

Nationalists at Work: Nationalism, Protestant Work Ethic, and Modernization in Cross-Cultural Comparative Perspective

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Rationale

Greenfeld “The Spirit of Capitalism: Nationalism and Economic Growth” (2003): nationalism not only caused by economic modernization and the appearance of capitalism, but also contributed to the initial success of capitalism via fostering a view of work as duty towards the nation.

Mosk (2013): nationalism a necessary driving force behind the start of modernization: collective input without expectations for an immediate rewards. No modernization without nationalism!

But:

Inglehart & Welzel (2005): postmaterialist work ethic replaces protestant work ethic in advanced societies. Self-expression instead of self-sacrifice.

Research objective

The goal:

to discover how nationalism is related to work ethic, in countries at different stages of modernization.

Research question:

Do changes in levels of nationalism primarily cause substitution of one dominant type of work ethic for another, or does adoption by a majority of a different type of work ethic has a stronger influence on the level of nationalism?

Hypotheses:

- (1) Nationalism and protestant work ethic are positively interrelated.
- (2) 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.
- (3) The relation between work ethic and nationalism must be moderated by modernization level: both nationalism and work ethic are higher in countries with lower scores on objective indicators of modernization level and have weaker impact on each other when controlled for a country's current modernization level.

Measurements of Nationalism

World Values Survey, 5th and 6th waves (2005-2007 and 2011-2013)

National pride: “How proud are you of your nationality? 1 – very proud, 2 – rather proud, 3 – not very proud, 4 – not at all proud”.

National identity: “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”.

Willingness to fight for one’s country: “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?” with the answers “ 1 – yes, 2 – no”.

