Nationalism as an Autonomous Value: Spatial and Temporal Patterns of National Commitment and Multiculturalism in 1994-2005

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Objective:

To test predictive power of major theories explaining differences in the level of various dimensions of nationalism

Main Changes

Previous Report	Present Report
5th wave of the WVS with 43 countries	3rd, 4th and 5th waves of the WVS with 88 countries
4 dimensions of nationalism	2 dimensions of nationalism
Individual-level regression analysis	Country-level and multilevel regression analysis
36 empirically based independent variables	12 theory-based independent variables
Testing separate hypotheses	General regression models for 2 dimensions of nationalism

Theoretical background

1. **Trend theories:** nationalism as an independent value determined by its own immanent logic.

2. **Reductionist, or 'nationalism as…', theories:** nationalism as a secondary value determined by religion, OR economic position, OR political attitudes etc.

3. **Our suggestion:** nationalism as an autonomous value influenced by multiple parameters.

Main Hypothesis

Nationalism is stronger influenced by a set of other values than by its own alleged global historical trends.

Hence:

- Are spatial variations in the level of nationalism larger than temporal ones?

- Which other values influence nationalism, to what extent and in which direction?
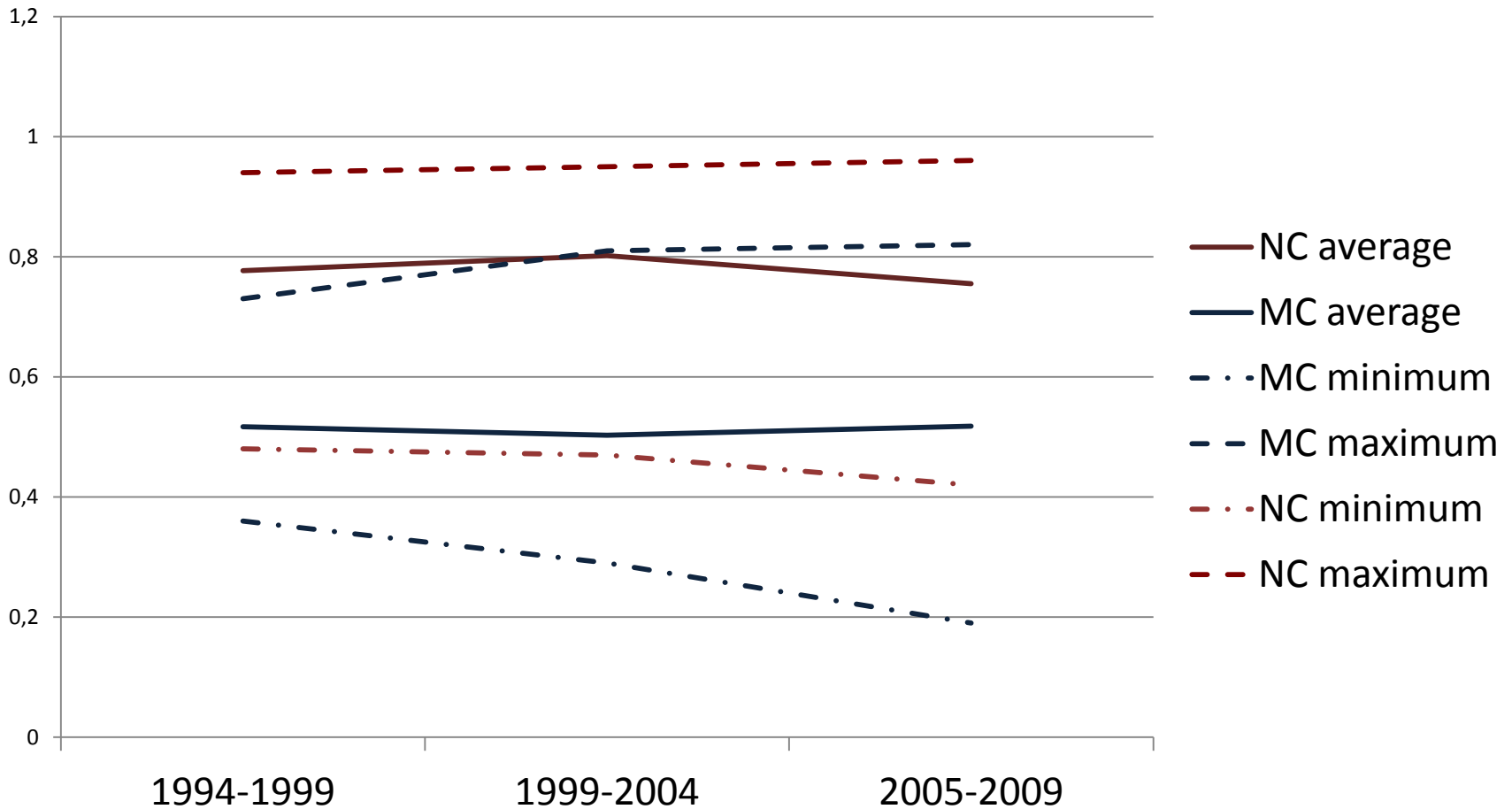
Dimensions of Nationalism

