Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Identity

Cross National and Comparative Perspectives

Edited by Russell F. Farnen



Table of Contents

\$

| Preface and Acknowledgments xi | | xiii |
|--|---|------|
| | ART I | |
| Setting the Context: Basic Concepts, Stereotyping, and Authoritarianism | | 1 |
| 1 | Introduction | |
| | The Present as Seen from the Past | 3 |
| | Introduction | 7 |
| 2 | Nationality, Ethnicity, Political Socialization, and Public | |
| | Policy: Some Cross-National Perspectives | 23 |
| | Introduction | 23 |
| | Relevant Trends in the US | 24 |
| | Relevant Trends in Other Countries | 33 |
| | Libya and Other Arab Nations | 34 |
| | Malaysia | 35 |
| | The European Community and Western Europe | 36 |
| | Great Britain | 37 |
| | Sweden | 37 |
| | The Netherlands | 38 |
| | Central/Eastern Europe and the USSR | 40 |
| | Eastern Europe | ⊕0 |
| | The former USSR/CIS | 42 |
| | National Identity, Minority Status, and Ethnicity | 45 |
| | Nationalism | 43 |

•

•

3

•

| Minority | 46 |
|---|-----|
| Ethnicity | 47 |
| Some Additional Observations about Nationalism | 47 |
| Political Science and Socialization, Nationalism, | |
| Ethnic/Minority Status, and Authoritarianism | 51 |
| Political Socialization and Cognitive Styles | 51 |
| Authoritarianism, Nationalism, and Their Correlates: | |
| Some Partial Conclusions and Hypotheses | 55 |
| The case of authoritarianism | 56 |
| The case of nationalism | 57 |
| The case of racism | 58 |
| Public Educational Policies and Civic/Political Education | 60 |
| Civic/Political Education | 60 |
| Literature Review | 63 |
| Problems with the Enlightenment Model | 69 |
| Positive and Ambiguous Consequences of Public Policy: | |
| Ecology Theory in Former Czech/Slovak Republic and | |
| Cross-National Effects | 72 |
| Public Educational Policy | 75 |
| Proposed Solutions | 76 |
| Conclusions and Recommendations | 85 |
| Developing Some Working Hypotheses | 86 |
| Producing a Survey Research Instrument for an Empirical | |
| Study | 91 |
| Preliminary Findings | 91 |
| Results From the Polish Pilot Study | 92 |
| Results From the US Pilot Study | 96 |
| The Polish and US Results Compared and Contrasted | 99 |
| Results From a US "Diversity" Pilot Study | 101 |
| National Characteristics and National Stereotypes: A | |
| Seven-Nation Comparative Study | 103 |
| Introduction | 103 |
| Cultural Differences in Europe | 106 |
| Methods | 108 |
| Subjects | 108 |
| Instrument | 109 |
| Analysis | 109 |
| | |

.

.'

,

.

| Results | 110 |
|--|---------|
| External Consensus and Stereotypes | 110 |
| Auto-stereotypes | 120 |
| Discussion | 123 |
| Conclusions | 125 |
| 4 A Critical Analysis of Forty Years of Authoritarianism | |
| Research: Did Theory Testing Suffer from | |
| Cold War Attitudes? | 127 |
| Introduction | 127 |
| A Forty-Year Anniversary for The Authoritarian Personal | ity 128 |
| Roots of Authoritarianism Research | 131 |
| The Authoritarian Personality Construct | 132 |
| Publication of The Authoritarian Personality | 133 |
| Criticism of The Authoritarian Personality | 134 |
| Criticism Revisited | 138 |
| Search for Validity | 139 |
| Left-Wing Authoritarianism | 145 |
| Rigid Low Scorers | 146 |
| Shils' Critique | 147 |
| Eysenck's T-Factor | 149 |
| Rokeach's Dogmatism Concept | 151 |
| Ray's Humanistic Radicalism | 153 |
| Is Left-Wing Authoritarianism a Myth? | 153 |
| Russian Authoritarianism | 157 |
| A Structural Reductionist Bias | 160 |
| A New Approach | 165 |
| PART II | |
| Intellectual Currents: Postmodernity, Historicism, the State | е, |
| and Critical Theories | 167 |
| 5 Coming to Terms with the Past: An International | |
| Comparison | 169 |
| Introduction | 169 |
| Coming to Terms with the Past | 170 |
| Genocide and Politicide | 171 |
| Reparation | 172 |

