Is my nation cool enough?
National identification in difficult economic times

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Research Questions and motivation

- Does national identification increase when the nation suffers an economic shock?

- Does national identification increase when individuals experience an economic shock?

Research Questions and motivation

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Research Questions and motivation

- Does national identification increase when the nation suffers an economic shock?
- Does national identification increase when individuals experience an economic shock?

- Commonplace belief that nationalism raises up at difficult economic times
- Scant empirical evidence confirming this belief
- Ruiz-Jiménez et al. (2016) show that national identification (at the individual level) decreases when the GDP shrinks

Theoretical background. Shayo (2009)

- Identification with social groups has two dimensions:
    - Status → each individual prefers to identify with high-status groups than with low-status groups
    - Proximity → each individual prefers to identify with groups whose members resemble him or her
- This would explain why poorer people tend to identify more strongly with their national group than wealthier people
- Poor people perceive the nation as having a higher status than their socio-economic group (status), and they feel they are more similar to the median member of the nation (proximity)– identity shelter

My argument

People care about the relative status of the groups they identify with and about their own relative status, so that

- Their identification with the nation will weaken when the economic status of the nation deteriorates
- Their identification with the nation will strengthen when their own economic status deteriorates

Research Design. Modeling change.

This research models two types of changes:

1. Over time changes in the nation's economic status

2. Over time changes in the individual economic status (working status, income)

To see how these changes relate to the intensity of the national identification

Research Design. Data

The paper analyses draw on two types of data:

- Pooled cross-country data from two monographic surveys of the ISSP → to learn about the aggregate effects that economic crisis have on nationalism
  - National Identity 2003 - pre-financial crisis time point
  - National Identity 2013 - post-or-in-financial crisis time point
  - 22 countries are included in the analysis

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  - National Identity 2013 - post-or-in-financial crisis time point
  - 22 countries are included in the analysis
- Data from an online panel survey conducted in Spain during the economic crisis → to analyze the impact than intra-individual changes in the economic status translate in more nationalism
  - Eight waves (2010-2016)
  - The universe of the sample is restricted to the Spanish population between 16 and 45 years old (coverage/access)

Research Design. Dependent variables.

- **In the cross-country analysis**
  - National pride, an evaluative feeling that individuals develop towards the nation, is measured using an scale that ranges from 1 (not pride at all) to 4 (very pride).
  - Closeness, "emotionally attachment to the nation" or "identification with the nation", is measured using an scale that ranges from 1 (not close at all) to 4 (very close).
- **In the panel analysis**
  - Españolismo *(Spanish nationalism):* The indicator is a 11-point scale that measures the intensity of Spanish nationalism ranging from 1 (minimum) to 10 (maximum).

Analysis of cross-national data. Model

Two-stage pooled OLS regression (Polavieja, 2016 in SER)

First stage:
- I fit 22 pooled ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions, one for each country.

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- Key independent variables are **income** and **being unemployed**
- Each model includes as correlates of national pride/ closeness to the nation: **sex**, **age**, **years of education**, and dummies for the **region of residence**
- The model also includes a year dummy that allows estimating the net change in the average dependent variable (national pride or closeness to the nation) between 2003 and 2013

$$Y_{ic} = \alpha + \beta_1 \, income_{ic} + \beta_2 \, unemployment_{ic} + \varphi \, controls_i + \phi \, regions_i + \gamma \, year_{ic} + \varepsilon_{ic}$$

where i = {1, ... N}, c={1, ... N}, year {0= 2003, 1=2013}, N ≈ 38,700, C = 22.