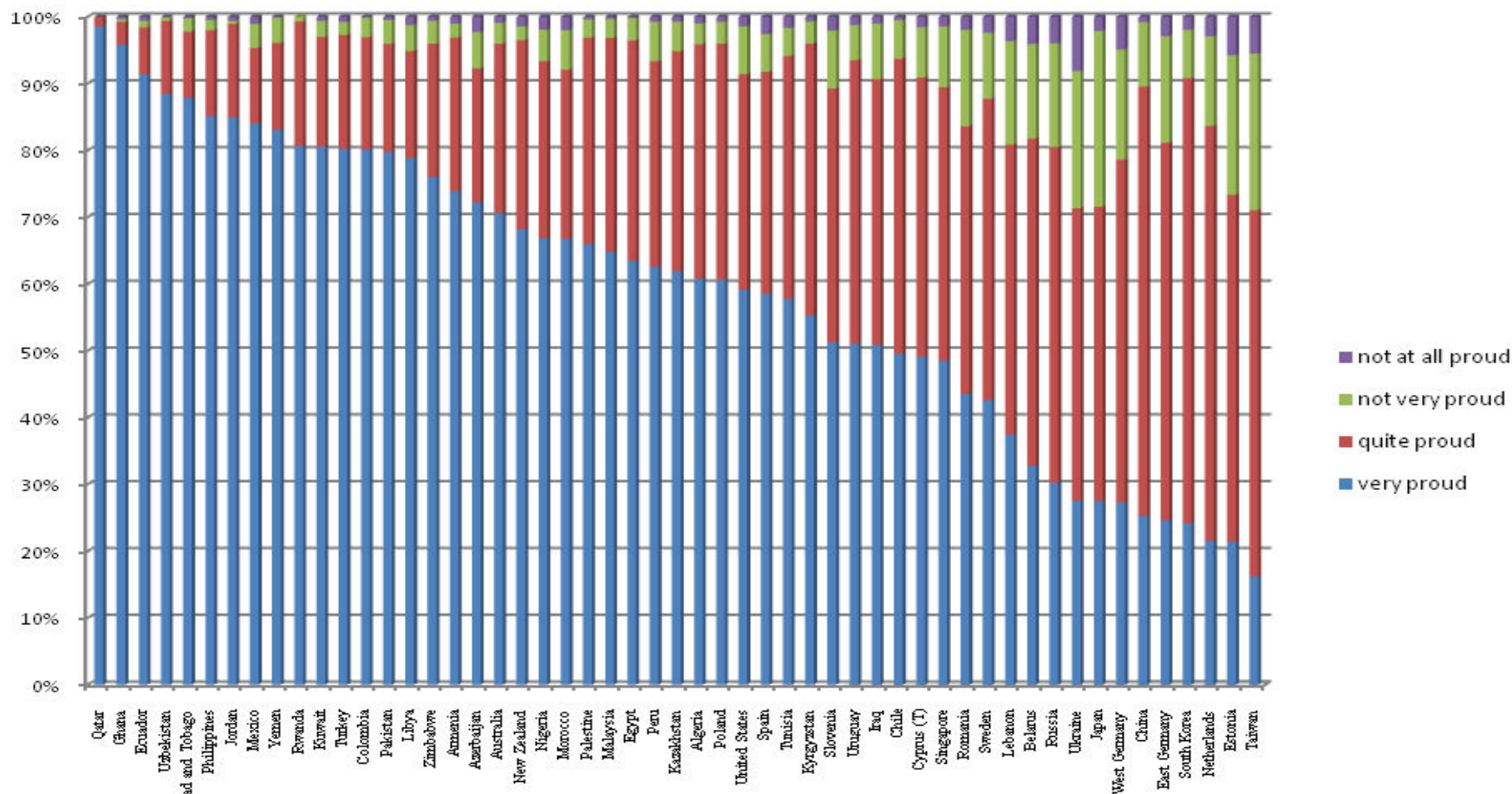
Measurements of Protestant Work Ethic

Importance of work: “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”.

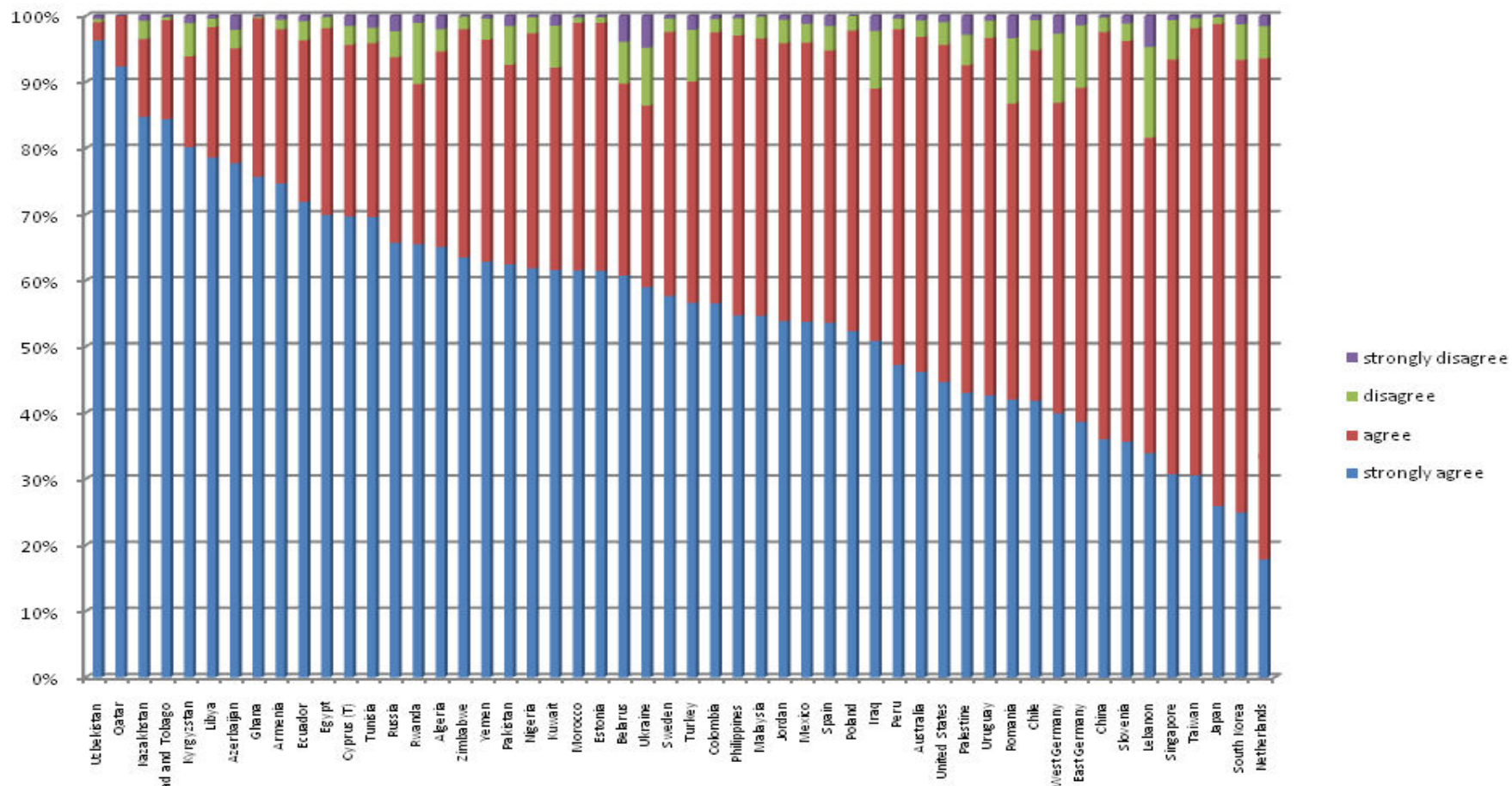
Hard work a desirable child quality: “Here is a list of qualities that children can be encouraged to learn at home. Which, if any, do you consider to be especially important? Please choose up to five!.. Hard work... 1 – mentioned, 2 – not mentioned”.

