

Nationalism in Russian republics: historical and comparative perspective

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LCSR Seminar

15 November, 2012

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
- We construct *Index of cultural nationalism* for 3 periods: 1925-40, 1940-55, 1955-85. We use three 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* – books circulation in ethnic republics per capita. I take these data from the official Soviet statistics: years 1940, 1960 and 1980. Data show that in most cases circulations of books printed in native language significantly drop. We take data from the Soviet State statistics Committee.
- *Titular language as primary language* – share of titular population in region multiplied on the share of titular population who claimed their native language as their primary language. We use these data from the Soviet statistics, the census data – 1926, 1959 and 1979.
- *Students* - number of titular students per 1000 people in region. I use these data from the official Soviet statistics. Data are taken for year of republic's origin, 1934, 1966; 1976.
- *Index of cultural nationalism*: mean of these 3 variables mentioned above. We use this variable as dependent variable. Also we tried to build index by measurement model. All variables correlate each other.

Independent variables

- *Non-Orthodox religion* - variable for predominant religion in ethnic region (“1” – is non-Orthodox). It’s a kind of primordial factor in models
- *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 religion

Methods

- New empirical strategy – 1) build measurement model for Cultural Nationalism based on selected variables; 2) input Cultural Nationalism as latent variable; 3) apply SEM
- BUT: only 21 case in our sample. MPLUS: number of free parameters is more than the sample size. It's impossible to construct latent variables
- We built new Index of Cultural Nationalism as mean of 3 variables
- 5 models

