

Nationalism in Russian republics: historical and comparative perspective

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Introduction

- The 1990-s were characterized by the sudden rise of national movements in almost all Russian ethnic regions.
- The 2000-s are often presented as period of political stability.
- Two questions arise. How may one explain nationalism in Russian ethnic republics?
- Should the rise of ethnic nationalism in Russia be treated as kind of deviation, related solely to the crisis and collapse of the Soviet state and weakness of new Russian state, or it could be regarded as more deeper phenomenon?

Theory

- Great Debate in literature on Nationalism: primordialism vs. modernism
- I use modernist approach. Nationalism was invented in the Modern Time
- B. Anderson and E. Gellner. Education, science and technology are keys to emergence of nationalism.
- Miroslav Hroch: Nations emerge because of national movements. National movements emerge because of existence of national intellectuals.

Cultural nationalism and Political nationalism

- David Laitin. Nationalism – is a privilege of rich societies
- Rich societies may afford to invest/ spend resources in inventing/ maintaining/ spreading traditions, customs, beliefs
- Dmitrii Gorenburg. Two ‘Nationalisms’: political nationalism and cultural nationalism

Cultural nationalism and Political nationalism

- *Cultural nationalism* is defined as support of the titular (national) official language, the expansion of its teaching in schools, introduction of a greater or lesser degree requirements / incentives to learn the titular language representatives of non-titular nation
- *Political nationalism* (separatism) may be defined as demand for declaration of national sovereignty and recognition of the right to national self-determination – up to secession

Cultural nationalism and Political nationalism

- Gorenburg: the strength and success of national movements (political nationalism) in the Russian regions in the 1990-s depended on the degree of development of ethnic institutions during the Soviet period. How?
- Ethnic institutions lead to emergence of national educated class/ intellectuals (*intelligentsia*), who become the driving force of political mobilization
- Intellectuals participating in educational process create social networks among young people whom they teach in universities
- Cultural and educational organizations provide essential resources on initial phase of political mobilization
- The level of ethnic institutions' development depended on the Union policies which were based on the status of the region in the official Soviet national-administrative hierarchy: the higher is the status, the more resources were allowed to spend on ethnic institutions development
- *Union SSR – Autonomous SSR – Autonomous oblast – National Autonomous District*

Data and Methods

- How to measure Political nationalism? The D.Treisman's and E.Guiliano's approach: construction of indices on factual basis
- I use 16 indicators (0/1 value) to construct index of political nationalism in the 1990-s:
 - *Declaration of sovereignty*
 - *Language law adopted*
 - *Rejection to sign the Federal Treaty in 1992*
 - *Constitution adopted before 2000*
 - *Including right for secession?*
 - *Boycott of the 1993 April referendum*
 - *Refusal to send soldiers in Russian army*
 - *Priority right on national resources claimed*
 - *Presidency established*
 - *Exclusiveness of titular language*
 - *Referendum on sovereignty held*
 - *Constitution adopted before 1993?*
 - *Priority of republican laws*
 - *Boycott of 1993 October referendum*
 - *Formal administrative status raised*
 - *Right to own currency declared*
- Then I converted these data in "0 – 1" scale (mean value).

Top 5 separatist regions in the 1990s

Region	Score
Tatarstan	0,88
Chechnya	0,69
Yakutia	0,63
Tyva	0,56
Bashkortostan	0,5

Political nationalism

- In the similar way I compose index of political nationalism for 1917-25. I use 9 indicators:
 - *Declaration of sovereignty*
 - *Uprising (single event, against the Reds or the Whites; small scale uprising – 0,5)*
 - *Rebellion movement (long lasting guerilla)*
 - *Occupation by the Whites*
 - *Constitution adopted (provisional political program – 0,5)*
 - *Soviet republic proclaimed (from below, not from above; as part of broader state only parts were included in this state – 0,5)*
 - *Independent state declared (non-Soviet)*
 - *Constituent convention held (ethnic convention with broad powers and goals – 0,5)*
 - *Own currency printed*

Top 5 separatist regions in the 1917-25 period

Region	Score
Bashkortostan	0,89
Dagestan	0,83
Chechnya	0,78
Tyva	0,78
Tatarstan	0,67

Some parts of the Russian state proclaimed their independence (*Idel –Ural project* in Tatarstan; *Bashkurdistan* in Bashkiria; *Gorskaya /Mountain Republic* in Dagestan; *North Caucasian Emirate* in Chechnya; *Ingria, North Karelian government, Olonets government* in Karelia; *Buryat-Mongol state* in Buryatia; *Karakorum Altai District* in Altai republic; *Provisional Yakut Regional People Government*; *Tyva People’s Republic*).

