

Nationalism

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- ▶ What makes a nation?
- ▶ What is nationalism?
- ▶ Different kinds of national identity
- ▶ Decline of nationalism?

What comes before a nation?

Nationalism is a modern (C18th) phenomenon, so what came before?

- ▶ Ruling classes with a (pan-European) culture and small locally distinctive communities of mainly peasants (Gellner)
 - ▶ No national culture specific to and ubiquitous within the political unit, even if there are some shared identities (e.g. Catholicism)
- ▶ Political authority based on personal (king, duke etc.) and dynastic relationships. (Anderson)
- ▶ A corresponding ethnic group: according to primordialists (e.g. Smith)

What created nations? I

- ▶ Modernization (Gellner):
 - ▶ Universal literacy is necessary for modernisation
 - ▶ Education confers identity to everyone
- ▶ Print capitalism (Anderson):
 - ▶ Printing of books/newspapers in the vernacular motivated by profits
 - ▶ Mass reading publics homogenise and stabilise language
 - ▶ Facilitated a shared culture with a common literature
 - ▶ Creation of 'imagined communities'
- ▶ Ruling class inventions (Hobsbawm):
 - ▶ Military competition and technological change means rulers invent nationalism in order to better impose their will on the masses.
 - ▶ e.g. Wales: red dragon flag and daffodils are C20th symbols
 - ▶ e.g. Scotland: short kilts C18th, and clan tartans C19th
 - ▶ Role of print media similar to that in Anderson but a different driving force: a conscious strategy in opposition to the masses

What created nations? II

- ▶ Nothing much new but the ideology (Smith):
 - ▶ Nationalism is (mainly) based on earlier ethnic identities, and symbols associated with that ethnic identity.
 - ▶ Ethnic symbols may have been strengthened with modernisation, even if some of the 'history' is mythical
 - ▶ The ideology of nations being the basis of political authority was new
- ▶ There is some scope for reconciliation between modernist and primordialist views
 - ▶ Modernists don't deny pre-existing cultures but claim they aren't necessary
 - ▶ Primordialists can accept this while arguing that pre-existing culture helps explain the strength and character of different national identities

Emergence of nation-states: Wimmer and Feinstein I

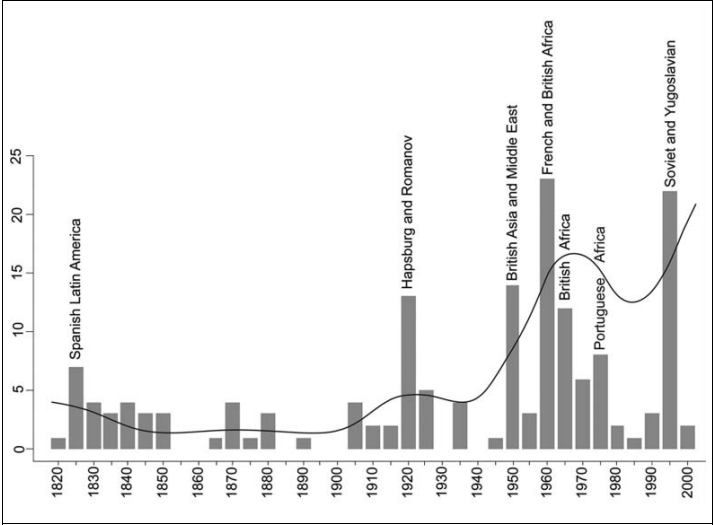


Figure 1. Number of Nation-States Created per Five-Year Period, Smoothed Hazard Rate

Emergence of nation-states: Wimmer and Feinstein II

- ▶ “no evidence for the effects of industrialization, the advent of mass literacy, or increasingly direct rule, which are associated with the modernization theories of Gellner, Anderson, Tilly, and Hechter’.”
- ▶ Nationalist movements do help explain the emergence of nation-states
- ▶ But collapse of empires is the main factor.
- ▶ Note, their definition of a nation state: “an independent state with a written constitution, ruled in the name of a nation of equal citizens”
 - ▶ This doesn't imply that the population all think of themselves as part of the same nation, e.g Belgium, Iraq, Israel, UK.
 - ▶ Contrast with Smith: “We may term a state a ‘nation-state’ only if and when a single ethnic and cultural population inhabits the boundaries of a state, and the boundaries of that state are coextensive with the boundaries of that ethnic and cultural population.”

What is a nation?

- ▶ “a named population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for its members” (Smith)
- ▶ An imagined community (Anderson)
 - ▶ “is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”
- ▶ The product of nationalism (Gellner)

What is nationalism?

