Does the Internet Promote Nationalism in East Asia?
: A Comparative Research on the Correlation of Internet Use and National Identity

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Nowadays media are occasionally accused of promoting nationalism. On the Internet plain expression of exclusive nationalism toward foreign people emerges and sometimes causes international conflict of nationalisms. Recent researchers studying East Asia on the relationship of media and nationalism have pointed out that mass media intensifies nationalistic sentiment and sense of national belonging in the reports of international sports events, disputes over national territory and historical issues (Cho 2009, Guo et al. 2007, Lee and Maguire 2009, Park 2009, etc.). Stressing the active role of media in supporting nationalism, some of them argue that the spread of media use and the advent of the Internet and new media have been amplifying nationalism and call this phenomenon 'Media-Nationalism' (Oishi 2008, Oishi and Yamamoto 2006).

Admittedly, researchers stressing active role of media in boosting nationalism in contemporary East Asia have properly captured certain aspects of the new style of production and circulation of nationalism. They have provided clues to understand the mechanism of intensification of nationalism by mass media coverage and media use in contemporary East Asian societies. However, in recent decades the configurations of the relationship of media and nationalism seems to be more complicated. On the Internet have surely emerged new challenges of producing, circulating, presenting, and consuming news and alternative attempts of Internet media to journalism of mass media. Researchers focusing on the technological traits of the Internet and other new media have argued that Internet use opens new possibilities of deconstruction or transformation of national identity.

Then, how does the Internet engage in formation or transformation of nationalism and national identity in East Asia? To understand this relationship in general, this paper examines the correlation of Internet use and national identity and discusses if this correlation exists across countries, what the nature of this correlation is and what kind of experience East Asian countries share. Some previous discussions on this subject are ample in theoretical implication but lacks empirical evidence and others that focus on the role of media covering specific events in certain East Asian societies, this paper attempts to lay a foundation for the critical estimation of these previous discussions by conducting comparative research.

Theoretical Background

Studies on nationalism have indicated that media laid the foundation for the formation of modern nationalism. The key issue in these discussions is the way or mechanism that media engage in shaping and maintaining collective national consciousness.

Deutsch and Gellner are key figures in studies of nation who have emphasized technological of media or modal traits of communications. Deutsch (1953) provides a thesis different from other discussions on nation that have focused on language, culture, tradition, and memory. He sees that nation is shaped not only by the difference of languages but by the basic principles of social communication such as 'complementarity' and 'relative efficiency'. That is, boundary of nations is able to emerge, since communication tends to be more efficient and cover more diverse topics. In this line Deutsch asserts that the degree of integration and development of nation can be inferred from the scope and efficiency of social communication (1953: 73) He also points out that nationalism affects the evolution of channels of social communication (Deutsch 1953: 78).

From a viewpoint slightly different from that of Deutsch, Gellner (1983) argues that it is not contents of media but media themselves that is significant in formation of nationalism. He states, "It is the media themselves, the pervasiveness and importance of abstract, centralized, one to many communication, which itself automatically engenders the core idea of nationalism quite irrespective of what in particular is being put into the specific messages transmitted."(Gellner 1983: 127) However, he argues against the discussion that nationalism is unlikely to spread without mass media.

While these researchers focus on how the form and style of mass media facilitated imagining nations, others argue that more attention should be paid to the contents of the media regarding nationalism. Schlesinger (1991: 165) recognizes that communicative communities can be the basis of shaping national boundary. He, however, points out that this does not lead to homogenized community of a nation. In the discussion of the relationship between media and nationalism, he stresses, it is necessary to analyze how national consciousness has been reconstructed after formation of a nation and to consider contestation, conflicts and differences regarding formation of nation as well as technological characteristics of media (Schlesinger 1991: 164-5)

Discussing the role of media in forming and spreading nationalism, researchers also pointed out how different types of media have been distinctly engaged in nationalism. McLuhan (1986) states that in making imagination of social boundary identical to boundary of languages the role of newspapers is more important than books. Benedict Anderson (1983) mentions that it was radio broadcasting that catalyzed imagining a nation among illiterates. Smith (1998: 138-140) argues that not only languages and discourses but also 'the traditional media of song, dance, costume, ritual object, artwork' have been utilized for imagination of a nation in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. He also estimates that the role of these media in formation of national communities is now supplemented by audio-video media such as radio, cassette, film and television. What these discussions reveal is that potential of media on formation of nationalism differs depending on the mode and scope of production and consumption of media.

The arguments about the influence of new media on national consciousness is more conflcting. Some argues that new media engage in intensification of nationalism, but others asserts that nowadays media works in the direction of destabilizing sense of national belonging and creating global identity or that media transforms national identity more open, tolerant, reflective (Smith and Phillips 2006: 820-1). The same conflction of arguments can be observed in the discussions on the impact of the Internet on nationalism and national identity. Some argues that the Internet serves to intensify nationalistic sentiment and support movement of nations without states. Others points out that compared to mass media the Internet has distinct potential to transform national identity.

