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GROUNDED AND NORMATIVE DIMENSIONS OF NATIONAL PRIDE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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The objective of this paper is to describe cross-country similarities and differences in national pride and to explain national pride variations on the individual and country levels. The analysis in this paper is applied to different measures of national pride, with some of them being relatively complex cognitively and the others more elementary. The paper presents the results of cross-country comparison of national pride based on empirical evidence from the ISSP-2003 database which included data from 45993 respondents from 36 countries and regions. The survey participants estimated their overall level of national pride by responding to the direct one-item question and, separately, they estimated pride of each of ten specific achievements of their countries in various domains. Factor analysis of these ten items yielded two dimensions of domain-based national pride, one of them being the factor of general pride of various country achievements and the other reflects the inverse relations between the prides of elitist and mass achievements of the nation.

The multilevel regression models estimated for the three indicators of national pride confirm the feasibility of dividing these indicators into cognitively processed and normatively imposed national pride. Cognitively processed national pride measured by the domain-based estimates have been affected by objective country achievements and by the level of standards which the achievements are compared against. The normatively imposed national pride measured by direct one-item question has been influenced by the country level of religiosity that indicates the individual willingness to accept normative messages from the state uncritically. Rational national pride requires some objective grounds to believe in a nation's perfection, and normative national pride is not so strongly related to objective achievements and therefore can be more easily manipulated. The practical implication of this difference stems from the fact that in their search for objectively grounded national pride people would be eager to foster country achievements and their maintenance of normatively imposed pride requires in many cases just reliably protected wishful thinking.

JEL Classification: A13.

Keywords: national pride, rational and normative pride, cross-country comparisons, multilevel regression model.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Theoretical background

National pride of an individual is a kind of favorable attitude toward one's country in general, toward its specific achievements, and toward one's national identity (Smith & Kim, 2006). The peculiarity of pride concerns its communicative context since pride is an attitudinal message addressed to significant others. Thus, the national pride combines one's own favorable attitude toward the country with the expected favorable attitude from significant others.

In case of national pride the significant others are mainly people from other countries. The opposite of national pride is national embarrassment, which is a kind of unfavorable attitude toward one's country in general or toward its insufficient achievements in specific areas. Individual pride in one's country or its special achievements is often considered an element of the broader constructs of patriotism and nationalism.

The current nation-states make special efforts to promote national pride in their citizens. In their seminal work on political culture, Almond and Verba (1965) placed national pride and its sources among the key components of political culture on a par with values, political trust and regime support. With the increasing recognition of the nation-state as a model of contemporary statehood, national pride has become a universal phenomenon and a valid parameter for cross-cultural comparison.

The existing theories of nationalism account for the historical emergence and role of national pride but do not provide the underlying subjective mechanisms beyond this phenomenon. Research results concerning country differences of the more general evaluative phenomenon of subjective well-being may be helpful to allow speculation on such mechanisms. Inglehart and his coauthors detected a strong positive correlation on the country level between survey data on subjective well-being and country gross domestic product (GDP) per capita (Inglehart et al., 2008; Inglehart & Klingemann, 2000; Inglehart et al., 2013). Despite this correlation, two groups of countries deviate in their average levels of subjective well-being from those predicted by their GDP per capita. All the South American countries included in the survey score higher on subjective well-being than the trend line and almost all the ex-communist countries score lower. The correlation with GDP indicates a country "objective" quality of life as a strong determinant of the subjective well-being. As to deviations, the authors suggested that they could result from country-level differences in aspirations. They assume relatively low aspirations in Latin American countries and consider these to be due to the high level of religiosity. Believers in most religions, including Roman Catholicism in Latin America, regard the world as imperfect by definition and are, therefore, prepared to face various adversities and do not expect life to be enjoyable. Continuing this reasoning, the authors assume relatively high expectations in ex-communist countries and explain these based on the low religiosity in many of those countries and by the effect of disappointment with communism which had, before its collapse, served as a secular substitute for religion. Same as subjective well-being, national pride may be estimated by a person as a difference between perceived country achievements and the level of aspirations against which the achievements are evaluated.

In most countries, except the truly totalitarian states, citizens are not taught exactly how happy and satisfied with their lives they should be, and even the norms regarding public expression of emotions vary greatly across cultures (Ekman, 1972). Strong national pride, however, is instilled as a social norm in most nation-states. On these grounds, following an earlier tentative assumption in Magun & Magun (2009), we assume that there are *two kinds of national pride*: one is "calculated" by the subject and the other is instilled by the state and its agents.

