
Comparison of patterns of nationalism in Russia and in Europe

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PAPER PRESENTED AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

European identity and political challenges:

Old concept, new vision

*in the framework of Erasmus+
"To be European in Russia: pro and contra"*

Voronezh, 5-7 July 2016

Nationalism after the fall of the state socialism in the world

- n Quick transition to market economy and liberal democracy
 - n Loss of existential and epistemological security
 - n Social frustration
 - n Legitimation crisis
 - n Ideological regression/recycling the past
 - n Imagined empires as a means of legitimation
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Characteristics of the rise of nationalism in Hungary and Russia

- n Ethnic and non civic nationalism
 - n Politics of exclusion
 - n Differentiations against minorities (anti-Semitism, anti-Roma sentiments, xenophobia)
 - n Imperial nationalism in Russia (Post Soviet region)
 - n Spiritual irredentism in Hungary, imagined historical imperial past
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Conceptualization and Operationalization

n Conceptualization

- q Theoretical framework
- q Earlier empirical studies
- q Major dimensions
 - q See Dekker, Csepeli

n Operationalization

- q Attitudes
 - q Scales
 - q Standardization
 - q Comparativeness
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Stock of Knowledge of National Identity Model



ISSP participating countries

International Social Survey Programme 2015



Problems of cross national research method

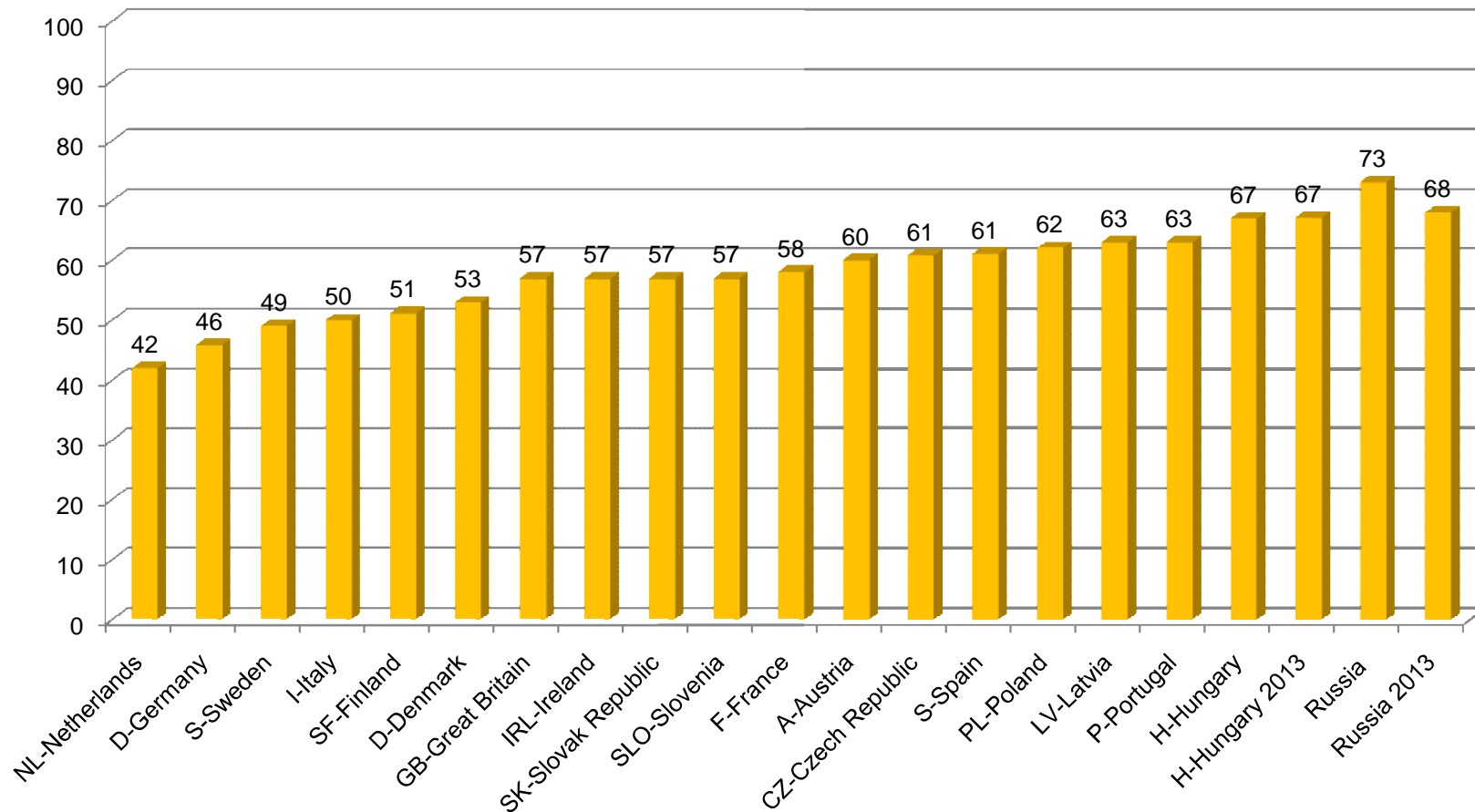
- n socio-demography
 - n rejection
 - n questionnaire
 - n translation
 - n weighting
 - n archiving
 - n merging
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Data

