

**Nationalists at Work:
Nationalism, Work Ethic, and
Social Change in Cross-Cultural
Comparative Perspective**

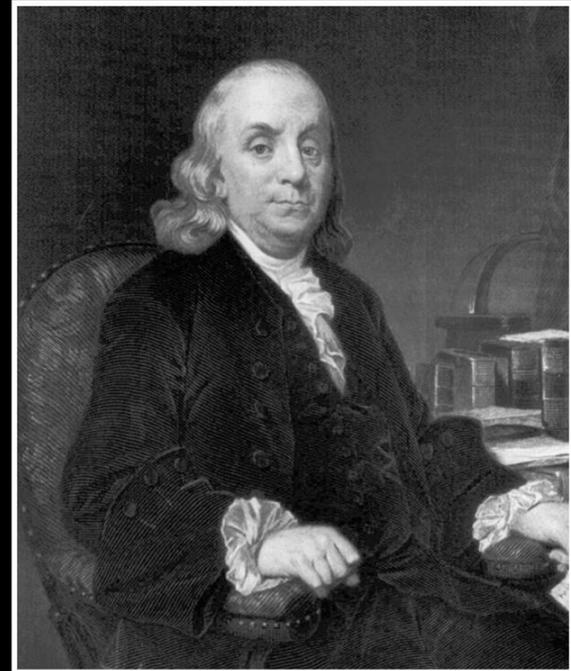
Marharyta Fabrykant

St. Petersburg, 2014

Outline:

- Rationale and theoretical background
- Concept and hypotheses
- Modeling and operationalizing cross-lagged regressions
- Cross-country differences in nationalism and work ethics
- Testing interdependencies and the modernization effect

WWW.THEFEDERALISTPAPERS.ORG



HARD WORK

“Human Felicity is produc'd not so much by great Pieces of good Fortune that seldom happen, as by little Advantages that occur every Day” - Benjamin Franklin

Rationale:

- Why do people who hardly pay any attention to national identities in their everyday life readily sacrifice their lives for the sake of the nation?
- Why do people readily sacrifice their lives for the nation, but follow their own interest until asked for sacrifice? (e.g. where is “banal nationalism”?)
- Does nationalism make it easier to sacrifice the whole than the part?

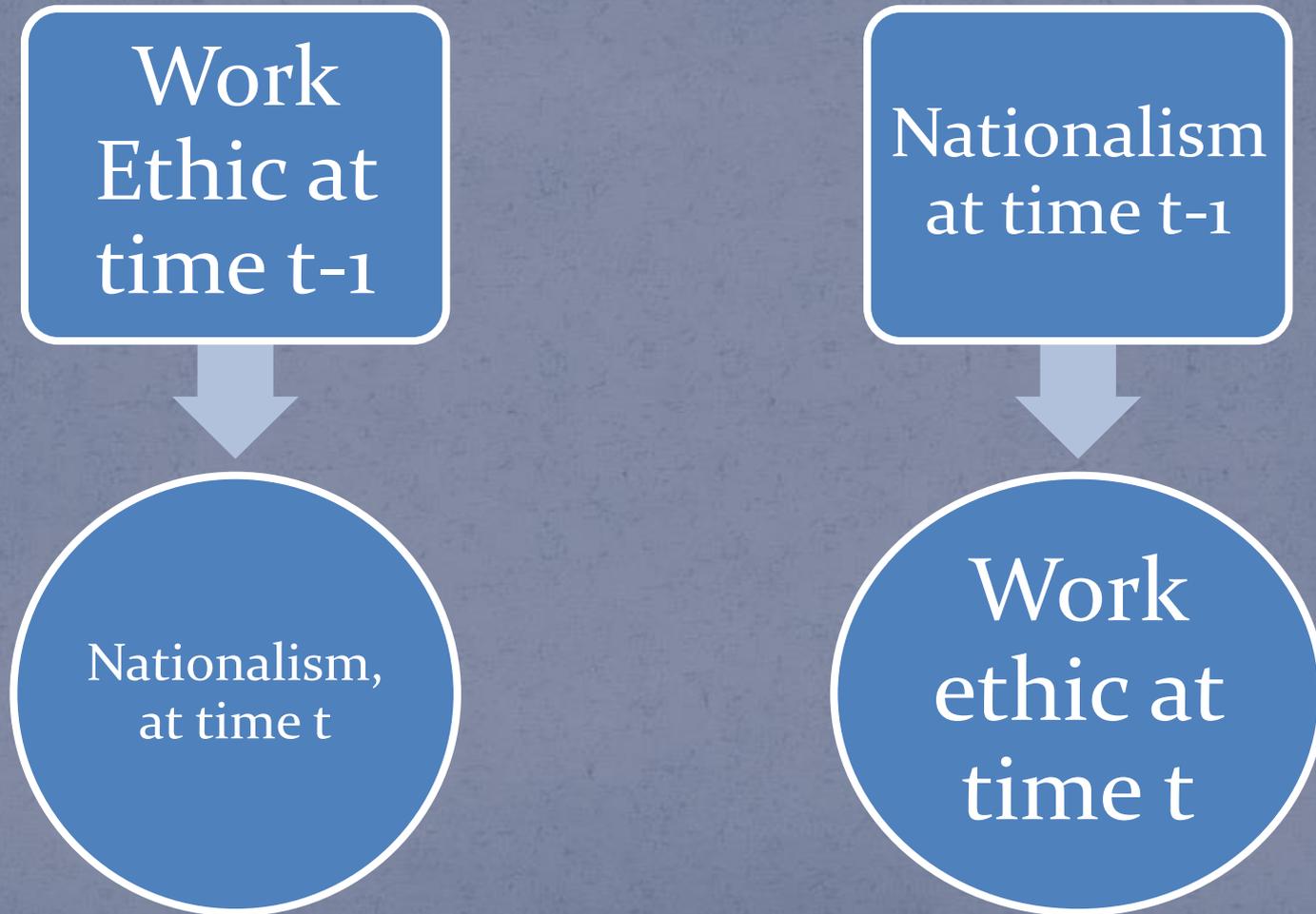
Theoretical Background:

