

# Capitalism and Nationalism in West and East Europe

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# Social Context

- After the change of system in east-central Europe, national and ethnic conflicts broke out in virtually all countries in the region.
- In some countries, for example, Hungary, the Czech and Slovak republics, and Poland, such conflicts emerged less violently than in other eastern and southeastern European regions, for example, former Yugoslavia countries.
- National tensions, however, played a substantial role in politics and in reactions on the part of the populations in all post-communist.
- The Slovaks and Czechs have dissolved their common union of state; national minorities within state borders have generated a form of "homeland nationalism," particularly in the Slovak Republic and Hungary (Brubaker, 1995; Gartner, 1997; Nelson, 1999).
- Xenophobia and reemergent antisemitism have become virulent in all post-communist countries (European Commission, 1996; Hockenos, 1993).

# Key aims

- (1) assessment and analysis of nationalistic motivational positions, and determination of the extent of national and ethnic intolerance;
- (2) analysis of national orientation in the context of ideologies and social origins.

# 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 (1)

## Democracy, Tolerance, and Nationalism

- The Authoritarian Personality (Adorno, 1950).
- Nations, Nationalism and Citizens in Europe. (Keane, 1994).
- Modernity and ambivalence.(Bauman, 1991)
- Theories of Modernization (Esser, 1988; Nassehi, 1990).
- Marxist Theories of Nationalism(Scheepers, Felling, & Peters, 1989; Todosijevic, 1999).

# Theories of Nationalism (2)

## Social Class, Attitude Toward Market Capitalism, and Nationalism

- Classical theories of nationalism: Karl Mannheim (1958), Dahrendorf (1966)
- The theory of insufficiencies: Habermas (1973) Esping-Andersen (1999), Laclau (1977)
- Marxist theory (Myrdal, 1963)
- Right-wing populism (Hall & Jacques, 1989), (Loch, 2001).

# Key concepts

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

# Hypotheses (1)

- Relationship between tolerance and nationalism. Nationalist orientations are affected by ethnic intolerance.
- Relationship between democracy and tolerance. Ethnic intolerance is preceded by antidemocratic attitudes.
- Relationship between capitalism and nationalism/ethnic intolerance.

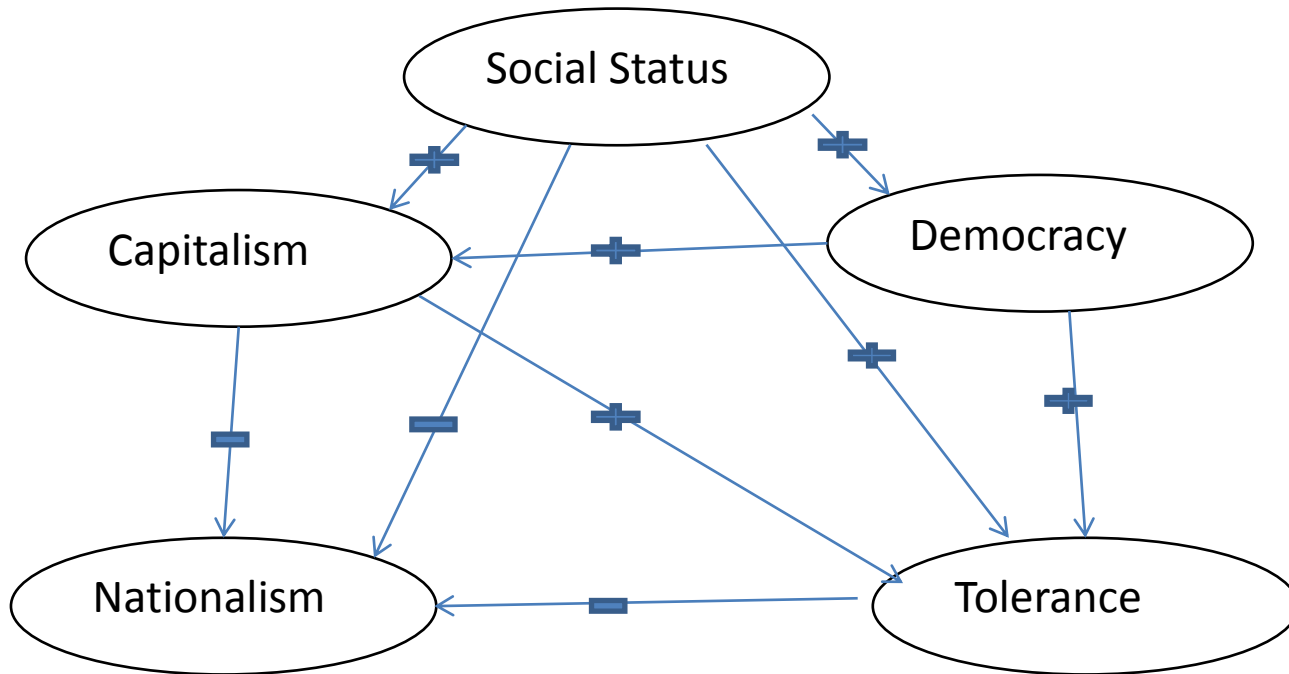
Nationalist attitudes as well as ethnic intolerance are perceived as a defensive reaction to rapid economic change, with the consequence that neoliberal capitalism is rejected (“trauma of transition”).