Hard work as a key to success: “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”.

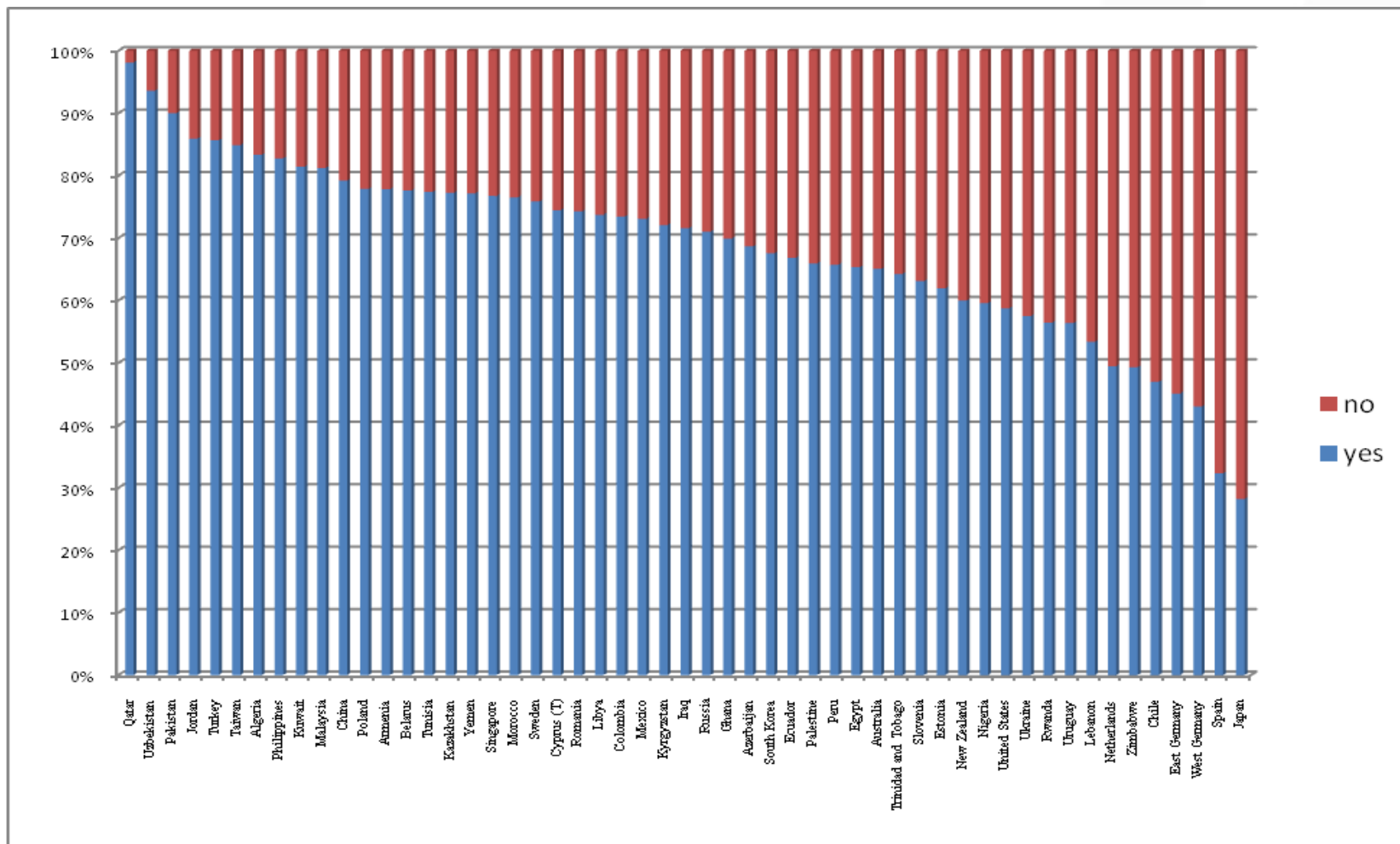
Country Scores on National Pride (Wave 6)