SEM. Model 1



$\chi^2 = 13,406$

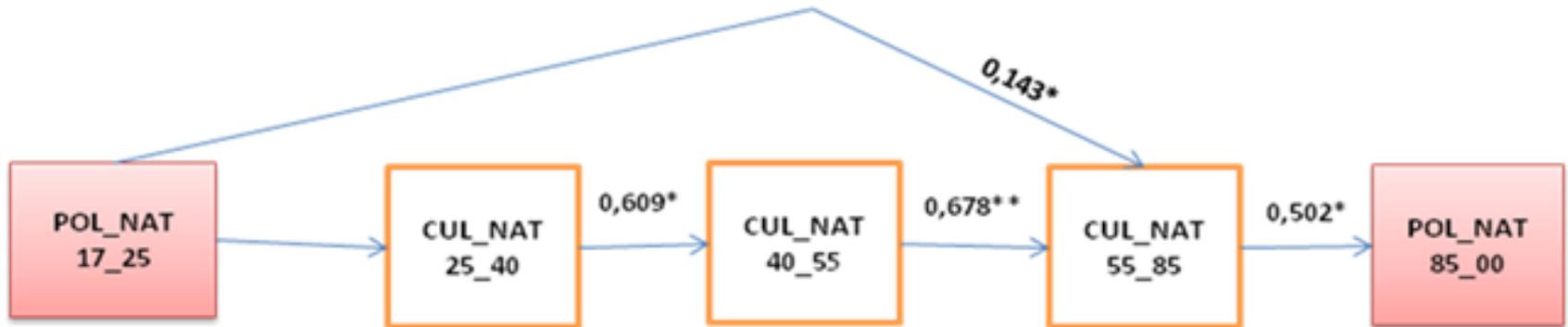
df = 6

p = 0,037

CFI = 0,836

RMSEA = 0,242

SEM. Model 2



$$\chi^2 = 6,447$$

$$df = 5$$

$$p = 0,265$$

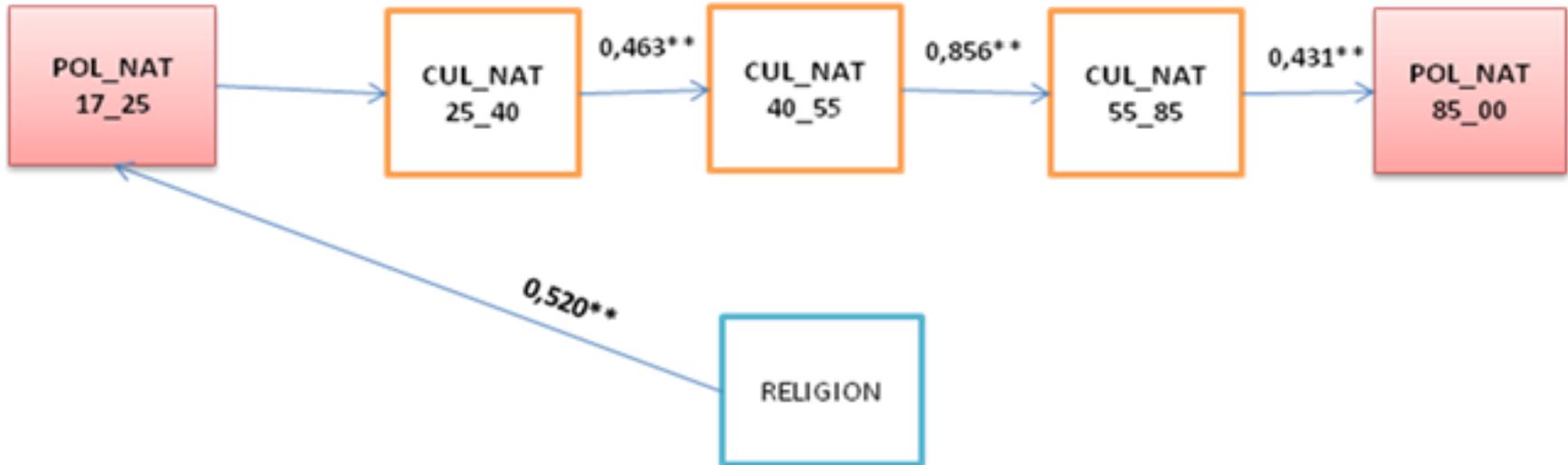
$$CFI = 0,968$$

$$RMSEA = 0,120$$

Preliminary results

- Cultural nationalism affects political nationalism
- Last time: Period 1940-55 is the borderline of the Soviet national policies?
- Now: models show more inheritance of Soviet national policies