.

| | Broadening the Discussion | 173 |
|---|--|-------|
| | The Case of Japan and Cambodia | 174 |
| | Conclusion | 175 |
| 6 | The Threshold of Statehood | . 177 |
| | Introduction | 177 |
| | Imagined Communities | 178 |
| | The Threshold of Statehood | 178 |
| | A Historical Analysis of the Problem at Hand | 179 |
| | "Stateization," L'etatisation, or Verstaatlichung | 182 |
| | Two Views of Socialization: Todd versus Kohlberg | 183 |
| | Traditional Class Theory Reexamined | 188 |
| | Conclusions | 190 |
| 7 | Are Intellectuals the Keepers of Political Culture? Some | |
| | Reflections on Politics, Morality, and Reason | . 193 |
| | Introduction | 193 |
| | Are Intellectuals Keepers of Political Culture? | 194 |
| | Heine, Lem, and Heller | 194 |
| | Preuss and Touraine | 197 |
| | Lefebvre and Bourdieu | 198 |
| | Fleischer and Theunissen | 202 |
| | Conclusions | 203 |
| | ART III | |
| | ational Studies: Germany, the US, Turkey, Poland, | |
| H | ungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and the Ukraine | . 205 |
| 8 | Ethnic-Cultural Minorities in Germany: Life Chances, | |
| | Educational Opportunities, Minority Group Identity, and | |
| | Political Participation | . 207 |
| | Introduction | 207 |
| | What Is a National Minority? | 208 |
| | Minority: Definitions, Theories, and Concepts | 214 |
| | The Legal Framework of Minority Group Rights | 218 |
| | Sinti and Roma | 223 |
| | The Danish Minority | 234 |
| | Labor Immigrants and Guestworkers | 242 |

| | The European Dimension: Social, Economic, and Political | |
|----|---|-------|
| | Rights of Immigrants in the EU | 257 |
| | Europe as a Multicultural Society | 270 |
| | Abbreviations | 274 |
| 9 | Conditions for Xenophobia in Eastern Germany | |
| | (formerly the GDR) | . 277 |
| | Introduction | 277 |
| | Conditions Leading to Xenophobia | 278 |
| | Possible Effects on Eastern Germans | 280 |
| | Conclusions | 281 |
| | Aftermath | 283 |
| | Can Political Education Make Any Difference? | 283 |
| | Three Proposals | 284 |
| 10 | The Role of the Media in Political Socialization and | |
| | Attitude Formation toward Racial/Ethnic Minorities | |
| | in the US | . 285 |
| | Introduction | 285 |
| | Media's Role in Youths' Political Socialization | 286 |
| | Media and Adult Socialization | 288 |
| | Some Explanations for the Reported Discontinuity in | |
| | Conceptions of National Minorities as Disadvantaged | . 289 |
| | Interpretations and Conclusions | 294 |
| 11 | The Jews in Turkey: A Question of National or | |
| | International Identity | . 299 |
| | Introduction | 299 |
| | The Jews in the Ottoman Empire | 300 |
| | The Jews in Republican Turkey | 308 |
| | The Jews in Contemporary Turkey | 311 |
| | Conclusions | 316 |
| 12 | The Status of National Minorities in Contemporary | |
| | Poland | 319 |
| | Introduction | 319 |
| | The White Russian Minority Group | 323 |
| | The German Minority Group | 324 |