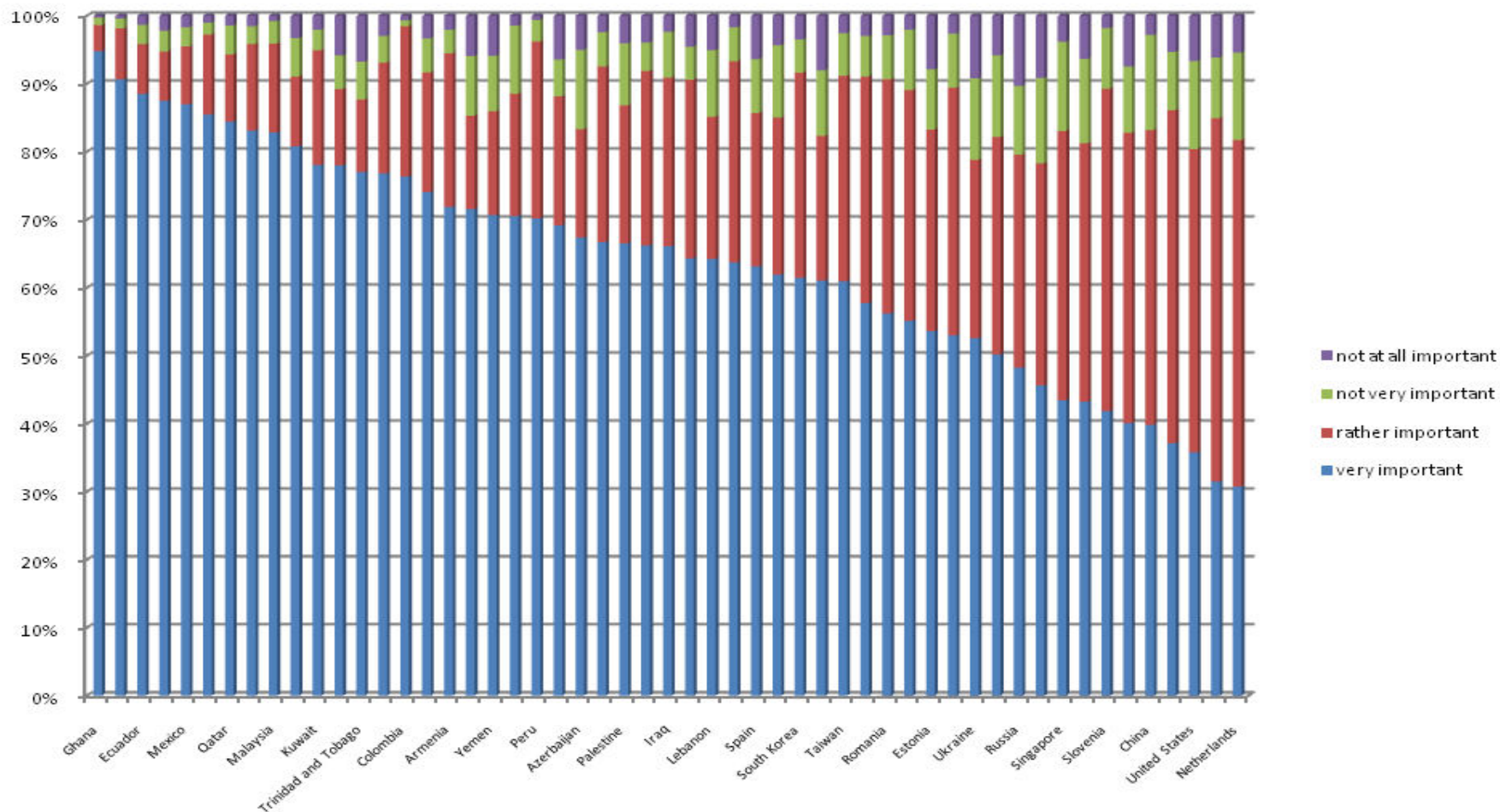
Country Scores on National Identity (Wave 6)



