

MODERNIZATION, ETHNICITY, AND NATIONALISM: DEVELOPING A  
UNIFYING NATIONAL IDENTITY IN MULTICULTURAL COUNTRIES  
FORMERLY SUBJUGATED TO COLONIALISM

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the role of increases in rates of urbanization, adult literacy, and media usage in the development of a unifying national identity in multicultural countries formerly subjugated to colonialism. More than one hundred of the one hundred seventy five countries ranked by the United Nations *2006 Human Development Report* were subjugated to colonialism and are multicultural with populations consisting of more than one ethnic group. The ethnic groups that populate multicultural countries previously subjected to colonialism were often united under coercion. Thus, if opposing collective consciousnesses react to each other vigorously, the potential for conflict in these nation-states impacts the potential for long term sustainable development.

Emile Durkheim and Daniel Lerner theorized that the modernization process could bring about pluralism in diverse social environments. Utilizing bivariate and multiple regression analysis, this dissertation combines the modernization approaches of

Durkheim and Lerner with data gathered via the fourth wave of the World Values Survey to gauge the degree to which the modernization process has impacted social attitudes and national identity in these countries.

The study finds that (1) the explanatory power of the modernization process to explain variations in social change and national identity is very weak; (2) increases in the modernization variables *education level*, *size of town*, and *frequency following politics in the news* were related to respondents reporting belonging to broader geographical areas ("the world" rather than "my nation" or "my local area"); and (3) after controlling for colonial subjugation and multicultural status, the modernization process has a stronger influence in countries that are not multicultural.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The goal of this dissertation is to analyze the relationship between modernization and national identity development in multicultural countries that were subjugated to colonialism. I examine the influence of increases in urbanization rates, adult literacy rates, and national rates of media participation on the importance of the individual, traditional ideas, and national identity. I take the analysis a step further by investigating the historical impact of colonialization on the modernization process and the development of national identity in multicultural countries that were subjugated to colonialism.

I became highly interested in the importance of the relationship between modernization, colonialism and national identity during my tenure as a Peace Corps volunteer in the then newly formed Kyrgyz Republic. I was part of the fifth group of volunteers to serve in Kyrgyzstan since the attainment of Kyrgyz independence from Russia. For twenty four months I lived with a Kyrgyz family in the remote mountain village of At Bashi, located along the mountainous eastern border of Kyrgyzstan with China.

Overall, Kyrgyzstan is a rural, mountainous country. Even in the remote rural outskirts of Kyrgyzstan, however, it was easy to observe how modernization under Soviet rule had impacted society. More people owned cars than horses in At Bashi, but every

car there was manufactured in Russia. The textbooks used in the school at which I taught were written in Russian, and lessons in English language textbooks told stories of communist superiority to the West. People I met would first speak to me in Russian before learning that I could speak Kyrgyz. There were two channels on television, when electricity was available, one in Russian and the other in Kyrgyz. The quality of programming on the Russian channel was by far a higher standard. A number of newspapers were available at the post office, the majority of which were in Russian. In order to communicate in the Capital City of Bishkek it was a requirement to be able to speak Russian.

During my first konnosh, or daylong feast, I was asked by an ak sakal (older gentleman with a long goatee) where I was from. I gladly explained that I was from the United States. However, he would not accept that answer. He was not satisfied until I explained the Irish and German ancestries of my father and mother. His conceptualization of being Kyrgyz was based on Kyrgyz cultural history that well predated the formation of The Kyrgyz Republic. It could be argued that this was because he lived in an isolated, rural location, but his cultural views had withstood a century of Russian influence. He was also literate in Russian history and culture, watched Russian television, and read Russian newspapers. It became apparent to me that being Kyrgyz to him had very little to do with being a citizen of the nation of Kyrgyzstan.

I believe the 550,000 Kyrgyz citizens of Uzbek descent, fifteen percent of the Kyrgyz population, would agree. Almost the entire Uzbek population in Kyrgyzstan resides in the Ferghana Valley, adjacent to the border with Uzbekistan. As recently as

June, 2010, approximately 100,000 Uzbeks were attempting to seek refuge in Uzbekistan to escape ethnic clashes in Kyrgyzstan.

Taking the ak sakal's perspective into account; I believe that multicultural countries that were subjugated to colonialism are uniquely disadvantaged when it comes to the prospects of developing a unifying social solidarity. I further believe the likelihood of this being true would be greater for multicultural countries that were colonized and consist of one or more indigenous populations. The practice of placing different cultures opposite each other was a common goal of colonialism for the very purpose of stunting indigenous stability.

The concept of national identity in multicultural countries has come to the forefront over the past twenty years with intra-national conflicts in Afghanistan, Bosnia, the Congo, Croatia, Iraq, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, and Tajikistan. Even here in the United States, the influx of Latin American immigrants has been seen by many in the public as a cultural battle for national identity.

A citizen of the United States may hear the words "national identity" and think, "I'm an American. We drove off the British, invented the automobile, saved Europe from the Germans and put men on the moon." In the case of new immigrants to the United States, national identity may be found in its legal status or the hope for a better lifestyle. For many Americans, national identity is based on the Christian heritage of the first pilgrims, and for others, it is the desire for independence that motivated the pilgrims to come in the first place.

For a citizen of Kyrgyz descent living in Kyrgyzstan, national identity may be a celebration of the 1995 independence from Russia, but remain a distant second to the

distinct Kyrgyz cultural identity that has existed there for over four thousand years. A citizen of Uzbek descent living in Kyrgyzstan may share the celebration of independence from Russia, but still hold sacred their distinct Uzbek cultural identity. Due to its many possible interpretations, the question arises: How is national identity defined in multicultural countries?

Historically, a collective consciousness based on localized religion and culture was the source of solidarity for a single society and culture. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pg. 233) A nation made up of individuals with a single societal and cultural history would arguably have a national identity synonymous to a collective consciousness. Within a multicultural nation state, however, national identity would refer to a single encompassing, unifying source of social solidarity that exists within the defined boundaries of a particular multicultural state and that surpasses in importance the respective collective consciousnesses of multiple cultures.

The link between multicultural countries and colonialism is extensive. Prior to the Renaissance, the Catholic Church was the unifying force over Europe's feudal kingdoms. The Renaissance enlightened the masses to alternative ways of life to that of Catholicism, and ultimately led to the Protestant Reformation. The Treaty of Westphalia brought an end to the Thirty Years War, a final battle between the champions of Catholicism and Protestantism. From that point forward, powerful nation states emerged in Europe that evolved to imperialistic empires. These imperialistic European states came to dominate weaker societies in Eastern Asia, the Middle East (which had previously been dominated by the expansion of Islam), Africa, and Latin America. Russia in turn expanded into the

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. European imperialism, at its peak, dominated ninety percent of the Earth's soil (Durant, Will. *The Reformation*, 1957).

Since 1945, one hundred and thirty three new nation states have emerged. Hundreds of diverse, multicultural states have now joined the original handful of nations forged in Europe. One hundred and thirty three of the one hundred and seventy five<sup>1</sup> countries ranked by the United Nations 2006 *Human Development Report* are recognized as having been subjected to colonialism under France, Portugal, Great Britain, Spain, the Soviet Union, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Of these one hundred and thirty three countries, one hundred and three consist of more than one ethnic group.

**Table 1 Summary Statistics for all UNDP Countries, n = 175**

Modernization	All UNDP	Not Colonized	Colonized
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Mean</i>
<i>Urban Population</i>	53.713	62.781	50.85
<i>Adult Literacy</i>	81.009	93.245	78.371
<b>Ethnicity</b>			
<i>Number of Languages</i>	2.98	2.28 <sup>2</sup>	3.08 <sup>3</sup>
<i>Number of Religions</i>	2.063	1.619	2.203
<i>Number of Ethnic Groups</i>	6.377	2.024	7.752
<i>Number of Indigenous Groups</i>	5.714	1.976	6.895
<b>National Development</b>			
<i>Human Development Index</i>	89.32	45.81	103.06

Sources: 2006 UNDP Development Report, The World Almanac 2008

<sup>1</sup>See Appendix A for complete list of countries in Table 1: The Influence of Colonialism on Multicultural Countries. Occupied Palestinian Territories and Hong Kong not included due to absence of overall comparable data. In addition, I only considered ethnic groups that either make up approximately ten percent of a country's overall population or ten percent of a country's largest ethnic group.

<sup>2</sup> Papua New Guinea was excluded due to outlier status. Listed as having over 800 indigenous languages.

<sup>3</sup> Chad was excluded due to outlier status. Listed as having over 120 indigenous languages.

## Context of Modernization Literature

In the post World War II era, modernization was theorized to be the means by which these new, undeveloped nations could attain and sustain development. (So 1990, Levy 1967, Smelser 1964, Rostow 1964, McClelland 1964, Inkeless 1964) However, the views of the “modernization school” have become outdated and obsolete due to a number of factors: 1) the ethnocentric premise that tradition was an obstacle to development; 2) the high level of abstraction in methodology with no actual case studies; 3) the premise that there only exists one path of modernization, which can only lead to something comparable to Western development; 4) the absence of the importance of foreign domination. (So 1990, pgs. 55-59) Because of these reasons, modernization theory has rarely been readdressed in recent years. Nevertheless, I believe modernization theory serves as an appropriate starting point for my research and I account for all of these reasons by highlighting the importance of pluralism, including qualitative analysis, and controlling for history of colonialism.

In the post Cold War world, the competing ideologies of communism and democracy that once defined nations have been replaced by a renewed emphasis on localized religion and culture. This emergence of nationalism and independence within the European empires and the Soviet Union brought the sustainability of the nation state model into question. In the mid 1990s, Samuel Huntington stressed in *Clash of Civilizations* that cultural identity had surpassed national identity in regard to what people find most important. (Huntington 1996) Benjamin Barber added in *Jihad vs. McWorld* that the traditional nation-state is just a passing phase in transitional development. (Barber 1996) They both emphasized that societies depicted by a shared language,

religion, culture, and history not only predate the concept of a national identity, but they will *not* soon disappear because they are the products of centuries.

As the world becomes a smaller place, it cannot be denied that instances of longstanding, isolated, localized identities are declining in numbers. Faced with the potentially homogenizing forces of modernization, many people are looking to the past via religion and/or customary lifestyles for meaningful identities. Others are looking to the future, embracing opportunities previously denied by religion and/or customary lifestyles. However, national identity cannot be easily dismissed. No other commonly used classification of human beings on a global scale offers a more commonly referenced depiction of distinguishing social customs than the term national identity. No other classification of human beings provides a better insight into the number and kind of opportunities that are available to an individual, how many, where they can lead, or how fast. In order to better understand the dilemmas facing the future of the nation-state, I believe the question needs to be asked: Is modernization, via increases in urbanization, adult literacy, and mass media participation enough to lead to the development of a unifying national identity in multicultural countries that were subjugated to colonialism?

A collective consciousness within a culture, and arguably a unified national identity in a multicultural country, is a prerequisite for the stability necessary for development. (Lerner 1958, pg. 93) It must be stressed that, as a direct result of colonialism, many countries consisting of individuals from multiple societies, often multiple indigenous societies, were formed under coercion. With the forced integration of cultures under colonialism, the values of each society are very likely to be magnified in the presence of each other. This is very likely because social aspects such as religion, language, and

culture become highly valued over generations as societies reciprocally reproduce their way of life. The attainment of stability in multicultural countries subjugated to colonialism will very likely be challenging at best.

Historically, modernization defined the means imperialistic powers utilized to exploit, conquer and assimilate peripheral localities of colonized regions from a core center of power. Modernization was a tool of domination rather a naturally occurring process of cultural evolution. This process was taking place before the widespread development of nation states. Beyond subjugation and exploitation, however, modernization is perceived to be a naturally occurring cultural process that facilitates the increased exposure of isolated societies to people, objects, and ideas previously foreign to them. This process has been theorized to alter societal values. The importance of individualism and the future are presumed to take the place of isolated cultural values that focused on the past, creating increased social tolerance and a system of social solidarity that can unify multiple societies. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pg. 53) Within the borders of multicultural nation states, the new system of solidarity would arguably replace or surpass in importance the existence of previous isolated cultural identities with a unifying national identity.

Contrasting these realizations of modernization led me to the fundamental query of this paper: Did modernization as a tool of colonial domination impact the potential for modernization as a process of cultural evolution to create social solidarity in multicultural countries? Or, can multicultural countries that were subjugated to colonialism develop a unifying national identity? Through my analysis, this dissertation provides the empirical

findings for comparative studies throughout the world on the impact of modernization and the meaning of national identity in multicultural countries.

Focusing on the specializations of the sociology of modernization, nationalism and ethnicity while utilizing in depth regression analysis, I analyze urbanization, literacy, mass media and social change regarding tradition and national identity. I explore these questions in greater depth with the following four questions.

1. *Does modernization lead to an increase in the importance of the individual and the future over traditional values in multicultural states formerly subjugated to colonialism?*
2. *Does modernization increase social empathy in multicultural countries formerly subjugated to colonialism? Does modernization influence the growth of participant society in multicultural countries formerly subjugated to colonialism?*
3. *Does modernization cause increases in national rates of tolerance in multicultural states formerly subjugated to colonialism?*
4. *Does modernization increase national rates of national identity in multicultural states formerly subjugated to colonialism?*

## **Hypotheses**

Figure 1 illustrates my hypothesis concerning multicultural nations that were subjugated to colonialism. I predict that modernization will most reflect the changes outlined in Durkheim's *Division of Labor* and Lerner's *Passing of Traditional Society* in multicultural countries that were colonized but have no remaining indigenous groups. Increases in rates of urbanization, adult literacy, and usage of mass media will lead to:

- a) decrease in importance of religion
- b) increase in belief scientific advances will help

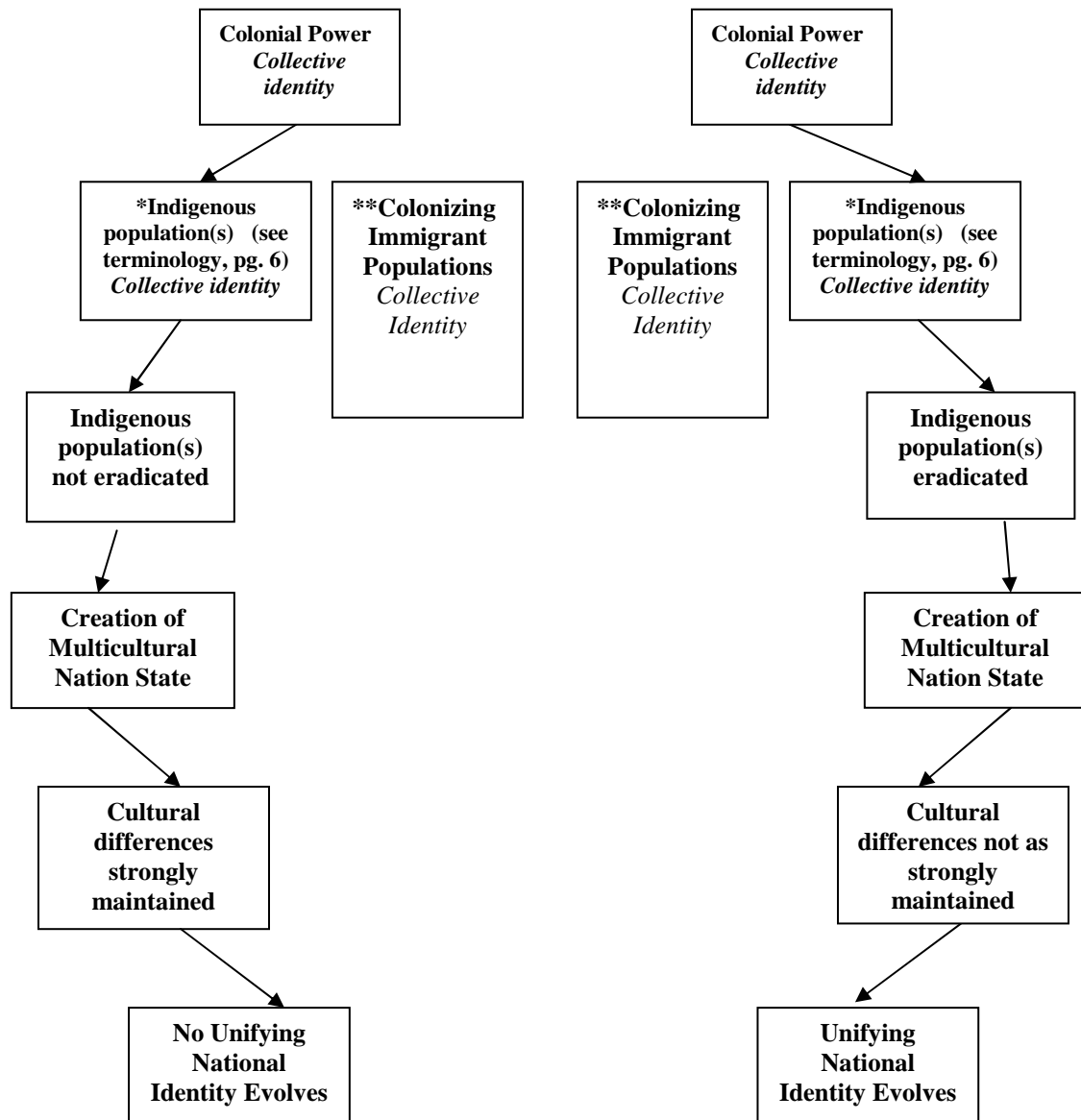
- c) decrease in belief society must be radically defended
- d) increase in opinion that free choice and control influence how life turns out
- e) increase in belief that homosexuality is justifiable
- f) increase in overall happiness
- g) increases in participant society gauged by knowledge of taxation, corporate management, voter participation, and confidence in government

On the contrary, I predict that modernization will have the least impact on social change in multicultural countries that were colonized and have one or more remaining indigenous groups.

In regard to national identity, I predict that modernization will also have the greatest impact on national identity development in multicultural countries that were colonized but have no remaining indigenous groups. Increases in rates of urbanization, adult literacy, and usage of mass media will lead to:

- a) increases in national pride
- b) increases in size of area reporting geographical allegiance to first
- c) increases in willingness to fight for country

I predict the modernization process will have the greatest impact overall upon national identity development and social change in non-multicultural countries, regardless of colonial history.



**Figure 1: Modernization and National Identity in Multicultural Countries Formerly Subjugated to Colonialism**

\*1 or more populations may be present

\*\*1 or more Colonizing immigrant populations may or may not be introduced

## Terminology

There is little consensus over the definition of national identity. It has different cultural, legal, ideological, and historical implications for different people and in different arenas of academic discussion. For the purposes of my research, I am defining national identity as a unifying collective identity necessarily confined within the politically defined boundaries of a nation.

**Civil Sphere:** “A social sphere or field organized around a particular kind of solidarity, one whose members are symbolically represented as independent and self-motivating persons, individually responsible for their actions, yet also as actors who feel themselves, at the same time, bound by collective obligations to all the other individuals who compose this sphere.” (Alexander 2001, pg. 237)

**Collective Identity** (*collective consciousness*): Shared sentiment within a society that serves the moral function of providing social solidarity. From a Durkheimian perspective, religion is the original source of social solidarity for all societies. With modernization, the importance of the individual becomes the primary source of social solidarity.

**Colonialism:** The process by which social, cultural, economic, and political dominance is acquired and maintained by a foreign power over another people and land. Sometimes settlers from the ruling power migrate to the colony, but historically these migrant groups have been a small minority compared to the size of the indigenous population that is subjugated. (Encyclopedic Dictionary of Sociology, Fourth Edition)

**Ethnic Group:** A social group distinguished by language, geographic or national origin, race, customs, and religion. (Encyclopedic Dictionary of Sociology, Fourth Edition)

**Indigenous:** Not foreign. For the purposes of this study, indigenous refers to the non-foreign populations subjugated to colonialism by foreign powers.

**Individualism:** Belief in the primary importance of the individual and in the virtues of self-reliance and personal independence.

**Mass Media:** Typically refers to broadcasting, the press, and films.

**Modernization:** A combination of urbanization and mass media that leads to the development of empathy for people and ideas foreign to an individual's immediate family and community.

**Multi-cellular Society:** Segmentary society in which each segment has a life uniquely its own in addition to its own regulatory system. The society is considered multi-cellular because the segments share ancestral ties, social habits, and attachments to the same land. As labor becomes divided up between each segment, the less each segment of society maintains distinctive characteristics.

**Multicultural:** Relating to or including several cultures. A group is multicultural when its members represent multiple cultures. A nation consisting of multiple ethnic groups is multicultural.

**National Identity:** A collective identity that is necessarily confined within the politically defined boundaries of a nation.

**Participant Society:** Societal organization in which most people go through school, read newspapers, receive cash payments in jobs they may legally change, buy goods in an open market, vote in elections and express opinions on matters not of their personal business. Especially important is that most people have opinions on public matters, and that these people expect their opinions will matter. (Lerner 1958, pgs. 50-51)

**Pluralism:** A condition in which numerous distinct ethnic, religious, or cultural groups are present and tolerated within a society.

**Ressentiment:** *Coined by Nietzsche*, a psychological state of envy and hostility resulting from suppressed feelings combined with the inability to get revenge.

**Social Solidarity:** Social unity that results from mutual cooperation between individual members of a social group. According to Durkheim, what is moral is everything that is a source of solidarity. He added that morality is strictly necessary for a society to live. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pg. 49)

**Social Stratification System:** A system of social inequality based on hierarchical orderings of groups according to their members' share in socially valued rewards. The nature of these rewards usually consists of wealth, power, and status. (Encyclopedic Dictionary of Sociology, Fourth Edition)

**Society:** A social group of relatively large size, not necessarily confined within politically defined borders like a nation, which exhibits continuity of existence from generation to generation. (Encyclopedic Dictionary of Sociology, Fourth Edition)

**Transvaluation of Values:** The transformation of a value structure involving the replacement of originally important values with ones that would not have been considered important in the original structure.

**Urbanization:** The movement of people from rural to urban areas, which results in an increased proportion of the population living in urban rather than rural localities.

## CHAPTER 2

### METHODOLOGY

This study will utilize secondary data from the *2006 UNDP Development Report*, *The World Almanac 2008*, and the fourth wave of the World Values Survey (2006). The *Human Development Report (HDR)* began in 1990 with an effort to put people back at the center of the development process in terms of advocacy, policy, and economic debate. The goal was to go beyond income to assess the level of people's long-term well-being, emphasizing that the goals of development are freedoms and choices.

The *World Almanac and Book of Facts 2008* is the 140<sup>th</sup> edition of this reference book. The Almanac features in-depth statistics from the year 2007 in the categories of: economy, business, energy, crime, military affairs, personalities, arts, media, science, technology, consumer information, U.S. government, U.S. facts, U.S. history, U.S. elections, U.S. cities, U.S. states, U.S. population, world history, world culture, and sports.

The World Values Survey (WVS) is a worldwide network of social scientists who have surveyed the basic beliefs and values of publics localized in more than eighty societies, on all six populated continents. These surveys are aimed at testing the hypothesis that economic and technological changes lead a transformation process that is altering the motivations and basic values of people in industrialized societies.

## **UNDP Sample**

The sampling frame for the *2006 UNDP Development Report* is UN member states. The sample included one hundred and seventy five UN member states, for which the human development index could be calculated, along with Hong Kong, China, and the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Due to a lack of data, the HDI could not be calculated for the remaining seventeen UN member countries.

## **UNDP Data collection**

The Human Development Report Office relies on a group of international agencies that have the resources and expertise to both collect and compile international data on specific statistical indicators. When compiling international data series, international agencies apply international standards and procedures to improve the comparability of data across countries. For instances in which data for a country are missing, an agency may produce data based on statistical estimates if other relevant information is available.

## **World Almanac and Book of Facts 2008 Sample**

The *World Almanac and Book of Facts 2008* lists comparative statistics for the one hundred and ninety four nations that existed in the world as of mid-2007 in a section titled “Nations of the World”.

## **World Almanac and Book of Facts 2008 Data Collection**

Data sources include: *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency; FAO Statistical Database and *Yearbook of Fishery Statistics*, Food and Agricultural Org. of the UN; *Report on the Global Aids Epidemic*, UNAIDS and World Health Org.; International

Database; *The Military Balance*, International Institute for Strategic Studies; World Tourism Organization; *Financial Statistics*, Intl; *World Population Prospects* and *World Urbanization Prospects*, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, UN Population Division; International Telecommunication Union; *Statistical Yearbook*, UN Statistics Division; U.S. Census Bureau.

### **WVS Sample**

Efforts begun by the European Values Survey Group (EVS) initially in 1981, under the leadership of Jan Kerkhofs and Ruud de Moor, led to the creation of The World Values Survey. Since then, under the leadership of Ronald Inglehart, it has resulted in the creation of the largest cross-national investigation of social change that has ever existed. A second wave of WVS surveys was carried out in 1990-1991, and a third wave of surveys was carried out in 1995-1998. The fourth wave of this study was completed in 2001. A total of seventy two countries were surveyed in the fourth wave. (European and World Values Surveys)

### **WVS Data Collection**

The WVS network of social scientists shares a common interest, though they represent a wide range of disciplines and of cultures. Their common interest is their focus to understand ongoing social changes that are transforming people's values, worldviews and basic motivations. A specific set of established criteria was followed in the collection of data.