'Media-Nationalism' is the thesis that recent researchers on nationalism in East Asia adopt to explicate exacerbation of national consciousness by the influence of media (Park 2009, Oishi and Yamamoto 2006). In this thesis mass media and nationalism have a relationship of reciprocal intensification (Oishi 2008: 7-10). Reports of mass media represent the reality in a certain way, and this stimulates formation of collective consciousness. Mass media also relate this consiousness to nation-states. This process generates national identity and affects attitudes toward the other outside national boundary. In the age of information society not only mass media but also new media engage themselves in this process of shaping national identity, and centralization of information and homogenization of values also contribute to intensification of nationalistic sentiment. This thesis suggests the spread of media is crucial to escalation of nationalistic sentiment.

There are discussions that pay more attention to how the charisteristics of Internet media can support nationalism. Eriksen(2007) points out the diversity of communication technology on the Internet that delivers expression of sentiments as well as facts and varies in the mode of communication from one-way and mass communicative ways to two-way and personal. He

stresses that this technological traits provide new environment for formation of collective identity and in particular enable to form national identity without territorial and institutional base (Eriksen 2007: 6-8). Nevertheless, he realizes the limit of the potential of the Internet that nationalism of diaspora can be boosted by activities on the Internet, but it embraces instability compared to territorial nationalism (Eriksen 2007: 16).

Contrary to Eriksen, Poster's (1999) argues that the technological traits of the Internet have potential to reconstruct national identity and create universal and cosmopolitan identity. The Internet enables exchange of information beyond territorial boundaries and this stimulate global consciousness. Poster proposes that globalization through the Internet promote universalization above nation-state levels and particularization below nation-states level. However, he put distance from the technological determinism by pointing out the engagement of state to enlarge their influence and unequal distribution of the accessibility of the Internet.

A few empirical studies also reveal that the Internet use influences weakening sense of national identity. Smith and Phillips (2006) analyzes the data from the survey about national identity and media use in Austrailia and concludes that television and radio watching, and newspaper reading strengthen one's national pride whereas the Internet use has the opposite effect. It is also argued that genres of media contents have more substantial influence on formation of national identity than the amount of media consumption. Highbrow genre consumption encourages more inclusive sense of national identity than lowbrow one.

From the literature review above, the follow issues can be suggested as important in the discussion of the relationship of the Internet use and national identity. First of all, it is necessary to examine whether the Internet use promotes inclusive sense of national identity or exclusive sense. Secondly, this discussion involves an issue of how the amount of the Internet use and the contents of Internet media influence national identity. Lastly, it is worth exploring whether the difference in the spread of the Internet use in each country has to do with the degree of the influence of the Internet use. Considering these issues, this research examines how quantitative and qualitative aspects of the Internet use correlate with national identity. First, it investigate how often the Internet is used and how influential it is in each East Asian societies. Then, it examines the correlation of the Internet use and national identity, and conduct cross-national comparison of these results.

Data and Methodology

The data source for this research is the AsiaBarometer, a comparative survey putting emphasis on understanding daily lives and political and social relations of ordinary Asian people.[1] This survey includes the data of Internet use and national identity collected in a wide range of Asian societies in 2006 and 2007. The samples of this data are composed of 12 East Asian countries, including China, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam in 2006 and Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand in 2007. In China the survey were conducted separately in Hong Kong and in other regions of mainland China, and this paper regards these two regions as they are.[2] The size of each country's sample is about 1,000 persons except China whose size is about 2,000.

To examine the correlation of Internet use and national identity, this paper conducts Pearson's chi-square (χ^2) test (chi test). For convenience of interpretation, points of the answers to the related questionnaires are recoded as follows.

The AsiaBarometer investigates Internet use in the following two aspects. First, the amount of Internet use is measured by the two separate questionnaires asking the frequency of

[1] About basic information of the AsiaBarometer please refer to its website (http://www.asiabarometer.org/)
[2] In this paper 'China' indicates mainland China exclude Hong Kong.

Table 1 Composition of Samples

Country	Year	Total
Cambodia	2007	1012
China	2006	2000
Hong Kong	2006	1000
Indonesia	2007	1000
Japan	2006	1003
Laos	2007	1000
Malaysia	2007	1000
Philippines	2007	1000
Singapore	2006	1038
South Korea	2006	1023
Taiwan	2006	1006
Thailand	2007	1000
Vietnam	2006	1000
Total		14082

viewing Internet web pages and reading or writing e-mails by computers. By adding up points to these two kinds of answers this paper creates an index of 'Frequency of Internet use' and classifies three levels of the frequency: high, mid, and low. High frequency of Internet use (2 to 4 points) means that both viewing web pages and using e-mail services more than several times a week, and mid frequency(5 to 7 points) that several times a month or less, and low frequency (8 to 10 points) that seldom or never use the Internet. Second, there are the data whether or not media based on the Internet influence on formation of one's opinions about social and political issue. In this survey, respondents were asked to choose five types of media out of 18 choices, including the Internet, books, leaflets, meetings/conferences, and conversation as well as mass media. This research analyzes responses to three Internet-based media: Internet news, Internet bulletin boards/Mailing lists, and Internet advertisements. This paper considers that influence of the Internet on one's opinion exists (1 point) if surveyees answered 'Influenced' by more than one of the three media, and that there is no influence of the Internet (0 point) if they did not mention any of the them.