The difference between psychological processes involved in the two kinds of national pride may be described approximately by the dichotomy of automatic, peripheral vs. deliberate, central, or System 1 vs. System 2 (Kahneman, 2011). One of these ideal types of cognitive processes (System 2) refers to a wholly conscious, step-by-step decision making with careful comparison of available options according to explicit criteria and reliable facts. The opposite type of cognitive processes (System 1) consists of shortcuts, includes the use of unchecked information, uncritical adoption of ready-made solutions, and frequently employs cognitive heuristics, and all these devices help to alleviate the intellectual strain.

Accordingly, we assume that a certain level of individual national pride may evolve either from an individual's rational evaluation of the perceived country achievements according to certain criteria or may be installed ready-made as a social norm. The *grounded* kind of national pride is an outcome of individual cognitive deliberation produced by System 2 and involves more or less explicit comparison of a nation's actual level of achievements providing specific ground for pride with the level of aspirations (or expectations, or standards) regarding these achievements. The desired state of affairs for the nation may stem from perceptions of other nations' performances or from the perceptions of the achievements of one's own country in the past.

The *normative* national pride emerges via System 1 by means of peripheral thinking that relies heavily on cognitive shortcuts, such as heuristics, and consists of a set of ready-made opinions that appear to their bearers as self-obvious and objective. This type of national pride has been widely discussed in theoretical publications and qualitative studies of the ways governments and other elites of nation-states impose national pride via manipulation and

indoctrination in various covert ways. This ranges from an early exposure to the required level of national pride via the centralized national system of secondary education (Gellner, 2008), media and popular fiction (Anderson, 2006), and "invented traditions" (Hobsbawm, 2012) to the hidden "banal" conventions of everyday language (Billig, 1995).

The distinction between normative and grounded national pride resembles the difference between uncritically maintained and reflexively reassessed political attitudes outlined by Lavine, Johnson and Steenbergen (2013). Dividing national pride into two kinds parallels Max Weber's ideal types of social action as well (Weber, 1978). Weber outlined four types of social action: two are rational (i.e., goal-rational and value-rational) and two are nonrational (i.e., affectional and traditional). Goal and value rationality both imply the deliberate cognitive effort akin to Kahneman's (2011) mechanisms constituting System 2 whereas the affective and traditional types of social action require less cognitive effort and are driven by ready-made traditional patterns or basic emotional reactions related to System 1.

Differentiating between two kinds of national pride allows us to escape from one-sided perspectives on nationalism as either an irrational primordial atavism or, as in Weber's writings, as a rational tool of collective coordination of efforts in attaining individual goals.

1.2. Empirical background

The existing empirical research on national pride has succeeded in developing distinct measures of national pride, considering their effects on other variables, and detecting their determinants. In addition, there is a distinct category of studies that use national pride measures as elements in operationalizing broader phenomena such as patriotism or nationalism.

Smith and Jarkko (1998) and Smith and Kim (2006) used data from the 1995-96 and 2003-04 waves of the International Social Study Programme (hereafter referred to as the ISSP) to compare countries on national pride of their populations. They constructed two measures of national pride, the first based on 10 estimates of pride in specific country achievements (the specific achievements scale or domain-specific national pride scale) and the second based on five general statements about patriotism and national pride (the general national pride scale). Their analyses revealed that the specific and general pride scales were only moderately correlated.

We find the emphasis on the difference between specific and general pride measures very fruitful for the distinction between grounded and normative kinds of national pride. When focusing on specific achievements, a person is more inclined to attend to the real features of the environment than while responding to general questions that prompt the reproduction of the dominant social norm. What we doubt is the accuracy of naming the index composed of responses to five general statements as the general national pride scale. In reality, only one item

from this scale has a direct reference to national pride/shame, and the most obvious measure of general pride from the ISSP database (the statement "How proud are you of being [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]?") is not included at all.

Huddy and Khatib (2007) subjected items from the General Social Survey and other American surveys to structural equation modeling and confirmatory factor analysis. They found that 7 domain-specific items (similar to those from ISSP) form the [general] factor of national pride and do not mix with items measuring national identity and nationalism. This result confirms the validity of the summation of specific pride responses into the single indices composed by Smith and his coauthors (1998, 2006). Unlike the national identity factor, the factor of national pride has no significant impact on the extent of political involvement.