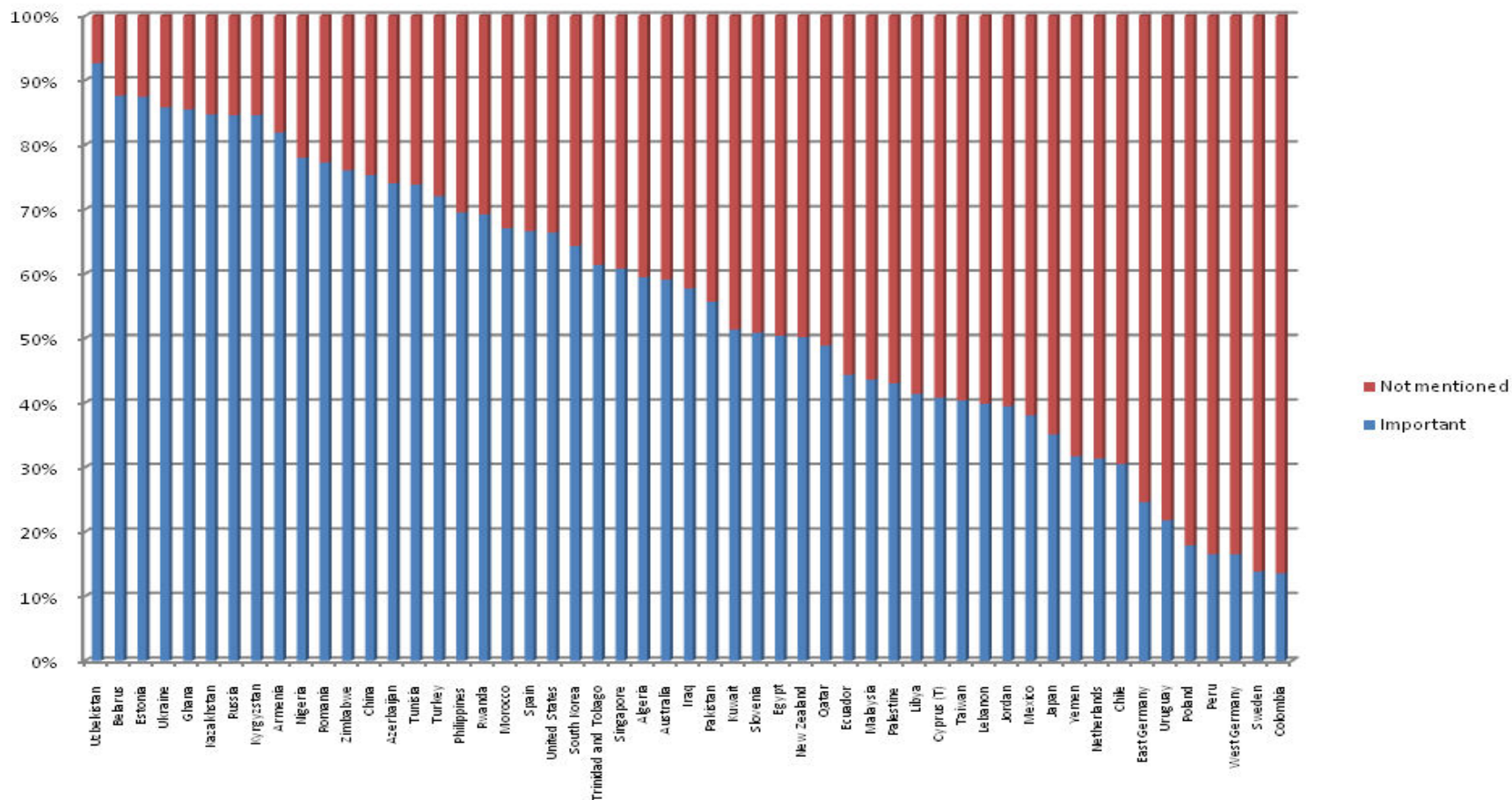
Country Scores on Willingness to Fight (Wave 6)