Recent research on national identity indicates that it is composed of four sub-concepts: national membership identification, national pride, ethnocentrism, and exclusionism toward others out of national boundary (Tanabe 2010). In the AsiaBarometer three dimensions except national identity membership were investigated as Table 0 shows. Answers to each questionnaire were recoded into two or three scales: those to national pride into two scales of 'Proud' (1 point) and 'Not proud' (2 points) and those to ethnocentrism and exclusionism into three scales of 'Agree' (1 point), 'Neither agree or disagree' (2 points), and 'Disagree'(3 points).

Analysis of these recoded data is conducted as follows. First, this paper examines the frequency of Internet and existence of the influence of the Internet on formation of opinion in each East Asian society. Then, by conducting chi test, this paper investigates if frequency of the Internet use and influence of the Internet has correlations with three dimensions of national identity and what the nature of these correlations is. To determine the strength of these associations the values of Phi (f) correlations and Cramer's V are examined. Finally, this paper explores cross-national difference of Internet use have relations with existence and strength of the correlations in each country.

Results

The frequency of the Internet use with national identity

Figure 2 shows that the proportion of the three levels of the frequency of Internet use. It is found that East Asian countries can be classified into two groups distinct in the spread of the Internet use. In Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan the percentage of high and mid level of Internet use is close to or more than 50 percent, and more

Figure 1 Questionnaires Concerning National Identity

National Pride	Question	How proud are you of being [YOUR COUNTRY'S PEOPLE]? (SA)		
	Original Answer Choices	1. Very proud	Recoded Answer Choices	1. Proud
		2. Somewhat proud		
		3. Not really proud		2. Not Proud
		4. Not proud at all		
		5. Not consider yourself as [YOUR COUNTRY'S PEOPLE]		
		9(a). Don't know		
Ethnocentrism	Question	Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement. (SA)		
		"[YOUR COUNTRY'S] traditional culture is superior to that of other countries."		
	Original Answer Choices	1. Strongly agree	Recoded Answer Choices	1. Agree
		2. Agree		
		3. Neither agree nor disagree		2. Neither agree nor disagree
		4. Disagree		3. Disagree
		5. Strongly disagree		
		9(a). Don't know		
Exclusionism	Question	Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement. (SA)		
		"Central government should restrict the inflow of foreign workforce to protect domestic people's interests."		
	Original Answer Choices	1. Strongly agree	Recoded Answer Choices	1. Agree
		2. Agree		
		3. Neither agree nor disagree		2. Neither agree nor disagree
		4. Disagree		3. Disagree
		5. Strongly disagree		
		9(a). Don't know		

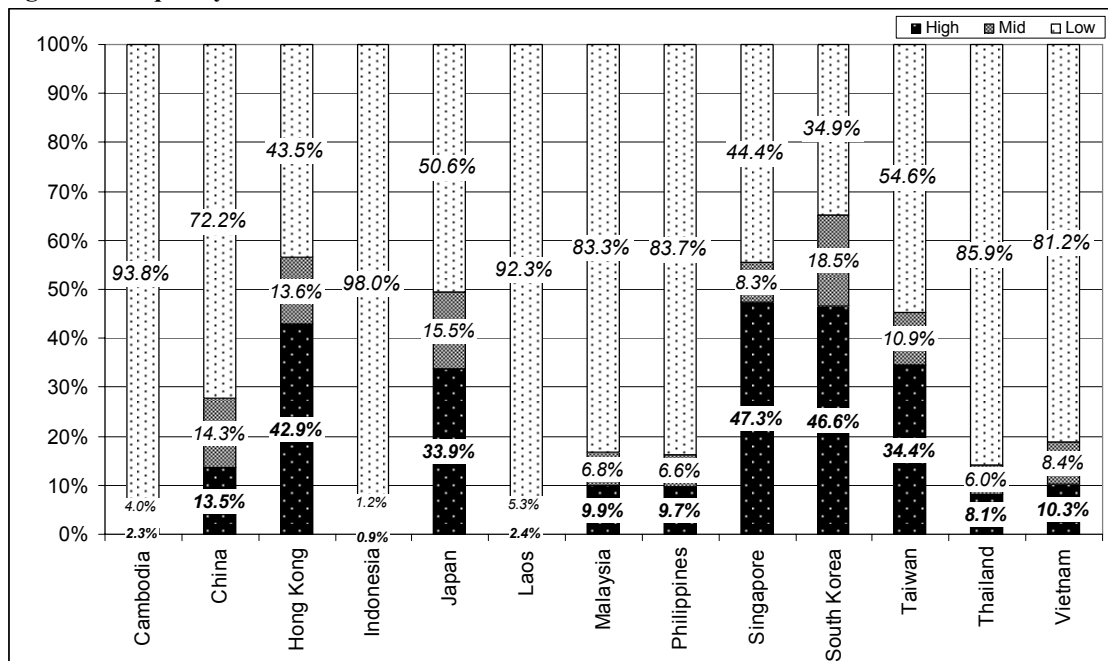**Figure 2 Frequency of Internet Use in East Asia**

