

Nationalism in 1995-2005: Global Trends and Regional Patterns of Modernization

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**LCSR Research Workshop
Saint Petersburg
April 24, 2012**

Objective:

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

Summary of Progress

Previous Report	Augmented by...
Theoretical background: modernist theories of nationalism	Modernization theories
Empirical research: country-level regression analysis (testing theories of nationalism)	Multilevel regression analysis (looking for interaction effects related to different stages of modernization)

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:** modernist theories refer to the emergence of nations in the beginning of modernization and do make less accurate predictions for its current phase than do modernization theories.

Main Hypothesis

Modernization theories explain variations in the level of nationalism more accurately than do modernist theories of nationalism.

Hence:

- Is there any global trend behind changes in the level of nationalism?
- Which other values influence nationalism, to what extent and in which direction?
- Do the same independent variables have different impact on nationalism for types of countries with different relations to modernization?

Dimensions of Nationalism

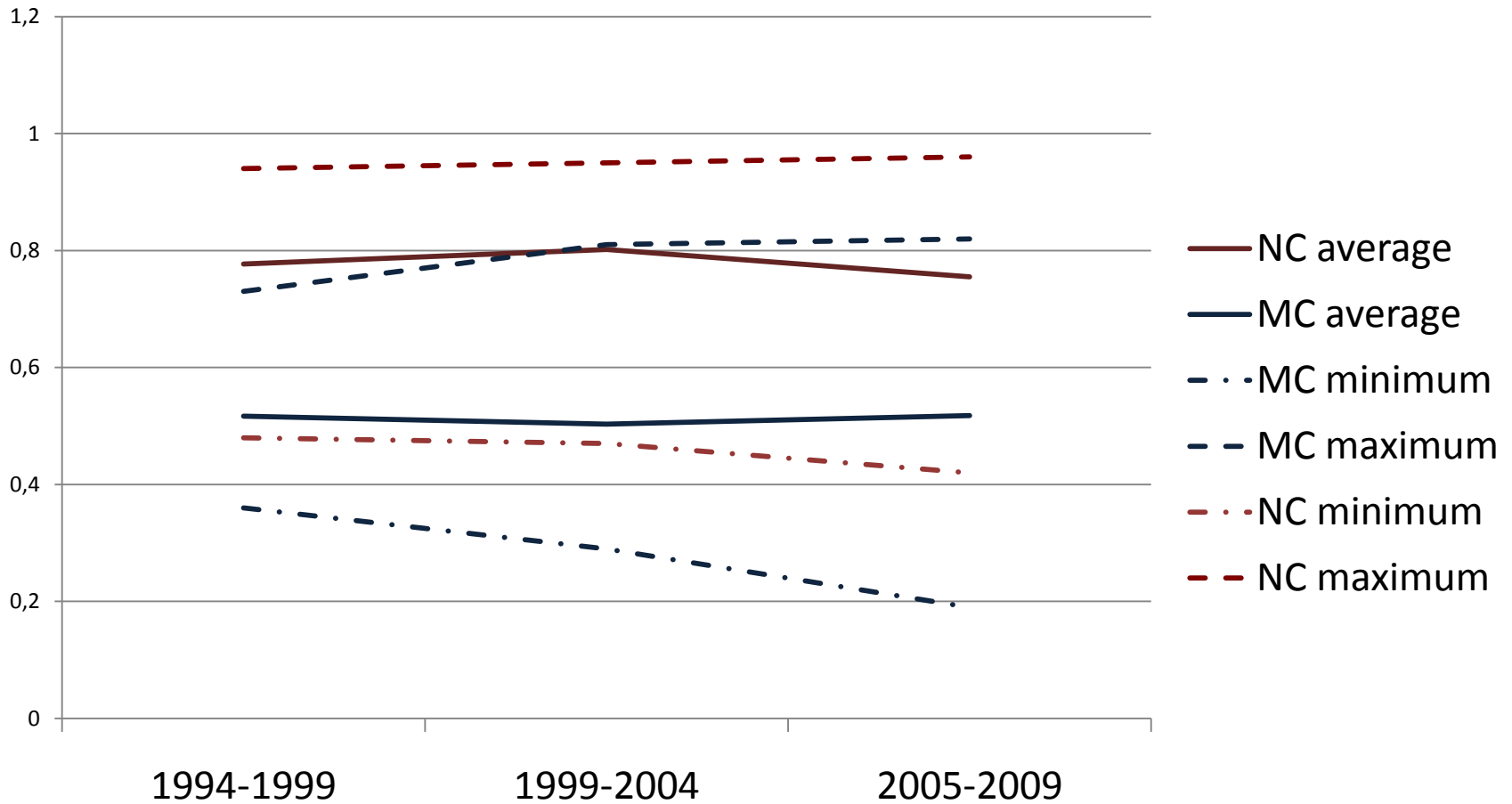
Variables	Components	
	Multiculturalism: outgroup attitudes	National Commitment: ingroup attitudes
Willingness to fight in war for your country	,012	,769
How proud of your nationality	-,064	,758
Immigrants mentioned as undesirable neighbours	,607	,043
Immigrant policy	,700	,025
When jobs are scarce, 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: 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 Multiculturalism.
H11: Subnationalism is negatively related to National Commitment and positively related to Multiculturalism.
H12: Cosmopolitanism is negatively related to National Commitment and positively related to Multiculturalism.