- Greenfeld “The Spirit of Capitalism: Nationalism and Economic Growth” (2003) : nationalism inspires modern(ist) capitalist work ethics via promoting the notions of work as duty (towards the nation) AND the view of the nation as an ideal environment for getting a reward for individual input.
- Inglehart (1997): postmodernization shifts the emphasis from work as duty towards work as creative self-expression (“not harder, but smarter”).

Therefore:

- 1) What primarily causes what?**
- 2) At what stage of modernization?**

What Effect is Stronger?



Hypotheses

- H1: both nationalism and work ethic are currently changing in two opposite directions – decreasing in the countries that used to be relatively higher on them, and increasing in the countries that used to be relatively lower on nationalism and work ethic.
- H2: a country's level on nationalism for an earlier period is a stronger predictor of that country's work ethic at a later period than vice versa.
- H3: the relation between work ethic and nationalism must be wholly moderated by modernization level: both nationalism and work ethic are higher in countries with lower scores on objective indicators of modernization level and have no impact on each other when controlled for a country's current modernization level.

Nationalism Items in WVS-6 (2010-2014) and WVS-5 (2005-2007)

- “How proud are you of your nationality? 1 – very proud, 2 – rather proud, 3 – not very proud, 4 – not at all proud”.
- “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? 1 – yes, 2 – no”.
- ”People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Using this card, would you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself?.. I see myself as part of the [a country’s nationality] nation. 1 – strongly agree, 2 – agree, 3 – disagree, 4 – strongly disagree”.