Various different phenomena:

- ▶ A political ideology: nations should be the basis of states
 - ▶ Compare with 'self determination of peoples' and other formulations
 - ▶ General universal principle selectively applied or appealed to on a self serving basis by nationalists
 - ▶ Implies a belief that there are nations
- ▶ A kind of social identity and related sentiments
 - ▶ Thinking of yourself as British, English etc., i.e. as part of a nation
 - ▶ Views about what it means to be and who can count as British, English etc.
 - ▶ Patriotism and national pride
 - ▶ Maybe also jingoism and other extreme views
- ▶ A kind of (basis for a) social movement
 - ▶ Nationalism has no force without some kind of political organisation and activity

Different types of nationalism (Kohn, Brubaker)

- ▶ Civic nationalism
 - ▶ National identity is about citizenship and is acquired (*jus soli*).
 - ▶ Classic examples include Roman citizenship and post-revolutionary French nationalism
- ▶ Ethnic nationalism (or perhaps cultural nationalism)
 - ▶ National identity is about ancestry and cannot be acquired (*jus sanguinis*)
 - ▶ Classic example is German nationalism
 - ▶ an “illiberal and belligerent doctrine” (David Miller)
 - ▶ Related to anti-immigrant sentiment and hostility to ethnic minorities
- ▶ The difference between these are primarily about the basis for national identity, not the political claims they make

Contemporary survey measurement of ethnic and civic national identity

Some people say that the following things are important for being truly [e.g., American]. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?

[Not important at all, not very important, fairly important, or very important]

1. To have been born in [America]
 2. To have [American] citizenship
 3. To have lived in [America] for most of one's life
 4. To be able to speak [English]
 5. To be a [Christian]
 6. To respect [America's] political institutions and laws
 7. To feel [American]
 8. To have [American] ancestry
- ▶ Born, lived and ancestry items pick up ethnic conceptions of national identity.
 - ▶ Feel, language and respect items reflect civic national identity

Jones and Smith (J of Soc 2001)

Table 1: Comparative responses to seven items forming the national identity module (23 countries)

<i>Country (and Sample Size)</i>	<i>Percent Who Think Item is 'Very Important' for National Identity</i>						
	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Citizen</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Religion</i>	<i>Laws</i>	<i>Feelings</i>
Ireland (N=994)	58	66	49	14	32	42	67
New Zealand (N=1043)	42	55	35	61	16	59	67
Slovak Republic (N=1388)	37	54	38	71	12	49	72
Netherlands (N=2089)	23	39	21	68	3	40	47
USA (N=1367)	41	75	44	71	38	65	62
Canada (N=1543)	25	59	23	49	14	64	64
Austria (N=1007)	46	66	50	67	31	56	68
Norway (N=1527)	35	60	32	74	10	80	62
Australia (N=2438)	29	66	26	61	14	69	72
Great Britain (N=1058)	50	54	42	65	22	57	52
Poland (N=1598)	43	44	38	53	26	34	72
Italy (N=1094)	44	45	44	47	26	50	57
Latvia (N=1044)	36	41	40	61	14	58	62
Japan (N=1256)	37	49	34	40	10	26	56
Sweden (N=1296)	27	53	29	71	8	83	56
Russia (N=1585)	40	48	45	57	18	54	65
Slovenia (N=1036)	43	50	41	71	17	49	63
Hungary (N=1000)	41	45	47	79	20	29	85
Czech Republic (N=1111)	38	51	47	75	11	43	70
Philippines (N=1200)	71	65	58	62	57	54	63
Spain (N=1221)	37	33	34	33	18	33	45
Germany (N=1894)	29	46	30	54	16	53	46
Bulgaria (N=1105)	58	53	50	60	46	54	78
All countries (N=30894)	39	53	37	60	20	53	63

Source: International Social Survey Program, 1995.

Explaining Ethnic and Civic Nat ID: Kunovich (ASR 2009)

Table 4. National Identity and Country-Level Characteristics: Multilevel Models

	Civic + Ethnic National Identity						Civic – Ethnic National Identity					
	1	1A	1B	2	3	4	1	1A	1B	2	3	4
Intercept	-.042 (.066)	-.038 (.068)	-.047 (.066)	-.043 (.064)	-.040 (.064)	-.040 (.064)	-.142 (.081)	-.143 (.084)	-.138 (.082)	-.146 (.079)	-.155* (.076)	-.156* (.074)
Economic Characteristics												
Development	-.050 (.067)	-.114* (.055)				.047 (.089)	.063 (.091)	.164* (.076)				-.137 (.111)
Economic globalization	-.102 (.065)		-.132* (.052)			-.019 (.085)	.164 (.090)		.201* (.072)			-.052 (.107)
Political Characteristics												
Military preparedness				.082 (.084)						-.022 (.115)		
Military experiences				-.009 (.067)						.033 (.092)		
Political globalization				-.036 (.068)						.024 (.094)		
Democratic governance				-.133* (.061)		-.140 (.100)				.224* (.084)		.200 (.125)
Cultural Characteristics												
Religious diversity					.041 (.051)						.025 (.066)	
Linguistic diversity					.087 (.052)						-.011 (.068)	
Cultural globalization					-.143* (.050)	-.056 (.086)					.265* (.066)	.261* (.108)
Explained Country-Level Variance (%)	18.6	12.0	17.4	26.1	26.5	24.7	22.1	14.0	2.6	26.9	35.6	40.3
Reduction in Test Statistic (χ^2)	6.4	4.1	5.8	9.3	9.5	8.8	7.5	4.3	7.0	9.4	12.8	15.3
DF (for χ^2)	2	1	1	4	3	4	2	1	1	4	3	4