Correlation between two indices is 0,541

Cultural nationalism

- Data limitations
- Anderson and Silver: bilingualism in schools, linguistic assimilation. They show that linguistic assimilation was a complicated process. This process could be divided into a few periods and it was much stronger on the level of ASSR than Union republics, and even stronger for AO and NAD levels. The more russified regions were Orthodox Finno-Ugric regions
- I construct *Index of cultural nationalism* for 3 periods: 1925-40, 1940-55, 1955-85. I use six variables. I use one value for the entire period. Due to the lack of data in some cases I count values for late 1950-s (1956, 1958 or 1959) for period 1940-55
- *Books in native language* – total circulations (Soviet statistics). I take these data for years 1937/40, 1956 and 1980. Data show that in most cases circulations of books printed in native language significantly dropped. I transform all values into a “0-1” scale.
- *Titular language as primary language* – share of titular population, who claimed their native language as their primary language. I use these data from the Soviet statistics, the census data. I reconfigure all values into a “0 – 1” scale

Cultural nationalism

- *Students* - number of students enrolled in higher education. I use these data from the official Soviet statistics. Data are taken for year of republic's origin, 1940, 1956/60; 1980. I transform all values in "0-1" scale
- *Existence of writing in native language before the October Revolution*. It is a dummy variable showing whether the ethnic republic had writing in titular language before 1917. I code 0 – no, 1 – yes. In one case I give value 0,25 to Dagestan
- *Bilingualism in schools*. I use data from Silver. He publishes data for 1958 and 1972; the cultural nationalism index is calculated without data for the 1925-40 period. His main finding is that after the 1958 educational reform majority of ethnic republics faced with decrease of instruction in native language. I reconfigure all values in "0 – 1" scale
- *Non-Orthodox religion* - variable for predominant religion in ethnic region ("1" – is non-Orthodox)
- Finally I compose *Index of cultural nationalism* as mean of these 6 variables mentioned above. I use this variable as dependent and independent variable.

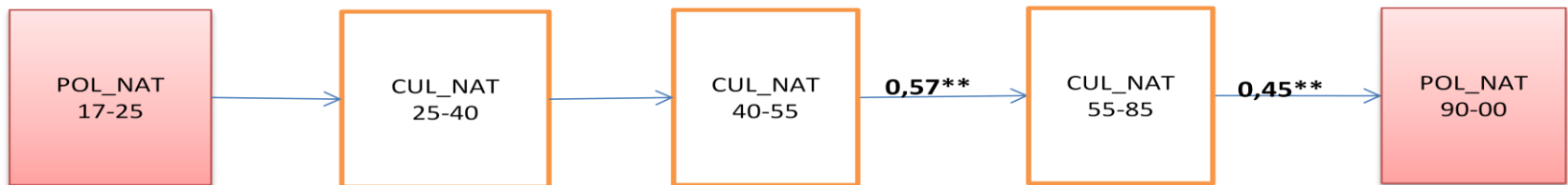
Independent variables

- *Formal status* – status of ethnic region in the official Soviet hierarchy. This value was calculated in three steps. Each status was given its code (0 = no separate region; 0,25 = district in non-ethnic region; 0,5 = national district in autonomous republic, autonomous oblast; 0,75 = Autonomous republic; 1 = Union republic; 1,1 = independent state).
- *Informal status* – informal status of ethnic regions based on nationality of the first party secretary. John Miller: ethnic regions in the Soviet Union are informally ranked based on nationality of the first and second party secretaries. I take only data for nationality of the first secretaries. I code nationality of the first party secretaries as 1 if he is titular, 0 – non-titular.
- *Industrial output growth rates index* – indicator of industrial development. One may expect that the larger share of industry improves region's status in unofficial hierarchy. Industrial output growth rates – starting with year of the region's origin. Data are provided for 4 periods: from origin till 1940 (1925-40); 1940-55; 1955-85. I transform all values in "0-1" scale

Methods

- Main argument – *Cultural nationalism predicts political nationalism*
- Cultural nationalism is predicted by republics' formal status, informal status and economic factors (industrial output rates).
- I use *structural equation modeling* approach to test my hypotheses.
- I have created 6 models to test my hypotheses.

