

**Nationalism, Modernism and  
Modernization of Values:  
Empirical Evidence  
from 85 Countries**

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# Overview of Progress

- **Article accepted for publication in “*Obshchestvennyje Nauki I Sovremennost*”.**
- **New empirical research (multilevel regression analysis with interaction effects for civic/ethnic nationalism) to be presented at the All-Russian Sociological Congress.**
- **Report formatted as an article for “*Nations and Nationalism*”:**
  - **title changed;**
  - **research question reformulated;**
  - **theory chapter rewritten (with 29 new references);**
  - **conclusions specified.**

# Added Value

- Ongoing theoretical debate

**Modernist vs. primordialist theories of nationalism.**

- My research

**Modernist theories of nationalism vs. modernization theories:**  
*overlapping? mutually excluding?  
compatible?*

# **Modernism vs. Modernization**

## **Theories of Nationalism:**

### **Similarities**

**Basically the same definition and chronology of modernity.**

**Theories emphasizing different sides of modernity (economic, political, sociocultural...).**

**Specific paths of nationalism and modernization assumed for the same types of countries (Western, Muslim, Post-Socialist).**

# Modernism vs. Modernization

## Theories of Nationalism:

### Differences

<b>Modernist Theories</b>	<b>Modernization Theories</b>
<b>Nationalism is a subject of explanation (the dependent variable).</b>	<b>Nationalism is a tool of explanation (an independent variable).</b>
<b>Individual level of explanation.</b>	<b>Country-level explanations.</b>
<b>Focus on the early modernity, when nations first appeared.</b>	<b>Focus on transition from the first to the second modernity.</b>

# Research Aim:

- to provide empirical evidence of compatibility between modernist and modernization approaches to nationalism.

1.

# Research questions:

- 1. How can modernization theories be operationalized in the form of hypotheses with nationalism as a dependent variable?**
- 2. What is the predictive power of modernist theories on the country level and modernization theories on the individual level of explanation?**
- 3. How well can modernist theories explain the contemporary nationalism of the second modernity?**

# Nationalism in the WVS

- 1. “Immigrants/foreign workers are undesirable neighbours” (answer: yes or no).
- 2. “How proud are you of your nation” (answer: “very proud”, “quite proud”, “not very proud”, “not at all proud”).
- 3. “Of course, we all hope that there will not be another war, but if it were to come to that, would you be willing to fight for your country?” (answer: “yes”, “depends”, “no”).
- 4. “When jobs are scarce, preference should be given to natives over immigrants” (answer: yes or no).
- 5. “How about people from other countries coming here to work. Which one of the following do you think the government should do?” (“let anyone come”, “let anyone come as long as jobs are available”, “set strict limits to coming to country”, “prohibit people from coming”).



# Dimensions of Nationalism

Variables	Dimensions	
	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

# Country-level Regression Analysis (1)

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	<b>0.284*</b>
Importance of religion	<b>0.622***</b>	<b>-0.408***</b>
Permissiveness	<b>-0.520***</b>	<b>0.460***</b>
Happiness	<b>0.263*</b>	0.155

\* significant at the 0.05 level \*\* significant at the 0.01 level \*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

# Country-level Regression Analysis (2)

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	
	National Commitment	Multiculturalism
Individualism	0.127	0.054
Subnationalism	<b>0.557***</b>	<b>-0.434**</b>
Cosmopolitanism	<b>0.467***</b>	-0.054
Western countries	<b>-0.430 **</b>	<b>0.391***</b>
Muslim countries	<b>0.381***</b>	<b>-0.301**</b>
Post-Socialist countries	-0.122	0.044

\* significant at the 0.05 level \*\* significant at the 0.01 level \*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

# Multilevel Regression Analysis (1)

	<b>National Commitment</b>	<b>Multiculturalism</b>
<b>Importance of politics</b>	0.068***	0.023***
Western countries	0.005	0.079***
Muslim countries	-0.030*	-0.014
Post-Socialist countries	0.037***	-0.013
<b>Interest in politics</b>	0.088***	0.028***
Western countries	-0.006	0.071***
Muslim countries	-0.042**	-0.006
Post-Socialist countries	0.059***	-0.035**

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

\*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

# Multilevel Regression Analysis (2)

	<b>National Commitment</b>	<b>Multiculturalism</b>
<b>Importance of religion</b>	0.089***	-0.020**
Western countries	-0.033	0.024*
Muslim countries	0.053	-0.041*
Post-Socialist countries	-0.040*	-0.007
<b>Thinking about meaning of life</b>	0.043***	0.012
Western countries	-0.050***	0.036**
Muslim countries	0.016	-0.015
Post-Socialist countries	0.001	0.009

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

\*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

# Multilevel Regression Analysis (3)

	<b>National Commitment</b>	<b>Multiculturalism</b>
<b>Subjective happiness</b>	0.103***	0.033**
Western countries	0.019	0.041***
Muslim countries	0.000	-0.038*
Post-Socialist countries	0.039**	0.010
<b>Self-evaluation of health</b>	0.057***	0.054***
Western countries	-0.020	0.069***
Muslim countries	0.028	-0.036*
Post-Socialist countries	0.022	0.012

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

\*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

# Multilevel Regression Analysis (4)

	<b>National Commitment</b>	<b>Multiculturalism</b>
<b>Postmaterialism</b>	-0.015*	0.066***
Western countries	-0.033*	0.104***
Muslim countries	0.018	-0.041***
Post-Socialist countries	0.020	-0.002
<b>Permissiveness</b>	-0.022***	0.018***
Western countries	-0.008*	0.002
Muslim countries	-0.001	-0.002
Post-Socialist countries	-0.009**	0.003

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

\*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

# Conclusions

- **Modernization theories can generate meaningful hypotheses explaining quantitative variety in the level of nationalism that stand up to empirical testing.**
- **Testing country-level hypotheses derived from modernist theories had statistically significant results, which do not always support the corresponding hypotheses.**
- **Regionally specific theories of nationalism, both from modernist and modernization approaches, may play a key part in building an integrated theory by serving as an intermediary between universalist theorising and case studies.**





**Thank you for your  
attention!**