- n Three waves of research
 - n 1995, 2003, 2013
 - n International Social Science Survey Programme
 - n Russia and Hungary has participated in each waves, data already available
 - n Other countries available from 1995, 2003 (data from 2013 just recently came out)
 - n Representative national samples (minimum=1000 in each wave)
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Strength of nationalism in Europe

aggregated 100 point country scale means, 2003



n Items: limit import, follow national interest, foreigners not to buy land, tv prefer local films, large foreign companies danger, international agencies danger, foreign films danger

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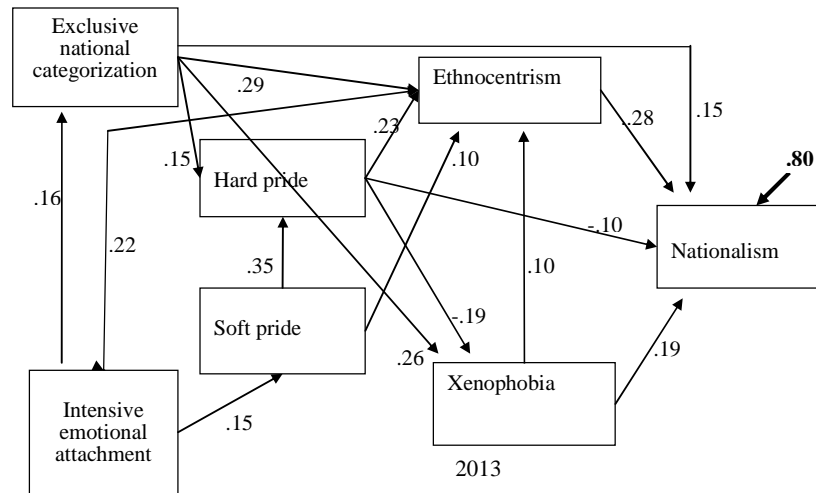
Explanatory model building of national identity

- n Dependent variable: Strength of Nationalism

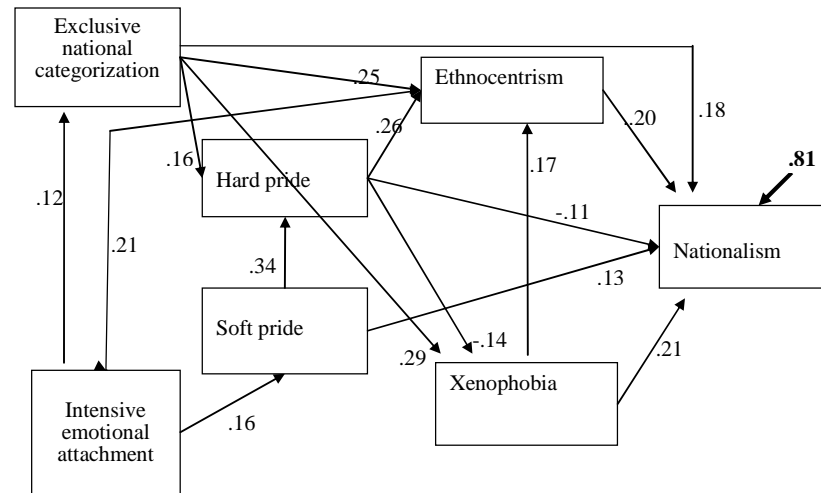
 - n Independent variables:
 - q Emotional attachment, closeness
 - q Exclusive national categorization
 - q National pride, modernity values
 - q National pride, symbolic-cultural values
 - q Xenophobia
 - q Ethnocentrism
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The Hungarian nationalism, linear regression explanatory path models in 1995, 2003, 2013