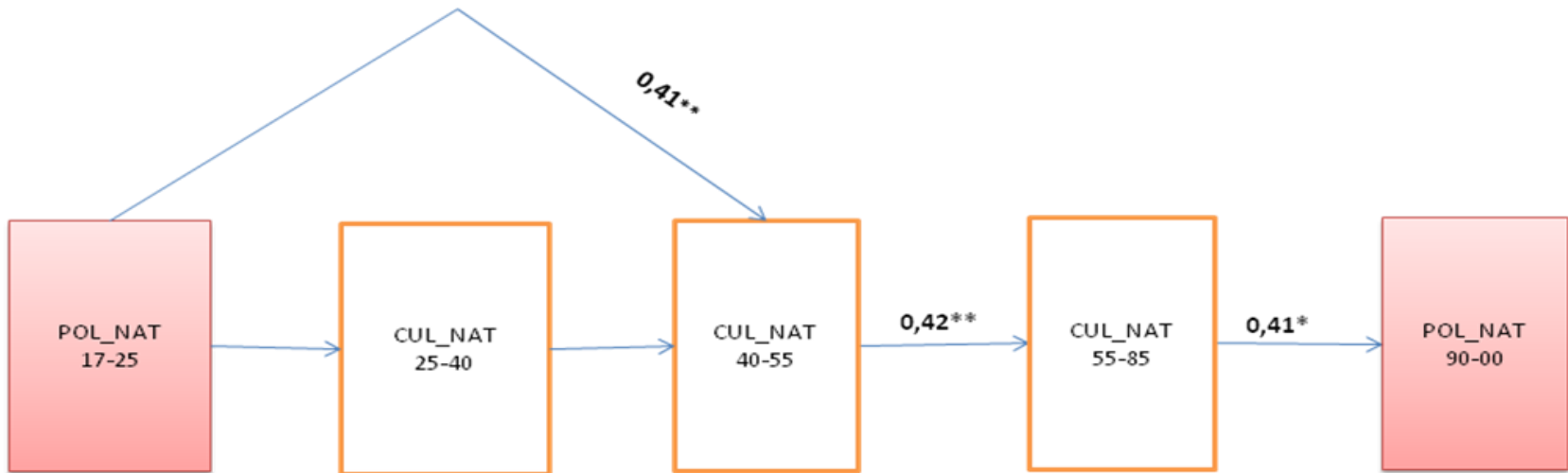
SEM. Model 1



Model 1

- Model Chisquare = 8.1025 Df = 7 Pr(>Chisq) = 0.32364
- Chisquare (null model) = 28.659 Df = 10
- Goodness-of-fit index = 0.88257
- Adjusted goodness-of-fit index = 0.74835
- RMSEA index = 0.088743 90% CI: (NA, 0.2985)
- Bentler-Bonnett NFI = 0.71728
- Tucker-Lewis NNFI = 0.91559
- Bentler CFI = 0.94091
- SRMR = 0.20889
- BIC = -13.209
- *Normalized Residuals*
- Min. 1st Qu. Median Mean 3rd Qu. Max.
- -0.196 0.000 0.535 0.642 0.862 2.380