The questionnaire included topics such as perceptions of life, environment, work, family, politics and society, religion and morale, national identity, language at home, and

socio-demographics. The questionnaire was administered to citizens aged eighteen thru eighty five via face-to-face interviews.<sup>4</sup>

### **Dependent Variables**

Arguably, the key indicator of Durkheim's division of labor is the move from sameness to specialization; common consciousness to individual morality. The bonds that attach the individual to tradition become loosened. The individual lives a more autonomous life and works out for himself his ideas. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pgs. 322-333) I selected dependent variables one thru five from the World Values Survey to analyze the impact modernization has had on this aspect of the division of labor.

Although Durkheim did not accept that the human desire for happiness was the primary cause for the division of labor, he did acknowledge that others had. He did state that happiness might at least be an effect of the division of labor. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pgs. 179-180) Lerner reported that results of his team's study revealed that modernizing Middle Easterners were happier than those maintaining more traditional lifeways. (Lerner 1958, pgs. 73-74) Thus, I included the dependent variable overall happiness from the World Values Survey in my analysis.

Another key aspect of modernity for Lerner was empathy, or the ability to imagine what it would be like occupy other positions in society. He determined empathy to be an autonomous personality variable that could not be revealed by survey data. Alternatively, he used projective questions to gauge respondents' empathetic capacity. These questions required respondents to empathize or imagine what it must be like to be a head of

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<sup>4</sup> See Appendix B for a list of WVS survey questions

government or manager of a radio station. (Lerner 1958, pgs. 69-70) Modern individuals were postulated to be able to produce opinions or answers to these questions. I selected dependent variables seven and eight to analyze the ability of World Values Survey respondents to empathize what it would be like to be a government leader making decisions regarding tax increases and what it would be like to manage a business or industry.

The ability to empathize was an essential part of Lerner's modernity and a key determinant of participant society. He also stated that voting was a key element of participant society. The urban literate is a newspaper reader and a voter. (Lerner 1958, pgs. 64) I selected dependent variable nine as the best determiner for voter participation.

I selected dependent variable ten, confidence in government, to gauge the percentage of respondents able to formulate an opinion about government functionality. I selected dependent variables eleven and twelve to analyze the extent to which modernization influences gains in the importance of national identity, and gains in the importance of national identity over isolated and/or regional identities.

1. Opinion regarding importance of religion: (1 - very important, 2 – rather, 3 - not very, 4 - not at all)
2. Opinion about scientific advances: (1- will help, 2- will harm, 3- some of each)
3. Basic attitude about life: (1- society must be radically changed, 2- society must be gradually improved by reforms, 3- society must be valiantly defended)
4. Opinion of how free choice and control influence how life turns out: (1 (none at all) - 10 (a great deal))

5. Homosexuality is justifiable: (1 (never justifiable) - 10 (always justifiable))
6. Overall Happiness: (1- very happy, 2- quite happy, 3- not very happy, 4- not at all happy)
7. Increase in taxes if used for environmental protection: (1 – strongly agree, 2 – agree, 3 – disagree, 4 – strongly disagree, -1 – don't know)
8. How business and industry should be managed: (1 – owners run the business, 2 – employees participate in selection of managers, 3 – the state should be the owner, 4 – employees should own the business, -1 – don't know)
9. Which party would you vote for first: (2 – I would not vote)
10. How much confidence do you have in the government? (1- a great deal, 2 –quite a lot, 3 – not very much, 4 – none at all)
11. National Pride: How proud are you to be (nationality)? (1 - very proud, 2 - quite proud, 3 - not very proud, 4 - not proud at all)
12. Geographical Loyalty: Which of these geographical groupings would you say you belong to first of all? (1 - locality, 2 - region, 3 - country, 4 - continent, 5 - world)

### **Independent Variables:**

Lerner stated that the data they had collected indicated that millions of people from the seventy two countries surveyed were in the same position. To better understand their position, his team analyzed what he deemed to be the three phases of modernity: urbanization, literacy, mass media usage. I selected the three independent variables from the World Values Survey that I determined to best match the three phases of modernity

suggested by Lerner to conduct my analysis of the influence of modernization on social change. (Lerner 1958, pgs. 60-64)

1. Following Politics in the News (every day, several times a week, once or twice a week, less often, never)
2. Highest Education Level Attained (1 – lower, 2 – middle, 3 – upper)
3. Size of Town (1 – 2,000 and less, 2 – 2,000-5,000, 3 – 5,000-10,000, 4 – 10,000-20,000, 5 – 20,000-50,000, 6 – 50,000-100,000, 7 – 100,000-500,000, 8 – 500,000 and more.)

### **Study Sample**

The World Values Survey had inconsistencies that excluded the use of some countries in my research. Some questions were asked in some countries but excluded in others. In turn, some questions were asked of all respondents in some countries and only of limited respondents in others. To account for missing data I utilized a listwise deletion procedure to ensure that each and every case analyzed was asked each and every question. WVS Surveyors did not ask the same questions in every surveyed country, nor did they ask the same questions of every respondent in each respective country. The study sample for the fourth wave of the World Values Survey consisted of seventy two countries (267, 870 respondents). Utilizing the listwise deletion procedure, I was only able to include the following eighteen countries (18,190 respondents) in my research: Albania, Austria, Bangladesh, Belarus, Canada, Chile, India, Italy, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, Republic of Macedonia, Mexico, Philippines, Slovenia, Spain, United States, Venezuela, and Vietnam. It should be noted that the nonrandom deletion of cases that

occurs with the utilization of the listwise deletion procedure can potentially lead to biased estimates.

An alternative to the listwise deletion procedure would have been pairwise deletion. Regression analysis relies upon correlations, which are based upon pairs of observations. Pairwise deletion utilizes the available cases for each correlation coefficient, which would have allowed for the inclusion of many more countries in my study, particularly my subgroup analysis. It should also be noted that significance tests can be unclear when utilizing pairwise deletion because of the differentiation in available cases from correlation to correlation. In addition, the matrix of correlations created by pairwise deletion may result in a configuration that would not otherwise logically occur. (Bohrnstedt, George and David Knoke, 1994)

It was my determination that utilizing the listwise deletion procedure was the most credible approach. Listwise deletion allowed me to utilize actual case by case data obtained in the fourth wave of the World Values Survey with no uncertainty regarding validity of available cases from correlation to correlation.

## **Research Method**

In this chapter I analyze the degree to which modernization variables urbanization, adult literacy, and mass media usage influence social change. The modernization data was obtained from the *2006 UNDP Development Report*, *The World Almanac 2008*, and the fourth wave of the World Values Survey (2006).

The first stage of my analysis will present the descriptive statistics for dependent and independent variables in terms of frequency distributions, and measures of central

tendency. In stage two of my analysis I will run a bivariate regression analysis of each dependent/independent variable relationship. In stage two of my analysis I will be using WVS marginals to establish national rates for each independent variable and dependent variables 1-6 to ascertain the presence of influence from these modernization variables on a macro level.

A bivariate linear relationship, or bivariate regression, reveals the degree to which two variables are linearly related. Linear relationships are the most basic and reasonably the first estimation to be gauged. Only after the existence of a linear relationship has been proven to not exist should more complex forms be analyzed. (Bohrnstedt, George and David Knoke, 1994)

1. Following Politics in the News - I will combine the marginals for every day, several times a week and once or twice a week.
2. Highest Education Level Attained – I will combine the marginals for middle and upper.
3. Size of Town - I will combine the marginals for 20,000-50,000, 50,000-100,000, 100,000-500,000, and 500,000 and more.
1. Opinion regarding importance of religion - I will combine the marginals for very important and rather important.
2. Opinion about scientific advances – I use the marginals for will help.
3. Basic attitude about life - I will use the marginals for society must be valiantly defended.
4. Opinion of how free choice and control influence how life turns out – From the

following scale, (1 (none at all) - 10 (a great deal)), I will combine the marginals for 6-10.

5. Homosexuality is justifiable - From the following scale, (1 (none at all) - 10 (a great deal)), I will combine the marginals for 6-10.
6. Overall Happiness - I will combine the marginals for very happy and quite happy.

For the final stage of my analysis, I will run a multiple regression model using the same independent and dependent variables from stage two, revealing the proportion of variance cumulatively explained from a micro level. In stage three of my analysis I will be using 18,190 cases of individual-based statistics *size of town*, and *highest education level attained* from the World Values Survey in place of the *urbanization* and *adult literacy* rates used in phase two. This will allow for greater representation via a substantially larger sampling frame.

The general equation for a multiple regression analysis is shown below.

$$Y_i = a_0 + a_1X_{i1} + \dots + a_px_{ip} + e_i$$

The dependent variable is designated Y, while the independent variable is designated X.  $Y_i$  is the  $i$ th case of the dependent variable.  $P$  is the number of predictors.  $a_j$  is the value of the  $j$ th coefficient ( $j = 0, \dots, p$ ).  $x_{ij}$  is the value of  $i$ th case of the  $j$ th predictor. The error term  $e$  is the error in the observed value for the  $i$ th case. The regression model is linear because increasing the  $j$ th predictor by 1 unit increases the dependent variable by  $a_j$  units.  $a_0$  is the intercept, the model-predicted value of the dependent variable when the value of every predictor is equal to 0. The use of multiple

regression analysis is appropriate because the likelihood of one independent variable explaining all variation is low. (Bohrnstedt, George and David Knoke, 1994)

### **Multicollinearity**

A limitation of using multiple regression analysis is multicollinearity. High correlations between the independent variables can distort the estimates of multiple regression analysis. Prediction of one independent variable by others, multicollinearity, prevents the ability to estimate a requested equation. It is highly recommended that researchers utilize a correlation matrix to analyze the variables used in their equations. When high correlations occur one or more independent variables can be removed from the equation.

I chose not to include a check for multicollinearity in my analysis because of the results from the initial bivariate analyses. The results obtained from my multiple regression analyses did not differentiate in an alarming manner from the results of my bivariate analyses.

Given more time, I would run a correlation matrix to confirm the absence of multicollinearity.

## CHAPTER 3

### MODERNIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The process of operationalizing the concept modernization is at best blurred due to the absence of a commonly agreed upon sociological definition across studies. However, this in no way reflects an absence of modernization studies in sociological work.

Toennies addressed modernization at the end of the nineteenth century as the contrast existing between and evolution involving *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, or community and society (Toennies, 1887). Community based relationships are seen as traditional. Society relationships are more voluntary, temporary, more likely to be bound by contract as typified by those in an urban environment. He viewed societal evolution as an historical trend of movement from one to the other.

Allan Schnaiberg attempted to abstract a working definition of modernization through a synthesis of previous works (Schnaiberg, 1970). In an effort to differentiate modern family structure from traditional, he stressed the importance of family structure, mass media, and religious involvement. Within the family, achievement will have replaced ascription and family production of goods will have been replaced by the consumption of manufactured products. The family would be nuclear, of an egalitarian nature, rather than extended. The presence/absence of ascription would be reflected in the expansion of roles for women. With the transition from *Gemeinschaft* to

*Gesellschaft*, communication as a source of media will move from individual interactions to an outside source such as mass media. Lastly, social organizations will be more secular.

In *Social Change and Development* (So, 1990), So asserts that three post World War II events led to the “modernization school”. The United States was able to achieve superpower status as other Western nations recovered from the war. The Soviet Union’s extension created a world communist movement, and the collapse of European imperialistic control in Asia, Africa, and Latin America resulted in the creation of many new nation-states. The modernization school was a Western-based effort to keep these new nations from following the communist model.

Some of the most influential members of this modernization school (Daniel Lerner, Marion Levy, Neil Smelser) followed functionalist theory, which was combined with the evolutionary theory model that helped explain nineteenth century societal change in Europe. Followers of classical evolutionary theory follow the belief that human societies will necessarily move from traditional to more advanced states (Tonnie’s *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*; Durkheim’s mechanical and organic solidarity; Spencer’s military and industrial society; Comte’s theological, metaphysical, and positive stages). In turn, this movement was viewed as good because its progress represented the attainment of higher states of civilization. The process was also believed to be a slow, meticulous process lasting centuries.

Functionalist theory follows from Parson’s biological model. Societal institutions can be said to parallel the different parts of a biological organism. Like the parts of an organism, societal institutions function for the maintenance and growth of society.

Finally, if one part of an organism or society changes, others will change as well to maintain equilibrium.

Returning to Parsons, in Siedman's (*Contested Knowledge*) discussion of Parson, the key to modernization is a "societal community" in which all individuals have a sense of ownership of society. Beyond attachment to religious, racial, ethnic, and class associations the individual senses belonging to a national community. Under such conditions individualism and pluralism can occur without societal collapse.

Parsons observed that the United States created such an environment by prohibiting the establishment of a state religion. At least in principle, religion, race, ethnicity, and class associations are of no importance in being a citizen of the United States. Parsons adds credibility to his assumptions of modernization by noting that most modern societies have freedoms beyond anything experienced by previous societies.

Parsons' idea of a societal community parallels the essence of national identity theory. Thus the functionalist school of modernization theory arguably supports a link between the development of a national identity and the evolution of modernization.

Weaver, Rock, and Kusterer again characterize modernization theory by its focus on two societal types, traditional and modern (*Achieving Broad-based Sustainable Development*). They go on to emphasize the importance of urban centers in the process. "Large cities are one of the main vehicles for this diffusion." Cities are viewed as the job creating centers for economic growth. The importance of urbanization is once again stressed.

Giddens refers to distancing, disembedding, and reflexivity as three key forces that give dynamism to modernity. Distancing denotes the human condition in relation

to time and space. In premodern society time was always linked with space. In modern society relationships for expanding numbers of people are possible with those occupying increasingly distant space. Disembedding of isolated lifestyles and reflexivity reflect greater empathy and open-mindedness that result from greater separation of time and space.

Decreases in distancing enhance Daniel Lerner's state of "empathy", or flexibility to progressive ideas (*The Passing of Traditional Society*, 1958). A major hypothesis of Lerner's study is that the personality trait of empathy is present only in modern society. He characterizes modern society as being industrial, urban, literate and participant. Traditional society, on the contrary, is based on kinship and isolated communities. Lerner also added that radio and television media play a very important role in exposing people to new ideas.

Durkheim goes on to add that the progress of the division of labor depends upon greater independence of individuals from the group. Greater independence from the group allows individuals to vary at will. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pg. 228) For individuals to vary at will, they must depend upon other individuals. They must both recognize and mutually guarantee the rights of one another. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pg. 77) Thus, the collective consciousness does not disappear; it changes. As religious sentiments and practices, and a focus on past traditions become less and less common, the individual begins to become sacred. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pg. 122)

Durkheim also stated that one institute above all grows in importance as solidarity based on independence continues to grow: the state. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pg. 173) It is the state that creates the laws that protect the individual. It becomes the moral function

of the state to remind us of our common solidarity. Individual social interactions that were previously gauged by the overlapping pressure to conform to shared beliefs, sentiments, and actions come to be gauged by overlapping state laws. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pg. 333)

For multicultural countries, the division of labor would arguably provide the transition for the development of a unifying collective identity, a national identity, by shifting the focus from the reproduction of multiple societal histories to a system of mutual dependence based on individual autonomy. Along with the newly defined social structure, the stability needed for the development of state-level planning would emerge, which is ultimately necessary for national development.

Daniel Lerner conducted a landmark project in the field of modernization theory with his early-1950s study of the multicultural Middle East. Lerner believed that a multicultural landscape requires some principle of unity in diversity: modernization (Lerner 1958, pg. 77). The aptitude required is empathy, through which individuals are able see beyond their manifest lifestyle (Lerner 1958, pg. 72), along with an aptitude to rearrange ones self-system on short notice (Lerner 1958, pg. 85), which stems from the permissive conditions of mobility. People are no longer to be identified with what they were yesterday but rather what they will be tomorrow (Lerner 1958, pg. 74).

According to Lerner, greater empathy follows what he laid out as the three phases of modernization: (1) urbanism, (2) literacy, and (3) media participation. Urbanization characterizes mobility because of the inherent movement to the city. (For Durkheim, this included the development of towns.) Literacy is necessary to perform tasks in the modernizing society, the urban environment. It is considered the second phase because it

is not until the technology of industrial development is fairly developed that a society produces mass media. Media then accelerates the spread of literacy (Lerner 1958, pg. 60).

I believe that Durkheim and Lerner both viewed modernization as a process in which individuals become socially enlightened as they are exposed to and become a part of a social world larger than their family and community. As individuals become participants of a larger society, they learn to have opinions on aspects of the larger society that previously had no place in their smaller communities and families.

Consider for a moment the “grocer” from Lerner’s *The Passing of Traditional Society*. Growing up in Balgat, Turkey during his lifetime, his business grew due to the construction of new roads to Ankara. With increased wealth and mobility, he interacted with different groups of people, and he became more comfortable with his new assumed lifestyle. He was no longer economically dependent upon the Balgat locality but reaping the benefits of the division of labor. (Lerner 1958, pgs 19-40)

When later asked what he would do if he became President, he indicated that he would build lots of new roads opening up Balgat to the rest of the world, for he himself desired to live elsewhere. Other villagers, however, who were far from being as mobile as the grocer, indicated they would not wish to leave the village or live anywhere else. It was more comforting for the villagers to imagine death in Balgat than moving to a new place.

The grocer from Balgat had changed and adapted to the forces of modernization, but the other citizens of his village had not. Their histories were still restricted to their village-level experiences, which had been reproduced over many generations. It was not

that the grocer had been forced to learn any new language, religion, and/or culture as a part of his experience. He had merely been exposed to the early stages of the division of labor.

Thus, as Durkheim's division of labor progresses, previously isolated communities develop an urban/rural economic interdependence. As a result of the increased number of social interactions, individuals develop shared secondary symbols, a "national ideology," upon which a new shared solidarity evolves from multiple previously isolated systems of solidarity. Participant society functions by consensus. It is necessary for individuals to agree often enough with others they do not know for a stable common governance to exist. Lerner referred to this as "psychic mobility." (Lerner 1958, pgs. 47-52)

### **The Case for Modernization and Social Change**

I believe it is essential to analyze the progress of modernization, now fifty years after Lerner's *The Passing of Traditional Society* was published, before focusing on national identity. Statistics listed in Table 1 (pg. 5) reveal a distinct discrepancy in the spectrum of modernization in the world between countries that were colonized and countries that were not. An equal discrepancy exists in the number of ethnic groups, most notably the number of indigenous groups, languages and religions. The eighteen countries included in my research from the World Values Survey represent four different continents. I was unable to include any nations from the continent of Africa. I was also unable to include any of the Middle Eastern nations included in Lerner's work. However, the statistics listed in Table 3 still represent a highly diverse range of values and social attitudes, which I believe will provide an adequate snapshot of the impact modernization

Table 3 Percentages for Modernization and Social Change Variables by Country, n = 18

Country	Follows politics at least once or twice a week	Size of town greater than 20,000	At least moderate Education Level	Believe religion is important	Believe society must be defended	Believe scientific advances will help	Believe homosexuality is justified	Happy Overall	Freedom of choice influences life
Albania	71.3	37.2	45.9	58.8	15.7	54.6	3.2	46.1	47.2
Austria	85.9	39.6	50.7	55	16.5	31.1	31.7	87.7	81
Bangladesh	67	28.4	52.7	98.3	33.9	68.9	0.002	81.1	43
Belarus	79.1	57.5	76.8	43.4	9.3	52.3	9.4	48.7	41.9
Canada	67.9	51.4	75.3	60.8	14.9	50.1	34.8	89.2	83.5
Chile	67.3	100	63.5	77.2	15.9	39.6	15.1	76.6	75.4
India	60.8	55.7	59.6	79.5	14.1	46.7	6.4	73.5	57.1
Italy	76.4	52.5	56.3	70.4	11.1	34.1	27	79.7	58.3
Kyrgyzstan	85.2	37.5	84.8	69.1	22.6	56.7	7.7	83.9	73.3
Lithuania	91.3	45.6	75.7	49.8	9.5	58.1	5	54.4	58.8
Macedonia, Rep. of	71.7	53.7	66.7	70.4	18.3	62.7	6.1	68.6	51.4
Mexico	65.9	61	57.4	78.8	20	40.4	18.5	73.5	77.8
Philippines	54.6	99.3	69.8	97.6	18.7	56	23.2	90	70.4
Slovenia	78.6	24.8	66.9	40.4	13.7	36.5	32.6	68.1	65.8
Spain	74.1	63.1	44.4	51.1	6.3	44.5	29.6	83.2	66.5
United States	77.4	68.2	81.2	80.8	17.9	56.3	19.7	90.9	80.6
Venezuela	58.6	82.4	63	86	29.9	61.1	10	89.5	83.9
Viet Nam	88.9	6.1	45	32.5	14.6	74.6	3.5	91.4	76.1
<b>Overall Average</b>	<b>73.4</b>	<b>53.5</b>	<b>63.1</b>	<b>66.7</b>	<b>16.4</b>	<b>51.4</b>	<b>15.8</b>	<b>76.5</b>	<b>66.2</b>

Source: World Values Survey

\*Variables defined in Research Method section, pgs. 23 – 24.

is having on social change in the world today.

The existence of two social phenomena in particular, pluralism and individualism, have been presented in modernization theory to be primary indicators of social change induced by modernization. I will take a closer look at pluralism in the subsequent chapter on national identity.

The emphasis of individuality over tradition in modernization theory is very common. Parson's emphasized that within a modern society individuals can develop a sense of belonging beyond religious and ethnic associations. Gidden's explained that modernization results in reflexivity, which allows for greater empathy and open mindedness. Durkheim added that progress of the division of labor depends upon greater independence of the individual from the group. Daniel Lerner believed that modernization is the principle of unity in diversity.

I selected the dependent variables importance of religion, basic attitudes towards society and opinion regarding scientific advances to gauge the maintenance of ties to past societal traditions. The variables overall happiness and freedom of choice and control will be used to reflect individuality within society. I believe that in a mechanical, tradition based society there would be less emphasis on the perception of individual happiness. In regard to freedom of choice, some people believe that free choice and control over their lives effect what happens to them, while other people believe that what they do has no quantifiable effect all. I suggest that the belief in an individual's ability to have control over life would not be a dominant trait in traditional society. An increase in tolerance arguably reflects greater empathy and greater independence of individuals from the group, a move away from traditional belief and an appreciation of individuality. I

selected the variable justifiability of homosexuality to gauge any increase in tolerance caused by modernization.

Table 3 lists the variation in these variables and the independent variables size of town, highest level of education attained, and frequency following politics in the news. The percentage of individuals surveyed that considered religion important ranged from thirty two point five percent in Viet Nam to ninety eight point three percent in Bangladesh. Thirty three point nine percent of respondents in Bangladesh believed society should be valiantly defended, not changed or improved, in contrast to only six point three percent in Spain. Forty six point one percent of those surveyed in Albania considered themselves happy opposed to ninety one point four percent in Viet Nam. There was a similar distinction in the belief individual free choice and control effect what happens in life from forty one point nine percent in Belarus to eighty three point nine percent in Venezuela. Less than one percent of respondents from Bangladesh believed homosexuality is ever justified, compared to thirty four point eight percent of respondents from Canada.

It is obvious that striking differences exist in individual values and beliefs, and that these differences can be observed on a cross-national basis. Table 3 also reveals the variation between country respondents regarding size of town, highest education level attained, and frequency following politics in the news. It is easily discernible that the variation in the independent modernization variables is comparable to that of dependent social change variables.

Simple bivariate regression analysis utilizing macro and micro data revealed two different perspectives regarding the influence of modernization on these social beliefs

and values. From a macro perspective (Table 3.1) the only significant relationship with size of town is importance of religion. Here size of town explains twenty nine point three percent of the variation. Replacing size of town with the marginalized urbanization rate of each country, urbanization no longer has a significant influence on importance of religion. Urbanization does explain seventeen point six percent of the variation in the belief of the justifiability of homosexuality. Frequency following politics in the news has the greatest impact on any of the social change variables, explaining fifty two point six percent of the variation in importance of religion. It should be noted, regression analysis reveals that increases in size of town, adult literacy and frequency following politics in the news all predict a reduction in importance of religion.

**Table 3.1 Influence of Independent Modernization Variables *size of town, urbanization, education level, adult literacy, and frequency following politics* on Dependent Social Change Variables *importance of religion, belief scientific advances help, basic attitude about defending society, overall happiness, belief free choice impacts life, and belief homosexuality is justifiable*, n = 18**

	<i>Independent Variable</i>				
	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> Values				
	size of town	urbanization (UNDP)	education level	adult literacy (UNDP)	frequency following politics
<b><i>Dependent Variable</i></b>					
importance of religion	29.3	x	x	20.1	52.6
scientific advances	x	x	x	x	x
basic attitude	x	x	x	23.2	x
happiness	x	x	x	x	x
free choice	x	x	x	x	x
justifiable	x	17.6	x	x	x

*x = no significant relationship*

The absence of significant relationships may be a direct result of the limited number of countries included in my macro analysis. Continuing my stage two analysis, I increased my sample size to 18,190, and included all respondents from each of the eighteen countries who were asked each of the questions relating to each of the variables included in my analysis. Table 3.2 below reveals the results from my stage two analysis after I substituted the larger study sample. The adjusted square multiple R value indicates the explanatory strength of each independent variable and the percentage of change it explains in the respective dependent variable.