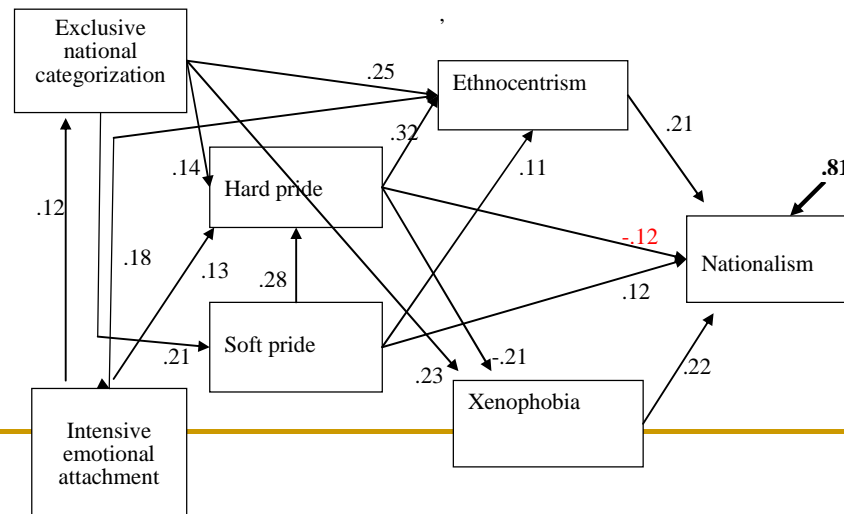
1995



2003



2013

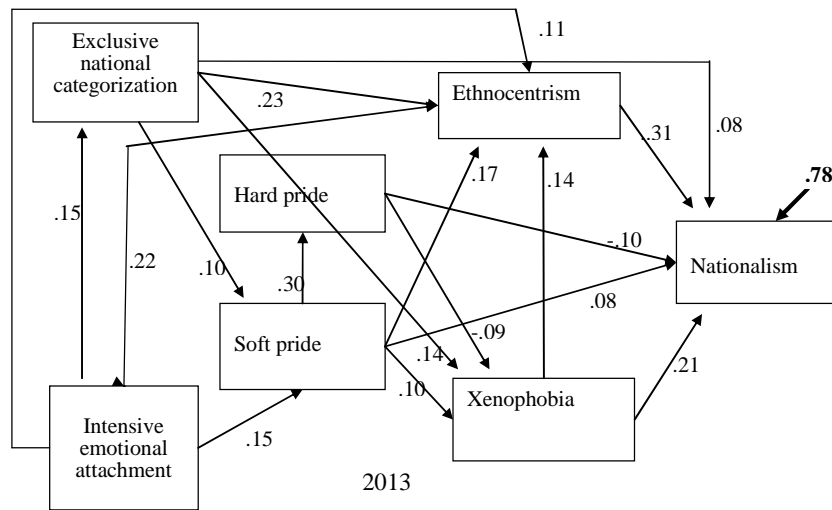


Conclusions from the three path models

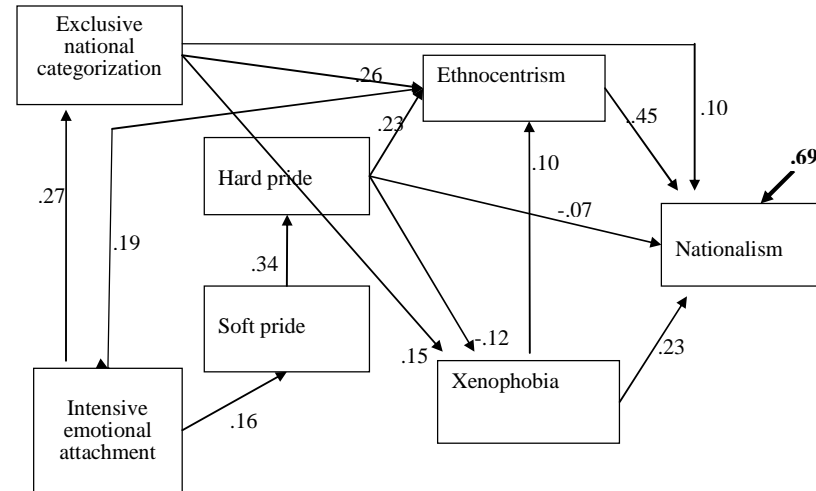
- n Ethnocentrism, exclusive national categorization, and xenophobia lead to increased nationalism
 - n Modern sources of pride decrease nationalism
 - n If modern sources of pride are embedded in relationship with ethnocentrism, then a reverse effect becomes effective leading to nationalism
 - n Inclusive national categorization and modern pride reduce xenophobia, and tend to inhibit nationalism, but only in 2013
 - n Exclusive national categorization was leading directly to nationalism in 1995 and 2003, in 2013 however this relation ceased to exist
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The Russian nationalism, linear regression explanatory path models in 1995, 2003, 2013