SEM. Model 2



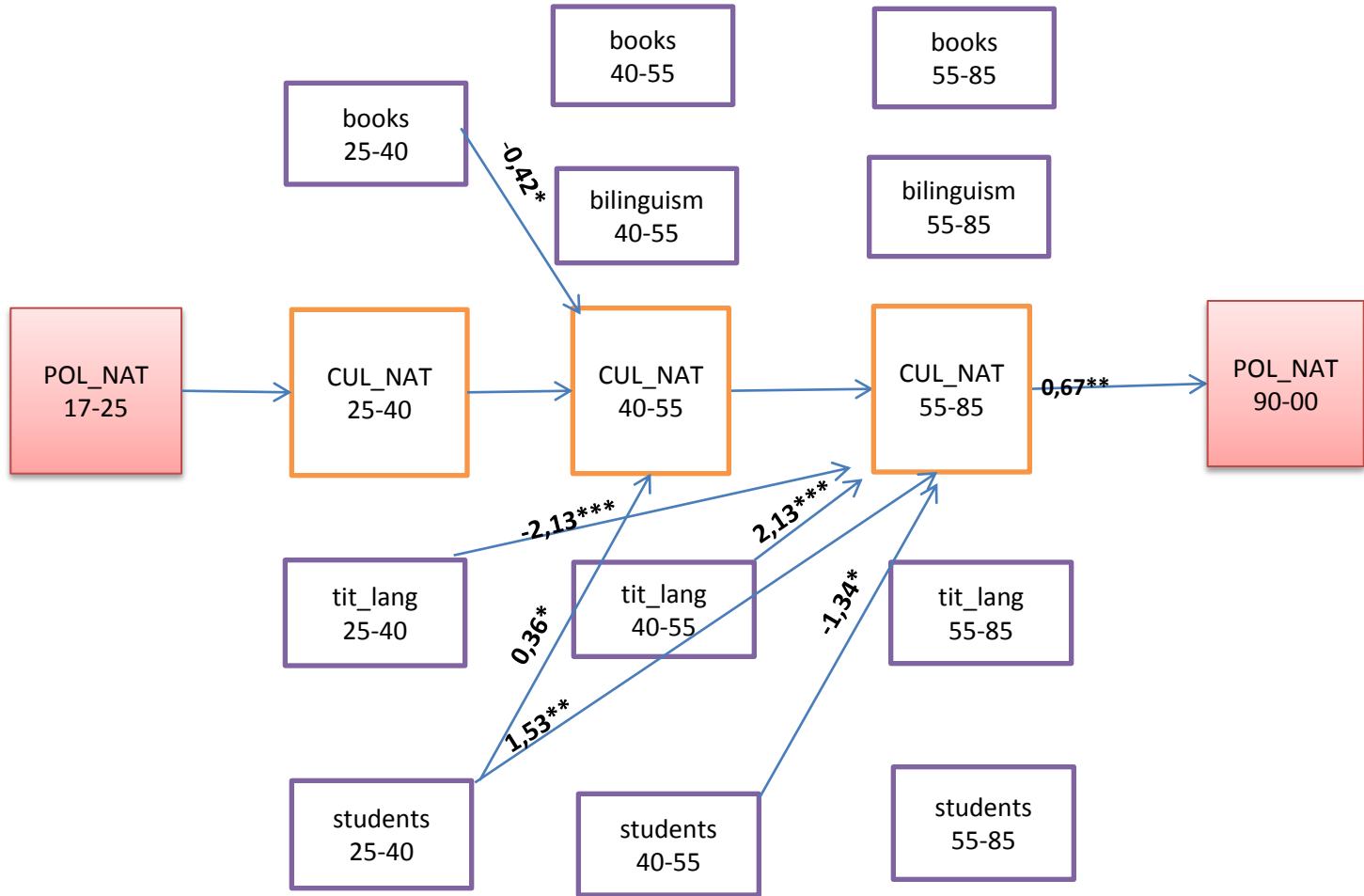
Model 2

- Model Chisquare = 0.2285 Df = 2 Pr(>Chisq) = 0.89204
- Chisquare (null model) = 28.659 Df = 10
- Goodness-of-fit index = 0.99548
- Adjusted goodness-of-fit index = 0.96607
- RMSEA index = 0 90% CI: (NA, 0.20188)
- Bentler-Bonnett NFI = 0.99203
- Tucker-Lewis NNFI = 1.4747
- Bentler CFI = 1
- SRMR = 0.021907
- BIC = -5.8605
- *Normalized Residuals*
- Min. 1st Qu. Median Mean 3rd Qu. Max.
- -0.34600 0.00000 0.00000 -0.03820 0.00000 0.00966

Preliminary results

- Cultural nationalism affects political nationalism
- Period 1940-55 is the borderline of the Soviet national policies?
- Next step – to split Cultural nationalism index into parts: *books, students, titular language, bilingualism*