Variables	Components	
	Multiculturalism: outgroup attitudes	**National Commitment:** ingroup attitudes
Willingness to fight in war for your country	,012	,769
How proud of your nationality	-,064	,758
Immigrants mentioned as undesirable neighbours	,607	,043
Immigrant policy	,700	,025
When jobs are scarce, priority to natives over immigrants	,630	-,156

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Trend Theories

1. **Clash of civilizations** (Huntington): globalization leads to more cross-cultural contacts and sharper controversies, hence growth of nationalism.

2. **Twilight of nationalism** (Hobsbawm) or postnational constellation (Habermas): globalization leads to dissolution of nation-state, hence decline of nationalism.

Testing Trend Theories

Reductionist Theories 1: Political Theories

- Nationalism as a dominant political ideology of Modernity (Giddens, Tilly)
  H1: Importance of politics is positively related to National Commitment and, to a smaller extent, to Multiculturalism.
  H2: Interest in politics is positively related to National Commitment and, to a smaller extent, to Multiculturalism.

- Nationalism since late 19th century as a reactionary political ideology (Hobsbawm & Ranger)
  H3: Importance of democracy is negatively related to National Commitment and positively related to Multiculturalism

Testing Political Theories of Nationalism

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	
	National Commitment	Multiculturalism
Importance of politics	0.185	0.036
Interest in politics	-0.130	0.172
Importance of democracy	-0.067	**0.284***
* Significant at the 0.05 level		

Reductionist Theories 2:
General Theories

- Nationalism as a secular substitution of religion (Hayes, Anderson)
  H4a: Importance of religion is negatively related to National Commitment and positively related (or not related) to Multiculturalism
  BUT: Nationalism and Religion are parts of traditional value orientation (Inglehart)
  H4b: Importance of religion is positively related to National Commitment and negatively related (or not related) to Multiculturalism

- Nationalism as a manifestation of general intolerance (e.g. Miscevic)
  H5: Permissiveness (readiness to justify deviant behavior) is negatively related to National Commitment and positively related to Multiculturalism .

- Nationalism as a result of deprivation /*ressentiment* (Kedourie, Greenfeld)
  H6: Happiness is negatively related to National Commitment and positively related to Multiculturalism.

Testing General Theories of Nationalism

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	
	National Commitment	Multiculturalism
importance of religion	**0.622*****	**-0.408*****
permissiveness	**-0.520*****	**0.460*****
happiness	**0.263***	0.155

* Significant at the 0.05 level
*** Significant at the 0.001 level

Reductionist theories 3: Regional Theories

- Civic nationalism in Western countries combines strong national identity with ethnic tolerance (Kohn, Greenfeld). **H7:** Western countries are not different on National Commitment and higher on Multiculturalism

- Identity crisis in Muslim countries strengthens ingroup favoritism and outgroup discrimination all types of collective identities , but primarily religious (Moghaddam). **H8:** Muslim countries are higher on National Commitment and lower on Multiculturalism.