Analysis of cross-national data. Model

Second stage

- From the first stage, I retrieve the **γ** parameter, which captures the net change in the average national pride/closeness to the nation between 2003 and 2013

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- From the first stage, I retrieve the **γ** parameter, which captures the net change in the average national pride/closeness to the nation between 2003 and 2013
- I regress the **γ** parameter for the two dependent variables on the GDP contraction, growth in the unemployment rate, and growth in the migrants' stock.
- Following Hornstein and Greene (2002), all independent observations have been weighted by the inverse of the variance of the two dependent variables obtained from the first stage estimation. This allows to correct for potential problems of heteroscedasticity in the second stage

$$\gamma_{c} = \alpha + \beta_1 \text{ GDP Contration}_c + \beta_2 \text{ Unemployment Growth}_c +$$
$$+ \beta_3 \text{ Growth in Migrant's stock}_c + \varepsilon_{ic}$$

where $\gamma = \{1, \dots N\}$, $c = \{1, \dots N\}$, $N = 22$

Analysis of cross-national data. Results

Table 1 . Pooled OLS regression on national pride, 2003–2013

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Income (hh)	-0.011***		-0.012***	0.002
	(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.002)
Unemployed		-0.086***	-0.104***	-0.049*
		(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.022)
Educ. Years				-0.017***
				(0.002)
Female				0.031**
				(0.011)
Age				0.004***
				(0.000)
Constant	3.453***	3.353***	3.463***	3.367***
	(0.010)	(0.001)	(0.011)	(0.034)
Observations	38,721	48,552	38,721	36,967
Countries	22	22	22	22
R-squared	0.112	0.103	0.113	0.132

Note: Models include country-year fixed-effects.

Only citizens with both parents born in [country]

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Table 2 . Pooled OLS regression on closeness, 2003–2013

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Income (hh)	-0.003		-0.004	0.010***
	(0.003)		(0.003)	(0.002)
Unemployed		-0.096***	-0.101***	-0.021
		(0.017)	(0.022)	(0.024)
Educ. Years				-0.007**
				(0.002)
Female				0.027*
				(0.012)
Age				0.007***
				(0.001)
Constant	3.401***	3.353***	3.411***	3.090***
	(0.012)	(0.001)	(0.012)	(0.037)
Observations	39,565	49,732	39,565	37,778
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Analysis of cross-national data. Results

Table 3 . Cross-country data & Net Average Change in National Pride & Closeness

	GDP Contraction	Unemp Growth	Growth in Imm Stock	National Pride 2003 coef	National Pride 2003-2013 change coef	National Pride Sig.	Closeness 2003 coef	Closeness 2003-2013 change coef	Closeness Sig.
CH	-0.981	1.30	7.007	3.72	0.21	***	3.23	0.03	
CZ	2.547	-0.30	1.844	3.60	-0.08	**	2.85	0.12	***
DE	-0.405	-3.20	1.101	2.60	0.29	***	2.70	0.19	***
DK	1.122	2.90	2.910	2.95	0.05		3.23	0.00	
ES	**5.500**	**13.60**	**9.680**	**3.31**	**-0.07**	*	**3.41**	**-0.04**	
FI	3.107	-1.40	2.800	3.56	0.00		3.20	0.15	***
FR	0.936	1.20	0.971	3.25	0.02		3.24	0.17	***
GB	1.315	2.80	4.392	3.12	-0.04		2.27	0.09	
HU	6.170	5.10	1.849	3.15	-0.20	***	3.23	-0.34	***
IE	**5.786**	**10.50**	**5.796**	**3.65**	**-0.22**	***	**3.21**	**-0.17**	**
IL	-2.948	-3.40	-4.300	3.53	0.15	**	3.75	0.00	
JP	-1.464	-1.10	0.600	2.96	0.00		3.24	0.26	***
KR	5.140	-0.10	2.000	2.92	0.27	***	3.05	0.13	***
LV	3.107	1.70	-4.303	2.92	-0.08		2.47	0.02	
NO	-1.311	-0.70	7.173	3.69	0.18	***	3.27	0.31	***
PH	-3.038	-4.50	-0.200	3.71	0.09	***	2.84	0.07	*
PT	**4.797**	**10.60**	**2.226**	**3.59**	**-0.01**		**3.43**	**-0.16**	***
RU	1.338	-2.40	-0.365	2.94	-0.09	**	2.59	0.09	**
SK	2.999	-4.70	13.676	2.75	0.05		2.84	-0.06	*
SI	6.555	2.50	2.459	3.21	-0.21	***	3.13	-0.25	***
SE	2.360	2.80	-8.555	3.48	0.09		3.34	0.29	***
US	-0.535	2.30	2.200	3.83	-0.12	***	2.71	-0.07	*