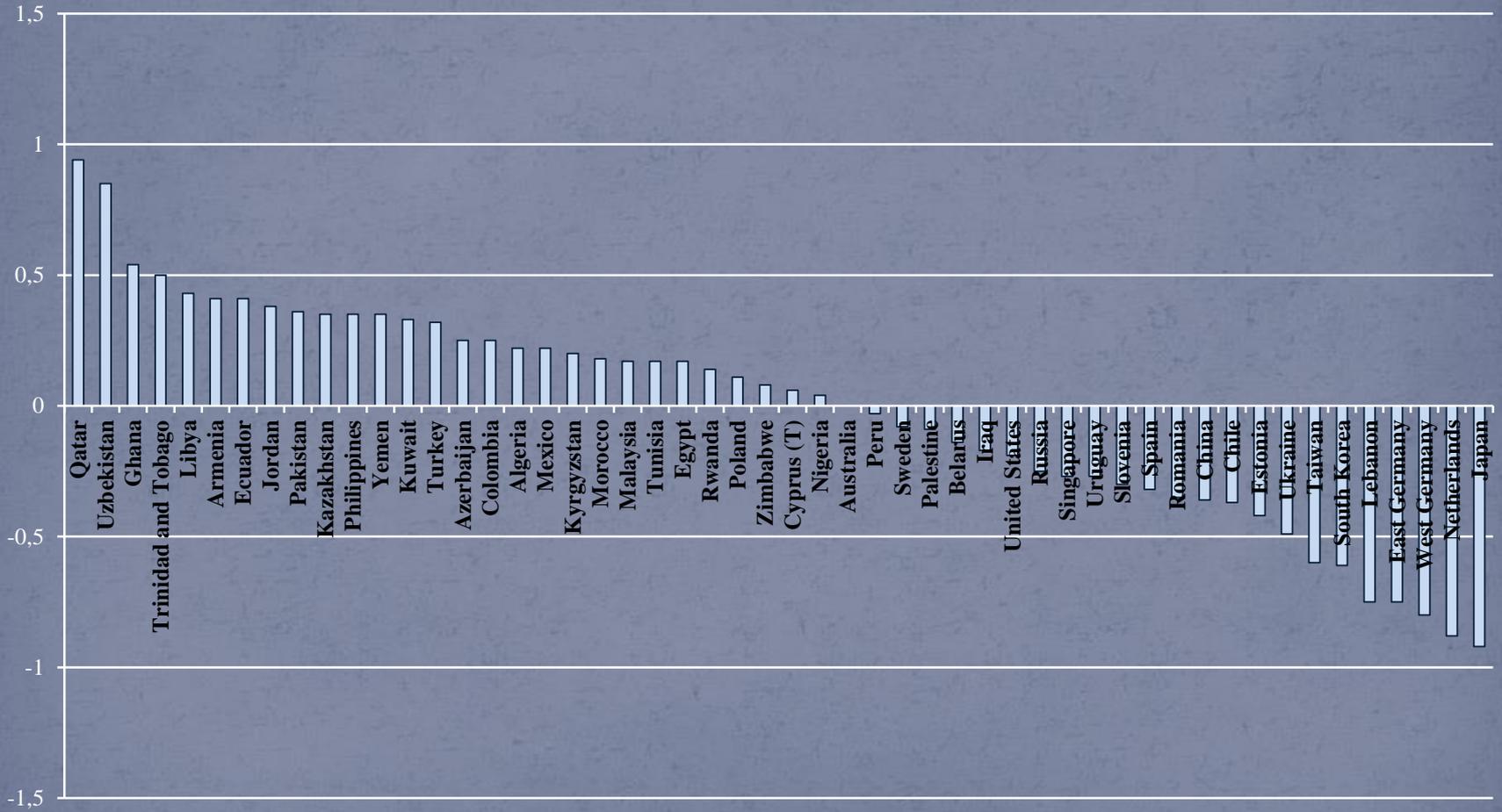
Work Ethic Items in WVS-6 (2010-2014) and WVS-5 (2005-2007)

- “For each of the following, indicate how important it is in your life. Would you say it is... 1 – very important, 2 – rather important, 3 – not very important, 4 – not at all important... Work”.
- “Here is a list of qualities that children can be encouraged to learn at home. Which, if any, do you consider to be especially important? Please choose up to five!.. Hard work... 1 – mentioned, 2 – not mentioned”.
- “Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between...1 – In the long run, hard work usually brings a better life 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 – Hard work doesn't generally bring success—it's more a matter of luck and connections”.