Magun and Magun (2009) took a closer look at the domain-specific estimates of national pride and detected that the exploratory factor analysis of 10 ISSP domain-specific measures of pride provided two factors. All the domain-specific measures of pride contributed to the first factor with positive loadings thus confirming Huddy and Khatib's (2007) national pride factor. Besides this general variable, factor analysis detected the additional (second) factor with conflicting relations between two groups of pride measures. This factor indicates that respondents make a choice of priorities between "mass" achievements immediately related to everyday well-being of ordinary people (such as economics, the social security system, democracy, equal treatment of all social groups) and those reflecting the "elitist" achievements (in sports, fine arts and literature, science and technology, historical past). This dual factor structure indicates that each domain-specific pride item is complex and has two "identities". One of them reflects the universal (general) dimension of national pride and the other reflects the dimension of conflicting relations between two groups of domain-specific pride. The major drawback of this factor model is the use of the principal components analysis, which tends to overemphasize the factor loadings and quality estimates of a model.

Grigoryan (2013, 2014) extended the differential approach to two groups of pride estimates coined by Magun and Magun as mass and elitist. Using structural equation modeling she detected two groups of pride estimates: "pride in the socio-political system" (similar in composition to mass achievements) and "pride in a country's achievements" (similar in composition to elitist achievements). Using these two constructed variables, Grigoryan demonstrated that pride in the country's achievements leads to negative attitudes toward migrants, while pride in the socio-political system has no significant correlations with such attitudes. It is important here to bear in mind the issue of the connection between national pride and national superiority. The Grigoryan correlation of pride measure with negative attitude

toward immigrants can be treated as a hint that some forms of national pride are associated with the feeling of superiority toward strangers.

Several studies operate with national pride measures as elements of broader constructs such as patriotism and nationalism. In their frequently cited research, De Figueiredo and Elkins (2003) used confirmatory factor analysis of items from the 1995-96 wave of ISSP and found two factors. The first, called patriotism, includes 8 of 10 domain-specific pride items together with perceived closeness to one's country and shame for some of a country's features. The second, called nationalism, includes pride in armed forces and achievements in sports (the latter is a kind of battle as well) together with 6 items mostly related to feelings of national superiority. As expected, the factor score on nationalism is positively related to unfavorable attitudes toward immigrants, while patriotism indicates no such a relation. In that case, people are capable of preserving their ingroup loyalty without experiencing outgroup prejudice.

Using longitudinal cross-lagged models, Wagner et al. (2012) looked at national pride estimates as components of nationalism and patriotism factors and considered both nationalism and patriotism as independent variables to predict the levels of prejudice to immigrants in Germany. Factor of nationalism included pride in the German history and general pride in being a German, and the factor of patriotism included pride in the country's democracy and the German welfare system. Individual scores on nationalism were found to be strongly related to scores on prejudice measured 4 years later. Patriotism, in contrast, exerted a negative or no effect at all depending on the model. These findings allow us to tentatively conclude that pride in the country's history and in being German in the Wagner et al. study (2012) exerted an effect similar to that of pride in the armed forces and in sports detected in by De Figueiredo and Elkins (2003).

Solt (2011) constructed two multilevel explanatory models of national pride with the goal of testing the effect of country-level economic inequality as the contextual variable. A measure of general pride in one's nationality (same as the one used as a part of the nationalism index in Wagner et al., 2012) served as dependent variable for the first model. The dependent variable for the second model, named "national-cultural pride index", was comprised of the five domain-specific items from the ISSP, namely, pride in a country's arts, sports, science, armed forces, and history (similar to the "pride in a country's achievements index" in Grigoryan, 2014). Solt found that higher levels of social inequality predict higher levels of national pride in both models. He claims that this result can be seen as the confirmation of the diversionary theory of nationalism, which posits that governments of nation-states tend to instill national pride to increase the country's unity in view of increasing social and economic divisions.

Neither this study nor the other studies reviewed above attend to the mental processes by which the pride estimates evolve and take into account the distinction between grounded and normative kinds of national pride as we have suggested. It is worth mentioning, however, that Solt (2011) found a stronger effect of inequality on general national pride than on the pride index composed of domain-specific items. Taking for granted Solt's interpretation of the inequality effect on pride, this difference may indicate that general national pride measured by a direct one-item question is more normatively prescribed and the domain-specific national-cultural pride is more grounded in perceived achievements.