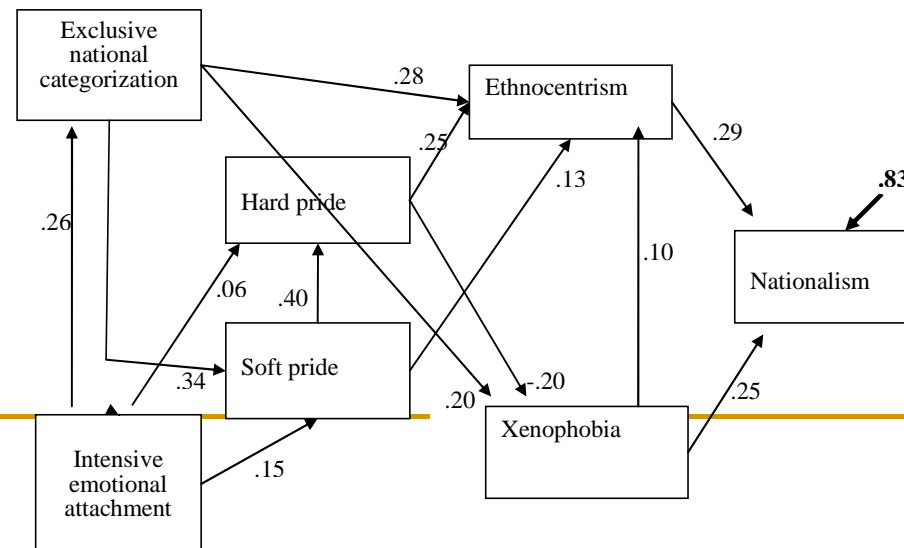
1995



2003



2013



Conclusions from the path models

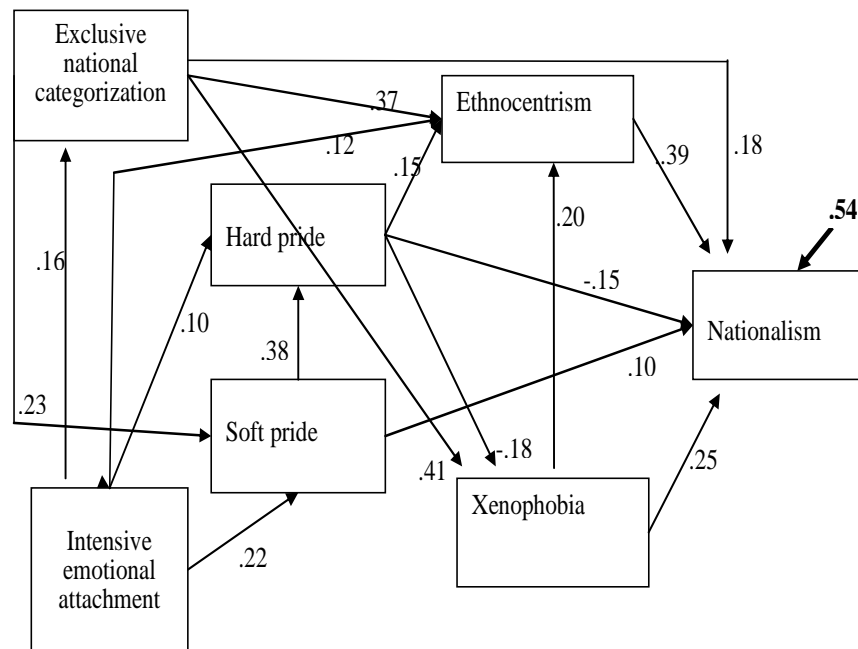
- n The tendencies in Hungary and Russia are pretty similar
 - n As opposed to Hungary the existing and positive relation between xenophobia and ethnocentrism endures between 1995 and 2013
 - n The modern sources of pride tend to reduce xenophobia and consequently nationalism in each period. This effect becomes stronger and stronger with the passing of time
 - n Exclusive national categorization was leading directly to nationalism in 1995 and 2003, in 2013 however this relation ceased to exist
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The linear regression explanatory path model of nationalism in Europe, 2003