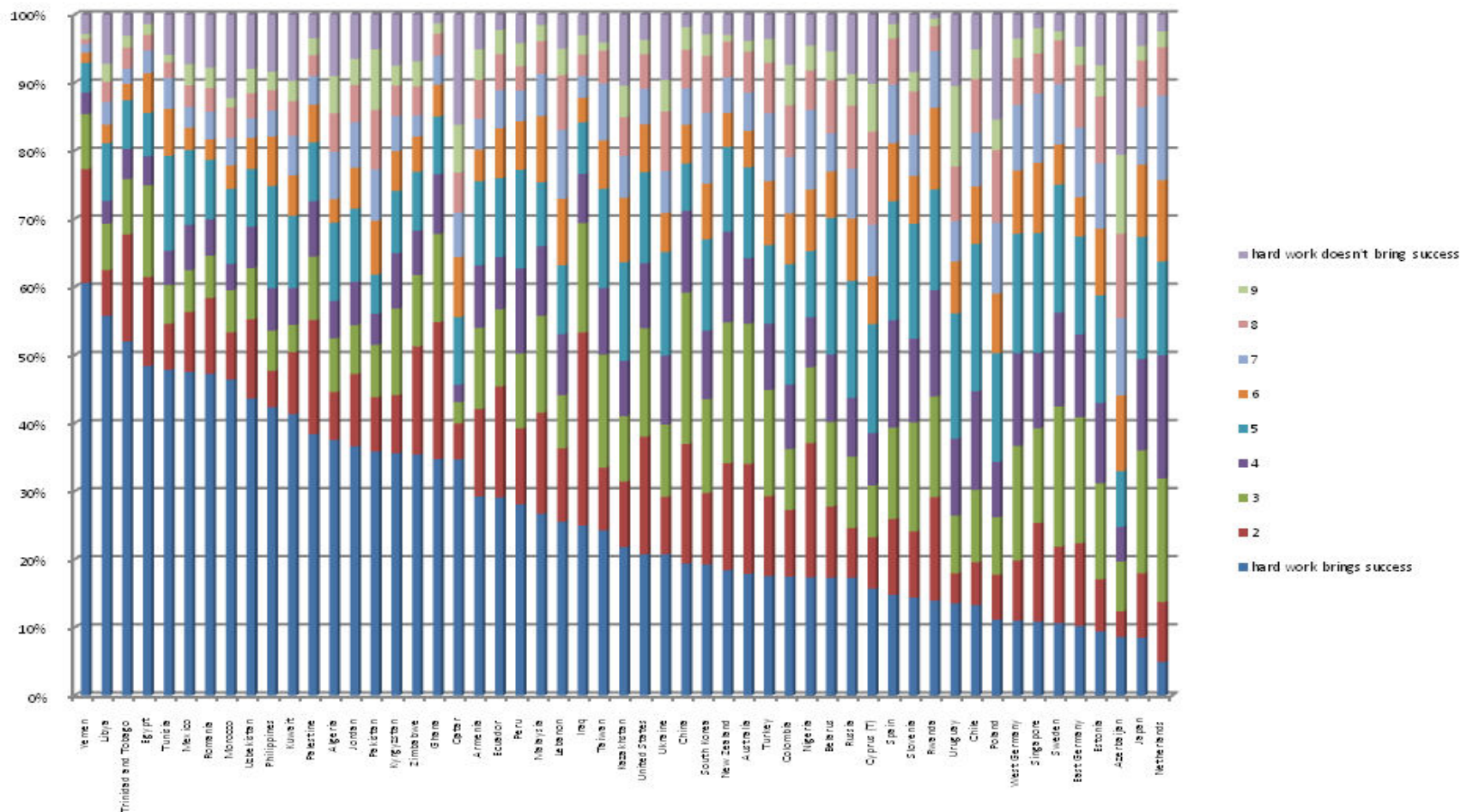
Country Scores on Importance of Work (Wave 6)