1.3. Objective and hypotheses

As this overview has illustrated, the notion of different kinds of national pride, according to the psychological mechanism of its generation has not received enough consideration in the literature. Studies of individual- and country-level determinants of national pride are rather scarce so far, and the question of the specific determinants of various kinds of national pride has not been focused on at all. The present paper proposes to at least partly fill this gap. The objective is to describe the cross-country similarities and differences in grounded and normative national pride and to explain national pride variations on the individual and country levels.

We expect that *grounded national pride* stems from the perceived country achievements and subjective criteria to which they are compared against and depends on the determinants of both these components. In other words, it depends on the objectively measured indicators of country achievements as measured by the GDP per capita or other indicators. As mentioned above, the level of religiosity dampens the aspirations that citizens have for their nation, so we may expect that higher religiosity leads to higher national pride. The level of education and social status are two other determinants of higher level of aspirations, and we may expect that both these variables decrease national pride.

We expect that the *normative kind of national pride*, unlike the grounded one, is relatively independent from the country level of objective achievements and depends on predictors indicating susceptibility to ideological indoctrination. Such predictors may include a lower educational level, lower social status and strong religious beliefs. In contrast to grounded national pride where religiosity indicates the level of aspirations, in the case of instilled pride, religiosity may indicate a predisposition to accept judgments uncritically, especially those belonging to the traditional domain, which includes both national pride and religion (Inglehart, 1997). Besides, in most countries, official churches (unlike minority religious groups) support the existing social order and make their followers more prone to trust the rhetoric of the state and other parts of the establishment.

Based on the outlined considerations, we will test the following hypotheses:

H1. Grounded national pride depends on two different sets of predictors. One of them is located on the country level and represents country objective achievements; the other set is located on both individual and country levels and includes determinants of the aspirations for country achievements such as education, social status and religiosity. Specifically, the country achievements and religiosity increase and education and status decrease grounded national pride.

H2. Normative national pride is not predicted by objectively measured country achievements but is affected by education, social status and religiosity as the indicators of people's inclination to accept uncritically the normative messages from external sources. Specifically, education and social status decrease and religiosity increase normative national pride.

The added value of the research consists of the evidence on the content and determinants of various measures of national pride in more than 30 countries. We combine the empirical study of national pride with the cognitive psychology dual division of mental processes into System 1 and System 2, and we demonstrate the cleavage between grounded and normative national pride. We provide the results of multilevel regression analysis demonstrating the feasibility of a diversified approach to national pride and indicate which individual- and country-level determinants are responsible for various measures of national pride.

The paper consists of four sections. In the second section, database and questionnaire items used in the analysis are described, and factor indices derived from the initial data are presented. The third section contains between-country comparison of scores for each kind of national pride, bivariate relations between measures of national pride and country-level predictors, and three series of multilevel regression models for various measures of national pride. In the final section we summarize the outcome of the empirical testing of our research hypotheses and elaborate on the wider implications of the findings.

2. Data and Methodology

2.1. Data

All individual-level data, including indicators of national pride, as well as basic sociodemographic parameters, were taken from the database of the International Social Survey Project (ISSP) 2003,⁴ which was wholly dedicated to nationalism and national identity. The database contains data on 215 variables obtained from 45993 respondents in 36 countries, regions, and ethnic groups (further referred to as "countries" for the sake of brevity). The latter include, listed in alphabetical order: Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Czech Republic, Denmark,

⁴ISSP Research Group (2012): International Social Survey Programme: National Identity II - ISSP 2003. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA3910 Data file Version 2.1.0, <u>doi:10.4232/1.11449</u>.

East Germany, Finland, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Ireland, Israel Arabs, Israel Jews, Japan, Latvia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, and West Germany. Sample sizes for most countries amount to slightly over 1000 respondents, with the few exceptions of larger samples for countries with larger populations (the largest sample size is 2383 for Russia) and smaller samples for ethnic minorities (the smallest sample size is 152 for Israel Arabs). Because there are no country-level data for two or three countries, the samples for country-level correlations and multilevel regression analysis include less than 36 countries.