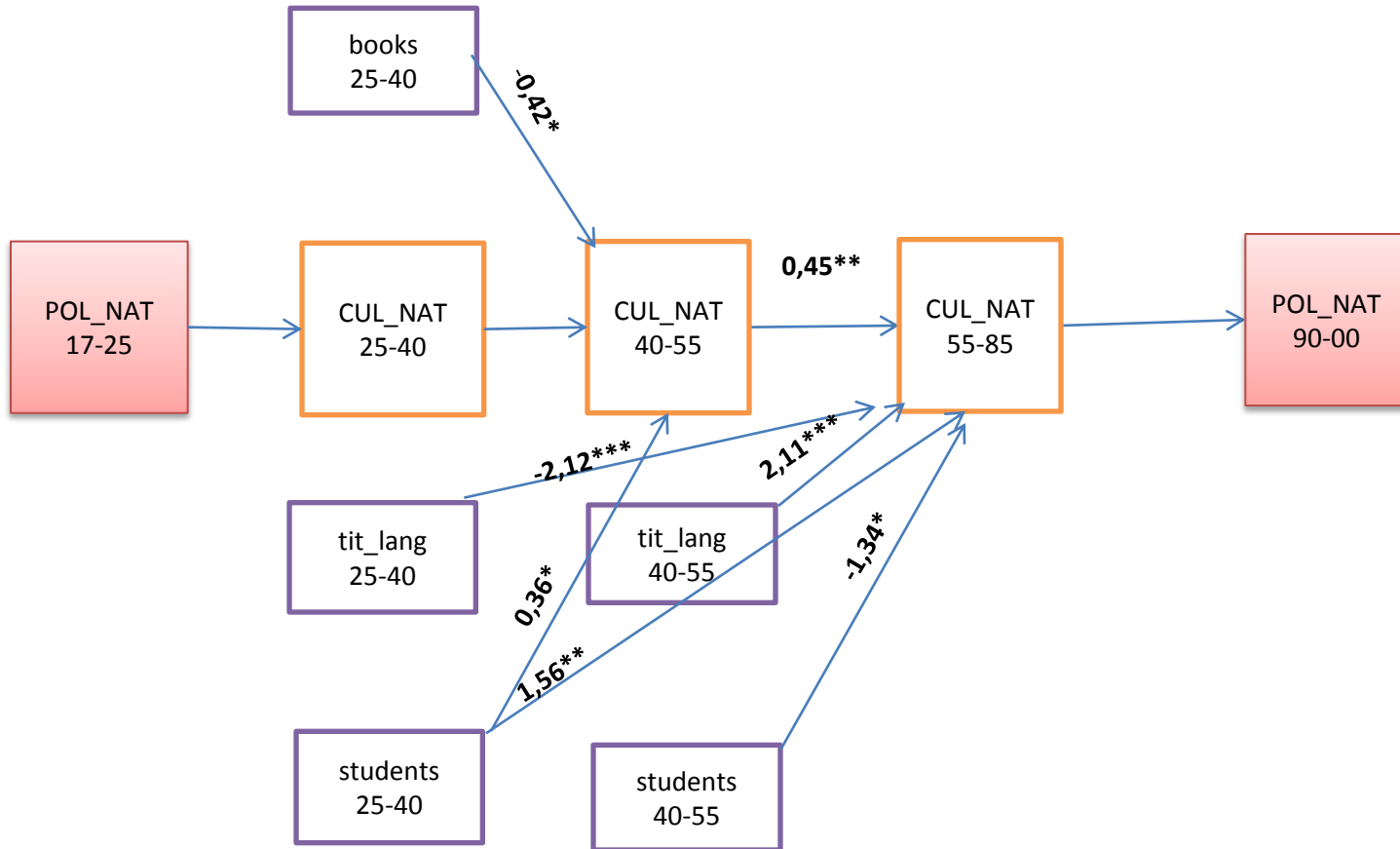
SEM. Model 3



Model 3

- Model Chisquare = 456.5 Df = 98 Pr(>Chisq) = 0
- Chisquare (null model) = 510.11 Df = 120
- Goodness-of-fit index = 0.39015
- Adjusted goodness-of-fit index = 0.15368
- RMSEA index = 0.42768 90% CI: (NA, NA)
- Bentler-Bonnett NFI = 0.10508
- Tucker-Lewis NNFI = -0.12529
- Bentler CFI = 0.081011
- SRMR = 1.2829
- BIC = 158.14
- *Normalized Residuals*
- Min. 1st Qu. Median Mean 3rd Qu. Max.
- -2.940 -0.468 0.522 0.542 1.410 4.310

SEM. Model 4.