Analysis of cross-national data. Results

Table 4 . Country-level regression: Predictors of change in Pride

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
GDP Contract.	-0.016+			-0.016+	
	(0.009)			(0.009)	
Unemp.Growth		-0.014*			-0.015*
		(0.005)			(0.006)
Gr in Imm Stock			-0.002	0.002	0.002
			(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Constant	0.030	0.019	0.011	0.026	0.015
	(0.030)	(0.025)	(0.034)	(0.033)	(0.030)
Observations	22	22	22	22	22
R-squared	0.137	0.264	0.003	0.139	0.266

Analysis of cross-national data. Results

Table 5. Country-level regression: Predictors of change in closeness

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
GDP Contract.	-0.031**			**-0.031***	
	(0.010)			**(0.011)**	
Unemp. Growth		-0.016*			**-0.015***
		(0.007)			**(0.007)**
Gr in Imm Stock			-0.006	-0.001	-0.004
			(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Constant	0.092*	0.052	0.050	0.094*	0.062
	(0.037)	(0.034)	(0.043)	(0.041)	(0.040)
Observations	22	22	22	22	22
R-squared	0.311	0.201	0.024	0.311	0.212

Analysis of Panel data. Model

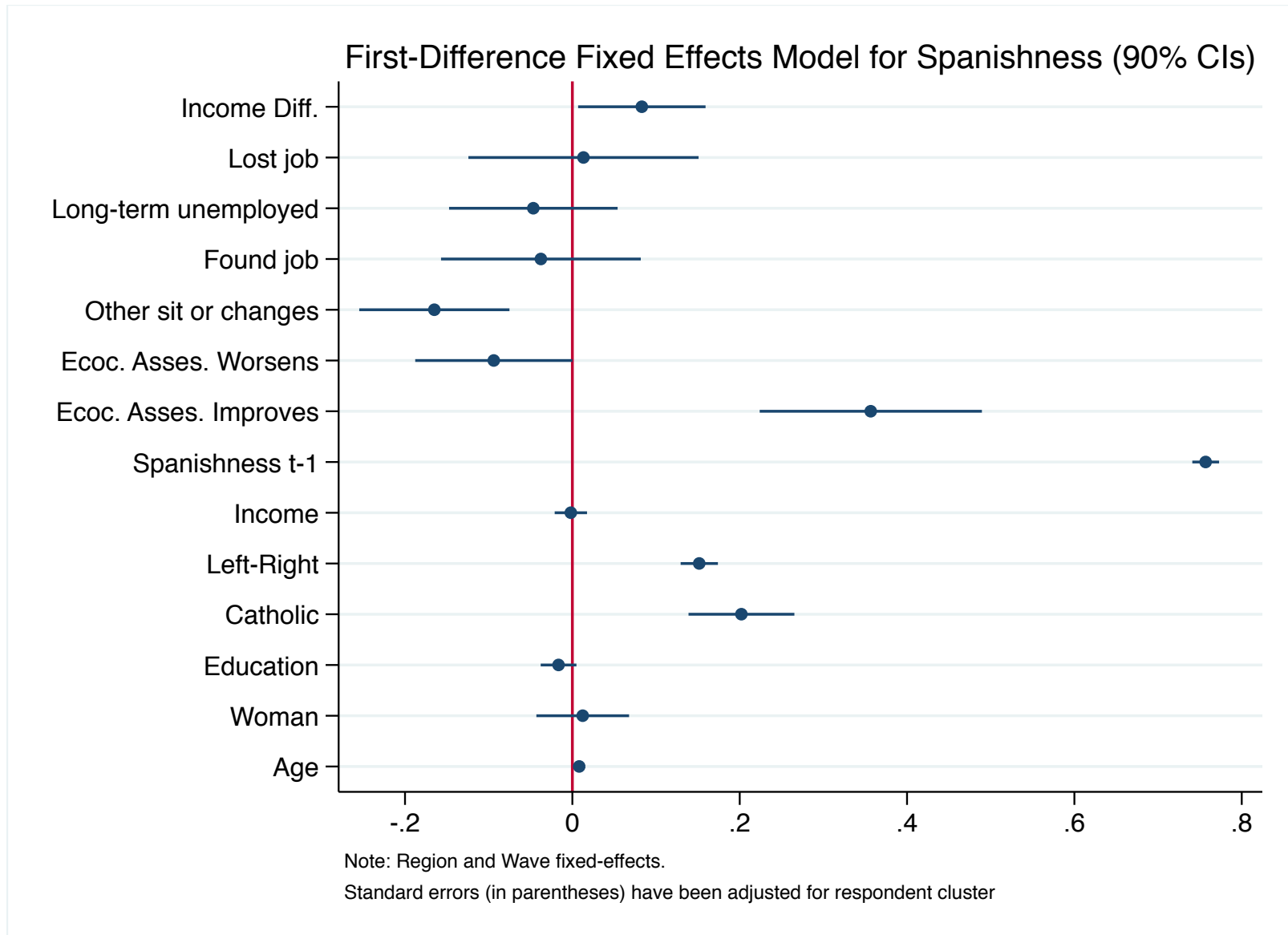**First difference model taken from Margalit (2013) APSR**

