

Capitalism and Nationalism in West and East Europe

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Social Context

- After collapse of communist system national tensions became to play substantial role in politics and in reactions of part of population in all ex-communist countries.
- Two anti- communist ideologies were predicted to determine post-totalitarian Europe: European cosmopolitanism on the one hand, and a nationalist ideology on the other.
- A strong subjective longing for national identification is to be expected in the post-communist countries

Research questions

- Do a nationalist sentiments and intolerance accompanied by repressive political attitudes toward democracy?
- Do they emerge on account of strong anticapitalistic feelings?
- Do those parts of the population that are particularly affected by the negative outcomes of change have high level of intolerance and latent nationalism?

Theories of Nationalism

- The Authoritarian Personality (Adorno, 1950).
- Democracy, Tolerance, and Nationalism (Keane, 1994).
- Theories of Modernization (Esser, 1988; Nassehi, 1990).
- Marxist Theories of Nationalism (Scheepers, Felling, & Peters, 1989; Todosijevic, 1999).

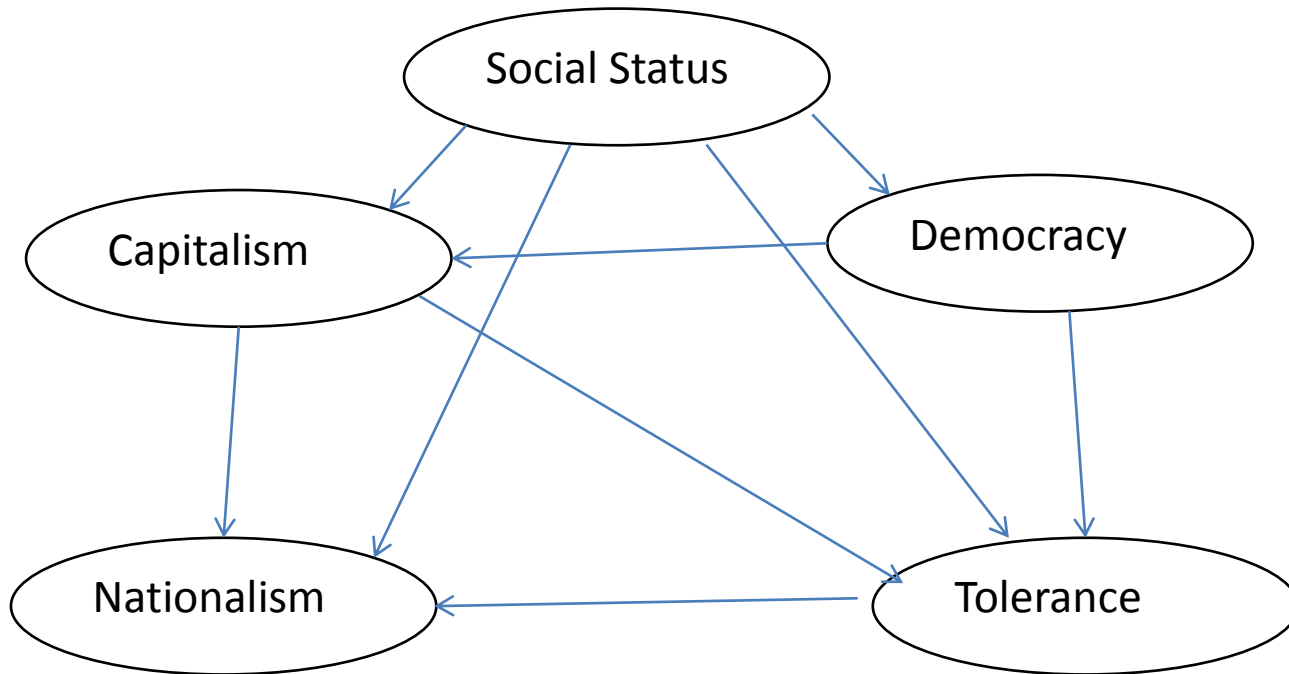
Hypotheses (1)

- Nationalist orientations are affected by ethnic intolerance.
- Ethnic intolerance is preceded by antidemocratic attitudes.
- Nationalist attitudes as well as ethnic intolerance are perceived as a defensive reaction to rapid economic change, with the consequence that neoliberal capitalism is rejected (“trauma of transition”).

Hypotheses (2)

- In the post-communist countries people will be particularly susceptible to nationalist and ethnic attitudes if they are disappointed and deprived with respect to their social status or material conditions.
- High social status will directly correlate with tolerance and approval of democracy.
- It is assumed that a positive relationship exists between democracy and capitalism.