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***	-0.054

** significant at the 0.01 level

*** significant at the 0.001 level

Reductionist theories 4: 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		

Relations to Modernization

- **Western countries:** leaders of modernization (or prototypes?..).
- **Muslim countries:** resistant to modernization. BUT: Islam is the mirroring Other of the West (Lewis).
- **Post-Socialist countries:** modernization in transition (or transitions between modernizations?).

Operationalization:

Different relation to modernization for different types of countries implies not merely variations in the level of nationalism, but also differences in its relation to other variables, operationalized as statistically significant interaction effects.

Importance of religion

	NC	MC
Western countries - main effect	0.066***	-0.003
non-Western countries - main effect	0.098***	-0.026***
<i>Western countries - interaction effect</i>	-0.033	0.024*
Muslim countries - main effect	0.131***	-0.053***
non-Muslim countries - main effect	0.078***	-0.012***
<i>Muslim countries - interaction effect</i>	0.053	-0.041*
Post-Socialist countries - main effect	0.062***	-0.024*
not Post-Socialist countries - main effect	0.101***	0.017*
<i>Post-Socialist Countries - interaction effect</i>	-0.040*	-0.007

* significant at the 0.05 level

*** significant at the 0.001 level

Subjective happiness

	NC	MC
Western countries - main effect	0.117***	0.063***
non-Western countries - main effect	0.097***	0.022***
<i>Western countries - interaction effect</i>	0.019	0.041***
Muslim countries - main effect	0.103***	0.003
non-Muslim countries - main effect	0.103***	0.041***
<i>Muslim countries - interaction effect</i>	0.000	-0.038*
Post-Socialist countries - main effect	0.130***	0.040***
not Post-Socialist countries - main effect	0.090***	0.029***
<i>Post-Socialist countries - interaction effect</i>	0.039**	0.010

* significant at the 0.05 level

** significant at the 0.01 level

*** significant at the 0.001 level

Self-evaluation of health

	NC	MC
Western countries - main effect	0.043***	0.104***
non-Western countries - main effect	0.063***	0.035***
<i>Western countries - interaction effect</i>	-0.020	0.069***
Muslim countries - main effect	0.079***	0.025
non-Muslim countries - main effect	0.051***	0.062***
<i>Muslim countries - interaction effect</i>	0.028	-0.036*
Post-Socialist countries - main effect	0.072***	0.062***
not Post-Socialist countries - main effect	0.050***	0.050***
<i>Post-Socialist countries - interaction effect</i>	0.022	0.012

* significant at the 0.05 level

*** significant at the 0.001 level

Thinking about meaning of life

	NC	MC
Western countries - main effect	0.007	0.038***
non-Western countries - main effect	0.057***	0.002
<i>Western countries - interaction effect</i>	-0.050***	0.036**
Muslim countries - main effect	0.055***	0.001
non-Muslim countries - main effect	0.039***	0.016*
<i>Muslim countries - interaction effect</i>	0.016	-0.015
Post-Socialist countries - main effect	0.043***	0.019*
not Post-Socialist countries - main effect	0.042***	0.009
<i>Post-Socialist countries - interaction effect</i>	0.001	0.009