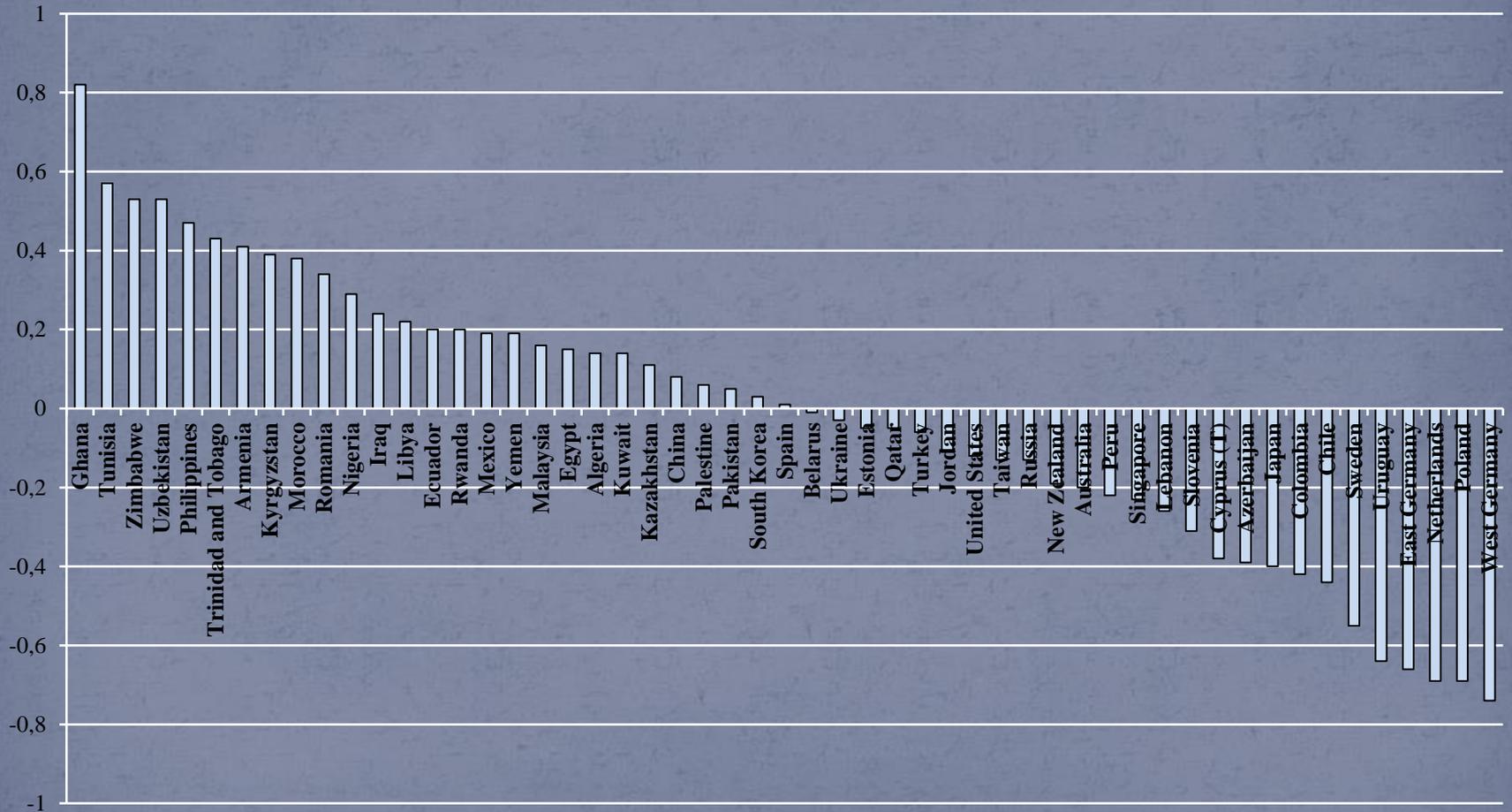
Individual-level PCA, WVS-6

Variable	Factor loading	Variable	Factor loading
willingness to fight for your country	0,53	important in life: work	0,59
how proud of nationality	0,78	Important child qualities: hard work	0,54
I see myself as a citizen of my nation	0,74	hard work brings success	0,67
<i>Percent of variance</i>	<i>48%</i>	<i>Percent of variance</i>	<i>36%</i>

Country Scores on Nationalism, WVS-6



Country Means on Work Ethic, WVS-6



Country-level Correlations between Scores for WVS -5 and Change from WVS-5 to WVS-6

Estimate	Correlation
National pride	-0.47**
Willingness to fight for the country	-0.72***
National identity	-0.13
Importance of work	-0.54**
Hard work important child quality	-0.24
Hard work brings success	-0.57**