Notes: $N_{\text{individuals}} = 38,007$; $N_{\text{countries}} = 31$. Standard errors are in parentheses. The coefficients are net of all individual-level variables.

* $p < .05$ (two-tailed).

Consequences of Ethnic and Civic Nat ID: Kunovich (2009)

Table 5. Policy Attitudes and National Identity: Multilevel Models

	Preference for restrictive views on immigrants and immigration ^a		Preference for citizenship for those born to non-citizens		Preference for citizenship for those born abroad to citizens	
	Coefficient	SE	Coefficient (Logged Odds)	SE	Coefficient (Logged Odds)	SE
Civic + Ethnic National Identity	.087*	.005	-.088*	.011	.026*	.011
Civic – Ethnic National Identity	-.065*	.005	.234*	.012	.261*	.012
N _{individuals}	27,479		36,705		36,724	
N _{countries}	30 ^b		31		31	
	Preference for assimilation			Preference for pursuing national interests, even in the face of conflict		
	Coefficient (Logged Odds)	SE	Coefficient (Logged Odds)	SE		
Civic + Ethnic National Identity	.146*	.013	.355*	.011		
Civic – Ethnic National Identity	-.083*	.014	-.130*	.011		
N _{individuals}	32,652		36,266			
N _{countries}	31		31			

Note: The coefficients are net of all individual-level variables.

^a I control for *perceived threat* in addition to the other individual-level variables.

^b The *immigrants* scale and the *perceived threat* independent variable are not available for South Africa.

* $p < .05$ (two-tailed).

Decline of national pride

From Tilley and Heath (2007)

TABLE I: *National pride in Britain, 1981–2003*

Year	% Not at all proud	% Not very proud	% Somewhat proud	% Very proud	N (unweighted)
1981	3	7	33	57	1162
1982	2	7	30	61	911
1983	1	6	32	60	954
1984	2	6	37	54	982
1985	2	9	31	58	991
1986	3	9	35	54	959
1990	3	8	35	54	1410
1994	5	11	43	41	944
1997	3	10	44	43	991
2003	3	11	41	45	2082

Source: WVS 1981, 1990; Eurobarometer 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1994, 1997; ISSP 2003.

Dogan (1994) argues that decline in national pride is pervasive across Western Europe because of European integration

Explaining variation in national pride: Solt (JOP 2011)

TABLE 1 Effects of Economic Inequality on Nationalism

	Model 1 National Pride	Model 2 Emotional Attachment to Country	Model 3 National-Cultural Pride Index
	Estimate (Std. Error)	Estimate (Std. Error)	Estimate (Std. Error)
<i>Economic Inequality</i>			
Inequality	.044* (.011)	.042* (.009)	.013* (.005)
Inequality × Household Income	≫ −.001 (.001)	.001 (.001)	> −.001 (.001)
<i>Individual Controls</i>			
Age	.013* (.001)	.021* (.002)	.005* (.001)
Years of Education	−.041* (.005)	−.014* (.006)	−.013* (.004)
Female	.005 (.019)	.052 (.032)	.063* (.019)
Married	.099* (.013)	.059* (.021)	.008 (.013)
Unemployed	−.116* (.025)	−.097* (.038)	−.021 (.014)
Household Income	−.010 (.032)	−.013 (.035)	−.006 (.018)
<i>Country-Year Controls</i>			
GDP/Capita	.007 (.008)	−.015 (.010)	.003 (.004)
International Conflict	.158* (.068)	−.262* (.087)	.040 (.033)
Migrant Stock	−.023* (.011)	.009 (.009)	−.010* (.004)
Democracy	.331 (.316)		
New Democracy	−.210 (.228)	−.390* (.186)	−.385* (.107)
<i>Country Controls</i>			
War Guilt	−.849* (.281)	−.474* (.237)	−.216 (.174)
Federalism	−.348 (.245)	−.150 (.182)	.063 (.113)
Ethnic Diversity	.005 (.005)	−.007 (.005)	.002 (.003)
Constant	−1.942* (.471)	−2.719* (.529)	−.293 (.200)
Second Threshold	1.691* (.061)	1.753* (.090)	
Third Threshold	3.759* (.079)	4.064* (.155)	

(selection from full table)