Table 2 Frequency of Internet Use and National Pride

Country	Frequency of Internet Use	Pride of being [YOUR COUNTRY'S PEOPLE]					Pearson Chi-Square	Cramer's V	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
		Proud		Not proud		Total			
		Count	%	Count	%	Count			
Cambodia	high	936	98.6%	13	1.4%	949	2.04	0.05	0.36
	mid	40	100.0%	0	0.0%	40			
	low	22	95.7%	1	4.3%	23			
China	high	1263	89.6%	146	10.4%	1409	6.37	0.06	0.04
	mid	238	85.3%	41	14.7%	279			
	low	225	85.9%	37	14.1%	262			
Hong Kong	high	324	75.5%	105	24.5%	429	4.25	0.07	0.12
	mid	92	68.1%	43	31.9%	135			
	low	326	76.9%	98	23.1%	424			
Indonesia	high	900	98.6%	13	1.4%	913	0.27	0.02	0.87
	mid	11	100.0%	0	0.0%	11			
	low	8	100.0%	0	0.0%	8			
Japan	high	412	84.8%	74	15.2%	486	13.20	0.12	0.00
	mid	111	74.0%	39	26.0%	150			
	low	251	76.3%	78	23.7%	329			
Laos	high	776	99.9%	1	0.1%	777	0.08	0.01	0.96
	mid	45	100.0%	0	0.0%	45			
	low	20	100.0%	0	0.0%	20			
Malaysia	high	712	89.3%	85	10.7%	797	0.43	0.02	0.81
	mid	58	87.9%	8	12.1%	66			
	low	83	87.4%	12	12.6%	95			
Philippines	high	810	97.7%	19	2.3%	829	2.11	0.05	0.35
	mid	65	100.0%	0	0.0%	65			
	low	95	99.0%	1	1.0%	96			
Singapore	high	419	92.7%	33	7.3%	452	0.22	0.02	0.90
	mid	78	92.9%	6	7.1%	84			
	low	434	91.9%	38	8.1%	472			
South Korea	high	308	86.5%	48	13.5%	356	10.43	0.10	0.01
	mid	144	76.6%	44	23.4%	188			
	low	374	79.2%	98	20.8%	472			
Taiwan	high	364	69.3%	161	30.7%	525	21.88	0.15	0.00
	mid	49	46.2%	57	53.8%	106			
	low	234	68.2%	109	31.8%	343			
Thailand	high	856	99.7%	3	0.3%	859	1.71	0.04	0.43
	mid	60	100.0%	0	0.0%	60			
	low	80	98.8%	1	1.2%	81			
Vietnam	high	785	99.0%	8	1.0%	793	5.57	0.08	0.06
	mid	79	96.3%	3	3.7%	82			
	low	98	97.0%	3	3.0%	101			

than 30 percent of surveyees use the Internet more than several times a week. In contrast, in East Asia except these five regions, those who seldom or never use the Internet takes up more than half of all surveyees. In China less than 30 % of all surveyees use the Internet more than several times a month, and those who seldom or never use the Internet is more than 80 percent in South East Asian countries except Singapore.

From chi-test of the correlation between the frequency of Internet use and the degree of national pride, statistically significant correlation was found in China, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan (Table 2). This correlation is weak as the value of Cramer's V is 0.5 in China and slightly more than 1.0 in other three countries. Percentage of those who are not proud of their countries is higher among those who are of high frequency of Internet than among those who are of middle or low frequency in all of the four countries. Comparing those two types of users except those who are of low frequency, percentage of those who are proud of their countries are less among mid level users than heavy ones. To summarize these results, there is no universal existence of the correlation between the frequency of Internet use and national identity in East Asia. In China, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan there is weak and nonlinear association.

In the case of ethnocentrism and the frequency of Internet use, there is statically significant but weak correlation in Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, and Vietnam (Table 3). However, the nature of this correlation varies. A negative and linear correlation was found in Hong Kong and Singapore. In Taiwan, Thailand, and Vietnam there is a negative and nonlinear correlation. Therefore, it is indicated that there is no universal trend of the correlation between ethnocentrism and the frequency of Internet use, and some of the negative correlations found in five regions are linear, and other nonlinear.

The countries who have statistically significant correlation between exclusionism and frequency of the Internet use are China, Japan, the Philippines, and Taiwan (Table 4).[3] In all of these countries the strength of the correlation is weak as the value of Cramer's V is less than 1.0, but the direction of the correlation varies from country to country. The correlation is nonlinear and negative in China, and linear and negative in Taiwan, and nearly positive and linear in the Philippines. In Japan the correlation is too complicated to distinguish if it is positive or negative. From all of these results no universal traits were found about the correlation of the frequency of Internet use and exclusionism.

The examination above reveals that there are no universal trends about correlation between frequency of the Internet use and national identity. The statistically significant correlations in the case of each dimension of national identity are found in different countries and regions. All these correlations are weak and most of them are negative rather than positive, but both linear and nonlinear correlations were found. Interpreting these results with regard to the cross-national difference in Internet use, the existence of correlation has little to do with spread of Internet use in each country.

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[3] The data of Cambodia was not examined, because the basic hypotheses of chi test are not satisfied.