**Table 3.2 Regression Analysis of Independent Modernization Variables *frequency following politics, education level, and size of town* on Dependent Social Change Variables *importance of religion, belief scientific advances help, basic attitude about defending society, overall happiness, belief free choice impacts life, and belief homosexuality is justifiable*, n = 18,190**

Independent	Dependent	Adj. R Squared	b	t	P
politics	religion	0.006	-0.057	-10.269	0
politics	science	0	0.016	3.112	0.002
politics	attitude	0.001	0.015	4.964	0
politics	happy	0	0.006	1.48	0.139
politics	choice	0.003	-0.092	-7.063	0
politics	justify	0	0.003	-0.143	0.886
education	religion	0.005	0.094	9.558	0
education	science	0	-0.005	-0.545	0.586
education	attitude	0	-0.015	-2.738	0.006
education	happy	0.005	-0.069	-9.993	0
education	choice	0.011	0.329	14.221	0
education	justify	0.017	0.554	17.582	0
town	religion	0.001	-0.013	-4.551	0
town	science	0	-0.008	-2.832	0.005
town	attitude	0	0.001	0.7	0.484
town	happy	0.01	-0.028	-13.456	0
town	choice	0.01	0.091	13.269	0
town	justify	0.032	0.228	24.715	0

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

Seventy eight percent of the relationships are now significant. However, the explanatory power of the modernization variables over social changes is very weak. None of the modernization variables predict more than three point two percent of the variation in the social change variables. Highest education attained has a significant relationship with each of the dependent variables. Counter to expectation, an increase in size of town predicts an increase in importance of religion. The remaining significant relationships match expectations:

- 1) increases in following politics in the news and highest education attained lead to a decrease in the importance of religion
- 2) increase in following politics in the news and size of town predict an decrease in the opinion that scientific advances are harmful
- 3) increases in following politics in the news and highest education attained lead to a decrease in the opinion that society should be radically defended
- 4) increases in highest education attained and size of town lead to an increase in happiness
- 5) increases in modernization lead to an increase in the opinion that free choice and control do influence how life turns out
- 6) increases in highest education attained and size of town lead to an increase in the opinion that homosexuality is justifiable

In stage three of my analysis I ran a regression model combining frequency following politics in the news, highest education attained, and size of town on each of the social change variables. Table 3.2a (see Appendix C) reveals the influence of the

modernization model is weak, with no adjusted square multiple R value exceeding point zero four one percent (4.1 percent). The pattern of significant relationships is identical to the results depicted in Table 3.2.

The very low explanatory power of the modernization variables failed to explain the differentiation revealed in Table 3. Two alternative predictors could be socioeconomic status and human development index. Socioeconomic status did not represent a phase of Lerner's modernization process, but Lerner did recognize the influence of socioeconomic status on participation within the modernization process. (Lerner 1958, pgs. 367, 439-440) In turn, education and standard of living (socioeconomic status) are two of the three dimensions that comprise the formula for the human development index<sup>5</sup>.

Table 3.3 reveals the results of my regression analysis with socioeconomic status.

**Table 3.3 Regression Analysis of Independent Variable *socioeconomic status* on Dependent Social Change Variables *importance of religion, belief scientific advances help, basic attitude about defending society, overall happiness, belief free choice impacts life, and belief homosexuality is justifiable*, n = 26,650**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
Socioeconomic-status	Religion	0	0.002	0.277	0.782
Socioeconomic-status	Science	0	-0.006	-1.12	0.263
Socioeconomic-status	Attitude	0.001	-0.014	-3.936	0
Socioeconomic-status	Happiness	0.025	0.126	26.141	0
Socioeconomic-status	Choice	0.016	-0.324	-20.977	0
Socioeconomic-status	Justifiable	0.007	-0.253	-13.437	0

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

<sup>5</sup> Life expectancy is the third.

Respondents were asked about socioeconomic status<sup>6</sup> in only sixteen of the eighteen countries, but I was able to increase the sample size to 26,650 individual cases. Increases in socioeconomic status predict an increase in overall happiness, the opinion that free choice effects outcomes in life, and the belief that homosexuality is justifiable. An increase in socioeconomic status also explains a decrease in the belief that society should be radically defended. However, there is no increase regarding the power to explain variation in societal beliefs and values over the predictors size of town, highest education attained or frequency following politics in the news.

Table 3.4 reveals the results of regression analysis utilizing human development index as the independent variable. Once again, macro level analysis reveals substantially

**Table 3.4 Regression Analysis of Independent Variable *Human Development Index* on Dependent Social Change Variables *importance of religion, belief scientific advances help, basic attitude about defending society, overall happiness, belief free choice impacts life, and belief homosexuality is justifiable*, n = 18**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
HDI	religion	0.028	0.134	1.222	0.239
HDI	science	0.344	0.179	3.146	0.006
HDI	attitude	0.208	0.083	2.338	0.033
HDI	happiness	0	-0.019	-0.215	0.832
HDI	choice	0.103	-0.133	-1.717	0.105
HDI	justifiable	0.577	-0.216	-4.919	0

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

<sup>6</sup>Would you describe yourself as belonging to: (1 – upper class, 2 – upper middle class, 3 – lower middle class, 4 – working class, 5- lower class)

stronger relationships (see Table 3.1). An increase in HDI ranking explains an increase in the opinion that scientific advances will help and the belief that homosexuality is justifiable, and a decrease in the belief that society should be radically defended.

Macro and micro analyses support the theoretical assertions of modernization theory; however, the differentiation between macro and micro level analysis results cannot be ignored. This contrast suggests that the strong influence of modernization variables revealed at the national level obscures the observation that modernization has very little influence at the individual level.

## CHAPTER 4

### MODERNIZATION AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

National identity is particularly important in multicultural nation-states because of its link to national development. Sociologically, national identity serves the moral function of providing social solidarity, and without social solidarity, there cannot be the social stability required for planned development. Durkheim stressed that the strength of the collective consciousness is not only that it is common to members of a society at a particular time, but that it is a product of the past. What survives from the past becomes characterized by a sacred or semi-sacred quality. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pg. 233) For a country with one ethnic group, national identity is arguably rooted in that group's collective history. Yet for countries with multiple ethnic groups, national identity must be able to supercede multiple histories. Thus the cultural cleavages present between indigenous groups in multicultural countries are arguably cemented in separate sacred histories.

People may decide for themselves how to use the opportunities available to them, but it is the national posture which regulates the number and kind that are available: how many, where they can lead, and how fast. In a more stable nation, modernization is more likely to proceed without violent discontinuities of policy and personnel: i.e. revolutions, riots, assassinations, coup d'états, and violent struggles for the control of power. In a stable nation, political life has reduced the cataclysmic issues of ideology to the

manageable dimensions of planning (Lerner 1958, pg. 84). Nations that are less stable, which is how Lerner characterized Syria and Egypt, have been so deeply shaken by the crisis of modernization because of the enormous cleavages between the divergent styles of life. (Lerner 1958, pg. 93).

Society is the force that keeps individuals in check and within the bounds of accepted social behavior. Originally the collective consciousness was religion. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pg. 119) Religion controlled every individual at every instant. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pg. 49) Penal law was based on crimes against religion. Durkheim recognized increases in population density, the development of towns, and the number of and speed of the means of communication as forces of social change in regard to the collective consciousness. These forces are part of a process he referred to as the division of labor within society. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pg. 201) As labor becomes divided up between previously independent segments of society, the less each segment of society maintains distinctive characteristics. As labor becomes more and more specialized, individuals become more and more dependent upon others fulfilling their societal roles. This dependency becomes the new basis for fulfilling the moral function of social solidarity. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pg. 7)

According to Hannon, two seemingly contradictory facts characterize modern ethnic movements: (1) the spread of modern economic and political structures causes decreases in ethnic diversity; and (2) high levels of economic and political modernization may, at the same time, lead to a renewed social and political importance to ethnic boundaries.

The first fact to be explained is that economic modernization and state building decrease ethnic diversity. Economic modernization involves at least 3 processes: (1)

industrialization; (2) the establishment of markets; and (3) increasing scale and complexity of production and bureaucratization of production. Effective state building ultimately eliminates localized political boundaries while producing a unitary set of relations between the various peripheries and the center. The intertwining of social systems is increased by joining the fates of previously isolated, unconnected populations. This growing connectivity reduces the ethnic diversity by altering the competitive balance in favor of collective action based on large-scale ethnic identities.

The second fact to be explained is that, counter to the initial reduction in ethnic diversity described above, ethnic collective action often increases in scale and intensity once the modernization process has reached elevated levels. Individuals hold many levels of identities at any given moment, clan, language, religion, etc. Commitments in time and energy on one level can lead to reductions in others. If the reduction of ethnic diversity caused by modernization results in the elimination of smaller-scale ethnic boundaries then the organizational potential of larger-scale ethnic organizations is increased. This effect requires, however, that large-scale cultural identities be available. If so, when cultural identities form hierarchies with respect to size of included populations, modernization processes can lead to the commitment of time and energy to organizations based on the largest-scale identities. (Hannan 1994)

In the absence of large-scale cultural identities, it can be argued then that modernization can decrease (if not eliminate) localized ethnic boundaries in multicultural countries while creating a large-scale national identity. The question then is what circumstances could lead to the development of these other larger-scale ethnic organizations Hannan mentioned.

Hechter addresses this very issue. He begins by acknowledging that sustained economic and social development presumably serves to undercut the traditional bases of solidarity among extant groups. A familiar list of modernization processes systematically increases the individual's dependence upon and loyalty to a centralized government, giving way to political alliances between individuals of similar market positions, and thus, more generally, social class. However, he adds that the Flemings in Belgium, Celts in Britain and France, Slovaks in Czechoslovakia, French in Canada, and various minorities in the United States have not yet received the message.

According to Hechter, classical social theorists overestimated the extent to which industrialization would lead to a fully national society. National development has come to refer to those processes by which "a state characterized by sectional, or otherwise competing economies, politics, and cultures, within a given territory, is transformed into a society composed of a single, all-pervasive, national economy, polity, and culture." (Hechter 1994)

Industrialization is usually conceived to be a necessary condition for intensifying contact between core and peripheral groups. Hence, the establishment of regular interaction between the core and the periphery is seen to be crucial for national development. Once exposed to the core, the periphery's values and normative orientations should undergo transformation, automatically and irreversibly. Frequently, however, this does not seem to occur.

The modernization process brought newspapers into the dark corners of the land, followed by radio and television for many Westernized governments. The same can be said regarding the broad outreach of the Soviet Union. The establishment of a national

school system significantly narrowed socialization differences among the youth of separate collectivities. The maintenance of distinctive languages and other cultural forms was severely threatened. With this in mind, the persistence of peripheral culture cannot be explained solely by isolation. Hechter asserts that it instead suggests a pattern of resistance to assimilation. (Hechter 1994)

This can be explained by the fact that the core/peripheral relationship in which the peripheral is a colony produces a cultural division of labor. Thus the internal colonial model would account for the persistence of backwardness in the midst of industrial society, and the failure to obtain political integration. So, if at some initial point acculturation did not occur because the core group would not permit it, at a later time acculturation may be blocked by the desires of the disadvantaged group for independence from a situation regarded as oppressive. This would account for the cultural rebirths characteristic of societies undergoing nationalist ferment. Thus, it is not that these groups actually uncover some form of re-unifying evidence from their ancient cultural past; most often such cultural ferment is instead created to legitimate contemporaneous demands for the present day goal of independence. (Hechter 1994)

### **The Case for National Identity**

Lerner asserted that modernization would provide unity in a diverse society. (Lerner 1958, pg. 77) Unity is necessary for sustainable stability, which is a prerequisite for national development. (Lerner 1958, 1953) In a stable environment, government can focus less on ethnic and cultural ideological conflicts and more on planning that will

maintain stability. For countries with multiple ethnic groups, solidarity that maintains unity is arguably synonymous with national identity.

Hannan and Hechter point out a possible misconception of modernization theory that national development necessarily parallels the development of a single unifying system of social solidarity that could be referred to as a national identity. Historical oppression via colonialism is not completely eliminated with the loosening of economic boundaries that results from Durkheim's division of labor. Hechter even suggested a pattern of resistance to assimilation, which suggests that historically oppressed groups will continue to return to a search for independence until such status is achieved.

If this is the case, Huntington's assertion in *Clash of Civilizations* that cultural identity has surpassed national identity deserves another look. A pattern of resistance to assimilation would suggest that cultural identity never truly took a second place to national identity. The pursuit for national development and the accompanying displacement of time merely masked the desire for cultural independence. The grocer of Balgat, for example, had adapted to the forces of modernization because his economic livelihood was no longer restricted to Balgat. His fellow citizens of Balgat had not developed a similar level of empathy that would allow them to participate in the larger economy. Their ties to tradition were not based upon a desire for independence, but instead an absence of exposure to anything else. This observation suggests that modernization could be a source of variance in social change without necessarily leading to the development of a single unifying system of social solidarity.

In this chapter I will analyze the concept of national identity. A key indicator of modernization within a developing nation state is the transition from localized social

identities to a larger shared identity. To gauge this transition I will analyze the influence of modernization on the dependent variable geographical group belonging to first. The emergence of participant society is the culmination of the modernization process for Lerner. In a participant society individuals are able to empathize beyond their own experience, supporting the development of a social environment in which individuals can pursue their own fulfillment to the greatest extent with the caveat that they respect other individuals' right to do the same. To gauge the development of participant society I will analyze the ability of World Values Survey respondents to answer questions about government mandated policy, corporate management, scientific advances, and voting practices. Finally, I will analyze the influence modernization has on the dependent variable national pride. In chapter 5 I will take a closer look at how colonialism and the presence of multiple cultures have impacted the influence of modernization on these variables. Table 4 lists the distribution statistics for the participant society variables.

The variables I selected to gauge respondents' ability to function in participant society indicated a strong ability to do so. Almost ninety five percent of respondents on average had an opinion concerning whether or not government lawmakers should increase taxes to prevent environmental pollution. Over ninety percent of respondents had an opinion on how industries should be managed and how scientific advances would impact the world around them. Ninety five percent of respondents had an opinion regarding whether or not scientific advances were benefiting society. And finally, the mean for respondents that would vote in the next election was greater than ninety percent.

There is some variation in the variable national pride. Sixty eight point two percent of respondents from Lithuania indicated that they had national pride, compared to ninety

Table 4 National Percentages for Participant Society Variables by Country, n = 18

Country	Report belonging to country first	Report belonging to locality first	Opinion on environmental taxes	Opinion on corporate management	Opinion on scientific advances	Report they will vote	Report having confidence in government	Report having strong national pride
Albania	28.7	55.8	89.6	86.5	91	99.9	47.8	88.4
Austria	25.4	34.4	94.9	96	94.9	98.1	n/a	87.1
Bangladesh	45.9	30.6	90	83.4	94.2	100	81.8	96.8
Belarus	26.2	46.7	93.9	99.5	94.4	93.9	47.9	73.4
Canada	30.1	32.9	99	96.8	97.1	99.4	49.7	92.8
Chile	41.1	30.1	97.8	93.5	98	99.6	56.3	88.5
India	32.6	41.7	83.6	78.1	92.8	100	46.5	89.7
Italy	24.8	45.8	93.3	91.4	96.3	96.2	n/a	85.1
Kyrgyzstan	46.2	28.6	98.9	98.8	97.7	100	34.9	82.2
Lithuania	27.2	38.4	92.1	95.3	93.6	93.1	33.2	68.2
Macedonia, Rep. of	36.5	46.4	92.3	87.9	94.4	87.7	14.7	83.1
Mexico	28.4	33.5	94.4	89.7	97.1	91.7	35.3	89.8
Philippines	15.4	49.8	98.7	98.2	98.4	88.5	52.5	96.1
Slovenia	36.7	47	94	91.3	94.5	93.4	39.4	85.9
Spain	29.5	43.5	94.3	86.4	90.8	93.3	32.3	85.3
United States	28.5	37.5	97.3	96.7	96.4	99.9	33	94.8
Venezuela	40.3	27.6	98	95.8	91.2	100	41	97.3
Viet Nam	53.6	29.3	93.7	88.9	95.6	0	96.9	97.3
<b>Overall Average</b>	<b>33.2</b>	<b>38.9</b>	<b>94.2</b>	<b>91.9</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>90.8</b>	<b>46.5</b>	<b>87.8</b>

Source: World Values Survey

\*National rates for Environmental Taxes, Industrial Management, and Scientific Advances represent percentage of population able to formulate an opinion on each respective variable

\*National rate for Confidence in Government was determined by percentage of respondents selecting a great deal and quite a lot (see pg. 20)

\*National rate for National Pride was determined by percentage of respondents selecting very proud or quite proud (see pg. 20)

seven point three for Venezuela and Viet Nam. The mean for national pride was high at eighty seven point eight. Survey responses for geographical group belonging to first revealed an interesting dynamic of the state of social solidarity. The mean for locality exceeded the mean for country in seventy two percent of the sample countries.

Respondents from Mexico selected locality three times more often than country. Even in the United States, thirty seven point five percent of respondents selected locality compared to twenty eight point five percent for country.

The data listed in Table 4 reveals a great deal of variation in confidence in government. Only fourteen point seven percent of respondents from the Republic of Macedonia expressed confidence, compared to ninety six point nine percent of respondents from Viet Nam.

The concept of national identity exists somewhere within this spectrum of data. However, in the United States where ninety four point eight percent of respondents indicated they have national pride, only twenty eight point five percent selected country as group belonging to first and only thirty three percent indicated they have confidence in the government. Ninety six point one percent of Philippines' respondents indicated yes for national pride while only fifteen point four percent selected country over locality. At the same time, the three countries with the highest percentage of respondents indicating they have national pride also had the highest number of respondents selecting country over locality for group belonging to first. I do not feel confident in the ability to define national identity using these variables. Yet the question still remains, to what extent does modernization influence these variables.

Simple bivariate analysis utilizing macro level data (Table 4.1) reveals that the impact of modernization on national identity is almost non-existent. It should be noticed that frequency following politics in the news predicts an increase in national pride, explaining twenty five point six percent of the variation.

**Table 4.1 Influence of Independent Modernization Variables *size of town, urbanization, education level, adult literacy, and frequency following politics* on Dependent National Identity Variables *geographic group belonging to first and national pride, n = 18***

	<i>Independent Variable</i>				
	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> Values				
<i>Dependent Variable</i>	size of town	urbanization (UNDP)	education level	adult literacy (UNDP)	frequency following politics
geographic group	x	x	x	x	x
national pride	x	x	x	x	25.6

Source: World Values Survey, UNDP  
*x = no significant relationship*

Table 4.2 reveals the results of bivariate regression analysis from a micro perspective. Eighty nine percent of relationships are now significant. However, the explanatory power of the modernization variables over national identity is very weak. The adjusted multiple square R value does not exceed point zero one four percent (1.4 percent) for any of the regressions. Increase in size of town predicts an increase in national pride. Counter to expectation, an increase in highest education attained predicts a decrease in national pride. The remaining significant relationships meet expectations:

- 1) increases in all modernization variables lead to an increase in the importance of belonging to a geographic group larger than locality

In stage three of my analysis I ran a regression model combining frequency following politics in the news, highest education attained, and size of town on each of the national identity variables. Table 4.2a (see Appendix C) reveals the influence of the modernization model is weak, with no adjusted square multiple R value exceeding point zero two seven (2.7 percent). The influence of the modernization model on national pride is particularly weak, explaining only point seven percent of variation. The pattern of significant relationships is identical to the results depicted in Table 4.2.

**Table 4.2 Regression Analysis of Independent Modernization Variables *frequency following politics, education level, and size of town* on Dependent National Identity Variables *geographical group belonging to first and national pride*, n = 18,190**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
Politics	group	0.002	-0.044	-6.457	0
Politics	pride	0	8.357E	0.021	0.983
Education	group	0.012	0.183	15.135	0
Education	pride	0.005	0.066	9.385	0
Town	group	0.012	0.053	14.995	0
Town	pride	0.001	-0.01	-4.72	0

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

I included analysis of the influence of socioeconomic status and human development index to match my analysis in Chapter 3, and to support my hypothesis that modernization influences social values and the concurrent development of a unifying national identity. Table 4.3 reveals the results of my analysis utilizing socioeconomic status as an independent modernization variable. The increase in the importance of

belonging to a group larger than locality is maintained, but the explanatory power to predict variation remains weak

**Table 4.3 Regression Analysis of Independent Variable *socioeconomic status* on Dependent National Identity Variables *geographic group belonging to first and national pride*, n = 26,650**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	P
Socioeconomic-status	Group	0.004	-0.081	-10.023	0
Socioeconomic-status	Pride	0	0.005	1.098	0.272

■ Not significant      Source: World Values Survey

The formula for determining human development index utilizes variations of highest education attained and socioeconomic status. However, Table 4.4 reveals that an increase in human development index predicts a decrease in the importance of belonging to a geographical group larger than locality, explaining nine point nine percent of the variation.

**Table 4.4 Regression Analysis of Independent Variable *Human Development Index* on Dependent National Identity Variables *geographical group belonging to first and national pride*, n = 18**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
HDI	group	0.199	0.112	2.286	0.036
HDI	pride	0	0.041	0.889	0.387

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

Analysis of the relationship between increases in modernization and national pride revealed a continuation of the strong differentiation between macro and micro level analysis. Micro level analysis again revealed a higher percentage of significant

relationships. Significant relationships at the macro level were substantially stronger.

The relationship between following politics in the news and national pride was revealed to be significant at the macro level but non-significant at the micro level. I believe that the existing differentiation between macro and micro level analysis of national identity, like that of social change in Chapter 3, reveals that comparisons of national rates obscure the influence of modernization on an individual level.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE INFLUENCE OF MODERNIZATION IN MULTICULTURAL COUNTRIES THAT WERE SUBJUGATED TO COLONIALISM

The reality of social conflict between colonial forces and indigenous cultures needs no explanation. By definition, however, colonialism sometimes included settlers from a ruling power, and sometimes it did not. The subjugation of foreign societies by colonial powers was not an exercise of force over formally defined foreign nation-states. Rather, it was an exercise of force over various indigenous societies. Thus, under the direction of colonial powers, formally defined nation-states were created from widely varying combinations of settlers and indigenous societies.

One hundred thirty three of the one hundred seventy five<sup>7</sup> countries ranked by the United Nations *2006 Human Development Report* are recognized as having been subjected to colonialism under France, Portugal, Great Britain, Spain, the Soviet Union, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Of these one hundred thirty three countries, one hundred three consist of more than one ethnic group. The indigenous status of the ethnic groups in these multicultural countries is differentiated as follows:

- Twenty countries consist of multiple ethnic groups, with no indigenous ethnic groups remaining

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<sup>7</sup>See Appendix I for complete list of countries in Table 1: The Influence of Colonialism on Multicultural Countries. Occupied Palestinian Territories and Hong Kong not included due to absence of overall comparable data. In addition, I only considered ethnic groups that either make up approximately ten percent of a country's overall population or ten percent of a country's largest ethnic group.

- Twenty nine countries consist of one indigenous ethnic group and one or more other ethnic groups
- Fifty four countries consist of more than one indigenous ethnic group

One hundred three of the one hundred seventy five countries ranked in the *2006 Human Development Report* are multicultural nation-states that were previously subjected to colonialism. Thus, if opposing collective consciousnesses react to each other vigorously, and the ethnic groups that populate multicultural countries previously subjected to colonialism were united under coercion, the potential for conflict in these nation-states must be taken into account. For under these circumstances, the potential for the development of a unifying collective identity that supercedes all other pre-existing collective identities becomes greatly restricted.

The importance of local histories in a multicultural setting did not go unnoticed by Lerner. He believed that a complication of Middle East modernization would be the presence of a strong ethnocentrism, which could be observed politically in strong nationalism and psychologically in an equally strong xenophobia. A hatred resulting from past colonialism was being manifested in the rejection of everything foreign. For example, modern institutions were strongly desired, while modern ideologies were not. (Lerner 1958, pg. 47)

Regardless of whether solidarity is a product of religious doctrine or a shared dependency, Durkheim emphasized that threats to a strong consciousness will be reacted to vigorously. The greatest cause to invoke such a reaction is an opposing state of collective consciousness. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pg. 53) He added that people need

peace only when they are already bound by sociability. Thus, for people to acknowledge the rights of others they must first have established a liking of one another. (Durkheim 1893/1964, pgs. 76-77)

In the preface to *The Passing of Traditional Society*, six years after publication, Lerner stressed that “people problems” were impeding the success of modernization. There was a strong sense of ethnocentrism in American foreign aid, but of greater impact was the ethnocentrism that existed among developing peoples. Indonesians were dealing cruelly with Eurasians, while Turks and Greeks engaged in conflict. There was the ethnocentric “Egyptianization” of minorities in Egypt and the acts of East Africans against Indians. (Lerner 1958)

Lerner believed “people problems” stemmed from the inability of many to conceive that it was only coincidence Westernization and modernization appeared to be the same. Instead, North Atlantic nations were the first to develop the social processes of urbanization, industrialization, popular participation, and secularization. It was here that a state of mind focusing on progress, growth, and the ability to adapt to change came to prevail. Lerner stressed that the presumed ties between Westernization and the process of modernization must be broken for modernization to effectively function.

The importance of national identity re-emerged with the focus on ethnicity and nationalism in sociological theory in the late 1980s to the early 1990s with the fall of the Soviet Union. In particular, the separation of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia respectively into two separate, independent, homogenous nations altered the view that modernization would universally homogenize multicultural populations.

Several research projects adopted this new perspective, including those of Jeffrey Alexander, Jim Sidanius et al, Craig Calhoun, Timothy Phillips, Liah Greenfield.

Jeffrey Alexander examined the influence of ethnicity on national identity formation in a multicultural setting. In his paper, “Theorizing the Modes of Incorporation: Assimilation, Hyphenation, and Multiculturalism as Varieties of Civil Participation,” he begins by highlighting Peter Adler’s (1974) definition of the “multicultural man.” Adler described the multicultural man as having the desire and ability to put himself in the shoes of others in a nonjudgmental fashion. He is able to display major shifts in his frame of reference, giving little credence to any fixed social character. Alexander adds that fifteen years later, feminist scholar Catherine Stimpson (1992) defined multicultural as society characterized by “equally valuable but distinct racial and ethnic groups.” In a comparison of the different multicultural themes, Alexander noted that a shift had taken place from relativistic universalism to a protectionism aimed at cultural uniqueness.