- Soviet policy tacitly supported the ethnic notion of nationalism, but suppressed its manifestations (Brubaker). **H9:** Post-Socialist countries are higher on National Commitment and lower on Multiculturalism.

Testing Regional Theories of Nationalism

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	
	National Commitment	Multiculturalism
Western countries	**-0.430 ****	**0.391*****
Muslim countries	**0.381*****	**-0.301****
Post-Socialist countries	-0.122	0.440
** significant at the 0.01 level *** significant at the 0.001 level		

Reductionist Theories 4: Multiple Identities Theories

- Relocation of power from nation-state to larger units of power leads to redistribution of loyalty between national identity and supranational , but also subnational and individual identities, which leads to increasing tolerance (Beck, Hobsbawm, Hutchinson).
H10: Individualism is negatively related to National Commitment and positively related to Multiculturaism.
H11: Subnationalism is negatively related to National Commitment and positively related to Multiculturaism.
H12: Cosmopolitanism is negatively related to National Commitment and positively related to Multiculturaism.

Testing Multiple Identities Theories of Nationalism

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	
	National Commitment	Multiculturalism
Individualism	0.127	0.054
Subnationalism	**0.557***	**-0.434****
Cosmopolitanism	**0.467***	-0.540

** significant at the 0.01 level
*** significant at the 0.001 level

Country-level Regression Model for National Commitment

Permissiveness	-0.391**
Subnationalism	0.245*
Cosmopolitanism	0.340**
R-square	*0.515*
Adjusted R-square	*0.481*
Observations	*88*

* significant at the 0.05 level
** significant at the 0.01 level

Country-level Regression Model for Multiculturalism

Permissiveness	0.653***
Importance of democracy	0.310**
R-square	*0.507*
Adjusted R-square	*0.487*
Observations	*88*
** significant at 0.01 level *** significant at 0.001 level	

Multilevel Regression Analysis

		National Commitment		Multiculturalism	
		Main effect	Interaction effect	Main effect	Interaction effect
Interest in politics		0.07***			
	Western				0.075***
	Muslim	0,082***	-0.052*		
	Post-Socialist	0.050***	0,072**		
Importance of politics		0.056***		0.110***	
	Western				
	Muslim	0.078**	-0.096*		
	Post-Socialist				

Multilevel Regression Analysis (continued)

		National Commitment		Multiculturalism	
		Main effect	Interaction effect	Main effect	Interaction effect
Importance of religion		0.070***			
	Western	0.061*	0.087***		
	Muslim	0,076***	0.084*		
	Post-Socialist				
Permissiveness		-0.019***		0.010***	
	Western	-0.013***	-0.014*	0.006**	0.013*
	Muslim				
	Post-Socialist				

Conclusions

- Main hypothesis confirmed: nationalism is more accurately predicted by a combination of reductionist theories than by a singe reductionist or trend theory.

- About 50% of country-level variance in National commitment is explained by variance in Permissiveness (negative relation), Subnationalism and Cosmopolitanism (positive relation).

- About 50% of country-level variance in Multiculturalism can be explained by variance in Permissiveness and Importance of democracy (positive relation).

- Main counterintuitive result: Cosmopolitanism is positively related to National Commitment and not related to Multiculturalism. World viewed as a place, not as a space.

Future Steps

- Expand country-level regression models to explain larger percent of variance;

- Continue multilevel regression analysis: probably towards a typology of nationalism based on combinations of interaction effects;

- Study change in nationalism at a smaller scale: generate own data and do time series analysis.

Thank you for your attention!