# Hypotheses (2)

- Relationship between the social situation of the individual and nationalism/ethnic intolerance.  
Higher social situation and support of capitalist principles is expected to maintain in the post-communist countries
- Relationship between social situation and democratic orientation  
High social status will directly correlate with tolerance and approval of democracy.
- Relationship between social situation and capitalism  
Working class is economically leftist, upper class is politically leftist
- Relationship between democracy and capitalism  
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.
- Structure Equations Model

# Capitalism

- “People can only get rich at the expense of others or Wealth can grow so there’s enough for everyone”“.
- “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 can change the laws in referendums.
- 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
- I don't trust people of other nationality

# Social Status

- Education

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

- Income

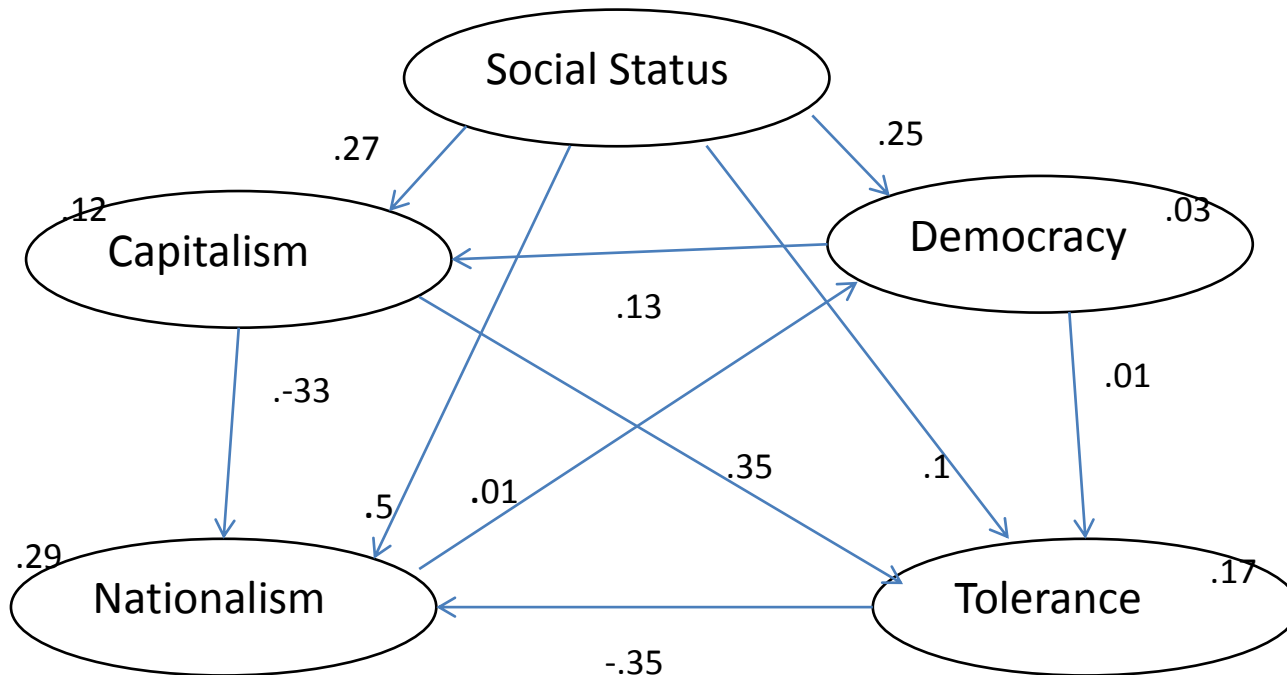
10 points scale

- 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"

# SEM for Post-Communist Countries

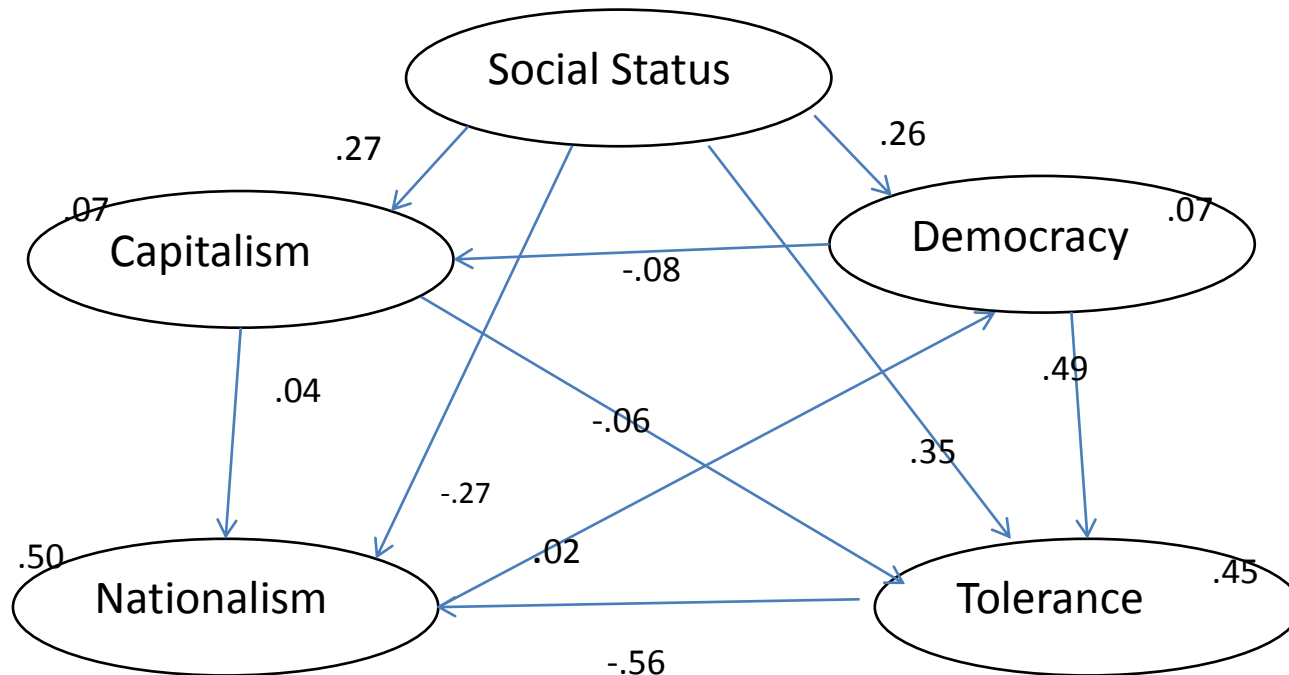
GFI=0.963, RMSEA=0.034





# SEM for Western 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!