Arthur Schlesinger asserted in *The Disuniting of America* that this new radical multicultural activism was destructive and reinvigorating ancient antagonisms.

Alexander points to Iris Marion Young’s *Justice and the Politics of Difference* as the key theoretical piece on radical multiculturalism. She stated that a “good” society allows for the reproduction of cultural differences in the absence of oppression. Such a system based on group differentiation was believed by radical multiculturalists to serve the moral function of establishing and maintaining social solidarity. Alexander found it highly unlikely though that such a system would benefit minority groups that have been pushed to the fringes of society by dominant groups.

In order to better depict his own view on multicultural solidarity, Alexander believed it was necessary to move from concepts like society and common values to the concept of a “civil sphere.” He characterized the civil sphere as being organized upon a distinct social solidarity built upon autonomous individuals acting for themselves while maintaining a sense of obligation to others occupying the same social sphere. There also exist non-civil spheres such as the family, economic groups, geographically isolated communities, and religious groups in which social hierarchies are not always based on fairness and civil respect. These private spheres do not simply exist outside the civil sphere but rather penetrate it and seek to influence it. This is apparent as the status of women within the family has transferred into institutionalized inequality in society.

Civil spheres are also influenced by the immigration, revolutions, and conquests they are historically founded upon. The “founders” of particular societies are characterized by distinctive qualities such as religion, language, and race, and only those sharing these “primordial” qualities are perceived to be qualified to occupy a particular society’s civil sphere. This observation led Alexander to ask the following questions:

1. Is the civil sphere of a particular nation-state truly autonomous? Or, is the nation’s civil sphere so attached to primordial beliefs that the civil sphere only serves as a legitimization of them?
2. How should the identities of outsiders be conceived of in relation to a society’s civil sphere? Should they be considered deceitful or honest, irrational or rational?

Alexander goes on to differentiate three distinct means under which societies have historically answered these questions regarding the expansion and maintenance of the civil sphere: assimilation, ethnic hyphenation, multiculturalism.

Assimilation allows outside members to participate in the civil sphere only if they completely shed their primordial identities. Assimilation can only take place to the extent to which channels are present to facilitate the process through education, interaction, and mass media. Education does not refer to abstract qualities of rationality but rather the civic education of learning how to display civil competence.

Societies with less autonomous civic spheres may further tighten their primordial qualifications for participation in the civic sphere when faced with the threat of outsiders. Rather than becoming assimilated, the outside group assumes a hyphenated position in society. They are no longer referred to by the core group as foreign but rather by their ethnicity. Ethnic hyphenation may eventually lead to greater participation by the outside group in the civic sphere through increased numbers of friendships and intermarriages.

Alexander asserts that a third means of incorporation has developed recently in democratic societies, multiculturalism. Multiculturalism emphasizes universalism in the civic sphere. Individual differences are celebrated as more and more members of society come to have increasingly common experiences. This opens up the possibility for understanding as well as acceptance. National origin, discriminated genders, minority religions, race, and minority languages become reinterpreted as accepted qualities of civility.

In “The Interface between Ethnic and National Attachment: Ethnic Pluralism or Ethnic Dominance,” Jim Sidanius et al begin by highlighting the absence of empirical research, contrasting attachment to the nation-state and attachment to one’s ethnic group. They suggest that there are three perspectives that might be used: the melting pot, multicultural pluralism, and “group dominance.”

With the melting pot perspective, one assumes that the degree of attachment to the nation should be approximately the same for all ethnic groups and that attachment to the nation should be independent of all ethnic particularism. The argument is that the more loyalty one has to their ethnic subgroup, the less loyalty they have for the nation.

Multiculturalism replaces the melting pot metaphor with the “salad bowl.” This perspective implies that ethnic subgroups maintain their particularities rather than adopting any standard of universal ethnicity. All subgroups are considered equals in society. Individuals may maintain a dual commitment to both ethnic particularities and the national community. Like the melting pot perspective, multiculturalism implies the same degree of attachment to the nation across all ethnic subgroups. Differing from the melting pot perspective, multiculturalism implies that loyalty to one’s subgroup does not lessen loyalty for the nation.

Followers of the group dominance perspective see multicultural states developing as a direct result of the conquest of one group by another. The conquering group perceives itself as having ownership of the nation. Thus members of the dominant group would have a stronger attachment to the nation than would members of subordinate groups.

What the followers of group dominance perspective do not address is the influence modernization does or does not have on ownership of the nation. Supporters of modernization theory would argue that the evolution of participation by non-dominant groups would coincide with an increased sense of ownership.

Sidanius et al conducted a group dominance perspective study of ethnic and national attachment in both Israel and the United States. They distinguished two different types of national attachment: nationalism and patriotism. The former rests upon the desire for

dominance of one's nation over others. The latter concerns love for a country and its symbols.

The U.S. sample consisted of a stratified random sample of eight hundred twenty three UCLA undergraduate students. The sampling frame was a list of all registered students stratified into four ethnic groups: whites, Latinos, blacks, and Asians. Students were then randomly selected from each group. The participants were given a questionnaire to determine attitudes concerning national attachment, group attachment, and group dominance. Borrowing from Kosterman and Feshbach's national attitudes instrument (1989), they constructed a twenty one item scale to gauge national attachment. The scale ranged from one to seven, from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7). The questions broke down as shown below:

#### National Attachment Scale

1. The more the United States actively influences other countries, the better off these countries will be.
2. To maintain our country's superiority, war is sometimes necessary.
3. For the most part, America is no more superior than any other industrialized country in the world.
4. To maintain our country's economic superiority, aggressive economic policies are sometimes necessary.
5. The USA should *not* dominate other countries.
6. In general, Americans are wonderful people.
7. I feel very warmly toward my countrymen.
8. I do not care for most other Americans.
9. Most other Americans are not worth caring about.
10. Every time I hear the national anthem, I feel strongly moved.
11. I find the sight of the American flag very moving.
12. The American flag should *not* be treated as a sacred object.
13. The symbols of the United States (e.g., the flag, Washington Monument) do not move me one way or the other.
14. I would really not want to move to another country.
15. I have warm feelings for the place where I grew up.
16. I feel no differently about the place where I grew up than any other place.

17. I would be willing to leave the United States for good.
18. I have great love for my country.
19. I am proud to be an American.
20. There is nothing particularly wonderful about American culture.
21. I don't feel much affection for the United States.

#### Questions

#### Variables

- |                                    |                            |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, 20, and 21 | - Patriotism               |
| 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5                  | - Nationalism              |
| 14, 15, 16, and 17                 | - Attachment to place      |
| 6, 7, 8, and 9                     | - Concern for co-nationals |

Five different measures were used to gauge ethnic group attachment. All used a seven-point Likert Scale. The first variable was *in-group identification*. Four items were used to measure in-group identification. These questions directly followed a question asking respondents to identify their ethnic category.

1. How strongly do you feel about other members of your ethnic group?
2. How important is your ethnicity to your identity?
3. How often do you think of yourself as a member of your ethnic group?
4. How close do you feel to other members of your ethnic group?

*Group boundary maintenance* was measured by the degree to which respondents opposed interracial marriage and interracial dating.

*In-group preference* measured the positive response subjects had to their own ethnic group in comparison to other ethnic groups. All respondents were asked how negatively or positively they felt toward each ethnic group.

In-group mobilization measured the degree to which respondents would take political action on behalf of their own ethnic group. The question asked: “How seriously would you consider engaging in the following activities on behalf of your ethnic group?”

1. Join an ethnic community activist organization.
2. Take part in demonstrations.
3. Willingly sign petitions.
4. Write letters to government officials.
5. Actively gather public support via telephone or door-to-door solicitations.
6. Physically engage police/government authorities.
7. Civil disobedience.

*Experienced discrimination* was measured by responses to the following two questions:

1. “I experience discrimination because of my ethnicity.”
2. “Other members of my ethnic group experience discrimination.”

*Social dominance orientation* used a sixteen item measurement to gauge to what degree someone favors group hierarchies within a society.

The second sample involved a non-probability study of eight hundred ninety two Israeli and Arab students from Hebrew University, Haifa University, Bar-Dan University, and the Technion University. Questionnaires were similar but shorter versions of those received by their UCLA counterparts.

A third sample was based on a non-probability sample of Americans conducted by the Center for Political Studies at the Institute for Social Research at the University of

Michigan for the 1992 National Election Study (NES). Two thousand four hundred eighty five respondents were randomly selected.

1724 whites

166 Latinos

278 blacks

The NES consisted of two patriotism questions.

1. “When you see the American flag flying, does it make you feel extremely good, very good, somewhat good, or not very good?”
2. “How strong is your love for your country, extremely strong, very strong, somewhat strong, or not very strong?”

*In-group effect* was measured by a cold/warm NES thermometer rating of one’s ethnic in-group. *In-group preference* was determined as it had been for the two student sample groups, comparing positive and negative views of one’s own ethnic group to other ethnic groups.

- The evaluation of the American students revealed that Euro-Americans scored the highest in both patriotism and nationalism. African Americans displayed far less patriotism than any other group, and Latino Americans registered far less nationalism than any other group.
- Israeli Arabs were significantly less patriotic and nationalistic than Israeli Jews. For Israeli Jews, ethnic group preference coincided with high rates

of patriotism. On the contrary, for Israeli Arabs, increased patriotism was linked to decreases in ethnic group preference.

- For Euro-Americans, a strong desire for group hierarchies in society coincided with high levels of patriotism. For African-Americans, high levels of patriotism were linked to a desire for greater equality among groups in society.

The results of the group dominance study supported the belief that the conquering population, Euro-American in the U.S., would have the highest degree of patriotism. Israeli Jews, in turn, were more patriotic than Israeli Arabs. They added that patriotism increased for Israeli Arabs as ethnic group preference decreased and that patriotism increased for African-Americans with the perception of greater equality. The latter two indicators are synonymous with modernization. A growing sense of patriotism in response to a decrease in ethnic group preference is arguably a direct result of Durkheim's division of labor. An increase in patriotism as a result of greater equality arguably reflects what Lerner would characterize as an extension of participant society.

The results of the Sidanius study, however, in some ways are contradicted by the data presented in Table 4 (pg. 48). As an example, World Values Survey data for Kyrgyzstan revealed that forty six point two percent of the Kyrgyz population claimed geographical membership to the country first as opposed to the twenty eight point six percent who selected locality. In the United States more respondents selected locality first. WVS results also reveal that eighty two point four percent of Israeli respondents indicate they have strong national pride compared to eighty two point two percent of

Kyrgyz respondents. A very strong likeness but, unlike the United States and Israel, the conquering population of the former Soviet Republic of Kyrgyzstan only makes up twelve point five percent of the population.

Calhoun explained in “Nationalism and Ethnicity” that any doubts about the link between ethnicity and nationalism should have been dispelled by the violence in what was formerly Yugoslavia. The events that transpired in Yugoslavia were a direct result of the communist government’s policy of drawing state lines cross-cutting historical ethnic residential patterns. Ethnic conflicts and the potential for nationalism have not disappeared, yet the nation-state remains the key definer of legitimate political communities. Calhoun asks, like Hannon and Hechter, is nationalism a continuation of historical ethnic patterns, or is it a product of modern times?

He argues that nationalism is indeed a modern phenomenon and highlights possible originating moments in history.

1. Seventeenth century British struggle against monarchy
2. Eighteenth century struggles against colonialism by New World elites
3. 1789 French Revolution
4. Reactions by Germans to that revolution, sparked by German disunity

Calhoun traces the origin of the word nationalism to the German philosopher Herder (Berlin, 1976) and the Frenchman Abbe Barruel (O’Brien, 1988) less than two hundred years ago. Nationalism became the basis of modern claims for political independence and autonomy, which raises yet two more questions. Is nationhood a political right for all ethnic groups? Or, is nationhood merely a means by particular elites to influence control

over masses for the sake of power? Nationhood is after all not just a localized effort at self-determination but an attempt to declare certain rights within a modern world-system.

Calhoun details C. Tilly's (1990) comparison of the nation-state to empires, city states, and other previous formations. Tilly highlighted the nation-state's centralized power, the ability to mobilize rural populations, and the existence worldwide of other nation-states. Tilly distinguishes the nation-state from the national state as a group sharing language, religion, and symbolic identities. National states on the contrary are national on the basis of their organization of large populations and land areas for the sake of warfare or economic development.

Over time, as European states invested in military ventures, public services, and economic development, national economies became very different, and the daily routines of Europeans began to be determined more than ever by what national state they resided in. Among other implementations, national states imposed national education systems, national military service, and a national language. As national state building progressed, early forms of intra-national nationalism were viewed as instances of undesirable remnants from the past that would universally transform into patriotism in the long run. Hence modernization theory stated that outlying regions of national states would become homogenized via participation in the core social system.

Calhoun includes Giddens's (1984) distinction that nationalism is a byproduct of the original European national states more so than the original European national states were instances of nationalism. National states are a result of the rise of states and the capitalist world system. Giddens characterizes a "nation" as clearly defined territory with a centralized administration that is monitored by other nations. The link between ethnicity

and nationalism is more or less coincidental. The state defines nationhood, and primordial ethnicities are adapted to those boundaries or adapted to serve as the basis for the formation of new states. Such instances of nationalism are rooted in the desire for power rather than ethnic solidarity.

Calhoun also adds Gellner's (1983) observation that not only is nationalism a modern phenomenon, but that nationalism does not rely upon primordial ethnic ties. Rather, nationalism may result from the development of a new social group more suitable for the time that uses largely forgotten primordial ties as a catalyst. Nationalism arises from the efforts of cultural elites searching for history that may not have political intentions. Once out there, nationalist claims become political fodder for any number of social groups.

My analysis of national identity in Chapter 4 did not include a variable for nationalism. Sidanius et al characterized nationalism as the belief that one's nation is superior to others. Calhoun refers to nationalism as the seeking out of power or independence by a social group. In this chapter I will add the dependent variable willingness to fight for country to my analysis as an indicator of nationalism.

In "Symbolic Boundaries and National Identity in Australia," Timothy Phillips asserts that the study of national symbolic boundaries involves the process with which citizens exclude others from the national community. The national community consists of institutions and social practices within a particular civil society. Civil society is the sphere of social interactions reliant upon morally defined social solidarity. A common theme of these cultural patterns is symbolic codes, which separate the social world into those who are friends and those who are enemies. Friends and enemies may exist both

	Friend	Enemy
Internal	Middle class, Working class, Aussies, Christians, Australia	Greenies, Feminists
External	Americans, Great Britain, USA, South Africa	Japan, Soviet Union, Indonesia, China

**Figure 2: Symbolic Boundaries Typology**

internationally (external) and intra-nationally (internal).

Phillips adds that Australia has its own unique system of symbolic codes that distinguish the Australian from the un-Australian. These codes can be found in popular literature, newspapers, tourism, television, and civic rituals. Analyzing these resources reveals that Communist and Southeast Asian countries have historically been characterized as enemies while Great Britain and its colonial branches were considered friends. Internally groups like feminists were depicted as enemies while the middle class and working class were considered friends. Feminists represent a challenge to orthodox national boundaries by a previously excluded social group. As globalization challenges national boundaries, internal boundaries are challenged by social movements produced within civil society.

What then are the sources that maintain attachments to orthodox views of the national community? Phillips suggests “socio-demographic location, political orientation, and exposure to civil discourse.” First there is the expectation that older Australians should be more socially bound to orthodox symbolic boundaries than the

young. This is easily explicable via the different collective memories held by different age groups. One such variation would be the role of gender in society, particularly women. Phillips takes into account Nira Yuval-Davis's view of women being the key transmitters of social cuisine, customs, songs, and overall traditions across generations. From this perspective, he suggests that gender is a significant variable to be understood when considering variations in the commitment to orthodox national boundaries.

The role of religion is also significant. This is because institutionalized religion is built upon symbolic boundaries of the family and community. In addition, Phillips states that education has been shown by research to lead to less orthodox, more liberal views and that race and ethnicity are very important for Australian attitudes.

Discourse over national identity can also be found in party politics. Both groups favor orthodox views of national identity, but there is differentiation in regard to Aboriginal land claims. In turn, discourses of the right seek a return to traditional definitions of orthodox symbolic boundaries

Individual conceptions of Australian national identity are strongly influenced by frequent exposure to mass media and personal social networks. Mass media can be expected to reproduce orthodox symbolic boundaries. The propensity for challenging orthodox symbolic boundaries can be gauged by the density of the social networks individuals are located within. It follows then that the number of hours of television watched and the number of social networks will reflect the orientation toward orthodox national symbolic boundaries.

Phillips made the following three hypotheses regarding the social determinants and expected consequences of Australian conceptions of national symbolic boundaries:

1. Australians' feelings toward different intra-national social groups and other nations can be gauged by personal judgments regarding friends and enemies of national boundaries. An individual who feels warmly toward one intra-national friendly group will feel warmly toward other groups characterized as being intra-national friendly.
2. Socio-demographic, exposure to civil discourse, and political orientation factors will consistently dictate the same ideology regarding national symbolic boundaries. Older Australians will have different feelings regarding intra-national and international friends and enemies than younger Australians.
3. Strong emotional attachment to orthodox symbolic national boundaries will produce corresponding opposition to multiculturalism and social groups previously excluded by national boundaries.

Philips collected data from a sample size of three thousand twelve from a mixture of urban and rural Australian areas. Personnel interviews were conducted in urban areas with mail questionnaires used in rural areas. The Michigan Feeling Thermometer was applied to fifteen social groups and nations. From the interval of one to one hundred, respondents were asked to score their feelings toward social groups and nations. A score of one hundred registers the warmest possible feeling, while a score of zero represents the coolest. Additional items gauged respondents' views on multiculturalism, the importance of the Queen for Australia, and the money budgeted by the government for aborigines. Lastly, measures of political orientation, exposure to civil discourse, and socio-demographics were developed.

Phillips' study revealed four findings related to the analysis of symbolic national boundaries:

1. Symbolic categories were shown to group together as “internal friends,” “external friends,” “internal enemies,” and “external enemies.”
2. Australians who are older, less educated, strongly religious, right-wing oriented, watch more television, pay little attention to politics, and identify very strongly with their preferred party are more apt to hold a profoundly strong attachment to orthodox symbolic national boundaries.
3. Women and rural Australians showed contradictory views toward orthodox symbolic national boundaries. Women showed more “warmth” than men toward internal friends and greater suspicion toward external enemies. Rural Australians were more likely than their urban counterparts to not be “kindly disposed” to external friends. In turn, rural Australians were more likely to “feel coolly” toward internal enemies.
4. Australians who showed stronger attachment to symbolic national boundaries were more likely to reject multiculturalism.

Phillips' study emphasized the influence of age and gender on national symbolic boundaries. In this chapter I will control for the variables sex and year of birth to account for the influence of these demographics.

In “The Babel of Europe? An Essay on Networks and Communicative Spaces,” Philip Schlesinger analyzes the European Union and what it means to the diverse European cultural landscape. He begins his article briefly discussing the French and

German opposition in 2003 to the United States military plans in Iraq. It was stressed by Donald Rumsfeld that Europe was no longer thought of as France and Germany. He added that other European countries were not aligning with France and Germany but with the United States. The fracturing of the EU over its relationship with the U.S. represented a very real challenge for EU unity, and unity was essential for the EU to reach its goal of new levels of economic competitiveness.

Another potential roadblock for the EU was linguistic barriers. In 2002, there were already eleven different official languages spoken within the Union. An emphasis was placed early on to maintain cultural diversity rather than seeking homogeneity, thus citizens of different countries were encouraged to become skillful in multiple languages. It also became known that one third of the Union already had command of English as a second language. “Over ninety two percent of secondary students in non-English speaking countries were studying English.” (Charlemagne, 2003) With the emerging number of cross-national interactions multiplying, a social communication theory needed to be adapted to address the influence of language usage upon European collective identities.

Schlesinger links social communication theory and nationalism to the work of Karl Deutsch fifty years prior (1953), and further traced to Otto Bauer one hundred years earlier (1907). Bauer asserted that a modern democratic nation may be seen as a “community of cultures.” He also viewed the nation as a social community engaged in reciprocal social interactions, necessitating a shared language. The community of interaction or culture can only extend as far as the scope of lingual communication. The

boundaries created by language and culture may serve as catalysts for the strengthening of a national group's collective identity.

This idea is common in a number of notable theories of nationalism. Ernest Gellner (1983) viewed culture as the mode of communication for a particular community. This system of communication becomes the necessary mode of communication for the nation-state. Cultural boundaries become defined by the extent to which national cultures are diffused via education systems and the media.

Benedict Anderson (1991) asserted that printed languages unify the national mode of communication. Thus, via Gellner's education system, individuals learn to read printed language in books and newspapers. For both theorists, the regular collective consumption of media in a single national language develops and serves as a catalyst for a sense of collective belonging. Michael Billig (1995) adds that we live a state of reciprocal assimilation of "symbolism and categorization." He includes national boundaries, domestic and foreign news, languages, flags, national histories, and anthems. National identity is constantly reproduced around us. Social communication theorists concur at some level or another that communication is integral in conceptualizing the nation.

Schlesinger also recognized the modern limitations of social communications theory. Classical social communications theory focused on interior national elements that define who we are and the various social boundaries around us. However, in this age of the Internet, globalization, and satellite communication, boundaries are inescapably being penetrated regularly.

In “The Formation of the Russian National Identity: The Role of Status Insecurity and Ressentiment,” Liah Greenfield defined nationalism as a style of thought as opposed to the more often used reference to xenophobic political activism. For her, nationalism refers to a “people,” which is the source for individual identity and the basis for collective identity. The “people” is the mass of the population which is considered larger than a community, mostly homogenous, and only symbolically divided by class and status. “People” and “nation” became synonymous in modern times. In the early sixteenth century, “nation” referred to an elite group of representatives while the “people” were merely considered rabble. When England began referring to the entire population as a “nation”, the “people” willingly identified themselves with an elite few they previously had no association with.

Greenfield points to England as the first and only nation in the world for about two hundred years. With the dominant position England held in the world, along with the other Western core states, nationality became the standard. As the Western influence spread, societies belonging to the Western societal system had no choice but to become nations. The spread of nations and the development of national identities during the eighteenth century were no longer cases of original creation but rather the implementation of a foreign idea.

The adoption of national identity must have had something of benefit for influential members of society to support such an overall change in identity structure. Greenfield points to social anomie caused by the influence changes in reality were having upon traditional modes of social order. Very often the anomie was reflected in “status inconsistency and insecurity.”

As indigenous groups focused on the adoption of imported systems, they were often faced with models that were perceived to be superior. The method of contact often emphasized that superiority and the reaction was often one of “ressentiment.” The “ressentiment” resulted in the “transvaluation of values” of the models being copied. The ideas being copied were adapted to the specific internal characteristics of the country. Variances in national identity and consciousness grew from this transvaluation of values. The primary purpose of Liah Greenfield’s paper was to study the influence of status insecurity and resentment on the development of national identity in Russia.

As Greenfield analyzes the Russian transition to statehood, she distinguishes the nobility as the first Russian nationalists. As attempts were made to copy the European model, the nobility expanded as the military and civil service establishments grew. Members of the aristocracy felt threatened. The nature of Russian nationalism and its dependency on the West created a sense of insecurity that was ultimately soothed by resentment. To overcome the sense of inferiority, the next step for Russia in developing a sense of national consciousness was to present the attainment of equality with the West as undesirable. The new goal for Russian development was to surpass the inferior West. Greenfield identifies resentment of the West as the most important factor in the crystallization of a Russian national consciousness. She goes as far as to say there would have been no Russian national consciousness without the West.

Quotes like Lenin’s “The capitalists will sell us the rope with which we will hang them” support Greenfield’s assertions about Russian national consciousness. I observed firsthand the same impact on the Russian education machine. Consider the following

reading exercise from the grade 9 English Language textbook used by the school I taught at in the former Soviet Republic of Kyrgyzstan (Ostrovsky, B.S, A.P Starkov 1985).

New York has a population of over eight million people. In New York City, there are representatives <sup>4</sup> of nearly all the world's national groups, and when you walk in the streets and avenues of Manhattan you can hear practically every language in the world. In the city of New York alone, there are more than one million Negroes. They mostly live in Harlem, the poorest district of New York.

Early in the morning, factory workers, dockers and builders go to work. Work is going on under the ground, on the ground and high above the ground on the walls of the sky-scrappers; every morning men clean the windows of these great buildings.

By eight o'clock in the morning, the New York streets are crowded with clerks and office employees.<sup>5</sup> When they start their work, there is nobody in the streets, only those who have no work, no future.

It is not easy to find work in New York. A man in need takes up any job he finds, even the most badly paid one. But very many New Yorkers have no work at all.

New York's harbour is the finest and largest in the world. Every year a great number of big ships from all countries come up to the docks. New Yorkers helped to build twelve railroads which carry goods and people to and from all parts of the country. In this way they made New York one of the greatest ports in the world.

When more business offices were needed, sky-scrappers were built. When better communications were needed, bridges, subways and roads were built. When planes became an important of the public transport system, great airports were built. But the federal government in Washington does little to help New York to solve its many problems. While millions and millions of dollars are spent on military needs, there is no money for public services, for housing. Many apartment houses <sup>7</sup> in New York are old, the rooms are small and dark. In summer these houses are very hot, in winter they are often cold. Living conditions in such apartment houses are very bad. There is no place for children to play.