Country Scores on Hard Work as a Desirable Child Quality (Wave 6)



Country Scores on Hard Work as a Key to Success (Wave 6)



Multilevel Ordinal Logit Models of National Pride

	NP1	NP2	NP3
Individual level effects			
age	0.009***	0.009***	0.009***
gender (female)	0.036*	0.036*	0.036*
education secondary	-0.106***	-0.106***	-0.106***
education tertiary	-0.295***	-0.295***	-0.295***
employment status (full time)	-0.033	-0.033	-0.033
social class upper	0.458***	0.458***	0.458***
social class upper middle	0.434***	0.434***	0.434***
social class lower middle	0.233***	0.233***	0.233***
social class working	0.241***	0.241***	0.240***
Country-level effects			
work important, wave5	4.978***	-	-
hard work child quality, wave 5	-	-0.310	-
work brings success, wave 5	-	-	3.639**
log GDP per capita	0.121	-0.679	-0.429
N1	65745	65745	65745
N2	53	53	53
AIC	108125	108152	108148
-2 Log Likelihood	-54047	-54061	-54059

Multilevel Ordinal Logit Models of National Identity

	NI1	NI2	NI3
Individual level effects			
age	0.008***	0.008***	0.008***
gender (female)	-0.044**	-0.044**	-0.044**
education secondary	0.037	0.037	0.037
education tertiary	0.064*	0.064*	0.064*
employment status (full time)	0.040*	0.040*	0.040*
social class upper	0.039	0.039	0.039
social class upper middle	0.164***	0.164***	0.164***
social class lower middle	0.062*	0.062*	0.062*
social class working	0.094**	0.094**	0.094**
Country-level effects			
work important, wave5	2.430***	-	-
hard work child quality, wave 5	-	1.098*	-
work brings success, wave 5	-	-	0.669
log GDP per capita	-0.208	-0.395*	-0.520*
N1	65897	65897	65897
N2	53	53	53
AIC	105968	105974	105978
-2 Log Likelihood	-52969	-52972	-52974

Multilevel Binomial Logit Models of Willingness to Fight for Country

	NI1	NI2	NI3
Individual level effects			
age	-0.003***	-0.003***	-0.003***
gender (female)	-0.667***	-0.667***	-0.667***
education secondary	0.080**	0.080**	0.080**
education tertiary	-0.036	-0.036	-0.036
employment status (full time)	0.103***	0.103***	0.103***
social class upper	0.254***	0.254***	0.254***
social class upper middle	0.306***	0.306***	0.306***
social class lower middle	0.215***	0.215***	0.215***
social class working	0.259***	0.259***	0.259***
Country-level effects			
work important, wave5	1.629*	-	
hard work child quality, wave 5	-	0.405	
work brings success, wave 5	-	-	0.705
log GDP per capita	-0.030	-0.218	-0.238
N1	60959	60959	60959
N2	53	53	53
AIC	68676	68680	68680
-2 Log Likelihood	-34325	-34427	-34327