The samples used at various stages of the data analysis are smaller due to missing values. The largest dropout is found for the factor analysis, where missing values were excluded listwise. As a result, the sample for factor analysis and factor scores decreased to 27736 respondents. To compensate for the shrinkage we decided to conduct multiple imputation of the missing data. Before imputing the data, however, we had to check the missing data patterns and make sure that the data are missing at random (following the "missing at random" or MAR assumption). For this purpose we used the R statistical package *VIM*. The results of the diagnostics support the MAR assumption and therefore justify the use of multiple imputation. We imputed missing data for each factor index using the multiple imputation by chained equation conducted with the R statistical package *mice* (with the default number of 5 imputations) (van Buuren & Groothuis-Oudshoorn, 2011).

To check for consistency, all stages of data analysis were conducted both with and without imputed values. The estimated effects in multilevel regression models proved very similar for imputed and not imputed datasets. Due to the multiple imputation, the resulting size of the dataset for multilevel regression analysis increased to 36309 valid cases. The difference between the original 45993 and the resulting 36309 is due to the missing values in the predictor variables.

2.2. Outcome variables

The ISSP database contains a single-item direct estimate of general national pride and 10 variables measuring domain-specific pride in various achievements of a respondent's country. The general indicator is formulated as "How proud are you being [name of respondent's country] national?" The choice of responses are: "1 – very proud; 2 – somewhat proud; 3 – not very proud; 4 – not at all proud". In response to the question "How proud are you of your country's ...", the 10 domain-specific measures of national pride offer the respondent a choice of one from the same set of responses for each of the following endings: "the way democracy works";

"political influence in the world"; "economic achievements"; "social security system"; "scientific and technological achievements"; "achievements in sports"; "achievements in arts and literature"; "armed forces"; "history"; and "fair and equal treatment of all groups in society". We assume that the generally formulated direct question about pride in one's nationality evokes *normative* national pride. As to the domain-specific questions, we assume that they prompt respondents to consider information on specific country achievements and indicate their *grounded* national pride.

To make the calculations more convenient, all the outcome variables were reverse coded from 1 to 4 so that higher numbers would correspond to higher levels of national pride (in the original coding 1 denoted the highest level of pride and 4, the lowest). Unlike the previous research using the same dataset (Smith and Kim, 2006), we were interested in comparing countries along higher-order variables. Therefore, we ran an exploratory factor analysis of the 10 facets of national pride using the extraction methods of principal axis analysis without rotation of resulting factors. The resulting factor model, which includes all the factors with eigenvalues over 1 and explains 43% of individual-level variance, is presented in Table 1.

The resulting factor model closely reproduced an earlier model (Magun & Magun, 2009) derived from the less elaborated method of extraction. The *first factor* explains 34% of the variance and, as can be seen from the factor loadings, includes all the variables in the model. All the factor loadings are positive which means that higher scores on this factor correspond to higher scores on each domain-specific measure of national pride in the model. This higher-order variable can be called the factor of high domain-based general pride in country achievements.

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⁵ This solution deviates from the now customary bias favoring either confirmatory factor analysis or rotated exploratory factor structures, both aimed at achieving the simple structure with minimum cross-loadings. In this particular case, we consider the unrotated factor structure of the pride indicators consisting of one general and one bipolar factor (the latter detecting conflict relations) more heuristic than two rotated factors dividing all the pride indicators into either elitist or mass ones. Because "for any given multiple-factor model, there exist an infinite number of equally good-fitting solutions, each represented by a different factor loading matrix" (Brown, 2006, p.30) and because the *interpretability* (and not the simple structure per se) is the keynote requirement underlying the choice between alternative factor solutions (Brown, 2006, p.30), we feel it legitimate to use the unrotated factor solution.

⁶This factor is strongly correlated (r = 0.832) but not identical to the index of domain-specific national pride constructed by Smith and Kim (2006).

⁷ To the best of our knowledge there is no ways to differentiate empirically between the substantial part of this first general factor and the method part due to response set. We consider this factor as predominantly substantial one and this choice is reinforced by verification of the hypotheses grounded in such a treatment.