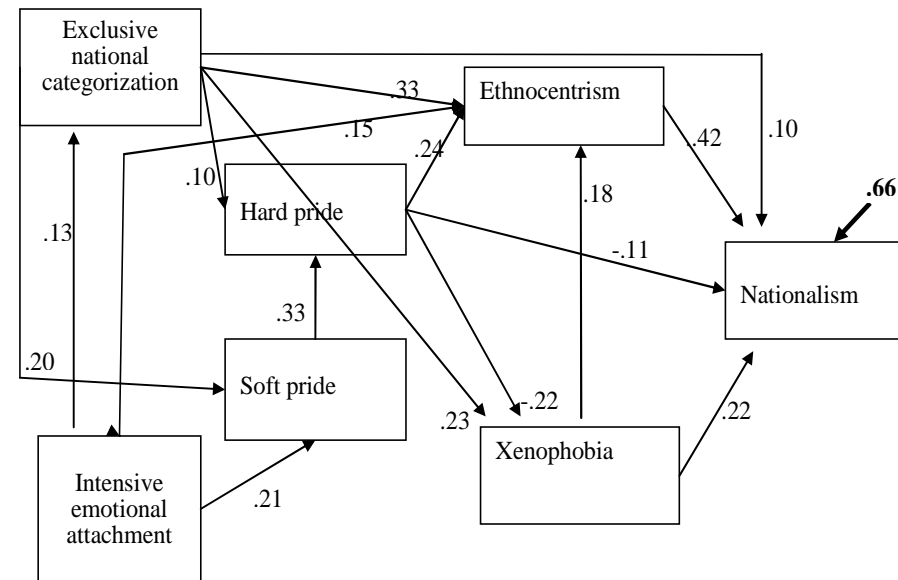
n Western Europe

n Eastern Europe

2003



2003



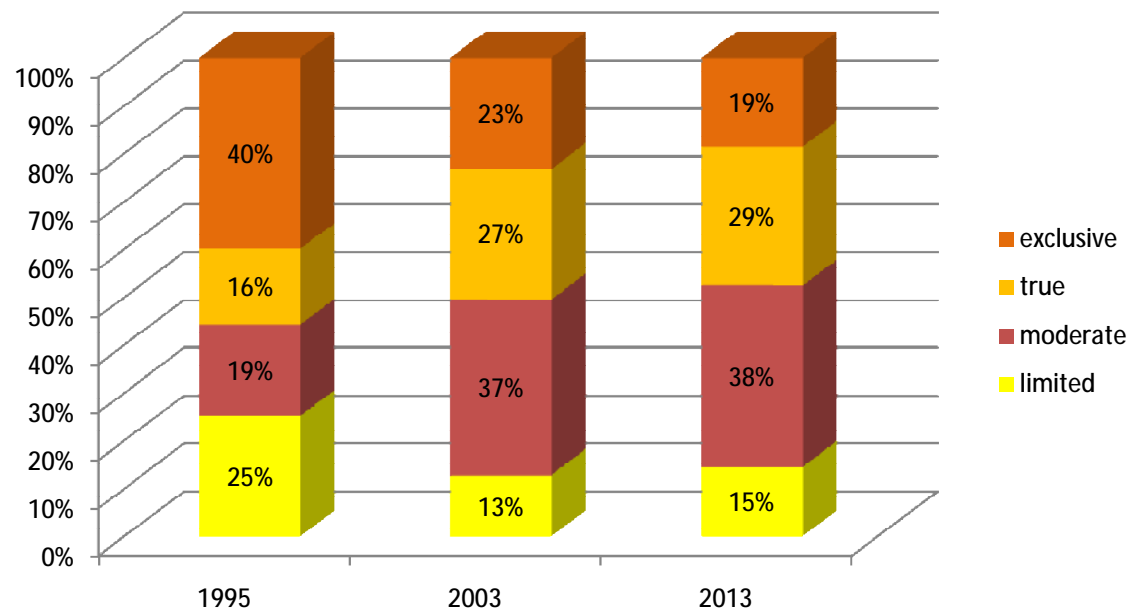
Conclusions of the two path models

- n The structure of path to nationalism is conspicuously similar in East and West (these models do not show how widespread is nationalism in two parts of Europe)
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Clusters of national identity in Hungary in 1995, 2003, 2013

K-mean cluster method

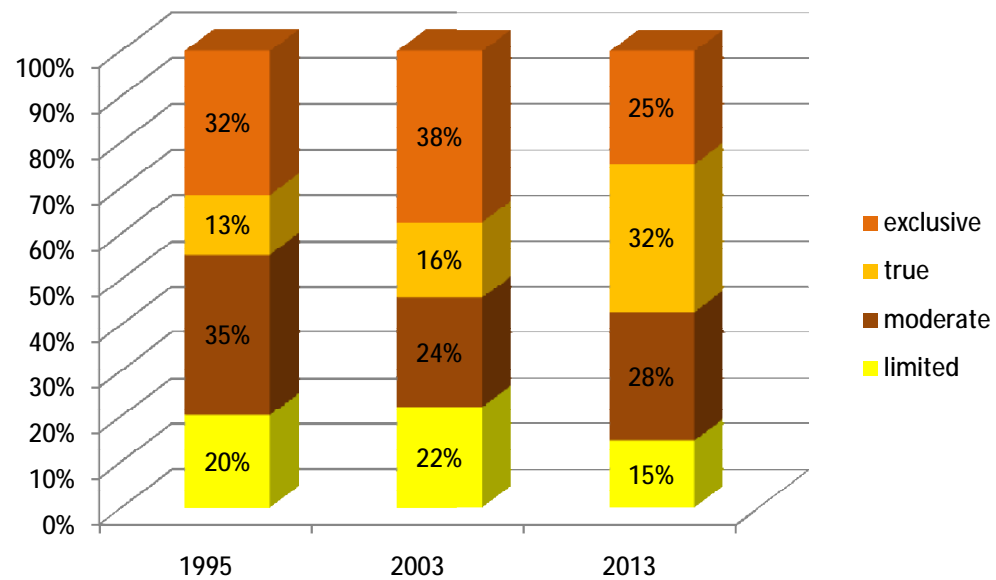
	Nationalism	Ethnocentrism	Xenophobia	Modernity pride	Cultural-symbolic pride	Exclusive categorization	group percent
limited	55	40	59	21	58	52	17.5
moderate	63	62	52	46	71	67	31.3
true	77	76	66	54	77	88	24.0
exclusive	74	61	79	22	58	79	27.1



Clusters of national identity in Russia 1995, 2003, 2013

K-mean cluster method

	Nationalism	Ethnocentrism	Xenophobia	modernity pride	cultural-symbolic pride	exclusive categorization	group percent
moderate	59	54	52	29	70	67	28.2
limited	61	41	61	14	39	61	19.5
exclusive	84	72	79	16	61	83	32.2
true	77	79	63	58	80	85	20.1



Further problems of empirical quantitative research

- Breaking the country units and analyze sub country (regional) levels
- Inclusion of sociodemographic variables
 - In country
 - Cross country levels
 - Dimensions: age, gender, settlement, social status (labor market activity, occupation, education, income, household income, etc.
- Subjective wellbeing
- Comparison of indigenous and migrant populations
- Ethnic attachment
- Language usage
- Non national identity variables: political behavior, party affiliation, religiousness
- Contextual analyses