Table 3 Frequency of Internet Use and Ethnocentrism

Country	Frequency of Internet Use	Statement - [YOUR COUNTRY'S] traditional culture is superior to that of other countries						Total	Pearson Chi-Square	Cramer's V	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
		Agree		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree					
		Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count			
Cambodia	high	683	72.3%	166	17.6%	96	10.1%	945	3.58	0.04	0.47
	mid	25	62.5%	8	20.0%	7	17.5%	40			
	low	18	78.3%	4	17.4%	1	4.3%	23			
China	high	852	60.9%	422	30.2%	124	8.9%	1398	8.74	0.05	0.07
	mid	168	60.2%	86	30.8%	25	9.0%	279			
	low	138	52.3%	91	34.5%	35	13.2%	264			
Hong Kong	high	132	30.7%	191	44.4%	107	24.9%	430	15.08	0.09	0.01
	mid	38	28.4%	57	42.5%	39	29.1%	134			
	low	92	21.6%	182	42.8%	151	35.6%	425			
Indonesia	high	667	74.0%	165	18.3%	69	7.7%	901	2.69	0.04	0.61
	mid	7	63.6%	2	18.2%	2	18.2%	11			
	low	7	87.5%	1	12.5%	0	0.0%	8			
Japan	high	244	50.1%	218	44.8%	25	5.1%	487	5.29	0.05	0.26
	mid	79	52.3%	63	41.7%	9	6.0%	151			
	low	165	49.4%	139	41.6%	30	9.0%	334			
Laos	high	684	89.1%	59	7.7%	25	3.2%	768	6.50	0.06	0.17
	mid	38	86.4%	2	4.5%	4	9.1%	44			
	low	15	78.9%	3	15.8%	1	5.3%	19			
Malaysia	high	614	78.4%	128	16.3%	41	5.3%	783	2.79	0.04	0.59
	mid	48	73.8%	11	16.9%	6	9.3%	65			
	low	70	74.5%	19	20.2%	5	5.3%	94			
Philippines	high	456	55.5%	255	31.0%	111	13.5%	822	1.65	0.03	0.80
	mid	35	54.7%	23	35.9%	6	9.4%	64			
	low	50	52.1%	33	34.4%	13	13.5%	96			
Singapore	high	161	42.5%	162	42.7%	56	14.8%	379	20.54	0.11	0.00
	mid	32	40.5%	31	39.2%	16	20.3%	79			
	low	139	31.4%	186	42.1%	117	26.5%	442			
South Korea	high	260	73.9%	72	20.5%	20	5.6%	352	1.44	0.03	0.84
	mid	132	71.7%	37	20.1%	15	8.2%	184			
	low	349	74.1%	90	19.1%	32	6.8%	471			
Taiwan	high	290	54.1%	165	30.8%	81	15.1%	536	11.82	0.08	0.02
	mid	41	37.3%	50	45.5%	19	17.2%	110			
	low	170	49.1%	117	33.8%	59	17.1%	346			
Thailand	high	798	93.1%	46	5.4%	13	1.5%	857	13.35	0.08	0.01
	mid	51	85.0%	6	10.0%	3	5.0%	60			
	low	68	84.0%	10	12.3%	3	3.7%	81			
Vietnam	high	342	44.2%	265	34.3%	166	21.5%	773	30.00	0.13	0.00
	mid	19	23.2%	31	37.8%	32	39.0%	82			
	low	34	34.3%	26	26.3%	39	39.4%	99			

