In the opinion of the author, the main thing in this matter is to find motivation for the population to use such resources, which can be used as a direction for further research.

## 7. CONCLUSION

In view of the growing information volumes, the study of the role of the media in the formation of national identity helps to identify the factors influencing a society’s perception of its cultural heritage and history. It is important to consider the role of media literacy and education, compliance with journalistic standards, and government initiatives for the understanding of the influence of the media on the formation of identity.

The conducted research reveals significant transformations in the national identity of Ukrainians during the period of Ukraine’s independence. These transformations took place both evolutionary and revolutionary, but the biggest leap in the national identity indicator took place after the full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation on the territory of Ukraine. As of July 2022, 84.6% of Ukrainians consider themselves citizens of Ukraine first of all.

The analysis presented in the study gives grounds to talk about the perception of the role of the media in the formation of national identity in terms of three components: information provided by the media; citizens’ response to this information; government initiatives that mediate the relationship between the media and society. Accordingly, the improvement of such criteria as compliance with journalistic standards, media literacy of the population and effective state initiatives has a positive effect on the formation of national identity.

The areas of further research include determining the motivation for the population to increase their media literacy, as well as the development of motivational models for representatives of different generations.

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