SEM. Model 3



$\chi^2 = 8,435$

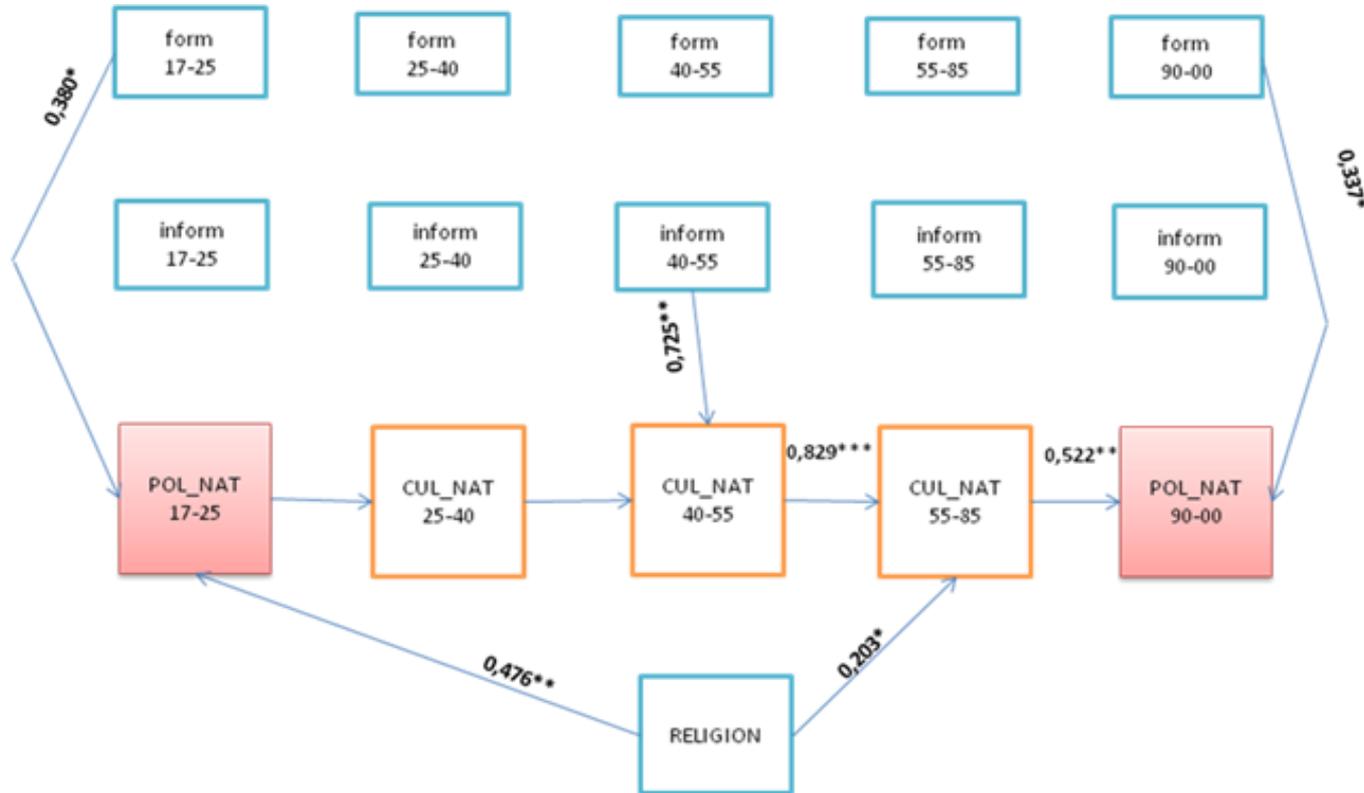
df = 8

p = 0,392

CFI = 0,991

RMSEA = 0,051

SEM. Model 4



$\chi^2 = 36,93$

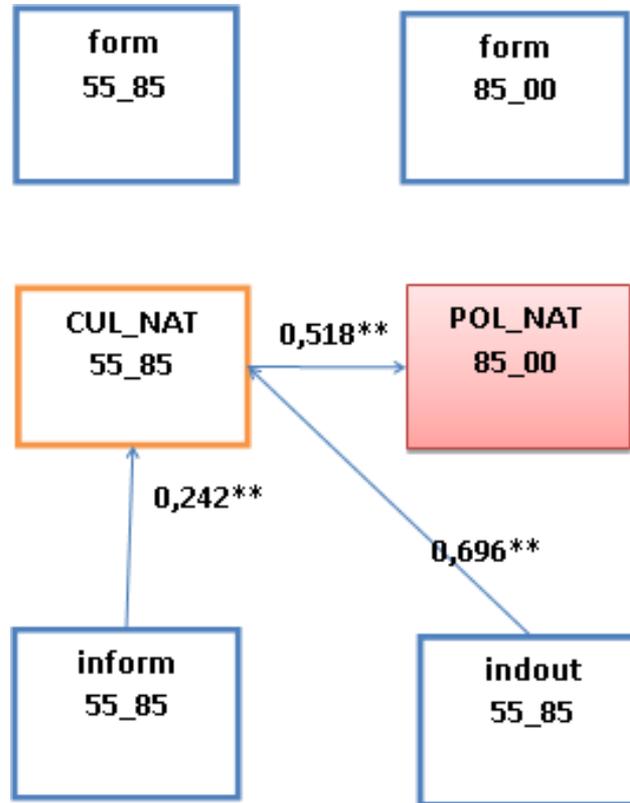
df = 21

p = 0,017

CFI = 0,813

RMSEA = 0,190

SEM. Model 5



$\chi^2 = 6,01$

df = 6

p = 0,422

CFI = 0,999

RMSEA = 0,010

Results

- This model shows that *Political nationalism* is affected by many factors.
- Religion is not the most powerful predictor. Primordial factors are not very strong predictors. Model 3 shows that Religion affects only PolNat 17-25
- *Cultural nationalism* in 1955-85 is predicted by *Cultural Nationalism* in 1940-55; *Cultural nationalism* affects *Political nationalism* in 1985-00 . There is sequential causality between *Cultural nationalism* and *Political nationalism*
- *Formal status* affects only *Political nationalism*. Moreover, *Formal status* is likely to affect *Political nationalism* directly, not through *Cultural nationalism*.

Results

- In Model 4 *Informal status* affects *Cultural Nationalism* in the period 1940-55. *Religion* affects *Cultural Nationalism* in 1955-85 and *Political Nationalism* in 1917-25.
- Model 5 explains only 2 periods: 1955-1985 and 1985-00. *Political Nationalism* is affected by *informal status* and *industrial output*; *formal status* is insignificant.
- To explain *Political nationalism*, the most important period was 1955-85: it is affected by *Informal status*, *religion* and earlier *cultural nationalism*.
- Last time: *There is radical policy change between 2 periods: 1925-40 and 1940-55. This change may explain break in sequential causality. Now?*

Further steps

- More problems than solutions. New data?
New sample? New models?

- THANK YOU
- FOR YOUR ATTENTION!