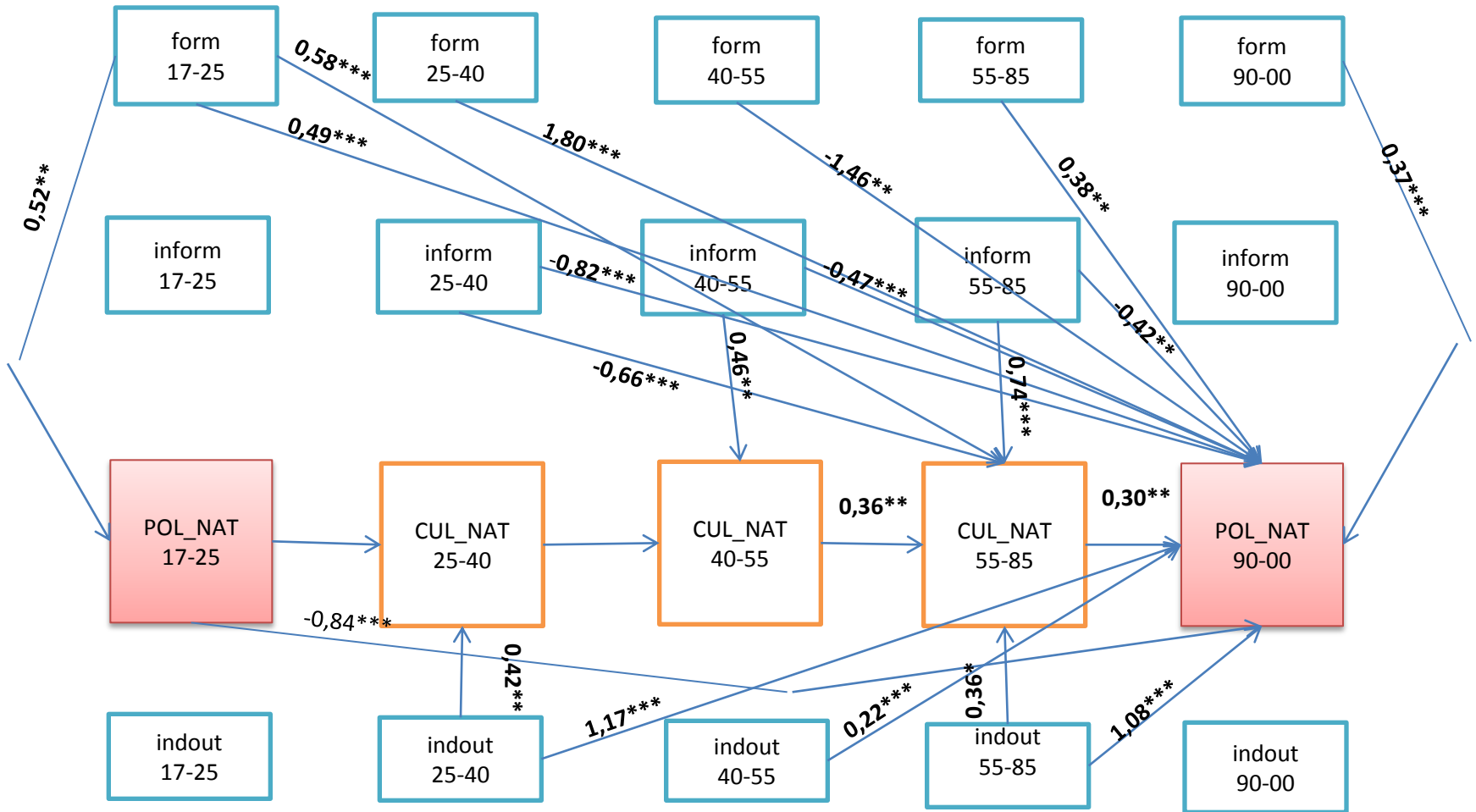
Model 4

- Model Chisquare = 460.83 Df = 103 Pr(>Chisq) = 0
- Chisquare (null model) = 510.11 Df = 120
- Goodness-of-fit index = 0.38745
- Adjusted goodness-of-fit index = 0.1912
- RMSEA index = 0.41678 90% CI: (NA, NA)
- Bentler-Bonnett NFI = 0.096594
- Tucker-Lewis NNFI = -0.068665
- Bentler CFI = 0.08273
- SRMR = 1.2515
- BIC = 147.25
- *Normalized Residuals*
- Min. 1st Qu. Median Mean 3rd Qu. Max.
- -2.940 -0.418 0.462 0.551 1.420 4.310
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Results

- There is marginally significant causal link between cultural nationalism and political nationalism.
- The models 3&4 show that there is a difference between the periods: radical change in signs (*tit_lang* and *students*) between 1925-40.
- The most powerful predictors are *tit_lang*, *students*, *books*.
- In general, models are weak
- Next model tests impact of *formal status*, *informal status* and *industrial output* on cultural and political nationalism