Table 4 Frequency of Internet Use and Exclusionism

Country	Frequency of Internet Use	Statement - Central government should restrict the inflow of foreign workforce to protect domestic people's interests						Total	Pearson Chi-Square	Cramer's V	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
		Agree		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree					
		Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count			
Cambodia	high	895	94.3%	26	2.7%	28	3.0%	949	13.03	0.08	0.01
	mid	35	87.5%	0	0.0%	5	12.5%	40			
	low	22	95.7%	1	4.3%	0	0.0%	23			
China	high	618	44.0%	530	37.8%	255	18.2%	1403	21.60	0.07	0.00
	mid	84	30.1%	134	48.0%	61	21.9%	279			
	low	97	36.7%	109	41.3%	58	22.0%	264			
Hong Kong	high	316	73.0%	93	21.5%	24	5.5%	433	4.65	0.05	0.33
	mid	104	76.5%	26	19.1%	6	4.4%	136			
	low	334	78.0%	81	18.9%	13	3.0%	428			
Indonesia	high	727	80.8%	139	15.4%	34	3.8%	900	1.91	0.03	0.75
	mid	9	81.8%	1	9.1%	1	9.1%	11			
	low	6	75.0%	2	25.0%	0	0.0%	8			
Japan	high	221	45.7%	207	42.8%	56	11.6%	484	16.68	0.09	0.00
	mid	46	31.1%	83	56.1%	19	12.8%	148			
	low	118	35.5%	159	47.9%	55	16.6%	332			
Laos	high	718	92.8%	32	4.1%	24	3.1%	774	2.94	0.04	0.57
	mid	42	93.3%	1	2.2%	2	4.4%	45			
	low	18	90.0%	2	10.0%	0	0.0%	20			
Malaysia	high	704	90.0%	41	5.2%	37	4.7%	782	8.36	0.07	0.08
	mid	62	95.4%	0	0.0%	3	4.6%	65			
	low	81	88.0%	9	9.8%	2	2.2%	92			
Philippines	high	562	68.0%	161	19.5%	103	12.5%	826	13.23	0.08	0.01
	mid	54	83.1%	7	10.8%	4	6.2%	65			
	low	78	81.2%	13	13.5%	5	5.2%	96			
Singapore	high	335	75.3%	62	13.9%	48	10.8%	445	7.20	0.06	0.13
	mid	57	68.7%	19	22.9%	7	8.4%	83			
	low	334	70.2%	77	16.2%	65	13.7%	476			
South Korea	high	161	47.5%	98	28.9%	80	23.6%	339	5.37	0.05	0.25
	mid	82	44.1%	54	29.0%	50	26.9%	186			
	low	188	40.0%	143	30.4%	139	29.6%	470			
Taiwan	high	408	74.6%	86	15.7%	53	9.7%	547	13.96	0.08	0.01
	mid	72	65.5%	27	24.5%	11	10.0%	110			
	low	221	64.2%	73	21.2%	50	14.5%	344			
Thailand	high	791	92.3%	36	4.2%	30	3.5%	857	8.68	0.07	0.07
	mid	55	91.7%	3	5.0%	2	3.3%	60			
	low	71	87.7%	9	11.1%	1	1.2%	81			
Vietnam	high	548	70.0%	113	14.4%	122	15.6%	783	7.11	0.06	0.13
	mid	51	62.2%	19	23.2%	12	14.6%	82			
	low	64	63.4%	15	14.9%	22	21.8%	101			

The influence of the Internet with national identity

Figure 3 describes the percentage of the influence of the Internet on formation of opinions on political and social issues in each country and region. Cross-national difference in the influence of the Internet is less conspicuous that that in the frequency of the Internet use. In South Korea, the influence of the Internet is overwhelming than any other East Asian societies as more than half of the surveyees are influenced by the Internet. In contrast, the percentage of those who are influenced by the Internet is less than 10% in Cambodia, Indonesia, and Laos. More than 30% of the surveyees mentioned the influence of the Internet in Hong Kong and Singapore and more than 20% in China, Japan, Malaysia, Taiwan, and Vietnam.

Table 5, 6 and 7 describe the cross-tabulation and the correlation of the influence of the Internet and three dimensions of national identity.

The correlation between sense of national pride and the influence of the Internet is statistically significant only in China and Malaysia (Table 5).[4] Considering the value of Phi, the correlation is weak in both countries. In China the percentage of those who are proud of their nation is less among those who are influenced by the Internet than those who are not, so the correlation is negative. However, the opposite result is found in Malaysia. To summarize, in most East Asian societies there is no associations between national pride and influence of the Internet.

In contrast, in half of the 13 East Asia societies ethnocentrism and exclusionism has a weak and negative association with the influence of the Internet. Correlation of ethnocentrism and the influence of the Internet is statistically significant in China, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Thailand, and Vietnam (Table 6).[5] However, it can be noted that the nature of the correlation in Malaysia was positive. Statistically significant correlation between exclusionism and the Influence of the Internet is found in China, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and Vietnam. In all of the six countries the correlation is weak and negative.

To summarize, the results above demonstrate that there is no universal tendency about the association between influence of the Internet on formation of opinion and three dimensions of national identity. Nevertheless, it can be noted that in half of the 13 East Asian societies the influence of the Internet is weak and negatively correlated with ethnocentrism and exclusionism. From this observation it can be inferred that these correlations are found regardless of the cross-national difference in the influence of the Internet

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[4] The data of Indonesia is not examined due to the lack of prerequisites of chi test.
[5] The examination of the case of Indonesia is excluded because of the reason stated in footnote 4.

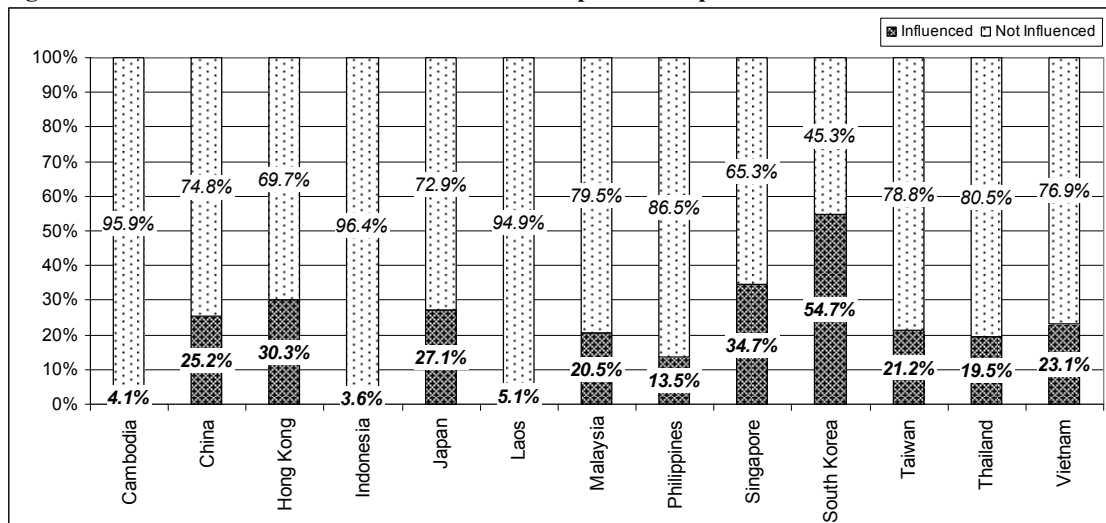**Figure 3 Influence of the Internet on formation of opinions on political and social issues in East Asia**