Model



Method and Sample

- East and West Europe countries from 5-th wave of WVS
- East Europe: Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Romania, Slovenia, Poland, Serbia.
- West Europe countries: Finland, France, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, Italy, Spain, Netherlands, Germany.

Key concepts

- Attitude toward market liberalism ("capitalism")
- Attitude toward democratic principles ("democracy")
- Ethnic tolerance/intolerance ("tolerance")
- Nationalism
- Social position ("social status").

Capitalism

- “Incomes should be made more equal or We need larger income differences as incentives for individual effort”.
- “Private ownership of business and industry should be increased or Government ownership of business and industry should be increased”
- “Government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for or People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves”.
- “Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas or Competition is harmful. It brings out the worst in people”

Democracy

- People choose their leaders in free elections.
- Civil rights protect people from state oppression.
- People obey their rulers.
- Women have the same rights as men.

Nationalism/Ethnic Intolerance

Nationalism:

- Proud of nationality.
- Willingness to fight for country
- I see myself as citizen of the country

Ethnic Intolerance:

- Don't like to have as neighbors people of a different race
- Don't like to have as neighbors immigrants/foreign workers
- Don't like to have as neighbors people of other religion

Social Status

- Education

Education is operationalized by the highest level of completed education (8 points scale)

- Income

10 points scale

- Profession situation

Profession situation is represented by the categories

"unskilled worker," "skilled worker/foreman,"

"employee/lower- and higher-level official," "farmer (employed/self-employed)," and

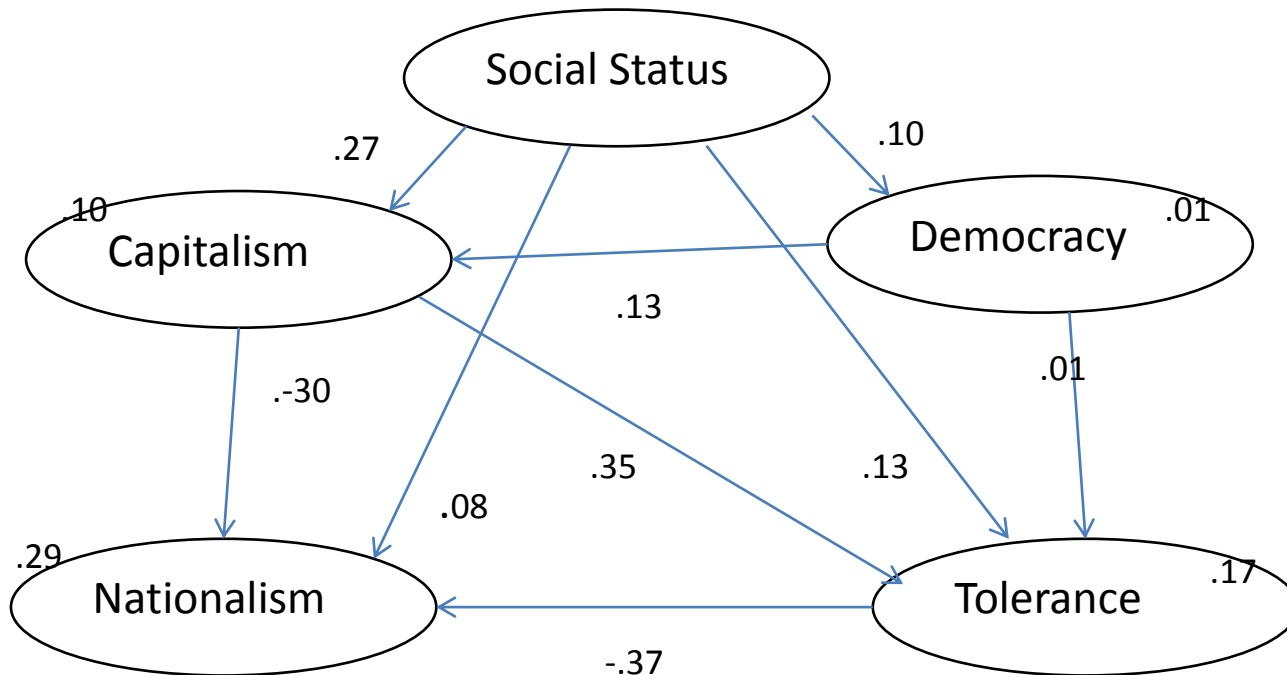
"freelancer/entrepreneur"