When Maxim Gorky visited New York in 1906, he called it the City of the Yellow Devil, the city of gold. The Yellow Devil, the power <sup>8</sup> of money, enslaves <sup>9</sup> the people of America today as it did in Gorky's time.

**Figure 3: New York**

### **The Case for Modernization and National Identity in Multicultural Countries Formerly Subjugated to Colonialism**

Fifty nine percent of the one hundred seventy five countries included in the United Nations 2006 *Human Development Report* are multicultural countries that were

subjugated to colonialism. Lerner emphasized that hatred of past colonialism developed into a hatred for everything foreign, which led to a common misconception that modernization and Westernization were one in the same. Seventy two percent of these multicultural countries consist of one or more remaining indigenous groups. Durkheim stressed that opposing states of collective consciousness would react in opposition to each other vigorously.

Alexander's work revealed that three different states of multicultural co-existence may evolve within multicultural nation states. Assimilation coincides with the efforts of colonialism in contrast to multiculturalism, which allows for cultural differences in the absence of oppression. Hyphenation exists when a cultural is not assimilated but cultural differences are not promoted by the dominant culture. Each multicultural nation has a civic sphere within which members of each cultural group regularly interact. In a multicultural society based on multiculturalism, participation in the civic sphere requires a shared national consciousness. However, social life outside the civic sphere is not required to reproduce that shared national consciousness.

The work of Sidanius et al reveals a similar definition of multiculturalism. However, they also introduce a melting pot perspective that requires complete and equal loyalty of all ethnic groups to the nation. In turn, they add a group dominance perspective that describes countries that were formerly subjugated to colonialism and have a dominant immigrant group from the colonial power. Group dominance perspective asserts that the dominant group will always have a stronger attachment to the nation state than the colonized minority.

Timothy Phillips analysis of national identity in Australia revealed the importance of symbolic boundaries. Symbolic boundaries are determined by the amount of time spent watching television and the number of social networks an individual has. Symbolic boundaries are also defined by a shared perception of national enemy.

Liah Greenfield's research highlighted the role the shared perception of a national enemy supported the development of the Russian national consciousness. During the peak of Soviet expansion, modernization brought Russian culture to the borders of China and Eastern Europe via education and mass media. The separation of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia following the collapse of the Soviet Union, however, was a defining moment in history that altered the view that modernization would universally homogenize multicultural populations.

A renewed focus on national identity and nationalism has emerged with the development of the European Union. On an international level, creation of the European Union has no doubt resulted in resentment among member state populations. Relinquishing control over the German Deutschmark and French Franc for the shared Euro would have been impossible historically without the threat of military might. However, the prospect for substantial benefits gained from a stronger shared economy trumped historical conflicts. Created as an effort to gain greater economic influence in the world system, the creation of the European Union brought the focus on national identity, ethnicity, and nationalism back to the home of the first nation-states.

The development of the European Union and the adoption of the Euro counter previous examples of modernization. Modernization resulting in the creation of an exclusive shared economy between multiple regions has historically been defined by war

and conflict. However, the European Union, with particular emphasis on member states that share the Euro and the goal of adopting a shared economy, could be compared on a number of levels to a developing multicultural nation.

My analysis in this chapter will control for:

1. *Multicultural countries that were colonized and have one or more remaining indigenous groups*
2. *Multicultural countries that were colonized and have zero remaining indigenous groups*
3. *Multicultural countries that were not colonized and have one or more remaining indigenous groups*
4. *Countries that were colonized and are not multicultural*
5. *Countries that were not colonized and are not multicultural*

I believe that contrasting attachment to the nation-state with attachment to one's ethnic group will add to the existing body of empirical research.

My analysis in this chapter will rely on two different study samples to account for the addition of the dependent variable willingness to fight for in my analysis of national identity. I first relied on the original study sample of 18,190 for my analysis of the control groupings listed above. I then cleaned up the data to account for the deletion of cases due to absence of data for willingness to fight, reducing the original study sample of 18,190 by 1348 to 16,842. None of the eighteen countries were excluded. Analysis utilizing the new study sample focused solely on the influence of modernization on national identity, controlling for the independent variables age and gender. I believe that

expanding my analysis to incorporate the indicators stressed by Sidanius, Calhoun and Phillips will add to the importance of my analysis for future research efforts.

Table 5 lists the distribution of means by control group. I also ranked each dependent variable case relative to the highest mean for each variable, one representing the highest expected influence of modernization, and five representing the lowest. The Multicultural, colonized countries with at least one remaining indigenous had the lowest overall score for national identity. Controlling for not colonized, not multicultural resulted in the largest mean for following politics in the news, the lowest mean for importance of religion and the highest mean for justifiability of homosexuality. It should be noted that this control also had the lowest means for highest education attained and size of town. Respondents from colonized multicultural countries with zero remaining indigenous groups had the highest means for highest education attained and size of town, and the highest means for overall happiness and importance of free choice. Controlling for colonized multicultural countries with one or more remaining indigenous groups produced the lowest average modernization score of four for each social change variable, and four point five for each national identity variable.

The variation of ranking of independent variables by control grouping depicted in Table 4 was not as substantial. I believe that the lack of gross differentiation in ranking of independent variables indicates an alternate or additional cause from modernization for the differentiation among dependent variables. I conducted bivariate regression analysis controlling for each group to help ascertain additional cause or causes.

Before beginning the bivariate stage of my analysis on controlled groupings, I first introduce each control group with a brief overview of respective countries' histories with the purpose of highlighting the balance of power, rejection, and/or assimilation.

### **Modernization in Multicultural Countries that were Colonized and have One or More Remaining Indigenous Groups**

The countries included in this control group are Belarus, India, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, and Mexico. Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, and Lithuania all gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. Mexico, colonized by Spain, was first declared a republic in 1823. The secular Union of India was partitioned from British India in 1947.

Signs of settlements existing in the Belarus region date back more than thirty five thousand years ago. Minsk, the capital of Belarus, was founded in 1067. For centuries the area was subject to Poles, Lithuanians, and Russians. The Belarus region became part of the Russian Empire in 1794. Belarusian people enjoyed a brief period of independence at the end of World War I before becoming a part of the USSR in 1922. Soviet collective farming resulted in famine. German occupation during World War II resulted in the death of over two million people. Three quarters of the Chernobyl fallout covers southeastern Belarus. Today the population of Belarus is eighty one percent Belarusian and eleven percent Russian. Polish make up a four percent minority.

Indian civilization is recognized as one of the oldest in the world. Aryan tribes invaded in approximately 1500 B.C., bringing an end to Indus civilization. The caste system was introduced in the tenth century B.C. Buddhism was founded and began to spread in India in 500 B.C. The first Muslim empire was established in India in the

**Table 5 Means for Independent Modernization Variables frequency following politics in the news, mid level education, size of town greater than 20,000, Dependent Tradition Variables religion important, scientific advances are helpful, attitude society should be defended, Dependent Individuality Variables overall happiness, free choice impacts life, homosexuality is justifiable, and Dependent National Identity Variables belong to country before locality or region, strong national pride by Control Group with Rankings for each Variable's Mean by Control Group, n = 18**

	Not Colonized		Colonized		Colonized Multicultural		Colonized Multicultural		Not Colonized	
	Not Multicultural	Multicultural	Not Multicultural	Multicultural	Zero Indigenous Groups	One or more Indigenous Groups	One or more Indigenous Groups	Multicultural	More Indigenous Groups	One or more Indigenous Groups
Politics	78.05 (1)		69.45 (4)		67.97 (5)		76.46 (2)		72.90 (3)	
Education	54.95 (5)		57.75 (3)		73.16 (1)		70.86 (2)		55.55 (4)	
Town	38.53 (5)		58.45 (2)		67.33 (1)		51.46 (4)		58.40 (3)	
<b>total</b>	<b>11</b>		<b>9</b>		<b>7</b>		<b>8</b>		<b>10</b>	
Religion	56.15 (1)		76.40 (5)		75.87 (4)		64.12 (3)		60.75 (2)	
Science	39.08 (5)		59.78 (1)		55.80 (2)		50.84 (4)		53.60 (3)	
Attitude	14.25 (2)		20.78 (4)		20.90 (5)		15.10 (3)		12.30 (1)	
<b>total</b>	<b>8</b>		<b>10</b>		<b>11</b>		<b>10</b>		<b>6</b>	
Happy	70.40 (4)		84.78 (2)		89.87 (1)		66.80 (5)		75.90 (3)	
Choice	63.08 (3)		66.23 (2)		82.67 (1)		61.78 (4)		58.95 (5)	
Justify	23.63 (1)		10.45 (4)		21.50 (2)		9.40 (5)		17.85 (3)	
<b>total</b>	<b>8</b>		<b>8</b>		<b>4</b>		<b>14</b>		<b>11</b>	
Group	28.90 (5)		39.00 (1)		32.97 (3)		32.12 (4)		33.00 (2)	
Pride	86.63 (3)		94.68 (1)		94.67 (2)		80.66 (5)		84.20 (4)	
<b>total</b>	<b>8</b>		<b>2</b>		<b>5</b>		<b>9</b>		<b>6</b>	

Source: World Values Survey

\*Means are ranked 1-5, 1 being the highest

\*Means represent all countries included in each control group

twelfth century. The Portuguese began to establish a coastal presence in the sixteenth century, and in 1612 the British East India Company defeated the Portuguese and took over their trading privileges. A rivalry for control over India grew between England and France in the eighteenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century the East India Company held control over India. At the turn of the twentieth century nationalism began to grow in India and tensions were increasing between Muslims and Hindus. Mahatma Gandhi launched his program of civil disobedience in 1930. When the British withdrew in 1947, East and West Pakistan were established. India became a democratic republic in 1950. India's population today is seventy two percent Indo-Aryan and twenty five percent Dravidian.

Chinese written records indicate the first appearance of Kyrgyz civilization about four thousand years ago. Four wars were lost to the Uzbek between 1845 and 1873. Failed struggles against the Uzbek increased efforts to gain Russian protection. Russian forces conquered the Uzbek Khanate in 1876 and within five years all Kyrgyzstan had become a part of Russia. The last decades of the nineteenth century were a time of high levels of Russian and Ukrainian migration to northern Kyrgyzstan. Indigenous groups were the target of forced labor and taxation. Prior to Soviet collectivization there were no Kyrgyz villages per say, only nomadic settlements that may have included structures belonging to more than one closely related family. The Kyrgyzstan population today is sixty five percent Kyrgyz, fourteen percent Uzbek, and thirteen percent Russian.

Lithuania, under the leadership of Gedymis, became organized as a nation at the end of the thirteenth century. Lithuanian was part of a shared commonwealth with Poland for two hundred years before coming under the rule of czarist Russia. Lithuania enjoyed a

brief period of independence following World War I, before being occupied by Nazi Germany during World War II. Following World War II Lithuania came under the dominion of the Soviet Union. Under Soviet occupation over five hundred thousand Lithuanians were shot, imprisoned, or exiled. Lithuania today has a population that is eighty three percent Lithuanian, seven percent Polish, and six percent Russian.

Mexico was home to a series of advanced Indian cultures. Toltec civilization supplanted Mayan, and the Aztec overcame the Toltec. Cortez conquered the Aztecs during the sixteenth century. A Mexican republic was established in the nineteenth century after three centuries of Spanish rule. At one point Mexican territory included California and regions of the southwest United States. Following the U.S.-Mexican war (1846-1848), Mexico no longer claimed possession of any land north of the Rio Grande. Mexico was under French domination from 1863-1867. The population of Mexico today is sixty percent Mestizo, thirty percent Amerindian, and nine percent white.

It should be noted that all of these countries achieved independence and/or became self governing after the United States had done so. Thus, it may be argued that these states have not experienced sufficient time to develop a sustainable means of social solidarity. However, it is the argument of this paper that the impact of the ancient land ties of the indigenous cultures in these countries is paramount. An opposing collective consciousness will be reacted to vigorously. The oppression of colonialism results in a strong ethnocentrism. Members of the dominant group will have a stronger attachment to the nation state than subgroups. Table 5.1 reveals the results of my analysis of the influence of modernization on social change in tradition, individuality, and tolerance in multicultural countries that were subjugated to colonialism and have one or more

**Table 5.1 Regression Analysis of Independent Modernization Variables frequency following politics, education level, and size of town on Dependent Social Change Variables importance of religion, belief scientific advances help, basic attitude about defending society, overall happiness, belief free choice impacts life, and belief homosexuality is justifiable and Dependent National Identity Variables geographic group belonging to first and national pride for Multicultural Colonized Countries with at least One Remaining Indigenous Group, n = 4,027**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
politics	religion	0.001	-0.032	-2.601	0.009
politics	science	0.001	0.025	2.325	0.02
politics	attitude	0	0.009	1.259	0.208
politics	group	0.003	-0.06	-3.741	0
politics	happy	0.001	0.017	0.029	0.062
politics	choice	0.009	-0.202	-6.204	0
politics	pride	0	-0.002	-0.183	0.854
politics	justify	0.001	0.09	2.469	0.014
education	religion	0.027	0.221	10.702	0
education	science	0	0.019	1.008	0.313
education	attitude	0	0	0.038	0.969
education	group	0.016	0.22	8.162	0
education	happy	0	-0.014	-0.939	0.348
education	choice	0.003	0.205	3.69	0
education	pride	0.004	0.075	4.178	0
education	justify	0.001	0.111	1.795	0.073
town	religion	0.002	0.016	2.782	0.005
town	science	0.001	0.01	1.869	0.062
town	attitude	0.001	0.008	2.352	0.019
town	group	0.02	0.067	9.042	0
town	happy	0.007	-0.023	-5.37	0
town	choice	0.007	0.084	5.539	0
town	pride	0.001	0.009	1.75	0.08
town	justify	0.024	0.168	10.038	0

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

remaining indigenous groups. Thirty three percent of the relationships are not significant, and the significant relationships are very weak. Two of the three modernization variables have no relationship with opinion regarding scientific advances, attitude to societal change, happiness, or national pride. Counter to expectation, increases in following politics in the news results in a decrease in justifiability of homosexuality, and an

increase in highest education attained predicts a decrease in national pride. However, three of the significant relationships should be noted:

- 1) increases in modernization lead to a decrease in the importance of religion
- 2) increases in modernization lead to an increase in the opinion that free choice and control do influence how life turns out
- 3) increases in modernization lead to an increase in the importance of belonging to a group larger than locality

Table 5.1a (see Appendix D) reveals that the modernization model has a very weak influence on social change and national identity variables for this control group, with no explanatory values exceeding 3.1 percent.

### **Modernization in Multicultural Countries that were Colonized and have Zero Remaining Indigenous Groups**

Canada, the United States, and Venezuela all represent colonized countries in which the indigenous populations were either eradicated or diminished to the point of being severely marginalized.

Europeans first sighted Canada at the end of the fifteenth century. The French led the way in settlements with the establishment of New France in 1663. Britain was in control of New France one hundred years later after military victory. Canada did not sever its last ties to Britain until 1982. The population of Canada consists of twenty eight percent British, twenty six percent mixed, twenty three percent French, and fifteen percent other European.

Europeans were exploring the coast of Florida early in the sixteenth century. The first permanent English settlement was established in 1607. Britain recognized United States independence with the Treaty of Paris in 1783. The United States population is eighty two percent white, thirteen percent black, and twelve percent Hispanic.

Venezuela was dominated by Spanish influence for more than three centuries from 1499 until Simon Bolivar's victory in 1821. Venezuela has had a democratically elected government since 1959. The Venezuelan population is a mixture of Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Arab, German, and African descent. The indigenous Amerindian population makes up less than one point five percent of the population.

I hypothesized that the non-indigenous status of the ethnic groups in these countries would lessen the impact of the influence of opposing collective consciousnesses and negate the assertion that the oppression of colonialism will result in a strong ethnocentrism. Members of the dominant group may still likely have a stronger attachment to the nation state than subgroups, but I believe the influence of modernization will be greater on tradition, individuality, and tolerance.

Table 5.2 reveals the results of my analysis of the influence of modernization on social change in tradition, individuality, and tolerance in multicultural countries that were subjugated to colonialism and have zero remaining indigenous groups. Controlling for zero remaining indigenous groups did not improve the explanatory power of the modernization variables. The modernization variables frequency following politics and size of town no longer have significant relationships with importance of religion or importance of free choice. Counter to expectation, an increase in highest education attained predicts a decrease in national pride and an increase in the belief that society

**Table 5.2 Regression Analysis of Independent Modernization Variables frequency following politics, education level, and size of town on Dependent Social Change Variables importance of religion, belief scientific advances help, basic attitude about defending society, overall happiness, belief free choice impacts life, and belief homosexuality is justifiable and Dependent National Identity Variables geographic group belonging to first and national pride for Multicultural Colonized Countries with Zero Remaining Indigenous Groups, n = 3,720**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
politics	religion	0	0.01	0.866	0.387
politics	science	0.002	0.026	2.587	0.01
politics	attitude	0	0	-0.02	0.984
politics	group	0.003	-0.053	-3.41	0.001
politics	happy	0	-0.004	-0.544	0.586
politics	choice	0	-0.021	-0.948	0.343
politics	pride	0.003	0.024	3.746	0
politics	justify	0.002	-0.113	-2.91	0.004
education	religion	0.006	0.105	4.952	0
education	science	0	-0.019	-1.005	0.315
education	attitude	0.003	-0.043	-3.628	0
education	group	0.004	0.116	3.943	0
education	happy	0	-0.023	-1.653	0.098
education	choice	0.002	0.124	2.899	0.004
education	pride	0.003	0.042	3.455	0.001
education	justify	0.045	0.964	13.325	0
town	religion	0	0.004	0.575	0.565
town	science	0.003	-0.021	-3.317	0.001
town	attitude	0	-0.005	-1.389	0.165
town	group	0.009	0.056	5.828	0
town	happy	0.003	0.015	3.254	0.001
town	choice	0	0.013	0.934	0.351
town	pride	0	-0.001	-0.233	8.16
town	justify	0.001	-0.041	-1.694	0.09

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

should be radically defended. An increase in size of town results in a decrease in happiness. The one universally significant relationship:

- 1) increases in modernization lead to an increase in the importance of belonging to a group larger than locality

The data in Table 5.2a (see Appendix D) reveals that the modernization model continues to have very little explanatory power over variance in social change and national identity variables in this control group. No adjusted square multiple R value exceeds point zero four nine.

### **Modernization in Multicultural Countries that were Not Colonized and have One or More Remaining Indigenous Groups**

The multicultural countries in my analysis that were not colonized include The Republic of Macedonia and Spain. To the north of Greece, in 350 B.C. Macedonia was at peace while Greece was at war with Persia. Macedonia had accepted Persian dominance. Macedonia was under Muslim rule for more than five centuries from 1389 to 1912. The region was absorbed into Serbia in 1913 and became a republic of Yugoslavia in 1946. Macedonia claimed its independence in 1991.

The area known as Spain was first settled by Basques, Celts, and Iberians. Spain was ruled by Carthage, Visigoths, and Muslims. Christian re-conquest from the north established the foundations for what became modern Spain.

Table 5.3 reveals the results of my analysis on of the influence of modernization on social change in tradition, individuality, and tolerance in multicultural countries that were not subjugated to colonialism and have one or more remaining indigenous groups.

Controlling for no history of colonialism yielded a still lower number of significant relationships. Table 5.3 reveals that half of the relationships are not significant. Frequency following politics now only has a significant relationship with one variable. No modernization variable has a relationship with the social change variables opinion

**Table 5.3 Regression Analysis of Independent Modernization Variables frequency following politics, education level, and size of town on Dependent Social Change Variables importance of religion, belief scientific advances help, basic attitude about defending society, overall happiness, belief free choice impacts life, and belief homosexuality is justifiable and Dependent National Identity Variables geographic group belonging to first and national pride for Multicultural Countries**  
**Not Colonized with One or More Indigenous Groups, n = 1,827**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
politics	religion	0	0.001	0.04	0.968
politics	science	0	0.009	0.599	0.549
politics	attitude	0	-0.004	-0.454	0.65
politics	group	0	-0.019	-0.869	0.385
politics	happy	0	0.009	0.752	0.452
politics	choice	0.001	-0.078	-1.758	0.079
politics	pride	0.003	0.039	2.598	0.009
politics	justify	0.001	0.096	1.547	0.122
education	religion	0.005	0.108	3.315	0.001
education	science	0	0.033	1.225	0.221
education	attitude	0	0.02	1.226	0.22
education	group	0.005	0.116	3.108	0.002
education	happy	0.008	-0.081	-3.852	0
education	choice	0.015	0.409	5.44	0
education	pride	0.006	0.087	3.417	0.001
education	justify	0.002	0.209	1.98	0.048
town	religion	0.032	0.076	7.776	0
town	science	0	-0.005	-0.664	0.507
town	attitude	0	0.005	0.988	0.323
town	group	0.012	0.054	4.779	0
town	happy	0.007	-0.023	-3.621	0
town	choice	0.016	0.127	5.532	0
town	pride	0.008	-0.031	-3.977	0
town	justify	0.049	0.308	9.788	0

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

regarding scientific advances or basic attitude toward societal change. Highest education attained and size of town continue to predict a decrease in importance of religion and an increase in the importance of geographic membership to a group larger than locality. Counter to expectation, increases in highest education attained predicted a decrease in national pride.

Running the regression model for this control group once again failed to improve the explanatory power overall. Table 5.3a (see Appendix D) reveals that the modernization model also has no significant relationship with opinion regarding scientific advances or basic attitude toward societal change. The explanatory power of the model to explain variance in justifiability of homosexuality did increase to 5.1 percent.

### **Modernization in Countries that were Colonized and are Not Multicultural**

I analyzed Bangladesh, Chile, the Philippines, and Viet Nam in a control group of countries that were colonized but are not multicultural. Bangladesh was freed from British rule in 1947 when East Bengal became part of Pakistan. Chilean independence was gained in 1817. The Philippines islands were ceded from Spain to the United States in 1898. French conquest of Viet Nam ended in 1884.

Bangladesh, previously East Pakistan, shares its history with India up until the year 1947. Opposing the rule of West Pakistan, Bangladesh claimed independence in 1971. One million died in the ensuing civil war. Approximately ten million fled into India. Bangladesh today is ninety eight percent Bengali.

Prior to Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century, parts of northern Chile were under Incan rule. Auracanian Indians in the south resisted Spanish rule until the nineteenth century. The Chilean population today is ninety five percent white and white-Amerindian.

The Philippines, first populated by Malay peoples some thirty thousand years ago, was visited by Magellan in the sixteenth century. Manila was founded in 1571. The islands remained under Spanish rule until being ceded to the United States in 1898. The

multicultural status of the Philippines is debatable. The multicultural status of the Philippines is debatable. More than one hundred different dialects are present. However, one depiction of the ethnic diversity in the Philippines is ninety one point five percent Christina Malay, four percent Muslim Malay, and three percent other.

Viets from central China settled Viet Nam in 111 B.C., before the Christian era. French conquest of Viet Nam extended from 1858-1884. Japan occupied Viet Nam during World War II. Viets today make up eighty six percent of Viet Nam's population.

Table 5.4 reveals the results of my analysis on of the influence of modernization on social change in tradition, individuality, and tolerance in countries that were subjugated to colonialism and are not multicultural. Controlling for not being multicultural yields a substantially higher number of significant relationships. Following politics in the news now has a significant relationship with each of the social change variables. Size of town becomes the first modernization variable in my analysis with an explanatory value greater than ten percent: Eighteen point one percent for justifiability of homosexuality. Increases in size of town continue to predict a decrease in importance of religion and all three modernization variables explain an increase in the opinion that free choice and control have power over life. Counter to expectation, highest education attained and size of town predict a decrease in the belief that scientific advances will help, and highest education attained predicts a decrease in national pride.

Table 5.4a (Appendix D) reveals that running the regression model for this control group shows the first meaningful power of the modernization model to explain variance in social change and national identity variables. The model now explains eighteen point

**Table 5.4 Regression Analysis of Independent Modernization Variables frequency following politics, education level, and size of town on Dependent Social Change Variables importance of religion, belief scientific advances help, basic attitude about defending society, overall happiness, belief free choice impacts life, and belief homosexuality is justifiable and Dependent National Identity Variables geographic group belonging to first and national pride for Countries that were Colonized but are Not Multicultural, n = 4,093**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
politics	religion	0.043	-0.139	-13.66	0
politics	science	0.001	0.022	2.094	0.036
politics	attitude	0.005	0.036	4.58	0
politics	group	0.008	-0.075	-5.496	0
politics	happy	0.01	0.052	6.432	0
politics	choice	0.022	-2.57	-9.716	0
politics	pride	0.005	0.03	4.773	0
politics	justify	0.004	0.125	4.281	0
education	religion	0	-0.021	-1.104	0.27
education	science	0.007	0.1	5.487	0
education	attitude	0	0.007	0.513	0.608
education	group	0.002	0.067	2.957	0.003
education	happy	0.005	-0.069	-4.788	0
education	choice	0.002	0.16	3.354	0.001
education	pride	0.001	0.023	2.054	0.04
education	justify	0.015	0.405	7.826	0
town	religion	0.014	-0.047	-7.713	0
town	science	0.02	0.054	9.083	0
town	attitude	0	0.002	0.414	0.679
town	group	0.001	0.013	1.776	0.076
town	happy	0.006	-0.024	-5.031	0
town	choice	0.02	0.143	9.282	0
town	pride	0	0.006	1.581	0.114
town	justify	0.181	0.466	30.128	0

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

one percent of the variation in justifiability of homosexuality. In turn, the model explains five point two percent of the variation in importance of religion and four point eight percent of the variation in importance of freedom of choice.