Table 5 Influence of Internet Use and National Pride

Country	Influence of the Internet	National Pride				Total	Pearson Chi-Square	Phi	Approx. Sig.
		Proud		Not Proud					
		Count	%	Count	%	Count			
Cambodia	Not mentioned	959	98.8%	12	1.2%	971	3.83	0.06	0.05
	Influenced	39	95.1%	2	4.9%	41			
China	Not mentioned	1339	89.8%	152	10.2%	1491	7.89	0.06	0.01
	Influenced	426	85.2%	74	14.8%	500			
Hong Kong	Not mentioned	519	75.5%	168	24.5%	687	0.24	0.02	0.63
	Influenced	223	74.1%	78	25.9%	301			
Indonesia	Not mentioned	950	98.9%	11	1.1%	961	5.25	0.07	0.02
	Influenced	34	94.4%	2	5.6%	36			
Japan	Not mentioned	576	81.6%	130	18.4%	706	3.54	0.06	0.06
	Influenced	205	76.2%	64	23.8%	269			
Laos	Not mentioned	948	99.9%	1	0.1%	949	0.05	-0.01	0.82
	Influenced	51	100.0%	0	0.0%	51			
Malaysia	Not mentioned	688	87.3%	100	12.7%	788	14.56	-0.12	0.00
	Influenced	198	96.6%	7	3.4%	205			
Philippines	Not mentioned	845	97.7%	20	2.3%	865	3.19	-0.06	0.07
	Influenced	135	100.0%	0	0.0%	135			
Singapore	Not mentioned	622	93.1%	46	6.9%	668	1.25	0.04	0.26
	Influenced	320	91.2%	31	8.8%	351			
South Korea	Not mentioned	388	83.8%	75	16.2%	463	3.35	0.06	0.07
	Influenced	441	79.3%	115	20.7%	556			
Taiwan	Not mentioned	511	66.8%	254	33.2%	765	0.31	0.02	0.58
	Influenced	136	64.8%	74	35.2%	210			
Thailand	Not mentioned	803	99.8%	2	0.2%	805	2.38	0.05	0.12
	Influenced	193	99.0%	2	1.0%	195			
Vietnam	Not mentioned	761	99.0%	8	1.0%	769	3.12	0.06	0.08
	Influenced	225	97.4%	6	2.6%	231			

Table 6 Influence of Internet Use and Ethnocentrism

Country	Influence of the Internet	Statement - [YOUR COUNTRY'S] traditional culture is superior to that of other countries						Total	Pearson Chi-Square	Cramer's V	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
		Agree		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree					
		Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count			
Cambodia	Not mentioned	701	72.5%	166	17.2%	100	10.3%	967	4.00	0.06	0.14
	Influenced	25	61.0%	12	29.3%	4	9.8%	41			
China	Not mentioned	915	61.9%	441	29.9%	121	8.2%	1477	14.47	0.09	0.00
	Influenced	269	53.6%	169	33.7%	64	12.7%	502			
Hong Kong	Not mentioned	179	26.0%	305	44.3%	205	29.8%	689	0.61	0.03	0.74
	Influenced	83	27.7%	125	41.7%	92	30.7%	300			
Indonesia	Not mentioned	705	74.3%	187	19.7%	57	6.0%	949	67.71	0.26	0.00
	Influenced	15	42.9%	5	14.3%	15	42.9%	35			
Japan	Not mentioned	367	51.6%	303	42.6%	41	5.8%	711	4.60	0.07	0.10
	Influenced	126	46.7%	119	44.1%	25	9.3%	270			
Laos	Not mentioned	814	87.0%	89	9.5%	33	3.5%	936	2.33	0.05	0.31
	Influenced	40	80.0%	8	16.0%	2	4.0%	50			
Malaysia	Not mentioned	587	75.9%	137	17.7%	49	6.3%	773	12.93	0.12	0.00
	Influenced	177	87.2%	22	10.8%	4	2.0%	203			
Philippines	Not mentioned	487	56.8%	263	30.7%	108	12.6%	858	8.69	0.09	0.01
	Influenced	59	44.0%	49	36.6%	26	19.4%	134			
Singapore	Not mentioned	232	40.9%	237	41.8%	98	17.3%	567	15.78	0.13	0.00
	Influenced	103	30.1%	148	43.3%	91	26.6%	342			
South Korea	Not mentioned	335	73.5%	100	21.9%	21	4.6%	456	7.25	0.09	0.03
	Influenced	409	73.8%	99	17.9%	46	8.3%	554			
Taiwan	Not mentioned	394	50.6%	264	33.9%	121	15.5%	779	0.75	0.03	0.69
	Influenced	107	50.2%	68	31.9%	38	17.8%	213			
Thailand	Not mentioned	746	92.9%	42	5.2%	15	1.9%	803	6.87	0.08	0.03
	Influenced	171	87.7%	20	10.3%	4	2.1%	195			
Vietnam	Not mentioned	324	43.5%	255	34.3%	165	22.2%	744	9.70	0.10	0.01
	Influenced	83	35.9%	74	32.0%	74	32.0%	231			