•

x Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Identity

į

| | The Jewish Minority Group | 324 |
|----|---|-----|
| | Conclusions | 325 |
| 13 | Some Determinants of Polish Attitudes toward Other | |
| | Nations during a Period of Transition | 327 |
| | Introduction | 327 |
| | Characteristic Relationships between the Former "Socialist" | |
| | Countries as a Basis for New Relationships between | |
| | Central and Eastern European Nations | 328 |
| | Polish Attitudes toward Other Nations | 332 |
| | Poles' Attitudes toward Their Own Nation | 340 |
| | Conclusions | 342 |
| 14 | An Avalanche of Minorities: Some Unexpected | |
| | Consequences of Regime Changes on Hungarian | |
| | Political Culture | 345 |
| | Introduction | 345 |
| | Rapid Changes Challenge Researchers | 346 |
| | Political Parties and the Election Campaign in Spring 1990 | 346 |
| | Diversity and Monotony | 348 |
| | An End to the Long War and Consequences of the | |
| | Unnoticed Peace | 350 |
| | Consequences of Trench Warfare | 351 |
| | Offended and Suspicious Minorities | 353 |
| | Minorities, Cooperation, and Political Education: Some | |
| | Concluding Observations | 354 |
| 15 | The Impact of Class, Ethnicity, and Nationality on the | |
| | Identity of Disadvantaged Young Hungarians | 357 |
| | Introduction | 357 |
| | Research Context | 358 |
| | Explanatory Variables | 358 |
| | Dependent Variables | 361 |
| | Results | 363 |
| | Conclusions | 368 |

| 16 | Central and Eastern European Political Cultures in | |
|----|--|-----|
| | Transition: From Communism's Decline to | |
| | Nationalism's Triumph | 371 |
| | Introduction | 371 |
| | A Definition of Political Culture | 372 |
| | A Conceptual Model for the Analysis of a Political Culture | |
| | in Transition | 374 |
| | Processes for Forming a Political Culture | 380 |
| | The Influence of Ideology on the Value System | 385 |
| | Authoritarianism and Political Culture | 388 |
| | Multiethnic/National Societies, Political Culture, and | |
| | Conflict | 390 |
| | Conclusions | 392 |
| 17 | The Influence of Command Style Administration on Ethnic | |
| 17 | Conflict in Bulgaria | 395 |
| | Introduction | 395 |
| | Ethnic Conflict | 396 |
| | The 1984 Government-Sponsored Cultural Blitzkrieg | 398 |
| | The Post-"Revival" Ethnic Diaspora of 1989 | 399 |
| | Ascribing Responsibility Media and Official | 022 |
| | Scapegoating | 400 |
| | Conclusions | 401 |
| | | .01 |
| 18 | The Development of a Democratic Political Identity in | |
| | Contemporary Ukrainian Political Culture | 403 |
| | Introduction | 403 |
| | Political Attitudes and Political Participation in the Ukraine | 405 |
| | Political Trust and Attitudes toward Power Structures, Social | 1 |
| | Institutions, and Political Leaders | 408 |
| | Political Efficacy (Effectiveness) | 413 |
| | Popular Readiness for Social Protests | 414 |
| | Perspectives on Political and Cultural Development | 417 |
| | Some Summary Conclusions | 422 |
| 19 | Political Competence of the Younger Generation in Western | l |
| | Europe: Creating a Context for Future National and | |
| | European Political Socialization Research | 427 |

Ð

٠

| Introduction | 427 |
|---|-------|
| Research into European Political Competence | 428 |
| European Political Competence | 429 |
| Basic Elements | 429 |
| Cognitions | 430 |
| Affections | 431 |
| Behaviors | 432 |
| Explanatory Variables | 432 |
| Categories | 432 |
| Explanatory Systemic Variables | 433 |
| Explanatory Social Variables | 433 |
| Explanatory Individual Characteristic Variables | 434 |
| Explanatory Individual Orientation Values | 435 |
| Explanatory Political Socialization Variables | 436 |
| Multivariate Analysis | 437 |
| PART IV Conclusions, References, and Author Profiles | 441 |
| 20 Nationalism, Ethnicity, National Identity, and | |
| Multiculturalism: Concluding Observations | 443 |
| Introduction | 443 |
| Some Major Conclusions, Considerations, and Integrating | |
| Ideas | 446 |
| Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Identity | 446 |
| Cross-national Research Findings on and Guidelines for | |
| Political Socialization/Education | 449 |
| Civic Education and Political Studies | 453 |
| General Conclusion: The Future as Seen from the Present | 456 |
| Selected Bibliography and References | 463 |
| About the Editor and Contributors | 513 |
| Index | . 517 |

•