### **Modernization in Countries that were Not Colonized and are Not Multicultural**

My final control group isolated the countries Albania, Austria, Italy, and Slovenia.

Albania, formerly Illyria, had been dominated by Romania, Slavs, and Turks. The Turks brought Islam to the region. The republic of Albania was created in 1920. Communist sympathizers allied with the USSR in 1944. Albanians make up ninety percent of the population of Albania today.

Austria was conquered by Rome in 15 B.C. By the end of the eighth century Austria was under the influence of Charlemagne. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy began in 1867 and continued peacefully for fifty years. By the end of World War I Austria was reduced to a small republic. After suffering Nazi domination, independence was later restored in 1955. Ninety one percent of the population today is Austrian.

Rome emerged as a power after 500 B.C., ruling over Western Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa until the fifth century A.D. The majority of the population today is Italian.

Slovenes settled in the current region between the seventh and eighth century. Modern Slovenian history began in the mid nineteenth century when Slovenes, split among Austrian provinces, began to seek national unification. Following World War I, the majority of Slovenes became a part of what would later be named Yugoslavia. Slovenia would attain independence in 1991. Slovenes make up eighty three percent of modern Slovenia.

Table 5.5 reveals that controlling for countries that were not colonized and are not multicultural also yields a higher number of significant relationships than the multicultural control groups. Highest education attained and size of town both predict a

**Table 5.5 Regression Analysis of Independent Modernization Variables *frequency following politics, education level, and size of town* on Dependent Social Change Variables *importance of religion, belief scientific advances help, basic attitude about defending society, overall happiness, belief free choice impacts life, and belief homosexuality is justifiable* and Dependent National Identity Variables *geographic group belonging to first and national pride* for Countries that were Not Colonized and are Not Multicultural, n = 4,515**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
politics	religion	0	0.012	1.074	0.283
politics	science	0.002	0.032	2.949	0.003
politics	attitude	0.003	0.019	4.027	0
politics	group	0.002	-0.04	-3.037	0.002
politics	happy	0.003	0.032	3.861	0
politics	choice	0.005	-0.127	-5.017	0
politics	pride	0	0.013	1.615	0.106
politics	justify	0.003	-0.141	-3.625	0
education	religion	0.02	0.2	9.608	0
education	science	0.001	-0.038	-1.937	0.053
education	attitude	0.009	-0.058	-6.566	0
education	group	0.01	0.17	6.963	0
education	happy	0.002	-0.052	-3.44	0.001
education	choice	0.015	0.384	8.262	0
education	pride	0.023	0.155	10.414	0
education	justify	0.049	1.08	15.353	0
town	religion	0.004	0.027	4.37	0
town	science	0	-0.003	-0.591	0.554
town	attitude	0.003	-0.01	-3.704	0
town	group	0.009	0.047	6.596	0
town	happy	0	-0.006	-1.285	0.199
town	choice	0.003	-0.055	-4.046	0
town	pride	0.015	0.037	8.477	0
town	justify	0.039	0.282	13.598	0

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

decrease in importance of religion, and a decrease in national pride. Also counter to expectation, an increase in size of town results in a decrease in the belief that free will and choice control how life turns out. The following relationships should be noted:

- 1) increases in modernization cause an increase in the justifiability of homosexuality

- 2) increases in modernization predict an increase in the size of geographical group belonging to first
- 3) increases in modernization cause a shift in attitudes regarding societal change away from the belief that society should be defended

The explanatory power of the modernization model remains weak overall with this control group (see Appendix D). The model explains the highest degree of variance in national pride of all the controlled groupings at three point five percent and the second highest degree of variance in justifiability of homosexuality at seven point six percent.

### **The Case for Age and Gender**

Table 5.6 lists the descriptives and frequencies by age and gender for the study sample, with the addition of the dependent variable willingness to fight for.

Willingness to Fight for Country: (1- no, 2- yes, 3- depends) – for descriptive analysis I used the marginals for yes

Analysis of descriptives and frequencies revealed the following trends:

- 1) national pride increases as age increases
- 2) willingness to fight for increases up through age fifty four, then decreases once this age threshold is reached
- 3) geographic group size belonging to first decreases as age increases
- 4) willingness to fight for is higher for men than women
- 5) locality as geographic group belonging to first was higher for females than males

One and three suggest that commitment to orthodox national boundaries grows with age. Five supports Nira Yuval-Davis's view of women being the key transmitters of culture, particularly orthodox local boundaries.

Tables 5.8 – 5.15 (Appendix F) reveal the results of bivariate regression analyses and regression model analyses for age and gender control groups. The explanatory power of modernization variables to explain variation in social change and national identity variables remains very weak. Bivariate analysis revealed the following patterns:

- 1) increases in frequency following politics in the news predict an increase in willingness to fight for country
- 2) increases in size of town predict a decrease in willingness to fight for country, but an increase in national pride
- 3) increases in all modernization variables predict an increase in size of geographical group belonging to first
- 4) increases in highest education attained predict a decrease in national pride, but an increase in willingness to fight for

The relationships between size of town, highest education attained and national pride parallel the output revealed in Chapter 4. Each of the modernization variables continues to explain an increase in size of geographical group belonging to first. The contrast revealed from analysis of relationships including willingness to fight for country should be noted. Sidanius distinguished patriotism and nationalism as the two primary types of national attachment. Two and four reveal such a distinction between willingness

Table 5.6 National Identity Variables' Means and Frequencies by Age and Gender, n = 16,842

Variable	age 1 15-24	age 2 25-34	age 3 35-44	age 4 45-54	age 5 55-64	age 6 65-older	male	female
<b>Means</b>								
Willing to fight for	0.75	0.76	0.78	0.78	0.74	0.68	0.82	0.69
Geographic	2.4	2.27	2.24	2.27	2.18	2.11	2.29	2.22
Strong nation pride	1.48	1.48	1.46	1.44	1.41	1.35	1.45	1.45
<b>Frequencies</b>								
Willing to fight for	2809	3972	3747	2591	1916	1799	8588	8254
*Geographic	75.4	76.4	77.9	78.3	73.6	68	81.8	69.3
Strong nation pride	36.6 - 34.5	38.8 - 35.5	40.0 - 35.8	39.7 - 35.6	41.6 - 35.8	44.1 - 37.5	38.2 - 37.1	41.3 - 34.1
	90.8	91	90.1	91.4	92.9	94.8	91.4	92

Source: World Values Survey

\* *geographic group belonging to first: locality - country*

\* *Willing to fight for country, geographic group belonging to first, strong sense of national pride*

\* Ex. respondents selected 0 or 1 for willing to fight for country. The mean for age 1 for willing to fight for was .75. (See page 20 for survey choices for geographic group belonging to first and national pride)

\* Frequency statistics reveal the average number or respondents selecting choices designated in Chapter 2 for each variable.

Ex. 75.4% of age 1 selected yes for willingness to fight for.

to fight for and national pride, with contrasting influences from size of town and highest education attained. Regression analysis revealed that increases in size of town predict an increase in patriotism. Increases in highest education attained predict and increase in nationalism.

The explanatory power of the regression model remained very weak. Overall, regression model output reflected bivariate output. The regression model has a significant relationship with all variables across all age and gender control groups with the exception of national pride for the age group fifteen to twenty four. It can also be noted that the regression model has greater influence on national identity variables for females than males.

### **Summary**

Revisiting the original question, the goal of this chapter was to examine the impact of modernization on multicultural countries formerly subjugated to colonialism. More importantly, this chapter contrasted the influence of multicultural status, colonial history, and the presence of indigenous groups. The differentiation in the number of significant relationships was substantial between control groups. Controlling for countries that are not multicultural produced the highest percentage of significant relationships (Table 5.6a). Table 5.6b (Appendix E) lists the significant relationships by independent variable; Table 5.6c (Appendix E) lists the significant relationships by dependent variable, including the direction of influence.

**Table 5.6a Percentage of Significant Relationships by Control Group**

<b>Control Group</b>	<b>Significant Relationships</b>
Not Colonized, Not Multicultural	79.2
Colonized, Not Multicultural	79.2
Colonized, Multicultural with One or More Indigenous Groups	62.5
Colonized, Multicultural with Zero Remaining Indigenous Groups	54.2
Not Colonized, Multicultural with One or More Indigenous Groups	50.0

*Source:* World Values Survey

Table 5.6b reveals a clear pattern when following the impact of the independent variable following politics in the news. Following politics in the news has a significant relationship with all dependent variables when controlling for colonized countries that are not multicultural, but no significant relationships when controlling for non-colonized countries with one or more indigenous groups. The independent variable highest education attained has a significant relationship with freedom of choice and both national identity variables for every control group. No other independent variable had a significant relationship with a single dependent variable across all control groups. In turn, eighty six point seven percent of relationships with the variable geographic group belonging to first were significant, and eighty percent of the relationships with freedom of choice were significant.

Tables 5 (pg. 81) and 5.7 below reveal that controlling for colonized multicultural countries with one or more remaining indigenous groups produced the lowest means for social change and national identity variables. Controlling for multicultural, colonized countries with no remaining indigenous groups produced the highest mean total for

importance of individuality variables. Colonized, non-multicultural countries produced the highest mean totals for both national identity variables. Scores were determined utilizing a scale of one to five, with one being the highest. These results provide additional insight into how colonization and multicultural status influence the impact of modernization, with added emphasis on the indigenous status of respective ethnic groups.

**Table 5.7 Mean Ranking Totals for Tradition, Individuality, and National Identity Variables by Control Group**

Control Group	Highest Mean	
	Social change	National Identity
Not Colonized, Not Multicultural	8 - 8	8
Colonized, Not Multicultural	10 - 8	2
Colonized, Multicultural with One or More Indigenous Groups	10 - 14	9
Colonized, Multicultural with Zero Remaining Indigenous Groups	11 - 4	5
Not Colonized, Multicultural with One or More Indigenous Groups	6 - 11	6

Source: World Values Survey

Social change: *tradition – individuality*

\*Mean ranking totals taken from Table 5, pg. 81

## Limitations

The listwise procedure I used to clean up my data resulted in the exclusion of all African countries included in the World Values Survey. Given more time, I would like to have followed up my initial analyses utilizing a more current WVS study sample upon the completion of the most recent wave of analysis being conducted in 2011 and 2012. The new study sample may not be impacted to the same degree by the strict level of data cleanup I conducted for this study, which may allow for the inclusion of one or more African nations and a larger overall sample size.

The very low explanatory power of the independent modernization variables may have been influenced by the fact that the listwise procedure deleted ninety three percent of the cases from the fourth wave of the World Values Survey. Given more time, I would conduct the same statistical analyses with the same variables across the same control groups utilizing a pairwise procedure. As discussed in Chapter 2, pairwise deletion would have utilized data from every available case. However, there is no guarantee the explanatory power of the independent modernization variables would have increased.

Finally, as previously stated in Chapter 4, I am not confident that the variables national pride, geographical group belonging to first, and/or willingness to fight for adequately generalize the presence of national identity. The twenty one item national attachment scale utilized by Sidanius et al consisted of seventeen questions regarding nationalism, patriotism, and attachment to place. However, it is very likely that the size of my study population would have been diminished even further trying to match seventeen questions instead of three across the seventy two countries included in the fourth wave of the World Values Survey. Having lived in another country, my sense of geographical group belonging to first has grown. Twelve years later I still feel a sense of pride when I observe cultural symbols commonly found there. I can communicate in the local language and I was even counted in the national census during my stay. However, I cannot legally vote nor hold political office there. I cannot say that I do or do not have a willingness to fight for that country, but I do believe some individuals maintain a stronger willingness to fight than others under any circumstances. Hence, the historical need for a national draft.

All things considered, I only think about my national identity under circumstances when I consider what I am not. When symbols that constitute my national pride are challenged I develop a sense of nationalism. This parallels Durkheim's assertion that threats to a strong consciousness will be reacted to vigorously. The greatest cause to invoke such a reaction is an opposing state of collective consciousness. Based on these observations I believe that the physical and social elements that constitute national pride are the basis of national identity.

I believe that the sense of national identity that I developed living in Kyrgyzstan is a result of modernization, in part due to learning to speak the language and converse with others. However, more important than that was the impact of what Giddens referred to as distanciation; the evolution of the human capacity to move people and objects greater distances in a shorter amount of time. Like the grocer of Balgat, my sense of geographical group belonging to has grown. That said, the strength of my analysis can be found in the observation that the most common impact of modernization across all control groups is the increase in sense of belonging to a geographical group larger than locality.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSIONS

I found the very low explanatory power of the modernization model to explain the variation that exists between nations in social change variables and national identity variables to be very disappointing. The fact remains that variation in rates of urbanization, adult literacy, and use of mass media also continues to exist.

Toennies is credited in sociology circles with first addressing modernization in 1887, emphasizing the distinction between community and society. Emile Durkheim submitted *The Division of Labor* in 1893, supporting Toennies with his assertion that organic solidarity and individualism would surpass the traditional solidarity associated with segmentary society. Durkheim elaborated on the modernization process, identifying the role of the economic division of labor in replacing common consciousness. Daniel Lerner conducted a survey to examine the modernization process in the mid-twentieth century. Lerner published his research on modernization in *The Middle East* in 1958, asserting that the spread of modernization paralleled the growth of a modern participant society. Lerner wrote in the preface to the paperback edition (August 1964) that, during the time since he began his research in the Middle East, traditional society had passed from every continent. (Lerner 1958, pg. vii) The very low explanatory power of the modernization model may be a direct result of the state of traditional society now, more than 50 years after Lerner began his research.

Demographic information may not have been as reliable in 1951, but Lerner and his team were able to gather urbanization data on all seventy three nations categorized at the time as self-governing. Urbanization was defined as the proportion of the population living in cities of at least fifty thousand. At the time, the mean for urbanization for all seventy three countries was less than thirty percent. (Table 6) Lerner identified what he referred to as a “critical minimum” and “critical optimum” for literacy growth. The literacy rate began to grow in conjuncture with urbanization once urbanization reached

**Table 6 1950 Urbanization and Literacy Rates, n=73**

<b>Literacy</b>	<b>Urbanization (mean)</b>	<b>Countries</b>
Under 20%	7.4	22
21-40	17	13
41-60	25	12
61-80	29.2	4
Over 80	28	22

*Source:* Lerner 1958, pg. 59

a critical minimum between seven and seventeen. At twenty five percent, literacy began to grow independently of growth in urbanization. Literacy then served as the means to consume media, establishing media as the catalyst for the spread of modernization.

Appendix A lists all one hundred thirty five countries that were subjugated to colonialism and ranked in the *2006 United Nations Development Report*. Eight of the countries listed have an urbanization rate between seven and seventeen percent: Bhutan, Burundi, Malawi, Niger, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uganda. Table 6.1 highlights the relationship between urbanization and literacy in these countries.

An urbanization rate of twenty five percent is no longer a critical optimum for literacy to grow independently of urbanization. Growth within the third phase of modernization,

**Table 6.1 Modern Literacy Rates for Countries with Low Urbanization**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Urbanization</b>	<b>Literacy</b>
Bhutan	10.8	47
Burundi	9.7	59.3
Malawi	16.7	64.1
Niger	16.7	28.7
Solomon Islands	16.7	77
Sri Lanka	15.2	90.7
Trinidad and Tobago	11.9	98.4
Uganda	12.5	66.8

*Source* The World Almanac and Book of Facts 2008

*Source* 2006 UN Human Development Report

media participation, has exponentially increased the human capability to spread ideas, beliefs, and values. Local newspapers and transistor radios have been surpassed by the Internet and satellite communications, causing the link between urbanization, growth of literacy, and the development of mass media to become irrelevant. The process previously referred to as modernization has evolved into globalization.

Just as modernization could be viewed as a natural process and a tool of economic exploitation, the same argument can be applied to globalization. Regardless of the scale of influence, the process continues to ultimately lead to the development and/or maintenance of empathy for people and ideas foreign to an individual's immediate family and community. However, if globalization entails participation in an economic/social system extending beyond national borders, what are the implications for national identity?

I return to my firsthand observations of Kyrgyz independence. In 1997 I was part of the fifth group of Peace Corps volunteers to visit Kyrgyzstan since independence was declared from Russia in 1991. Many of the people I met were quick to denounce the history of Russian oppression that had preceded independence. There were stories of civil rights violations, families burying valuables so they would not be taken, and forced marches in the streets to proclaim a false sense of loyalty to the Soviet Union. Signs reading “Manas 1000” were common in locales across the country, celebrating the Kyrgyz warrior Manas and the Kyrgyz history suppressed under Soviet rule. A U.S. Air Force base had been established in the capital city of this once Soviet Republic, reinforcing the existence of new alliances. On more than one occasion, my Kyrgyz colleagues and I even marveled that we were working together given the contentious state of U.S. Soviet relations that once existed during our lifetimes.

There were also occasional stories of a time when household goods were much more plentiful and less expensive, prior to independence. Infrastructure was in dire need of upgrades and this was less than ten years after independence, and the largest source of foreign investment was the Canadian based Kumtor gold mine. I believe there was a strong assumption on the part of Kyrgyz citizens that a higher standard of living would accompany self governance, independence from the Soviet Union, and new alliances with the West. On the contrary, Kyrgyz governance has been one of corruption and nepotism. Infrastructure remains in need of upgrade, especially in rural regions, and the largest source of foreign investment continues to be the Kumtor gold mine.

The overthrowing of the government and renewal of intranational ethnic violence between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in 2010 has intensified the desire for security and stability,

and the desire for a resurgence of Russian influence. The naming of a Kyrgyz mountain in honor of Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin in February 2011 is symbolic of that political shift.

National identity in Kyrgyzstan is directly linked to independence from Russia in August 1991. The desire for independence can be traced to the history of oppression under Soviet rule. However, the resurgence of intranational ethnic violence reinforces the belief that cultural identity trumps national identity. I believe the interplay of stable government, stable economy, and multiple cultures will dictate the future of national identity across each control group.

1. *Multicultural countries that were colonized and have one or more remaining indigenous groups*
2. *Multicultural countries that were colonized and have zero remaining indigenous groups*
3. *Multicultural countries that were not colonized and have one or more remaining indigenous groups*
4. *Countries that were colonized and are not multicultural*
5. *Countries that were not colonized and are not multicultural*

Multicultural countries that were colonized and have one or more remaining indigenous group can be expected to enjoy a period of strong national pride following independence. In the absence of a strong government and/or strong economy, the importance of cultural identity will surpass the importance of national identity. Table 4.6d revealed that citizens in these control groups had the lowest score in national pride, the lowest score in individuality and the second lowest score in tradition.

The rise in the importance of cultural identity over national identity could result in the transition to a country that was colonized but is not multicultural, i.e. Eastern Europe. Table 5.6d reveals that colonized, non-multicultural countries have the highest score for national pride. The score for tradition remains low but there is some growth in individuality. I believe that enduring, sustained national pride will trump periods of economic and political instability and a strong national identity will evolve.

Multicultural countries that were colonized and have zero remaining indigenous groups had the second highest score in national pride, and the highest score in individuality. An absence of indigenous groups very often means that no single culture densely occupies a single region of a multicultural country, thus ties to the land and traditions thereof are not as apt to serve as catalysts for cultural separatism. Thus we see the high score in individuality. I believe importance of individuality combined with a strong sentiment for national pride can endure political and economic instability, leading to the development of a strong national identity.

Controlling for multicultural countries that were not colonized yet have multiple indigenous groups produced the highest score for tradition. The score for individuality was second lowest and the score for national pride was medium. The multicultural status of these countries can be argued to have been determined prior to the formation of the modern nation state. This suggests that political and economic instability has already been endured historically, and a relatively strong shared sense of national pride has evolved. However, the indigenous land ties could still serve as a catalyst for the importance of cultural identity to surpass the importance of national identity during economic or political turmoil.

Countries that were not colonized and are not multicultural had medium scores in tradition and individuality yet the second lowest score in national identity. Here it could be argued that cultural identity and national identity are one in the same, thus national identity has most certainly grown and endured the sands of time. It should be noted that countries that were not colonized and are not multicultural had the lowest score for size of geographical group belonging to first, bringing down the overall national identity score. I believe this could be because, by definition, no isolated foreign cultures were assimilated via modernization. It could be argued then that globalization, or internationally based relationships, served as the strongest basis for exposure to new ideas and beliefs.

It has been stressed in this paper that cultural identities are strongly defended in the face of opposing cultures. Modernization has been defined as the primary means to unite opposing cultures with a unifying national identity. If that process fails, national identity fails to surpass cultural identity. If the process succeeds, national identity replaces the importance of cultural identity in the face of opposing national identities. I believe this research has successfully expanded the knowledge base concerning the ideal social environment for the development of a unifying national identity.

## APPENDIX A

### COUNTRIES THAT WERE SUBJUGATED TO COLONIALISM (133), WITH HDI RANKING

<b>Country**</b>	<b>HDI Index**</b>	<b>Urban pop**</b>	<b>Adult Literacy*</b>	<b>Ethnic Groups*</b>	<b>Indigenous Groups*</b>	<b>Languages*</b>	<b>Religions*</b>
Algeria	102	62.6	69.9	1	1	2	1
Angola	161	52.7	67.4	3	3	2	2
Antigua/Barbuda	59	38.7	85.8	3	0	1	1
Argentina	36	89.9	97.2	1	0	1	1
Armenia	80	64.2	99.4	1	1	1	1
Australia	3	88	99	1	0	1	3
Azerbaijan	99	51.5	98.8	1	1	1	1
Bahamas	52	90.1	95.5	2	0	2	4
Bahrain	39	96.2	86.5	2	1	4	2
Bangladesh	137	24.7	47.5	1	1	2	2
Barbados	31	52.1	97	1	0	1	3
Belarus	67	71.8	96.6	2	1	2	2
Belize	95	48.1	75.1	3	1	5	2
Benin	163	39.7	34.7	42	42	9	3
Bhutan	135	10.8	47	3	1	3	2
Bolivia	115	63.7	86.7	3	2	3	1
Botswana	131	56.6	81.2	2	2	3	1
Brazil	69	83.7	88.6	2	0	1	2
Brunei Darussalam	34	73.1	92.7	3	1	3	4
Burkina Faso	174	17.9	21.8	7	7	2	3
Burundi	169	9.7	59.3	2	2	3	3
Cambodia	129	19.1	73.6	1	1	1	1
Cameroon	144	53.7	67.9	6	6	24	3
Canada	6	80	99	4	0	3	2
Cape Verde	106	56.6	81.2	3	0	2	2
Central African Rep.	172	37.9	48.6	5	5	3	4
Chad	171	24.8	25.7	200	200	123	3
Chile	38	87.3	95.7	1	0	1	2
Colombia	70	72.4	92.8	3	0	1	0
Comoros	132	36.4	56.5	5	5	3	1
Congo	140	59.8	84.7	4	4	4	2
Congo, D. Rep. of	167	31.6	67.2	200	200	5	5

Costa Rica	48	61.2	94.9	1	0	1	2
Côte d'Ivoire	164	44.6	48.7	5	5	2	3
Cuba	50	75.7	99.8	3	0	1	1
Cyprus	29	69.2	96.8	2	0	2	2
Djibouti	148	85.6	67.9	2	2	2	1
Dominica	68	72.5	88	2	0	1	2
Dominican Rep.	94	65.9	87	3	0	1	1
Ecuador	83	62.3	91	2	1	2	1
Egypt	111	42.7	71.4	1	1	1	1
El Salvador	101	59.5	80.5	2	0	2	1
Equatorial Guinea	120	38.9	87	2	2	4	2
Eritrea	157	19	58.6	3	3	4	2
Estonia	40	69.1	99.8	2	1	2	4
Fiji	90	50.3	93.7	2	1	3	3
Gabon	124	83	71	4	4	5	1
Gambia	155	53	40.1	5	5	4	2
Georgia	97	52.2	100	4	3	4	2
Ghana	136	47.1	57.9	4	4	5	3
Grenada	85	30.6	96	2	1	2	3
Guatemala	118	46.8	69.1	2	1	7	3
Guinea	160	32.6	29.5	3	3	4	3
Guinea-Bissau	173	29.6	42.4	5	5	3	2
Guyana	103	28.3	96.5	3	1	5	3
Haiti	154	38.1	52.9	1	0	2	3
Honduras	117	46	80	2	1	3	1
India	126	28.5	61	2	2	18	2
Indonesia	108	47	90.4	4	4	4	2
Israel	23	91.6	97.1	2	1	2	2
Jamaica	104	52.8	79.	1	0	2	3
Jordan	86	81.9	89.9	1	1	2	2
Kazakhstan	79	57.1	99.5	2	2	2	2
Kenya	152	20.5	73.6	7	7	7	4
Kuwait	33	98.3	93.3	2	1	2	2
Kyrgyzstan	110	35.7	98.7	3	3	3	2
Lao People's D. Rep.	133	20.3	68.7	3	3	1	2
Latvia	45	67.8	99.7	2	1	2	3
Lebanon	78	86.5	87.4	1	1	1	2
Lesotho	149	18.5	82.2	1	1	2	2
Libyan Arab J.	64	84.5	84.2	1	1	1	1
Lithuania	41	66.6	99.6	3	1	3	1
Madagascar	143	26.6	70.7	1	1	1	3
Malawi	166	16.7	64.1	3	3	3	3
Malaysia	61	66.3	88.7	3	1	3	4
Maldives	98	29.2	96.3	3	3	1	1
Mali	175	29.9	19	4	4	3	2