Multilevel Ordinal Logit Models of Importance of Work

	WI1	WI2	WI3
Individual level effects			
age	-0.011***	-0.011***	-0.011***
gender (female)	-0.268***	-0.268***	-0.268***
education secondary	-0.053*	-0.053*	-0.053*
education tertiary	-0.029	-0.029	-0.029
employment status (full time)	-0.676***	-0.675***	-0.676***
social class upper	0.230	0.230	0.230
social class upper middle	0.059	0.059	0.059
social class lower middle	0.020	0.020	0.020
social class working	0.201***	0.201***	0.201***
Country-level effects			
national pride, wave5	2.158***	-	-
national identity, wave 5	-	1.490**	-
willingness to fight, wave 5	-	-	1.747*
log GDP per capita	-0.383*	-0.482**	-0.557**
<i>N1</i>	66453	66453	66453
<i>N2</i>	53	53	53
<i>AIC</i>	115810	115829	115830
<i>-2LogLikelihood</i>	-57890	-57899	-57900

Multilevel Binomial Logit Models of Work as Child Quality

	WS1	WS2	WS3
Individual level effects			
age	0.007***	0.007***	0.007***
gender (female)	-0.145***	-0.145***	-0.145***
education secondary	-0.076**	-0.076**	-0.076**
education tertiary	-0.135***	-0.135***	-0.135***
employment status (full time)	0.051*	0.051*	0.051*
social class upper	0.030	0.030	0.030
social class upper middle	0.037	0.037	0.037
social class lower middle	0.008	0.008	0.008
social class working	0.064	0.064	0.064
Country-level effects			
national pride, wave5	-0.474	-	-
national identity, wave 5	-	1.690*	-
willingness to fight, wave 5	-	-0.540*	0.036
log GDP per capita	-0.856***		-0.783**
N1	67478	67478	67478
N2	53	53	53
AIC	76889	76885	76889
-2LogLikelihood	-38431	-38429	-38431

Multilevel Ordinal Logit Models of Work as Key to Success

	WS1	WS2	WS3
Individual level effects			
age	-0.030***	0.004***	0.004***
gender (female)	-0.268***	-0.031*	-0.031*
education secondary	-0.013	-0.012	-0.012
education tertiary	-0.046*	-0.048*	-0.048*
employment status (full time)	-0.676***	-0.030*	-0.030*
social class upper	0.139*	0.139*	0.139*
social class upper middle	0.225***	0.225***	0.225***
social class lower middle	0.086**	0.086**	0.086**
social class working	0.107***	0.107***	0.107***
Country-level effects			
national pride, wave5	0.956	-	-
national identity, wave 5	-	0.246	-
willingness to fight, wave 5	-	-	0.835
log GDP per capita	-0.263*	-0.386***	-0.371**
<i>N1</i>	66252	66252	66252
<i>N2</i>	53	53	53
<i>AIC</i>	278812	278818	278816
<i>-2LogLikelihood</i>	-139385	-139388	-139387

Multilevel Regressions – General Outcome

	National Identity	National Pride	Willingness to Fight
Work Important	nationalism on work ethic < work ethic on nationalism	nationalism on work ethic < work ethic on nationalism	nationalism on work ethic \approx work ethic on nationalism
Hard Work Child Quality	nationalism on work ethic > work ethic on nationalism	no significant impact either way	no significant impact either way
Hard Work Brings Success	nationalism on work ethic < work ethic on nationalism	nationalism on work ethic < work ethic on nationalism	no significant impact either way

Conclusions (1)

Hypotheses 1 and 3 confirmed. Nationalism and Protestant work ethic are positively related, and the relation is partly mediated by the level of economic development. Modernizing countries score higher on both nationalism and Protestant work ethic than the advanced Western countries.

Conclusions (2)

Hypotheses 2 rejected.

Protestant work ethic is a stronger predictor of nationalism at the later period than vice versa. The relation of nationalism to work ethic at the contemporary modernizing countries is reverse to that attributed to the European early modernity. Work ethic, probably via real or perceived successes, inspires nationalism, which may bring forwards the destructive side of nationalism if a country's performance falls short of the popular expectations. In future, we may expect a division in values and relation between values between currently modernizing countries where the majority of the population accepts the achieved results as matching their input and the countries that fail to fulfill the expectations of success from hard work embedded in the protestant work ethic.



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