Table 1. Factor Model of Domain-based National Pride (Principal Axis Factoring, No Rotation, Missing Values are Excluded Listwise, N = 27736 Respondents)

	Factor loadings,	Factor loadings,
Specific domains of national pride	Factor 1	Factor 2
Q5d How proud: Country's social security system	0.613	-0.324
Q5a How proud: The way democracy works in the country	0.652	-0.323
Q5c How proud: Country's economic achievements	0.681	-0.244
Q5b How proud: Country's political influence in the world	0.684	-0.148
Q5j How proud: Country's fair and equal treatment of all groups in society	0.590	-0.144
Q5h How proud: Country's armed forces	0.622	0.092
Q5e How proud: Country's scientific and technological achievements	0.583	0.174
Q5i How proud: Country's history	0.433	0.302
Q5g How proud: Country's achievements in the arts and literature	0.534	0.503
Q5f How proud: Country's achievements in sports	0.468	0.422
Variance explained	34%	9%

The *second factor* explains 9% of the variance and divides the variables in the model into two groups with the opposite signs. Higher scores on this factor correspond to higher pride in country's achievements in sports, in the arts and literature, national history, and science and technology combined with lower pride in the country's social security system, state of democracy, economic achievements, and political influence in the world as well as in its fair and equal treatment of all social groups.

The objects of national pride belonging to the first group are produced by national elites, both in the present and the past (including the traditional history represented in most secondary school curricula as series of political events featuring "great people"). The ordinary people have access to these achievements mainly as spectators, listeners, or fans. The second group of objects of national pride, on the contrary, indicates routine social processes in which the masses are the actors and beneficiaries and which have an ongoing immediate impact on the well-being of the ordinary people. Thus, the second factor reflects the inverse (reciprocal) relations between the two kinds of pride, i.e. the pride in elitist versus mass achievements of the nation and, to some extent, differentiates between pride in the nation's past versus pride in its present. The reciprocal

⁸The nation's political influence in the world – allegedly the matter of concern for politicians, but not obviously relevant to the majority of the population – belongs to mass achievements which may be due to the prominent place this issue occupies in the contemporary nation-state propaganda in many countries.

structure of the factor means that high elitist pride may serve to compensate the low pride in mass achievements.

2.3. Predictor variables

The *individual-level* predictors used in this research include some basic sociodemographic variables which all derive from the ISSP database. Age is a numeric variable indicating a reply to an open question about a respondent's age in full years. "Marital status" is indicated by the following values: "married"; "widowed"; "divorced"; "separated, but married"; "single, never married". This variable can be treated as ordinal, with the responses sorted in the order of increasing distance from being currently in the official state of marriage. A respondent's highest educational level is also measured on an ordinal scale consisting of the following gradations: "no formal qualification"; "lowest formal qualification"; "above lowest qualification"; "higher secondary completed"; "above higher secondary level"; "university degree completed". Two other variables tested for predictive power of national pride were religiosity and subjective social status. The level of religiosity was estimated by the self-reported frequency of religious service attendance according to the following gradations: "several times a week"; "once a week"; "2 or 3 times a month"; "once a month"; "several times a year"; "once a year"; "less frequently"; "never". The subjective social status was measured by the respondent's self-placement on a 10-point scale ranging from 1 for the lowest to 10 for the highest status.

Country-level predictors include three variables, each taken from a different database. The GDP per capita for each country was taken from the Open Dataset of the World Bank. All figures are in US dollars for 2003⁹ – the same year as the ISSP on national pride. Another estimator of a country's achievements, combining the GDP per capita with social indicators, is the Human Development Index for the year 2003, as presented in the United Nations Development Report (UNDP) for 2005. For the country level of religiosity we use the country percentage of yes-answers to the "yes-no" question "Is religion important in your daily life?" from the Gallup survey, 11

3. Results

3.1. Descriptive statistics

Domain-specific country achievements elicit different levels of national pride. The graph presented in Figure 1 represents the distributions for each of the 10 domain-specific pride estimates in the ISSP database. These estimates are sorted in the ascending order of the median,

⁹World Bank data and statistics website, retrieved March 2, 2014. http://datacatalog.worldbank.org/

Human Development Report 2005. International cooperation at a crossroads: Aid, trade and security in an unequal world. Published for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/266/hdr05_complete.pdf

Crabtree, S. (2009). Analyst insights: Religiosity around the world. Retrieved May 23, 2009, from http://www.gallup.com/video/114694/Analyst-Insights-Religiosity-Around-World.aspx

and the graph clearly depicts that elite achievements elicit stronger national pride than mass achievements. One reason for such a difference may be the cumulative effect of elite achievements (it is enough for a respondent to remember either several recognized contemporary scientists or scientists of any epoch in the country's past to provide sufficient grounds for national pride) versus mass achievements, which are located solely in the current conditions. Another reason is that the criteria against which elitist achievements are evaluated are vaguer than those for mass achievements, particularly because the latter have a direct and understandable impact on respondents' everyday life and well-being. As a result, the elitist achievements can be more easily inflated than mass achievements. Also, people are likely to be better informed about and more critical of the achievements that are more directly related to their personal needs.