Malta	32	95	87.9	1	1	1	1
Mauritania	153	40.3	51.2	3	1	4	1
Mauritius	63	42.4	84.4	2	0	6	3
Mexico	53	75.7	91	3	1	4	1
Moldova, Rep. of	114	46.5	98.4	3	1	3	1
Morocco	123	58	52.3	1	1	1	1
Mozambique	168	33.7	38.7	5	5	1	3
Myanmar	130	30.1	89.9	3	3	1	1
Namibia	125	34.5	85	6	4	6	3
New Zealand	20	86.1	99	2	1	2	4
Nicaragua	112	58.7	6.7	4	1	3	2
Niger	177	16.7	28.7	5	5	4	
Nigeria	159	47.3	69.1	250	250	4	3
Oman	56	71.5	81.4	4	2	5	1
Pakistan	134	34.5	49.9	4	4	6	2
Panama	58	69.9	91.9	4	1	10	2
Paraguay	91	57.9	93.5	1	1	2	1
Peru	82	72.4	87.7	3	1	3	2
Philippines	84	61.9	92.6	1	1	2	2
Qatar	46	95.3	89	4	4	2	1
Rwanda	158	18.5	64.9	2	2	3	4
Saint Kitts/Nevis	51	32.2	7.8	4	0	1	1
Saint Lucia	71	27.6	94.8	2	1	2	2
St. Vincent/Gren.	88	45.6	88.1	3	1	2	3
Sao Tomé/Principe	127	57.1	83.1	3	0	3	1
Senegal	156	41.3	39.3	3	3	4	1
Seychelles	47	52.5	91.8	1	0	3	2
Sierra Leone	176	39.9	35.1	4	3	3	3
Singapore	25	100	92.5	3	3	4	4
Solomon Islands	128	16.7	76.6	1	1	2	2
South Africa	121	58.8	82.4	3	1	11	2
Sri Lanka	93	15.2	90.7	3	3	2	4
Sudan	141	39.8	60.9	3	3	5	3
Suriname	89	73.5	89.6	4	0	5	4
Swaziland	146	23.9	79.6	1	1	2	3
Syrian Arab Rep.	107	50.5	79.6	1	1	1	3
Tajikistan	122	24.9	99.5	2	2	2	2
Tanzania, U. Rep. of	162	23.8	69.4	2	1	2	3
Timor-Leste	142	26.1	58.6	2	2	2	1
Togo	147	39.4	53.2	3	3	3	3
Tonga	55	23.8	98.9	1	1	2	3
Trinidad/Tobago	57	11.9	98.4	3	1	4	4
Tunisia	87	64.9	74.3	1	1	1	1
Turkmenistan	105	46	98.8	3	2	3	2
Uganda	145	12.5	66.8	5	5	5	4

<b>Ukraine</b>	77	67.6	99.4	2	1	2	3
<b>United Arab Emir.</b>	49	76.7	88.7	3	3	4	2
<b>United States</b>	8	80.5	99	3	0	2	2
<b>Uruguay</b>	43	91.9	96.8	2	0	1	1
<b>Uzbekistan</b>	113	36.7	99.3	3	2	3	2
<b>Vanuatu</b>	119	23.1	74	1	1	3	4
<b>Venezuela, RB</b>	72	93	93	3	0	1	1
<b>Vietnam</b>	109	26	90.3	1	1	1	2
<b>Yemen</b>	150	26.9	54.1	1	1	1	2
<b>Zambia</b>	165	34.9	68	4	4	4	3
<b>Zimbabwe</b>	151	35.4	89.4	2	2	3	3

*\*The World Almanac and Book of Facts 2008*

*\*\*2006 UN Human Development Report*

## APPENDIX B

### WORLD VALUES SURVEY – 2005 FOURTH WAVE\*

- **Perceptions of life**
  - Importance of some aspects in life
    - Family important in life(A001)
    - Friends important in life(A002)
    - Leisure time important in life(A003)
    - Politics important in life(A004)
    - Work important in life(A005)
    - Religion important in life(A006)
    - Service to others important in life(A007)
  - Feeling of happiness
    - Feeling of happiness(A008)
  - State of health (subjective)(A009)
  - Respect and love for parents(A025)
  - Parents responsibilities to their children(A026)
  - Qualities that children can be encouraged to learn at home
    - Important child qualities: good manners(A027)
    - Important child qualities: independence(A029)
    - Important child qualities: hard work(A030)
    - Important child qualities: feeling of responsibility(A032)
    - Important child qualities: imagination(A034)
    - Important child qualities: tolerance and respect for other people(A035)
    - Important child qualities: thrift saving money and things(A038)
    - Important child qualities: determination perseverance(A039)
    - Important child qualities: religious faith(A040)
    - Important child qualities: unselfishness(A041)
    - Important child qualities: obedience(A042)
  - Approve or disapprove of abortion
    - Abortion when woman not married(A048)
    - Abortion if not wanting more children(A049)
  - Spending of leisure time
    - Frequency spends time with?
      - Spend time with parents or other relatives(A057)
      - Spend time with friends(A058)
      - Spend time with colleagues from work(A059)
      - Spend time with people at your church, mosque or synagogue(A060)
      - Spend time with people at sport, culture, communal organization(A061)
    - Frequency spends time with?(filtered)
      - Spend time with colleagues from work (filtered)(A059a)
      - Spend time with people at your church, mosque or synagogue (filtered)(A060a)
      - Spend time with people at sport, culture, communal organization (filtered)(A061a)
  - How often discusses political matters with friends(A062)
  - Belonging to voluntary organizations
    - Belong to social welfare service for elderly(A064)
    -

- Belong to religious organization(A065)
    - Belong to education, arts, music or cultural activities(A066)
    - Belong to labour unions(A067)
    - Belong to political parties(A068)
    - Belong to local political actions(A069)
    - Belong to human rights(A070)
    - Belong to conservation, the environment, ecology, animal rights(A071)
    - Belong to professional associations(A072)
    - Belong to youth work(A073)
    - Belong to sports or recreation(A074)
    - Belong to women's group(A075)
    - Belong to peace movement(A076)
    - Belong to organization concerned with health(A077)
    - Belong to other groups(A079)
    - Belong to none(A080)
  - Unpaid work for voluntary organizations
    - Unpaid work social welfare service for elderly, handicapped or deprived people(A081)
    - Unpaid work religious or church organization(A082)
    - Unpaid work education, arts, music or cultural activities(A083)
    - Unpaid work labour unions(A084)
    - Unpaid work political parties or groups(A085)
    - Unpaid work local political action groups(A086)
    - Unpaid work human rights(A087)
    - Unpaid work environment, conservation, animal rights(A088)
    - Unpaid work professional associations(A089)
    - Unpaid work youth work(A090)
    - Unpaid work sports or recreation(A091)
    - Unpaid work women's group(A092)
    - Unpaid work peace movement(A093)
    - Unpaid work organization concerned with health(A094)
    - Unpaid work other groups(A096)
    - Unpaid work none(A097)
  - People that respondent would not like to have as neighbors
    - Neighbours: People with a criminal record(A124)
    - Neighbours: People of a different race(A125)
    - Neighbours: Heavy drinkers(A126)
    - Neighbours: Emotionally unstable people(A127)
    - Neighbours: Muslims(A128)
    - Neighbours: Immigrants/foreign workers(A129)
    - Neighbours: People who have AIDS(A130)
    - Neighbours: Drug addicts(A131)
    - Neighbours: Homosexuals(A132)
    - Neighbours: Jews(A133)
    - Neighbours: People of a different religion(A135)
    - Neighbours: Gypsies(A140)
    - Neighbours: Left wing extremists(A149)
    - Neighbours: Right wing extremists(A150)
    - Neighbours: People with large families(A151)
    - Neighbours: Hindus(A152)
  - Most people can be trusted(A165)
  - Do you think most people try to take advantage of you(A168)
  - Good human relationships(A169)
  - Satisfaction with life
    - Satisfaction with your life(A170)
  - How much freedom of choice and control(A173)
- **Environment**
  - Attitudes towards environment
    - Protecting environment vs. Economic growth(B008)

- Human & nature(B009)
  - Environmental action
    - Would give part of my income for the environment(B001)
    - Increase in taxes if used to prevent environmental pollution(B002)
    - Government should reduce environmental pollution(B003)
- **Work**
  - Is respondent employed now(C029)
  - Financial situation of household
    - Satisfaction with financial situation of household(C006)
  - Job aspects
    - First choice, if looking for a job(C009)
    - Second choice if looking for a job(C010)
    - Important aspects in a job
      - Important in a job: good pay(C011)
      - Important in a job: not too much pressure(C012)
      - Important in a job: good job security(C013)
      - Important in a job: a respected job(C014)
      - Important in a job: good hours(C015)
      - Important in a job: an opportunity to use initiative(C016)
      - Important in a job: generous holidays(C017)
      - Important in a job: that you can achieve something(C018)
      - Important in a job: a responsible job(C019)
      - Important in a job: a job that is interesting(C020)
      - Important in a job: a job that meets one's abilities(C021)
      - Important in a job: pleasant people to work with(C022)
      - Important in a job: good chances for promotion(C023)
      - Important in a job: a useful job for society(C024)
      - Important in a job: meeting people(C025)
      - Important in a job: good physical working conditions(C026)
      - Important in a job: to have time off at the weekends(C027)
      - Important in a job: none of these(C028)
  - Labour precariousness
    - Jobs scarce: Men should have more right to a job than women(C001)
    - Jobs scarce: Employers should give priority to (nation) people than immigrants(C002)
    - Jobs scarce: Jobs to local people(C003)
  - Attitudes towards work
    - Work compared with Leisure(C008)
    - Job satisfaction(C033)
    - Freedom decision taking in job(C034)
    - Satisfaction job security(C035)
    - Statements about work
      - To develop talents you need to have a job(C036)
      - To develop talents you need to have a job (4 cat)(C036a)
      - Humiliating to receive money without having to work for it(C037)
      - Humiliating to receive money without having to work for it (4 cat)(C037a)
      - People who don't work turn lazy(C038)
      - People who don't work turn lazy (4 cat)(C038a)
      - Work is a duty towards society(C039)
      - Work is a duty towards society (4 cat)(C039a)
      - People should not have to work if they don't want to(C040)
      - People should not have to work if they don't want to (4 cat)(C040a)
      - Work should come first even if it means less spare time(C041)
      - Work should come first even if it means less spare time (4 cat)(C041a)
    - Fairness: One secretary is paid more(C059)
    - Following instructions at work(C061)
    - How business and industry should be managed(C060)
- **Family**
  - Personal attitudes

- One of main goals in life has been to make my parents proud(D054)
    - Make effort to live up to what my friends expect(D055)
  - Children
    - Ideal number of children(D017)
    - Child needs a home with father and mother(D018)
    - A woman has to have children to be fulfilled(D019)
    - A man has to have children to be fulfilled(D020)
    - Woman as a single parent(D023)
    - Women want a home and children(D062)
    - Women want a home and children (5 cat)(D062a)
    - Fathers are well suited for looking after children(D064)
    - Fathers are well suited for looking after children (5 cat)(D064a)
  - Marriage
    - Marriage is an out-dated institution(D022)
    - Long-term relationship is necessary to be happy(D026)
    - Important for successful marriage: Faithfulness(D027)
    - Important for successful marriage: Adequate income(D028)
    - Important for successful marriage: Same social background(D029)
    - Important for successful marriage: Respect and appreciation(D030)
    - Important for successful marriage: Religious beliefs(D031)
    - Important for successful marriage: Good housing(D032)
    - Important for successful marriage: Agreement on politics(D033)
    - Important in successful marriage: Understanding and tolerance(D034)
    - Important for successful marriage: Apart from in-laws(D035)
    - Important for successful marriage: Happy sexual relationship(D036)
    - Important for successful marriage: Sharing household chores(D037)
    - Important for successful marriage: Children(D038)
    - Important in successful marriage: Discussing problems(D039)
    - Important for successful marriage: Spending time together(D040)
    - Important in successful marriage: Talking(D041)
    - Important for successful marriage: Same ethnic background(D042)
    - More than one wife(D076)
  - Men and women
    - Men make better political leaders than women do(D059)
    - University is more important for a boy than for a girl(D060)
    - Men are less able to handle emotions(D065)
    - Men are less able to handle emotions (5 cat)(D065a)
    - Wife must obey(D077)
  - Working Mother or Housewife
    - Relationship working mother(D056)
    - Relationship working mother (5 cat)(D056a)
    - Being a housewife just as fulfilling(D057)
    - Being a housewife just as fulfilling (5 cat)(D057a)
    - Husband and wife should both contribute to income(D058)
    - Husband and wife should both contribute to income (5 cat)(D058a)
    - Pre-school child suffers with working mother(D061)
    - Pre-school child suffers with working mother (5 cat)(D061a)
    - Job best way for women to be independent(D063)
    - Job best way for women to be independent (5 cat)(D063a)
  - Traits in a woman
    - Traits in a woman: Woman wearing veil(D067)
    - Traits in a woman: Woman good mother(D068)
    - Traits in a woman: Woman good wife(D069)
    - Traits in a woman: Woman religious(D070)
    - Traits in a woman: Woman educated(D071)
- **Politics and Society**
  - Country' goals for the next ten years
    - Aims of country: first choice(E001)

- Aims of country: second choice(E002)
- Personal goals
  - Aims of respondent: first choice(E003)
  - Aims of respondent: second choice(E004)
- Most important goals
  - Most important: first choice(E005)
  - Most important: second choice(E006)
- What should a society provide to be considered just
  - Importance of eliminating big income inequalities(E146)
  - Importance of guaranteeing basic needs for all(E147)
  - Importance of recognizing people on their merits(E148)
  - Importance of equalizing chances for education(E149)
- Future changes
  - Future changes: Less emphasis on money and material possessions(E014)
  - Future changes: Less importance placed on work(E015)
  - Future changes: More emphasis on technology(E016)
  - Future changes: More emphasis on individual(E017)
  - Future changes: Greater respect for authority(E018)
  - Future changes: More emphasis on family life(E019)
  - Future changes: A simple and more natural lifestyle(E020)
  - Future changes: More power to local authorities(E021)
- Attitudes concerning society
  - Basic kinds of attitudes concerning society(E034)
  - Income equality(E035)
  - Private vs state ownership of business(E036)
  - Government responsibility(E037)
  - Job taking of the unemployed(E038)
  - Competition good or harmful(E039)
  - Firms and freedom(E042)
  - Responsibility pension(E043)
  - Responsibility housing(E044)
  - Major changes in life(E045)
  - New and old ideas(E046)
- Confidence in different institutions and organisations
  - Confidence: Churches(E069)
  - Confidence: Armed Forces(E070)
  - Confidence: Education System(E071)
  - Confidence: The Press(E072)
  - Confidence: Labour Unions(E073)
  - Confidence: The Police(E074)
  - Confidence: Parliament(E075)
  - Confidence: The Civil Services(E076)
  - Confidence: Social Security System(E077)
  - Confidence: Television(E078)
  - Confidence: The Government(E079)
  - Confidence: The Political Parties(E080)
  - Confidence: Major Companies(E081)
  - Confidence: The Environmental Protection Movement(E082)
  - Confidence: The Women's Movement(E083)
  - Confidence: Health Care System(E084)
  - Confidence: Justice System(E085)
  - Confidence: The European Union(E086)
  - Confidence: NATO(E087)
  - Confidence: The United Nations(E088)
  - Confidence: The Arab League(E089)
  - Confidence: The Mercosur(E094)
  - Confidence: The SAARC(E095)
  - Confidence: The Presidency(E201)

- Confidence: The Civil Society Groups(E202)
- Personal characteristics
  - Freedom or equality(E032)
  - Stick to own affairs(E152)
- Ideology
  - Self positioning in political scale(E033)
  - Interest in politics(E023)
- Political system
  - Rate political system for governing country(E111)
  - Rate political system as it was before(E112)
  - Rate political system in ten years(E113)
  - Political system: Having a strong leader(E114)
  - Political system: Having experts make decisions(E115)
  - Political system: Having the army rule(E116)
  - Political system: Having a democratic political system(E117)
  - Firm party leader vs. Cooperating party leader(E118)
- Political action
  - Political action: signing a petition(E025)
  - Political action: joining in boycotts(E026)
  - Political action: attending lawful demonstrations(E027)
  - Political action: joining unofficial strikes(E028)
  - Political action: occupying buildings or factories(E029)
- Political parties
  - Which party would you vote for: first choice(E179)
  - Which party would you vote for: second choice(E180)
  - If don't know, which party appeals to you most(E181)
  - Party that would never vote(E182)
  - Political parties serve the social and political needs of people(E205)
- Rule of government
  - Government order vs. freedom(E119)
  - Satisfaction with the people in national office(E125)
- Democracy
  - Satisfaction with the way democracy develops(E110)
  - In democracy, the economic system runs badly(E120)
  - Democracies are indecisive and have too much squabbling(E121)
  - Democracies aren't good at maintaining order(E122)
  - Democracy may have problems but is better(E123)
  - Western democracy is the best political system for country(E214)
- Decision taking
  - Who should decide: international peacekeeping(E135)
  - Who should decide: protection of the environment(E136)
  - Who should decide: aid to developing countries(E137)
  - Who should decide: refugees(E138)
  - Who should decide: human rights(E139)
- Inequalities
  - Country is run by big interest vs. for all people's benefit(E128)
  - Economic aid to poorer countries(E129)
  - Why are there people living in need: first(E190)
  - Why are there people living in need: second(E191)
  - Living day to day because of uncertain future(E144)
- Country/Regional problems
  - Country cannot solve environmental problems by itself(E140)
  - Country cannot solve crime problems by itself(E141)
  - Country cannot solve employment problems by itself(E142)
  - Opinion about the problem of Palestine and Israel(E211)
- Relation with foreign countries
  - [Country] should have close relations with France(E207)
  - [Country] should have close relations with United States(E208)

- Economy and market reforms
  - Rapid implementation of market reforms have negative impact on national stability(E203)
  - Effect of market economic reforms(E204)
- Living conditions
  - Feeling about the following living conditions
    - Concerned with immediate family(E153)
    - Concerned with people in the neighbourhood(E154)
    - Concerned with people in the region(E155)
    - Concerned with fellow countrymen(E156)
    - Concerned with Europeans(E157)
    - Concerned with human kind(E158)
    - Concerned with elderly people(E159)
    - Concerned with unemployed people(E160)
    - Concerned with immigrants(E161)
    - Concerned with sick and disabled people(E162)
  - Preparation to do something to improve the following conditions
    - Prepared to help immediate family(E163)
    - Prepared to help people in the neighbourhood(E164)
    - Prepared to help elderly people(E165)
    - Prepared to help immigrants(E166)
    - Prepared to help sick and disabled people(E167)
- Aged people
  - Reason to help: Moral duty to help elderly people(E168)
  - Reason to help: Sympathise with old people(E169)
  - Reason to help: In the interest of society(E170)
  - Reason to help: Own interest(E171)
  - Reason to help: Do something in return for old people(E172)
- Immigration
  - Immigrant policy(E143)
  - Immigrants and their customs and traditions(E145)
  - Would persist to immigrate abroad if R's economic situation was better(E209)
  - Reasons to help immigrants in your country
    - Reason to help: Moral duty to help immigrants(E173)
    - Reason to help: Sympathise with immigrants(E174)
    - Reason to help: In the interest of society(E175)
    - Reason to help: Own interest(E176)
    - Reason to help: Do something in return for immigrants(E177)
- War
  - Willingness to fight for country(E012)
- Terrorism and violence
  - Free and fair elections will reduce terrorism(E206)
  - Opinion about 11th September airliners crash action by religious fundamentalists(E212)
  - It is necessary to fight terrorism by military means(E215)
  - [Country] needs foreign military cooperation to combat terrorism(E216)
- Justice
  - Give authorities information to help justice(E151)
- Human Rights
  - Respect for individual human rights nowadays(E124)
- Science and Technology
  - Opinion about scientific advances(E022)
- Communication media
  - How often follows politics in the news(E150)
  - Frequency watches TV(E188)
  - TV most important entertainment(E189)
- **Religion and Morale**
  - Personal religious attitudes
    - Thinking about meaning and purpose of life(F001)
    - Religious person(F034)

- Stick to religion vs. Explore different traditions(F061)
  - How important is God in your life(F063)
  - Get comfort and strength from religion(F064)
  - Islam requires woman to dress modestly but does not require cover face with veil(F164)
- Personal moral attitudes
  - Statement: good and evil(F022)
- Religious affiliation and practice
  - Belong to religious denomination(F024)
  - Religious denomination(F025)
  - Former religious denomination(F026)
  - Which former religious denomination(F027)
  - How often do you attend religious services(F028)
  - Moments of prayer, meditation...(F065)
  - Pray to God outside of religious services (I)(F066)
- Religious atmosphere in family
  - Attendance religious services 12 years old(F030)
- Moral and religious beliefs
  - Believe in: God(F050)
  - Believe in: life after death(F051)
  - Believe in: people have a soul(F052)
  - Believe in: hell(F053)
  - Believe in: heaven(F054)
  - Believe in: sin(F055)
  - Believe in: telepathy(F056)
  - Believe in: re-incarnation(F057)
  - Believe in: angels(F058)
  - Personal God vs. Spirit or Life Force(F062)
  - Believe in: supernatural forces(F097)
  - Do you have a lucky charm(F098)
  - Lucky charm protects(F099)
  - Consult horoscope(F100)
  - Taking horoscope into account in daily life(F101)
- Religious services
  - Marriage
    - Important: Religious service birth(F031)
      - By requiring man treat all wives equally, Islam true intent is prohibit taking more than one wife(F166)
  - Important: Religious service marriage(F032)
  - Important: Religious service death(F033)
- Role of Religious Institutions
  - Churches give answers: moral problems(F035)
  - Churches give answers: the problems of family life(F036)
  - Churches give answers: people's spiritual needs(F037)
  - Churches give answers: the social problems(F038)
- Religion and Politics
  - Politicians who don't believe in God are unfit for public office(F102)
  - Religious leaders should not influence how people vote(F103)
  - Better if more people with strong religious beliefs in public office(F104)
  - Religious leaders should not influence government(F105)
  - Government protects freedom(F108)
  - Government protects religion(F109)
  - Laws: people's wishes(F110)
  - Only laws of the Shari'a(F111)
  - Church(es) influence on national politics(F113)
  - Monarchy is a form of government that is compatible with Islam(F167)
  - Democracy is a Western form of government that is not compatible with Islam(F168)
  - Nationalism is incompatible with Islam because Islam requires 'ummah'(F169)

- If Palestinian state established and peace with Israel, Islam would not oppose existence of Israel(F170)
- If country pursues policies harmful to Muslims, Islam permits killing civilians in that country(F171)
- A truly Islamic country should not have a parliament with the right to pass laws(F172)
- Islam requires that political rights of non Muslims should be inferior to those of Muslims(F173)
- Islams requires country with majority of Muslims be governed by men of Islamic learning(F174)
- Religions limit democratic processes(F175)
- Some US Policies toward other countries are good and some are bad(F176)
- While US policies toward other countries are often bad, most ordinary Americans are good people(F177)
- The culture of US and other Western countries has many positive attributes(F178)
- Exposure to the culture of the US and other Western countries harmful effect on our country(F179)
- Religion is a cause of terrorism(F186)
- Justification of social behaviours
  - Justifiable: claiming government benefits(F114)
  - Justifiable: avoiding a fare on public transport(F115)
  - Justifiable: cheating on taxes(F116)
  - Justifiable: someone accepting a bribe(F117)
  - Justifiable: homosexuality(F118)
  - Justifiable: prostitution(F119)
  - Justifiable: abortion(F120)
  - Justifiable: divorce(F121)
  - Justifiable: euthanasia(F122)
  - Justifiable: suicide(F123)
  - Justifiable: drinking alcohol(F124)
  - Justifiable: joyriding(F125)
  - Justifiable: taking soft drugs(F126)
  - Justifiable: lying(F127)
  - Justifiable: adultery(F128)
  - Justifiable: throwing away litter(F129)
  - Justifiable: driving under influence of alcohol(F130)
  - Justifiable: paying cash(F131)
  - Justifiable: having casual sex(F132)
  - Justifiable: smoking in public places(F133)
  - Justifiable: speeding over the limit(F134)
  - Justifiable: sex under the legal age of consent(F135)
  - Justifiable: political assassination(F136)
  - Justifiable: experiments with human embryos(F137)
  - Justifiable: manipulation of food(F138)
- Extent of social behaviours
  - Compatriots do: claiming state benefits(F145)
  - Compatriots do: cheating on taxes(F146)
  - Compatriots do: paying in cash(F147)
  - Compatriots do: taking soft drugs(F148)
  - Compatriots do: throwing away litter(F149)
  - Compatriots do: speeding over the limit in build up areas(F150)
  - Compatriots do: driving under the influence of alcohol(F151)
  - Compatriots do: having casual sex(F152)
  - Compatriots do: avoiding a fare on public transport(F153)
  - Compatriots do: lying in own interest(F154)
  - Compatriots do: accepting a bribe(F155)
- Stoling
  - Stealing food punished less: young thief(F160)
  - Stealing food punished less: poor thief(F161)