Multilevel Regression Models for Nationalism

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Individual level variables					
Gender	-0.107***	-0.107***	-0.100***	-0.107***	-0.108***
Age	0.005***	0.005***	0.005***	0.005***	0.005***
Education	-0.072***	-0.072***	-0.073***	-0.072***	-0.071***
Employment status	-0.003	-0.003	-0.007	-0.003	-0.003
Income level	0.016**	0.016**	0.017**	0.016**	0.016**
Country level variables					
Importance of work, WVS-5	0.922**	-	-	-0.532	0.424
Important child qualities: work, WVS-5	-	0.378	-	-	-
Hard work brings success, WVS-5	-	-	1.427	-	-
GDP per capita	-	-	-	-0.001***	-
HDI	-	-	-	-	-1.620
Area	0	0	0	0	0
<i>N1</i>	36158	36158	35115	36158	36158
<i>N2</i>	30	30	29	30	30
<i>AIC</i>	97550	97555	94391	97570	97544
<i>BIC</i>	97635	97640	94476	97663	97638

Multilevel Regression Models for Work Ethic (part 1)

	M-I	M-II	M-III	M-IV	M-V
Individual level variables					
Gender	-0.081***	-0.081***	-0.081***	-0.081***	-0.081***
Age	-0.001*	-0.001*	-0.001*	-0.001*	-0.001*
Education	-0.016	-0.016	-0.016	-0.016	-0.016
Employment status	0.259***	0.259***	0.259***	0.259***	0.259***
Income level	0.012**	0.012**	0.012**	0.012**	0.012**
Country level variables					
national pride, WVS-5	0.586*	-	-	0.384	0.243
willingness to fight, WVS-5	-	0.732*	-	-	-
national identity, WVS-5	-	-	0.567**	-	-
GDP per capita	-	-	-	-0.001*	-
HDI	-	-	-	-	-1.588**
Area	0	0	0	0	0
<i>N1</i>	40449	40449	40449	40449	40449
<i>N2</i>	31	31	31	31	31
<i>AIC</i>	108456	108455	108457	108474	108448
<i>BIC</i>	108543	108541	108543	108569	108543

Multilevel Regression Models for Work Ethic (part 2)

	M-VI	M-VII	M-VIII	M-IX
Individual level variables				
Gender	-0.081***	-0.081***	-0.081***	-0.081***
Age	-0.001*	-0.001*	-0.001*	-0.001*
Education	-0.016	-0.016	-0.016	-0.016
Employment status	0.259***	0.259***	0.259***	0.259***
Income level	0.012**	0.012**	0.012**	0.012**
Country level variables				
national pride, WVS-5	-	-	-	-
willingness to fight, WVS-5	0.461	0.369	-	-
national identity, WVS-5	-	-	0.428	0.299
GDP per capita	-0.001***	-	-0.001***	-
HDI	-	-1.529***	-	-1.623**
Area	<0.001	0	0	0
<i>N1</i>	40449	40449	40449	40449
<i>N2</i>	31	31	31	31
<i>AIC</i>	108474	108488	108474	108448
<i>BIC</i>	108569	108542	108568	108543

Conclusions (1)

The change in the country scores on both nationalism and work ethic from 2005 to 2013 follows reverse patterns in modernizing and modernized countries. For both nationalism and work ethic, countries with relatively low and relatively high scores change places. As a result, in the contemporary world the countries with relatively lower GDP per capita relatively higher not only on nationalism, but also, unexpectedly, on work ethic than more economically advanced countries.

Conclusions (2)

Nationalism and work ethic are not related to each other symmetrically, each one equally reinforcing the other. The research results show that nationalism influences work ethic stronger than vice versa. This outcome confirms the notion of nationalism inspiring hopes for the future reward from the shared well-being of a nation combined with the present duty to contribute to the nation and make sacrifice. The reverse effect, however, appears to be much weaker, because, once the nationalism-inspired mobilization succeeds, nationalism and then the earlier protestant work ethic lose momentum and give way to other, more contemporary values of the late modernity.

Conclusions (3)

The stronger impact of nationalism on work ethic and weaker reverse influence of work ethic on nationalism do not operate at a statistically significant level outside of the modernization process. The fact that the positive relation between work ethic and nationalism is wholly moderated by modernization places a restriction upon the possibilities of nationalist propaganda as a tool of mass mobilization. As a society enters the late modernity, its ruling elite loses the once powerful tool of nationalist mobilization as a response to setbacks in a country's well-being.



**Thank you for your
attention!**