SEM. Model 5

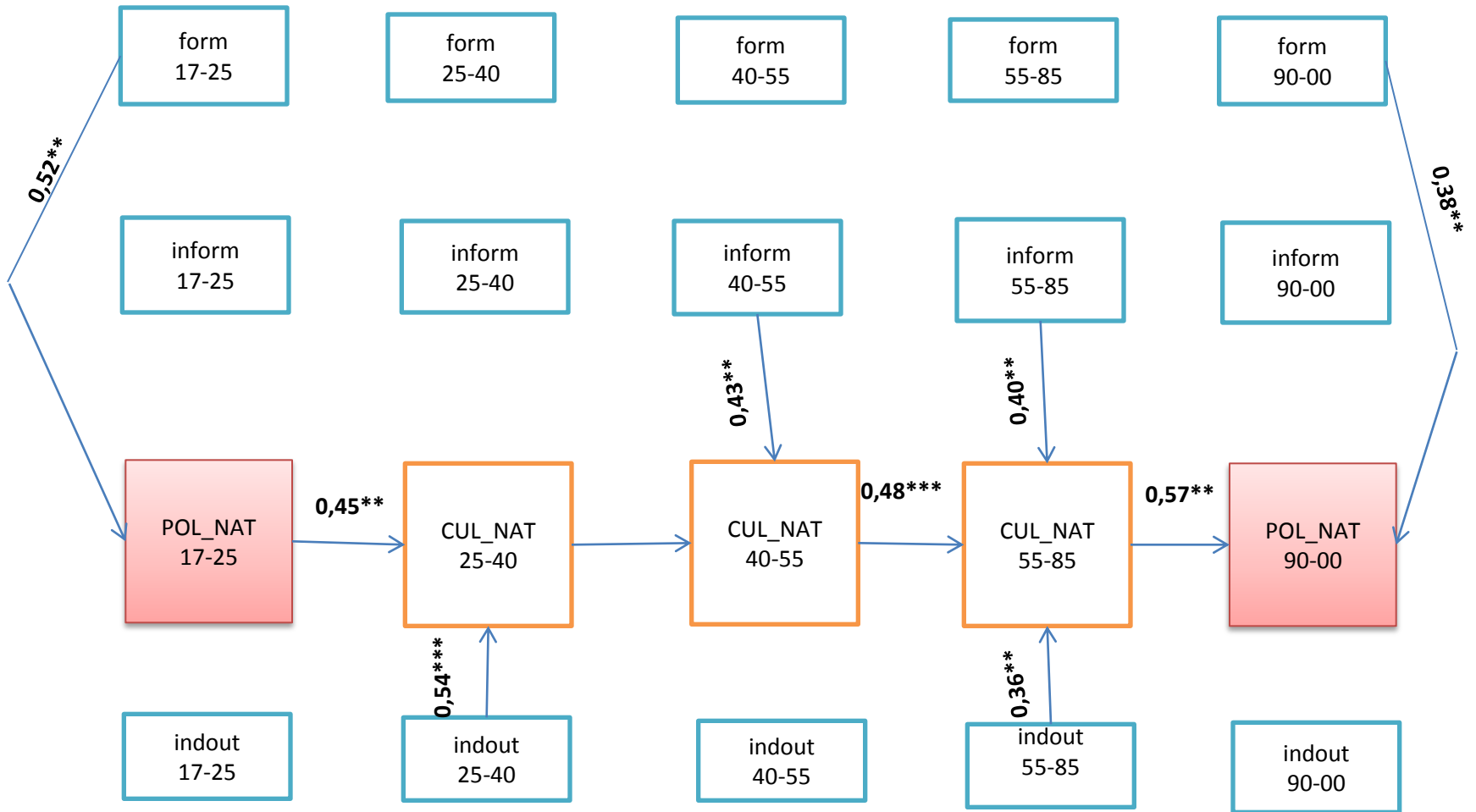


SEM. Model 5

- Model Chisquare = 211.57 Df = 96 Pr(>Chisq) = 1.1054e-10
- Chisquare (null model) = 329.5 Df = 136
- Goodness-of-fit index = 0.50844
- Adjusted goodness-of-fit index = 0.21658
- RMSEA index = 0.24534 90% CI: (NA, NA)
- Bentler-Bonnett NFI = 0.35792
- Tucker-Lewis NNFI = 0.15390
- Bentler CFI = 0.40276
- SRMR = 0.82705
- BIC = -80.708

- *Normalized Residuals*
- Min. 1st Qu. Median Mean 3rd Qu. Max.
- -2.840 -0.203 0.348 0.476 1.290 3.080

SEM. Model 6.



SEM. Model 6.

- Model Chisquare = 266.89 Df = 120 Pr(>Chisq) = 3.5116e-13
- Chisquare (null model) = 329.5 Df = 136
- Goodness-of-fit index = 0.48481
- Adjusted goodness-of-fit index = 0.34314
- RMSEA index = 0.24739 90% CI: (NA, NA)
- Bentler-Bonnett NFI = 0.19002
- Tucker-Lewis NNFI = 0.13966
- Bentler CFI = 0.24088
- SRMR = 0.28303
- BIC = -98.454
- *Normalized Residuals*
- Min. 1st Qu. Median Mean 3rd Qu. Max.
- -1.880 -0.255 0.392 0.536 1.370 2.950

Results

- This model shows that *Political nationalism* is affected by many factors.
- *Cultural nationalism* in 1925-40 is predicted by *Political nationalism* in 1917-25; *Cultural nationalism* affects *Political nationalism* in 1990-00 . There is sequential causality between *Cultural nationalism* and *Political nationalism*