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Factor	Variables				GFI	RMSEA
Capitalism	cap1	cap2	cap3	cap4		
East	0.62	0.29	0.61	0.65	0.993	0.08
West	0.58	0.17	0.47	-0.61	0.995	0.07
Democracy	dem1	dem2	dem3	dem4		
East	0.55	0.72	0.68	0.49	0.998	0.02
West	0.61	0.69	0.69	0.41	0.989	0.12
Nationalism	nat1	nat2	nat3			
East	0.08	0.57	0.8		0.998	0.03
West	0.39	0.71	0.66		0.997	0.02
Tolerance	tol1	tol2	tol3			
East	0.51	0.75	0.77		0.990	0.1
West	0.67	0.61	0.75		0.994	0.08
Social Status	edu	prof	income			
East	0.62	0.92	0.45		0.992	0.23
West	0.44	0.90	0.53		0.993	0.22

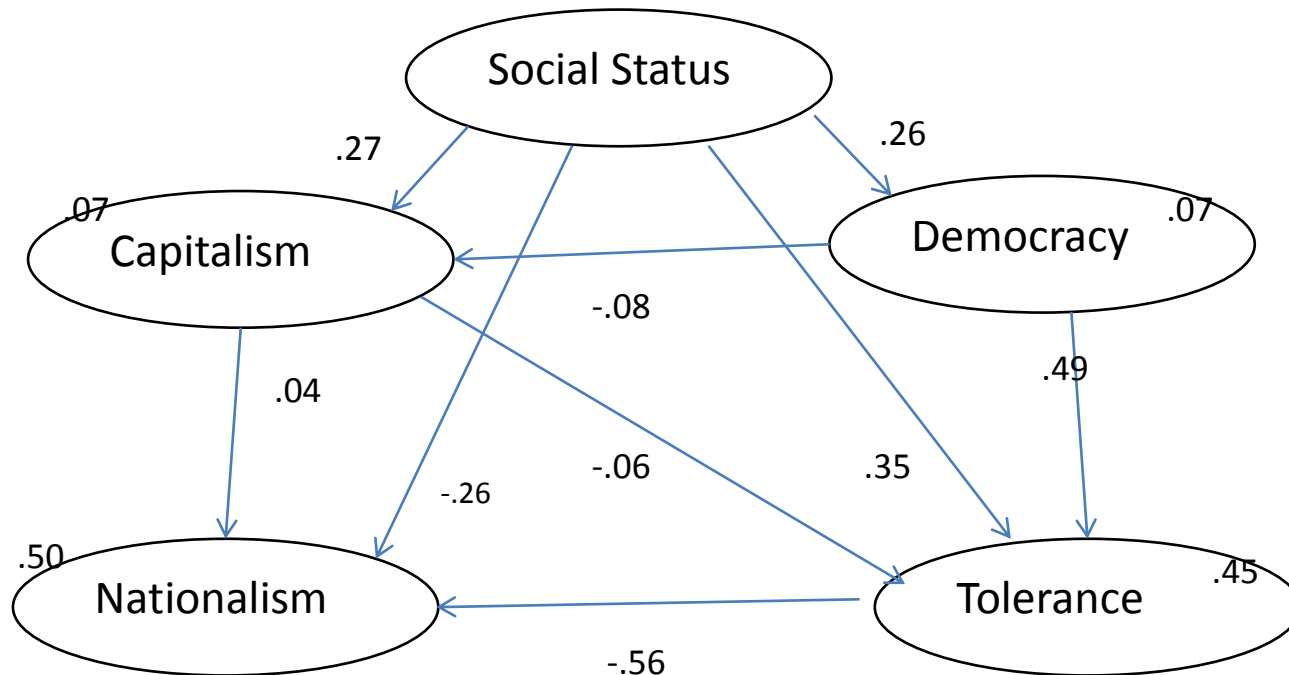
SEM for Post-Communist Countries

GFI=0.963, RMSEA=0.034



SEM for West European Countries

GFI=0.956, RMSEA=0.043



Summary

- In the post- communist countries, the results support the hypothesis that nationalism stems from a resentment against the economic rationalization of society, which is mainly held by people with lower social status. But support of democratic values is independent of social status, and no impact of democratic orientation on ethnic tolerance.
- In West Europe countries the hypothesis concerning the importance of democratic principles was verified, and the supposed effect of individuals' social status on the variables was demonstrated in the model. But the positive attitude toward market capitalism had no negative effects on nationalism.

Discussion

- The present findings support essential parts of "traditional" theories of nationalism.
- The nationalist "we-feeling" is argued to compensate social disintegration. The lower classes, people who suffer from unsatisfactory material standards, will react with skepticism or rejection of the capitalist system. They are susceptible to politics that promises economic intervention in combination with nationalist appeals and ethnic intolerance.
- In West Europe countries, conversely, neocapitalist principles do not conflict with nationalist feeling. Nationalist values are observed to correspond with neoliberal capitalistic principles and a high level of ethnic intolerance.

Thank you for your attention!