- Stealing food punished less: shop part of a supermarket chain(F163)
  - Abortion
    - Nurse refusing legal abortion on religious grounds(F106)
  - Education and culture
    - Time for prayer and meditation in all schools(F107)
    - Prohibiting or allowing books that attack religion(F112)
    - Violation of Islam for male and female university students to attend classes together(F165)
    - The content of [Country] education contributes to religious extremism(F187)
- **National Identity**
  - Geographical background
    - Geographical groups belonging to first(G001)
    - Geographical groups belonging to second(G002)
    - Geographical groups belonging to least of all(G003)
  - Citizenship
    - Citizen of [country](G005)
    - How proud of nationality(G006)
  - Nationalism
    - Opinion European union(G014)
    - Which of the following best describes you(G015)
  - Trust in people
    - Trust: Other people in country(G007)
- **Language at home(G016)**
- **Socio-Demographics**
  - Sex(X001)
  - Age
    - Year of birth(X002)
    - Age(X003)
    - Age recoded(X003R)
    - Age recoded (3 intervals)(X003R2)
  - Marital status
    - Stable relationship(X004)
    - Legally married to partner(X005)
    - Stable relationship before(X006)
    - Marital status(X007)
    - Been divorced(X009)
    - Where r lived after married(X010)
  - Children
    - How many children do you have(X011)
  - Household composition
    - Number of people in household of 18+(X014)
    - Number of people in household aged 13-17(X015)
    - Number of people in household aged 5-12(X016)
    - Number of people in household under age of 5(X017)
    - What age did you complete your education(X023)
    - What age did you complete your education (recoded in intervals)(X023R)
  - Education
    - Had formal education(X024)
    - Highest educational level attained(X025)
    - Education (country specific)(X025CS)
    - Education level (recoded)(X025R)
  - Housing
    - Do you live with your parents(X026)
  - Occupation
    - Employment status(X028)
    - Are you supervising someone(X031)
    - Number of supervised people(X032)
    - Number of supervised people (recoded)(X032R)
    - Number of others working in the organization(X033)

- Number of others working in the organization (recoded)(X033R)
- Number of employees(X034)
- Number of employees (recoded)(X034R)
- Job profession/industry (2 digit isco88)(X035\_2)
- Job profession/industry (3 digit isco88)(X035\_3)
- Job profession/industry (4 digit isco88)(X035\_4)
- Profession/job(X036)
- How long unemployed(X037)
- Are you the chief wage earner in your house(X040)
- Is the chief wage earner employed now(X041)
- Profession/industry (2 digit isco88)(X042\_2)
- Profession/industry (3 digit isco88)(X042\_3)
- Profession/industry (4 digit isco88)(X042\_4)
- Chief wage earner profession/job(X043)
- Economical situation
  - Family savings during past year(X044)
  - Social class (subjective)(X045)
  - Socio-economic status of respondent(X046)
  - Scale of incomes(X047)
  - Income (country specific)(X047CS)
  - Income level(X047R)
- Geographical location
  - Region where the interview was conducted(X048)
  - Size of town(X049)
  - Size of town (country specific)(X049CS)
- Ethnic description
  - Ethnic group(X051)

*\*European and World Values Surveys*

## APPENDIX C

### REGRESSION MODEL ANALYSIS FOR CHAPTERS 2 AND 3

**Table 3.2a Regression Model Analysis of Modernization**  
**(frequency following politics + education attained + size of town)**  
**on Social Change Variables *importance of religion, attitude about***  
***defending society, overall happiness, belief freedom of choice impacts life,***  
***and belief homosexuality is justifiable, n = 18,190***

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
model		0.011			
politics	religion		-0.049	-8.742	0
education	religion		0.095	9.369	0
town	religion		-0.018	-6.116	0
model		0.001			
politics	attitude		0.014	4.576	0
education	attitude		-0.013	-2.26	0.024
town	attitude		0.002	1.012	0.311
model		0.013			
politics	happy		0.003	0.826	0.409
education	happy		-0.052	-7.239	0
town	happy		-0.025	-11.75	0
model		0.019			
politics	choice		-0.077	-5.88	0
education	choice		0.259	10.903	0
town	choice		0.076	11.014	0
model		0.041			
politics	justify		0.018	1.021	0.307
education	justify		0.421	13.13	0
town	justify		0.203	21.623	0

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

**Table 4.2a Regression Model Analysis of Modernization (frequency**  
**following politics + education attained + size of town) on National Identity**  
**Variables *geographic group belonging to first and national pride,***  
**n = 18,190**

<b>Independent</b>	<b>Dependent</b>	<b>R Squared</b>	<b>b</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>p</b>
Independent model	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
		0.022			
politics	group		-0.036	-5.238	0
education	group		143	11.584	0
town	group		0.045	12.559	0
model		0.007			
politics	pride		0.007	1.668	0.095
education	pride		0.077	10.683	0
town	pride		-0.014	-6.828	0

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

## APPENDIX D

### REGRESSION MODEL ANALYSIS BY CONTROL GROUP

**Table 5.1a Regression Model Analysis of Modernization (frequency following politics + education attained + size of town) on Dependent Social Change Variables *importance of religion, belief scientific advances help, basic attitude about defending society, overall happiness, belief free choice impacts life, and belief homosexuality is justifiable* and Dependent National Identity Variables *geographic group belonging to first and national pride* in Multicultural Colonized Countries with at least One Remaining Indigenous Group, n = 4027**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
model		0.027			
politics	religion		-0.003	-0.219	0.826
education	religion		0.216	10.067	0
town	religion		0.005	0.916	0.36
model		0.002			
politics	science		0.03	2.656	0.008
education	science		0.024	1.248	0.212
town	science		0.009	1.772	0.076
model		0.001			
politics	attitude		0.01	1.351	0.177
education	attitude		-0.001	-0.085	0.932
town	attitude		0.008	2.411	0.016
model		0.031			
politics	group		-0.03	-1.838	0.066
education	group		0.171	6.146	0
town	group		0.058	7.709	0
model		0.007			
politics	happy		0.015	1.596	0.111
education	happy		0.006	0.365	0.715
town	happy		-0.022	-5.253	0
model		0.016			
politics	choice		-0.181	-5.43	0
education	choice		0.087	1.516	0.13
town	choice		0.075	4.866	0
model		0.004			
politics	pride		0.009	0.795	0.426
education	pride		0.075	4.007	0
town	pride		0.005	1.04	0.299
model		0.026			

politics	justify	0.117	3.19	0.001
education	justify	0.046	0.717	0.474
town	justify	0.169	9.96	0

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

**Table 5.2a Regression Model Analysis of Modernization (frequency following politics + education attained + size of town) on Dependent Social Change Variables *importance of religion, belief scientific advances help, basic attitude about defending society, overall happiness, belief free choice impacts life, and belief homosexuality is justifiable* and Dependent National Identity Variables *geographic group belonging to first and national pride* in Multicultural Colonized Countries with Zero Remaining Indigenous Groups, n = 3720**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	P
model		0.006			
politics	religion		0.018	1.577	0.115
education	religion		0.11	5.093	0
town	religion		-0.001	-0.194	0.846
model		0.004			
politics	science		0.024	2.391	0.017
education	science		-0.003	-0.144	0.886
town	science		-0.02	-3.134	0.002
model		0.003			
politics	attitude		-0.004	-0.559	0.576
education	attitude		-0.042	-3.491	0
town	attitude		-0.003	-0.824	0.41
model		0.014			
politics	group		-0.043	-2.763	0.006
education	group		0.079	2.646	0.008
town	group		0.051	5.191	0
model		0.003			
politics	happy		-0.005	-0.694	0.488
education	happy		-0.033	-2.29	0.022
town	happy		0.017	3.554	0
model		0.002			
politics	choice		-0.012	-0.534	0.594
education	choice		0.118	2.686	0.007
town	choice		0.007	0.453	0.65
model		0.007			
politics	pride		0.028	4.265	0
education	pride		0.051	4.092	0
town	pride		-0.003	-0.7	0.484
model		0.049			
politics	justify		-0.047	-1.213	0.225
education	justify		1	13.531	0

town	justify	-0.097	-4	0
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Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

**Table 5.3a Regression Model Analysis of Modernization (frequency following politics + education attained + size of town) on Dependent Social Change Variables *importance of religion, belief scientific advances help, basic attitude about defending society, overall happiness, belief free choice impacts life, and belief homosexuality is justifiable* and Dependent National Identity Variables *geographic group belonging to first and national pride* in Multicultural non-Colonized Countries with at least One Remaining Indigenous Group, n = 1827**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
model		.034			
politics	religion		0.016	0.858	0.391
education	religion		0.085	2.601	0.009
town	religion		0.074	7.496	0
model		0			
politics	science		0.011	0.712	0.477
education	science		0.037	1.38	0.168
town	science		-0.006	-0.765	0.444
model		0			
politics	attitude		-0.002	-0.261	0.794
education	attitude		0.018	1.085	0.278
town	attitude		0.004	0.842	0.4
model		0.014			
politics	group		-0.006	-0.258	0.797
education	group		0.096	2.563	0.01
town	group		0.051	4.447	0
model		0.012			
politics	happy		0.001	0.114	0.91
education	happy		-0.073	-3.444	0.001
town	happy		-0.021	-3.213	0.001
model		0.028			
politics	choice		-0.038	-0.854	0.393
education	choice		0.36	4.758	0
town	choice		0.114	4.937	0
model		0.019			
politics	pride		0.042	2.829	0.005
education	pride		0.107	4.208	0
town	pride		-0.033	-4.249	0
model		0.052			
politics	justify		0.145	2.373	0.018
education	justify		0.127	1.221	0.222
town	justify		0.308	9.749	0

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

**Table 5.4a Regression Model Analysis of Modernization (frequency following politics + education attained + size of town) on Dependent Social Change Variables *importance of religion, belief scientific advances help, basic attitude about defending society, overall happiness, belief free choice impacts life, and belief homosexuality is justifiable* and Dependent National Identity Variables *geographic group belonging to first and national pride* in Colonized Countries that are not Multicultural, n = 4093**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
model		0.052			
politics	religion		-0.135	-12.863	0
education	religion		-0.029	-1.541	0.123
town	religion		-0.035	-5.627	0
model		0.022			
politics	science		0.018	1.7	0.084
education	science		0.067	3.538	0
town	science		0.047	7.536	0
model		0.005			
politics	attitude		0.038	4.732	0
education	attitude		0.019	1.324	0.186
town	attitude		-0.002	-0.489	0.625
model		0.01			
politics	group		-0.075	-5.809	0
education	group		0.034	1.426	0.154
town	group		0.015	1.983	0.047
model		0.019			
politics	happy		0.054	6.522	0
education	happy		-0.035	-2.3	0.022
town	happy		-0.024	-4.957	0
model		0.048			
politics	choice		-0.296	-11.027	0
education	choice		-0.056	-1.133	0.257
town	choice		0.168	10.515	0
model		0.007			
politics	pride		0.032	5.046	0
education	pride		0.031	2.645	0.008
town	pride		0.001	0.244	0.807
model		0.181			
politics	justify		0.038	1.402	0.161
education	justify		0.05	0.998	0.318
town	justify		0.459	28.269	0

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

**Table 5.5a Regression Model Analysis of Modernization (frequency following politics + education attained + size of town) on Dependent Social Change Variables *importance of religion, belief scientific advances help, basic attitude about defending society, overall happiness, belief free choice impacts life, and belief homosexuality is justifiable* and Dependent National Identity Variables *geographic group belonging to first and national pride* in non-Colonized Countries that are not Multicultural, n = 4515**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
model		0.022			
politics	religion		0.025	2.214	0.027
education	religion		0.195	9.181	0
town	religion		0.018	2.848	0.004
model		0.002			
politics	science		0.03	2.747	0.006
education	science		-0.32	-1.564	0.118
town	science		-0.001	-0.212	0.832
model		0.013			
politics	attitude		0.016	3.291	0.001
education	attitude		-0.051	-5.649	0
town	attitude		-0.007	-2.574	0.01
model		0.018			
politics	group		-0.029	-2.2	0.028
education	group		0.141	5.678	0
town	group		0.04	5.467	0
model		0.005			
politics	happy		0.029	3.943	0
education	happy		-0.044	-2.886	0.004
town	happy		-0.003	-0.643	0.52
model		0.025			
politics	choice		-0.108	-4.283	0
education	choice		0.407	8.636	0
town	choice		-0.078	-5.673	0
model		0.035			
politics	pride		0.024	2.947	0.003
education	pride		0.142	9.407	0
town	pride		0.03	6.926	0
model		0.076			
politics	justify		-0.07	-1.845	0.065
education	justify		0.93	13.131	0
town	justify		0.234	11.335	0

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

## APPENDIX E

### SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BY CONTROL GROUP

**Table 5.6b Significant Relationships by Control Group, by Independent Variables**

		<i>Control Group</i>				
<i>Variable</i>						
<b>Independent</b>	<b>Dependent</b>	<b>Colonized Not Multi</b>	<b>Not Colonized Not Multi</b>	<b>Colonized Multi 1 Ind</b>	<b>Colonized Multi 0 Ind</b>	<b>Not Colonized Multi 1 Ind</b>
politics	religion	Yes	x	Yes	x	x
politics	science	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	x
politics	attitude	Yes	Yes	x	x	x
politics	happy	Yes	Yes	x	x	x
politics	choice	Yes	Yes	Yes	x	x
politics	justify	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	x
politics	group	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	x
politics	pride	Yes	x	x	Yes	Yes
education	religion	x	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
education	science	Yes	x	x	x	x
education	attitude	x	Yes	x	Yes	x
education	happy	Yes	Yes	x	x	Yes
education	choice	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
education	justify	Yes	Yes	x	Yes	x
education	group	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
education	pride	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
town	religion	Yes	Yes	Yes	x	Yes
town	science	Yes	x	x	Yes	x
town	attitude	x	Yes	Yes	x	x
town	happy	Yes	x	Yes	Yes	Yes
town	choice	Yes	Yes	Yes	x	Yes
town	justify	Yes	Yes	Yes	x	Yes
town	group	x	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
town	pride	x	Yes	x	x	Yes
<b>total</b>		79.2	79.2	62.5	54.2	50

Source: World Values Survey      x = no significant relationship

**Table 5.6c Significant Relationships by Control Group, by Dependent Variables**

<i>Variable</i>		<i>Control Group</i>				
<b>Independent</b>	<b>Dependent</b>	<b>Colonized Not Multi</b>	<b>Not Colonized Not Multi</b>	<b>Colonized Multi 1 Ind</b>	<b>Colonized Multi 0 Ind</b>	<b>Not Colonized Multi 1 Ind</b>
politics	religion	decrease	x	decrease	x	x
education	religion	x	decrease	decrease	decrease	decrease
town	religion	increase	decrease	decrease	x	decrease
politics	science	increase	increase	increase	increase	x
education	science	decrease	x	x	x	x
town	science	decrease	x	x	increase	x
politics	attitude	decrease	decrease	x	x	x
education	attitude	x	decrease	x	decrease	x
town	attitude	x	increase	decrease	x	x
politics	happy	increase	increase	x	x	x
education	happy	increase	increase	x	x	increase
town	happy	increase	x	increase	decrease	increase
politics	choice	increase	increase	increase	x	x
education	choice	increase	increase	increase	increase	increase
town	choice	increase	decrease	increase	x	increase
politics	justify	decrease	increase	decrease	increase	x
education	justify	increase	increase	x	increase	x
town	justify	increase	increase	increase	x	increase
politics	group	increase	increase	increase	increase	x
education	group	increase	increase	increase	increase	increase
town	group	x	increase	increase	increase	increase
politics	pride	increase	x	x	increase	increase
education	pride	decrease	decrease	decrease	decrease	decrease
town	pride	x	decrease	x	x	increase
<b>total</b>		79.2	79.2	62.5	54.2	50

Source: World Values Survey

x = no significant relationship

## APPENDIX F

### REGRESSION ANALYSIS BY AGE AND GENDER CONTROL GROUP

**Table 5.8 Regression Analysis of Independent Modernization Variables *frequency following politics, education level, and size of town* on Dependent National Identity Variables *willingness to fight for, geographic group belonging to first, and national pride* for Ages 15-24, n = 2,809**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
politics	willingness to fight	0.01	-0.031	-5.307	0
politics	geographic group	0.001	-0.035	-1.89	0.059
politics	national pride	0	-0.013	-1.259	0.208
education	willingness to fight	0	-0.002	-0.153	0.879
education	geographic group	0.006	0.152	4.248	0
education	national pride	0.001	0.036	1.83	0.067
town	willingness to fight	0.008	-0.015	-4.766	0
town	geographic group	0.012	0.056	5.773	0
town	national pride	0	0.001	0.271	0.787
<b>Model</b>					
		0.016			
willingness to fight	politics		-0.029	-4.815	0
willingness to fight	education		0.001	0.114	0.16
willingness to fight	town		-0.014	-4.422	0
		0.015			
geographic group	politics		-0.035	-1.864	0.062
geographic group	education		0.1	2.694	0.007
geographic group	town		0.051	5.198	0
		0.001			
national pride	politics		-0.009	-0.906	0.365
national pride	education		0.035	1.705	0.088
national pride	town		0	-0.074	0.941

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

**Table 5.9 Regression Analysis of Independent Modernization Variables**  
*frequency following politics, education level, and size of town on Dependent*  
**National Identity Variables** *willingness to fight for, geographic group belonging*  
*to first, and national pride for Ages 25-34, n = 3,972*

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
politics	willingness to fight	0.004	-0.021	-4.243	0
politics	geographic group	0.005	-0.065	-4.487	0
politics	national pride	0	0.003	0.361	0.718
education	willingness to fight	0.001	-0.02	-2.198	0.028
education	geographic group	0.007	0.147	5.476	0
education	national pride	0.001	0.038	2.439	0.015
town	willingness to fight	0.012	-0.018	-6.848	0
town	geographic group	0.011	0.051	6.752	0
town	national pride	0.001	-0.01	-2.255	0.024
<b>Model</b>					
		0.016			
willingness to fight	politics		-0.022	-4.311	0
willingness to fight	education		-0.014	-1.407	0.16
willingness to fight	town		-0.017	-6.324	0
		0.019			
geographic group	politics		-0.059	-4.02	0
geographic group	education		0.088	3.155	0.002
geographic group	town		0.046	5.883	0
		0.003			
national pride	politics		0.007	0.844	0.399
national pride	education		0.052	3.192	0.001
national pride	town		-0.013	-2.896	0.004

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

**Table 5.10 Regression Analysis of Independent Modernization Variables**  
*frequency following politics, education level, and size of town on Dependent*  
**National Identity Variables** *willingness to fight for, geographic group belonging*  
*to first, and national pride for Ages 35-44, n = 3,747*

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
politics	willingness to fight	0.004	-0.021	-3.999	0
politics	geographic group	0.003	-0.054	-3.544	0
politics	national pride	0	-0.005	-0.599	0.576
education	willingness to fight	0	-0.002	-0.211	0.833
education	geographic group	0.013	0.188	7.018	0
education	national pride	0.003	0.053	3.384	0.001
town	willingness to fight	0.008	-0.015	-5.59	0
town	geographic group	0.014	0.057	7.305	0

town	national pride	0.004	-0.018	-3.858	0
<b>Model</b>					
		0.011			
willingness to fight	politics		-0.02	-3.702	0
willingness to fight	education		0.001	0.115	0.909
willingness to fight	town		-0.014	-5.346	0
		0.025			
geographic group	politics		-0.045	-2.908	0.004
geographic group	education		0.143	5.175	0
geographic group	town		0.05	6.346	0
		0.008			
national pride	politics		0.005	0.604	0.546
national pride	education		0.066	4.034	0
national pride	town		-0.021	-4.538	0

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

**Table 5.11 Regression Analysis of Independent Modernization Variables frequency following politics, education level, and size of town on Dependent National Identity Variables willingness to fight for, geographic group belonging to first, and national pride for Ages 45-54, n = 2,591**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
politics	willingness to fight	0.012	-0.035	-5.644	0
politics	geographic group	0.003	-0.058	-3.089	0.002
politics	national pride	0	-0.006	-0.576	0.564
education	willingness to fight	0.001	0.017	1.564	0.118
education	geographic group	0.008	0.15	4.684	0
education	national pride	0.005	0.071	3.829	0
town	willingness to fight	0.004	-0.011	-3.508	0
town	geographic group	0.009	0.047	4.88	0
town	national pride	0.001	-0.009	-1.586	0.113
<b>Model</b>					
		0.016			
willingness to fight	politics		-0.033	-5.186	0
willingness to fight	education		0.011	1.035	0.301
willingness to fight	town		-0.011	-3.42	0.001
		0.017			
geographic group	politics		-0.052	-2.732	0.006
geographic group	education		0.111	3.331	0.001
geographic group	town		0.043	4.362	0
		0.007			
national pride	politics		0.004	0.338	0.736
national pride	education		0.083	4.277	0
national pride	town		-0.014	-2.371	0.018

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

**Table 5.12 Regression Analysis of Independent Modernization Variables frequency following politics, education level, and size of town on Dependent National Identity Variables willingness to fight for, geographic group belonging to first, and national pride for Ages 55-64, n = 1,916**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
politics	willingness to fight	0.02	-0.049	-6.269	0
politics	geographic group	0.001	-0.038	-1.823	0.068
politics	national pride	0	0.003	0.212	0.832
education	willingness to fight	0.003	0.037	2.724	0.007
education	geographic group	0.012	0.18	4.978	0
education	national pride	0.004	0.06	2.917	0.004
town	willingness to fight	0.003	-0.011	-2.629	0.009
town	geographic group	0.006	0.036	3.401	0.001
town	national pride	0	-0.008	-1.374	0.17
<b>Model</b>					
		0.024			
willingness to fight	politics		-0.045	-5.669	0
willingness to fight	education		0.031	2.226	0.026
willingness to fight	town		-0.011	-2.759	0.006
		0.016			
geographic group	politics		-0.025	-1.19	0.234
geographic group	education		0.158	4.213	0
geographic group	town		0.029	2.634	0.008
		0.006			
national pride	politics		0.013	1.056	0.291
national pride	education		0.073	3.397	0.001
national pride	town		-0.013	-2.049	0.041

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

**Table 5.13 Regression Analysis of Independent Modernization Variables frequency following politics, education level, and size of town on Dependent National Identity Variables willingness to fight for, geographic group belonging to first, and national pride for Ages 65-older, n = 1,799**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
politics	willingness to fight	0.007	-0.032	-3.776	0
politics	geographic group	0.001	-0.034	-1.656	0.098
politics	national pride	0.001	0.021	1.864	0.062

education	willingness to fight	0.01	0.066	4.356	0
education	geographic group	0.015	0.196	5.322	0
education	national pride	0	0.025	1.232	0.218
town	willingness to fight	-0.001	-0.001	-0.164	0.869
town	geographic group	0.017	0.059	5.631	0
town	national pride	0	-0.017	-1.231	0.219

**Model**

		0.014			
willingness to fight	politics		-0.026	-3.062	0.002
willingness to fight	education		0.06	3.854	0
willingness to fight	town		-0.005	-1.026	0.305
		0.026			
geographic group	politics		-0.018	-0.86	0.39
geographic group	education		0.156	4.114	0
geographic group	town		0.05	4.668	0
		0.003			
national pride	politics		0.024	2.081	0.038
national pride	education		0.041	1.932	0.054
national pride	town		-0.009	-1.587	0.113

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

**Table 5.14 Regression Analysis of Independent Modernization Variables *frequency following politics, education level, and size of town* on Dependent National Identity Variables *willingness to fight for, geographic group belonging to first, and national pride* for Male Respondents, n = 8.588**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
politics	willingness to fight	0.002	-0.015	-4.441	0
politics	geographic group	0	-0.02	-1.847	0.065
politics	national pride	0	-0.003	-0.489	0.625
education	willingness to fight	0.001	0.014	2.469	0.014
education	geographic group	0.012	0.179	10.184	0
education	national pride	0.002	0.044	4.252	0
town	willingness to fight	0.005	-0.011	-6.488	0
town	geographic group	0.012	0.052	10.073	0
town	national pride	0	-0.007	-2.219	0.027
<b>Model</b>					
		0.008			
willingness to fight	politics		-0.011	-3.321	0.001
willingness to fight	education		0.019	3.244	0.001
willingness to fight	town		-0.011	-6.833	0
		0.02			
geographic group	politics		-0.012	-1.131	0.258
geographic group	education		0.145	8.029	0

geographic group	town		0.045	8.453	0
		0.003			
national pride	politics		0.002	0.323	0.747
national pride	education		0.052	4.85	0
national pride	town		-0.01	-3.142	0.002

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

**Table 5.15 Regression Analysis of Independent Modernization Variables *frequency following politics, education level, and size of town* on Dependent National Identity Variables *willingness to fight for, geographic group belonging to first, and national pride* for Female Respondents, n = 8,254**

Independent	Dependent	R Squared	b	t	p
politics	willingness to fight	0.006	-0.026	-7.307	0
politics	geographic group	0.003	-0.052	-5.368	0
politics	national pride	0	0.009	1.593	0.111
education	willingness to fight	0	0.007	1.053	0.292
education	geographic group	0.011	0.174	9.683	0
education	national pride	0.006	0.073	7.249	0
town	willingness to fight	0.005	-0.013	-6.641	0
town	geographic group	0.013	0.055	10.408	0
town	national pride	0.002	-0.011	-3.693	0
<b>Model</b>					
		0.012			
willingness to fight	politics		-0.026	-7.149	0
willingness to fight	education		0.012	1.686	0.092
willingness to fight	town		-0.014	-6.809	0
		0.023			
geographic group	politics		-0.048	-4.927	0
geographic group	education		0.131	7.06	0
geographic group	town		0.047	8.744	0
		0.011			
national pride	politics		0.016	2.861	0.004
national pride	education		0.089	8.561	0
national pride	town		-0.017	-5.435	0

Source: World Values Survey

■ Not significant

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