- *Formal status* is significant in all cases in Model 5 and in 2 cases in Model 6, it's positive as predicted; although in 1925-40 it changes sign (Model 5). Perhaps, it might be explained by repressive dissolution of some republics in the 1940-s. *Formal status* is likely to affect *Political nationalism* directly, not through *Cultural nationalism*.

Results

- *Informal status* affects both *Political and Cultural nationalism*. In Model 5 it affects *Political nationalism* in 2 cases (1925-40 and 1940-55), with different signs; and *Cultural Nationalism* – in 2 cases (1940-55 and 1955-85). In Model 6 it affects *Cultural nationalism* in the periods 1940-55 and 1955-85.
- *Industrial output* affects both *Political and Cultural nationalism*. In Model 5 it affects *Political nationalism* in 3 cases: in periods 1925-40 and 1940-55 it is significant with positive signs, in 1955-85 it is significant with negative signs. It also affects *Cultural nationalism* in 2 cases: in 1925-40 and 1955-85. In Model 6 *Industrial Output* is also significant in 2 cases: in 1925-40 and 1955-85.
- To explain *Political nationalism*, the most important period was 1955-85: it is affected by *Informal status*, *industrial output* and earlier *cultural nationalism*.
- There is radical policy change between 2 periods: 1925-40 and 1940-55. This change may explain break in sequential causality.

Further steps

- I plan to extend research to the post-Soviet period. Budget statistics on expenditures on ethnic institutions support. New approaches to measure region's informal status.

- THANK YOU
- FOR YOUR ATTENTION!