* significant at the 0.05 level

** significant at the 0.01 level

*** significant at the 0.001 level

Postmaterialism

	NC	MC
Western countries - main effect	-0.038**	0.141***
non-Western countries - main effect	-0.005	0.038***
<i>Western countries - interaction effect</i>	-0.033*	0.104***
Muslim countries - main effect	-0.001	0.035***
non-Muslim countries - main effect	-0.019*	0.075***
<i>Muslim countries - interaction effect</i>	0.018	-0.041***
Post-Socialist countries - main effect	-0.001	0.065**
not Post-Socialist countries - main effect	-0.021**	0.067***
<i>Post-Socialist countries - interaction effect</i>	0.020*	-0.002

* significant at the 0.05 level

** significant at the 0.01 level

*** significant at the 0.001 level

Importance of politics

	NC	MC
Western countries - main effect	0.071***	0.080***
non-Western countries - main effect	0.066***	0.001
<i>Western countries - interaction effect</i>	0.005	0.079***
Muslim countries - main effect	0.044***	0.012*
non-Muslim countries - main effect	0.074***	0.026***
<i>Muslim countries - interaction effect</i>	-0.030*	-0.014
Post-Socialist countries - main effect	0.093***	0.014
not Post-Socialist countries - main effect	0.057***	0.027***
<i>Post-Socialist countries - interaction effect</i>	0.037***	-0.013*

* significant at the 0.05 level

*** significant at the 0.001 level

Interest in politics

	NC	MC
Western countries - main effect	0.084***	0.079***
non-Western countries - main effect	0.090***	0.007
<i>Western countries - interaction effect</i>	-0.006	0.071***
Muslim countries - main effect	0.055***	0.023**
non-Muslim countries - main effect	0.097***	0.029***
<i>Muslim countries - interaction effect</i>	-0.042**	-0.006
Post-Socialist countries - main effect	0.129***	0.003
not Post-Socialist countries - main effect	0.070***	0.039***
<i>Post-Socialist countries - interaction effect</i>	0.059***	-0.035**

** significant at the 0.01 level

*** significant at the 0.001 level

Generalization:

- Interaction effects (but not main effects!) have opposite signs for Western and Muslim countries whenever both are statistically significant for the same variables.
- Interaction effects in Post-Socialist countries mostly have no statistically significant counterparts for either Western or Muslim countries.

Permissiveness

	NC	MC
Western countries - main effect	-0.028***	0.012***
non-Western countries - main effect	-0.020***	0.006***
<i>Western countries - interaction effect</i>	-0.008*	0.002
Muslim countries - main effect	-0.022***	0.008*
non-Muslim countries - main effect	-0.023***	0.010***
<i>Muslim countries - interaction effect</i>	-0.001	-0.002
Post-Socialist countries - main effect	-0.029***	0.012***
not Post-Socialist countries - main effect	-0.019***	0.008***
<i>Post-Socialist countries - interaction effect</i>	-0.009**	0.003

* significant at the 0.05 level

** 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**
<i>R-square</i>	<i>0.515</i>
<i>Adjusted R-square</i>	<i>0.481</i>
<i>Observations</i>	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**
<i>R-square</i>	<i>0.507</i>
<i>Adjusted R-square</i>	<i>0.487</i>
<i>Observations</i>	88

** significant at 0.01 level

*** significant at 0.001 level

Conclusions

- The main hypothesis is confirmed. Modernization theories are more accurate than specific theories of nationalism in predicting variations in the level of nationalism. Among theories of nationalism, trend theories have little predictive value, while reductionist theories produce accurate predictions in some, but not the most cases.
- Different relations to modernization have impact not only on different levels of nationalism, but also in their different extent and/or direction of relation to other values. Nationalism plays different roles and is influenced by other values in different ways in societies with different levels of modernization.
- The key value having statistically significant impact on both National Commitment and Multiculturalism is permissiveness, or tolerance towards deviant types of behavior.

Conclusions (continued)

Many trend theories of nationalism are not Western-biased. Instead, they are “biased” in favor of earlier phases of modernization and thus are often more applicable for non-Western countries.

Future Steps

- Prepare an article for a peer-reviewed journal.
- Construct a multilevel model of nationalism.
- Use structural equations modeling to account for latent variables.
- Include not value-related independent variables (e.g. GDP per capita).

Thank you for your
attention!