$Nationalism_{i,t}$ - $Nationalism_{i,t-1}$ = β_2Working Status $_{i,t-(t-1)}$ +

+ β_3Income $_{i,t-(t-1)}$ +

+ β_4 Socio-tropic Ecoc. Assessment $_{i,t-(t-1)}$ +

+ $\gamma_i$controls$_{i,t}$ + φRegions + ϕWave + $\varepsilon_{i,t-(t-1)}$

From here,

$Nationalism_{i,t}$ = β_1Nationalism$_{i,t-1}$ + β_2Working Status $_{i,t-(t-1)}$ +

+ β_3Income $_{i,t-(t-1)}$ +

+ β_4 Socio-tropic Ecoc. Assessment $_{i,t-(t-1)}$ +

+ $\gamma_i$controls$_{i,t}$ + φRegions + ϕWave + $\varepsilon_{i,t-(t-1)}$
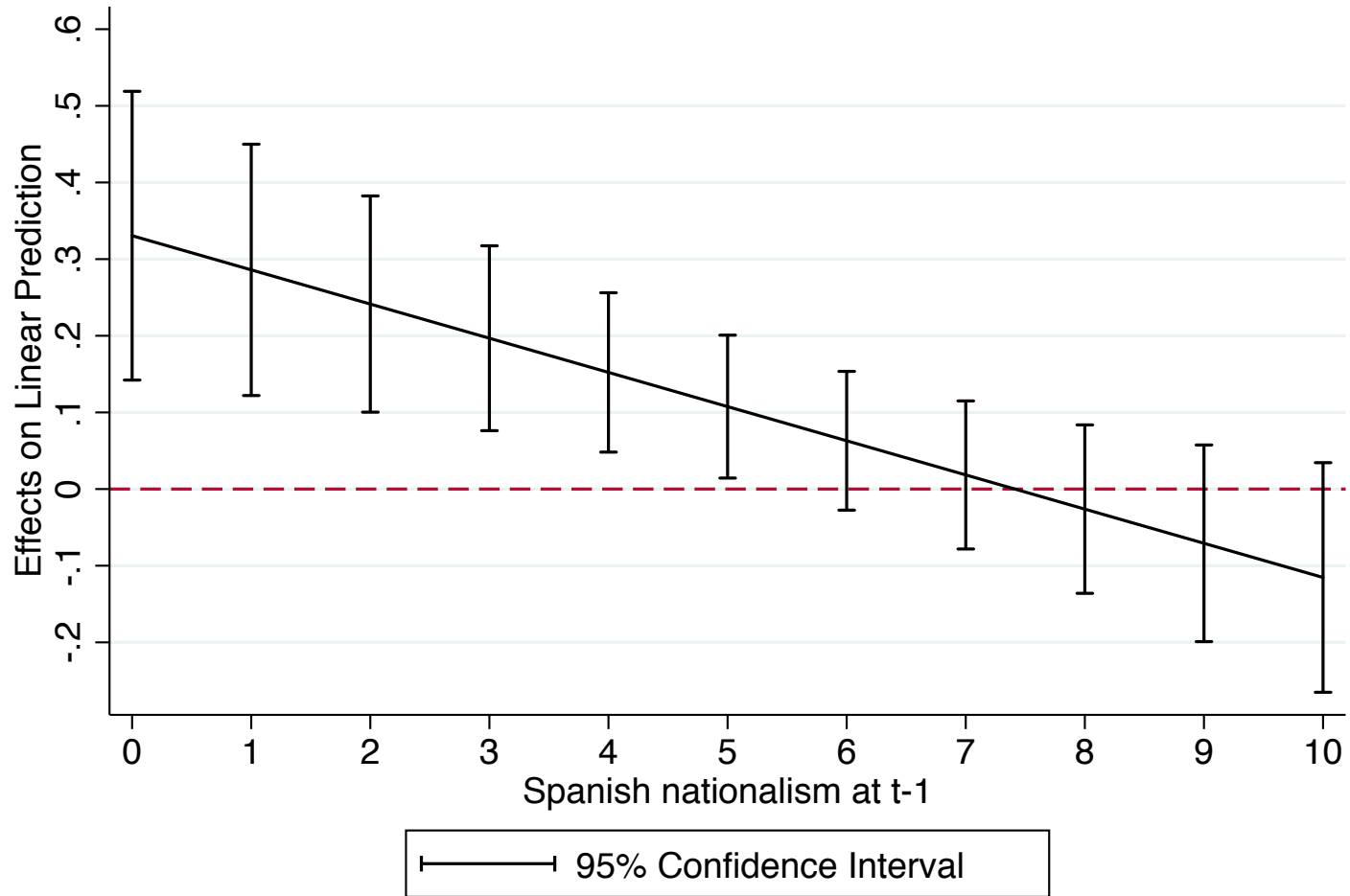
In subsequent models, I have checked for different heterogeneous effects. The only interaction that reports a significant effect is the interaction between income loss (dummy) & Nationalism$_{i,t-1}$

Analysis of Panel data. Results

First-Difference Fixed Effects Model for Spanishness (90% CIs)

Note: Region and Wave fixed-effects.

Standard errors (in parentheses) have been adjusted for respondent cluster

Analysis of Panel data. Results

Conditional Marginal Effect of Income Loss

Conclusions

From the cross-national analysis

- National pride & closeness to the nation decrease when the economy deteriorates (GDP shrinks and unemployment grows)
- Results appear to contradict the theory of the diverting nationalism

From the longitudinal analysis…

- People who experience a loss of income turn more nationalist
- This effect, however, is only present among those individuals who had a low level of nationalism in t-1
- People who perceives that the economic situation of the nation has improved over time tend to identify more strongly with the nation (endogeneity problem that needs to be addressed)

Discussion

- The results of my analysis show that:
  - At the aggregate level, when the economic status of the nation deteriorates, national pride and closeness to the nation decreases
  - At the individual level, when individuals' economic status deteriorates, Spanish nationalism increases
- The economic status of the nation and individuals' economic status correlate. When the economy deteriorates (GDP shrinks and unemployment increases), people experience losses of income
- This produces an apparent contradiction in my results
- Can this problem be solved?
  - Compare how the relationship between income and nationalism has changed between 2003 and 2013 in those countries who have experienced a hard economic crisis.
  - Another way to go would is through experimental research (problem – how do we manipulate the economic situation)