Table 7 Influence of Internet Use and Exclusionism

Country	Influence of the Internet	Statement - Central government should restrict the inflow of foreign workforce to protect domestic people's interests						Total	Pearson Chi-Square	Cramer's V	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
		Agree		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree					
		Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count			
Cambodia	Not mentioned	914	94.1%	27	2.8%	30	3.1%	971	3.31	0.06	0.19
	Influenced	38	92.7%	0	0.0%	3	7.3%	41			
China	Not mentioned	657	44.4%	562	38.0%	261	17.6%	1480	30.79	0.13	0.00
	Influenced	154	30.6%	229	45.4%	121	24.0%	504			
Hong Kong	Not mentioned	524	75.4%	141	20.3%	30	4.3%	695	0.08	0.0	0.96
	Influenced	230	76.2%	59	19.5%	13	4.3%	302			
Indonesia	Not mentioned	748	79.2%	159	16.8%	38	4.0%	945	9.39	0.10	0.01
	Influenced	36	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	36			
Japan	Not mentioned	303	43.0%	318	45.1%	84	11.9%	705	10.00	0.10	0.01
	Influenced	89	33.1%	133	49.4%	47	17.5%	269			
Laos	Not mentioned	877	92.8%	36	3.8%	32	3.4%	945	0.61	0.03	0.74
	Influenced	46	90.2%	3	5.9%	2	3.9%	51			
Malaysia	Not mentioned	698	90.2%	41	5.3%	35	4.5%	774	0.10	0.01	0.95
	Influenced	179	90.9%	10	5.1%	8	4.1%	197			
Philippines	Not mentioned	606	70.2%	159	18.4%	98	11.4%	863	0.05	0.01	0.98
	Influenced	93	69.4%	25	18.7%	16	11.9%	134			
Singapore	Not mentioned	489	74.3%	95	14.4%	74	11.2%	658	3.26	0.06	0.20
	Influenced	246	69.1%	64	18.0%	46	12.9%	356			
South Korea	Not mentioned	201	45.0%	143	32.0%	103	23.0%	447	6.48	0.08	0.04
	Influenced	231	41.9%	154	27.9%	166	30.1%	551			
Taiwan	Not mentioned	570	72.2%	136	17.2%	83	10.5%	789	8.44	0.09	0.02
	Influenced	132	62.0%	50	23.5%	31	14.6%	213			
Thailand	Not mentioned	746	92.9%	32	4.0%	25	3.1%	803	6.74	0.08	0.03
	Influenced	171	87.7%	16	8.2%	8	4.1%	195			
Vietnam	Not mentioned	540	71.3%	109	14.4%	108	14.3%	757	12.04	0.11	0.00
	Influenced	137	59.3%	45	19.5%	49	21.2%	231			

Conclusion

The results of this research reveal that it is difficult to establish universal tendencies about the correlation between the Internet use and national identity. Though in some countries and regions the correlation of the Internet use and national identity exists, the strength of the correlation is weak. It seems impossible to generalize this founding, since the nature of the correlation also differs as it can be either linear or nonlinear and either negative or positive. What these results imply is that a careful approach is necessary when generalize the relationship of the Internet use and national identity from case studies and to construct theoretical frames to understand this relationship. It should be noted that the findings of this paper do not indicate the negation of previous studies on the spread and intensification of nationalism on the Internet, but point out the possibilities of overgeneralization entailed in these studies.

Also, this research does not argue that the Internet has no substantial influence on transformation of national identity. Rather, it confirms that media are the prerequisite of formation of nationalism and national identity and gives cautions to the technological determinism that spread of media use and certain traits of media is directly connected to intensification or deconstruction of national identity. As previous research indicates, the Internet use can serve as catalyst for transformation in opposite directions. Under what technological and social circumstances the composite potential of the Internet use is realized is one of the key issues that should be explored in empirical analyses. This analysis would be much more fruitful with securitization of social factors and contexts in which the influence of Internet use on national identity and nationalism works.

This research has the limitation that independent variables other than the Internet use are not taken into consideration in the statistical analysis. Literature on formation of national identity have revealed that views on politics and tradition as well as demographic characteristics such as gender, age, and education shape differences in national identification. For more accurate measurement of correlation these variables should be incorporated into the structure of statistical model. In this research, however, it was a knotty problem to design a statistical model which is both sophisticated in handling multiple variables and fit to a wide geographical scope. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that correlation of Internet use and national identity would remain weak, considering that the accessibility and literacy of the Internet also differs depending on gender, age, income, and education.

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