Between-country similarities and differences are shown in Figures 2 to 4. For the sake of brevity, the graphs presented in the figures depict country means for the key indicators of national pride, i.e. for the two factors and the general single-item estimate. (The graphs for country means and standard deviations of specific facets of national pride as well as for standard deviations of the three key indicators of national pride can be found on the following website: http://www.hse.ru/mirror/pubs/share/148676739.

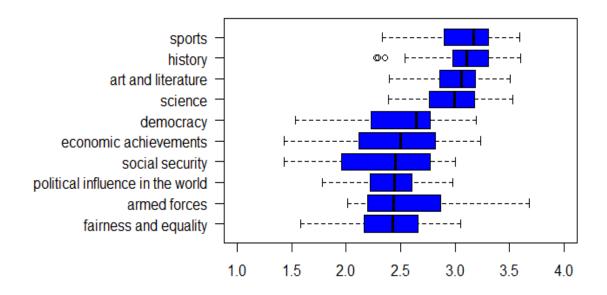


Figure 1. Distributions of pride estimates of country achievements in specific domains (the scales range from 1 to 4. The left and right side of each colored rectangle correspond to the first and third quartiles respectively, and the vertical line across each rectangle corresponds to the median)

Relative estimates of the factor of general national pride (Figure 2) distinctly reflect regional and historical types. Most countries with the highest scores on this parameter are Anglo-Saxon countries, and, unsurprisingly, with the U.S. in the lead. The two exceptions in the list of highly ranking countries are Venezuela and South Africa. For both of them, high scores may be

due primarily to relatively low expectations against which actual achievements are evaluated and also by the rhetoric of the countries' populist leaders advocating the non-Western alternative models of success. The opposite extreme is comprised of countries with the lowest scores on the factor of general national pride and is represented almost solely by ex-communist countries. Here, same as for the highest scores, the outcome might be caused not only by the respondents' estimation of the actual performance, but also by the relatively high expectations stemming from the fact that the populations of these countries, during the Cold war, learned to consider more advanced Western countries as their reference group.

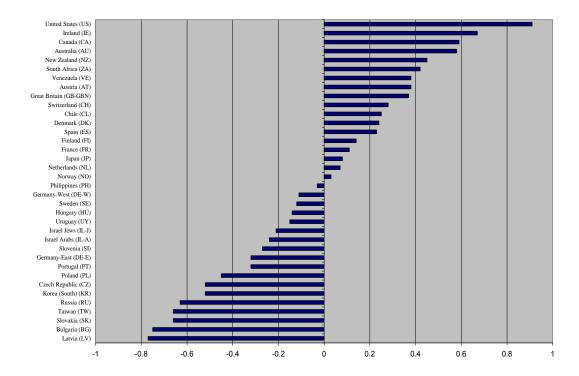


Figure 2. Country average scores on the domain-based factor estimate of general national pride (the higher the scores the higher the pride in various country achievements)

The country means on the factor of inverse relations between prides in elitist versus mass achievements of the nation (Figure 3) reflect the interplay between perceptions of country achievements and the standards which they are evaluated against. Many ex-communist countries have the highest scores meaning that their representatives express relatively high pride in their nations' elite achievements and low pride in mass achievements. Elitist achievements are less relevant to the everyday well-being and might serve as a secondary compensation needed if mass achievements are estimated as relatively low, as is the case in ex-communist countries. On the opposite side of the graph are countries where the population has a higher opinion of the conditions related to everyday well-being and a relatively low opinion of the country's prestige in art, science, and sports. Again, there are two different cases. Most of the countries are on that

side because of their above-average mass achievements, e.g. the Western European and Scandinavian countries. Besides, the database includes a sample of Israeli Arabs, who fall on that side of the scale because of lower aspirations for mass achievements. They express higher pride in the country's achievements in economic, political, and social spheres, probably as a result of comparing themselves to other Middle East states (while Israel Jews are more likely to set their standards of well-being to that of Western countries).

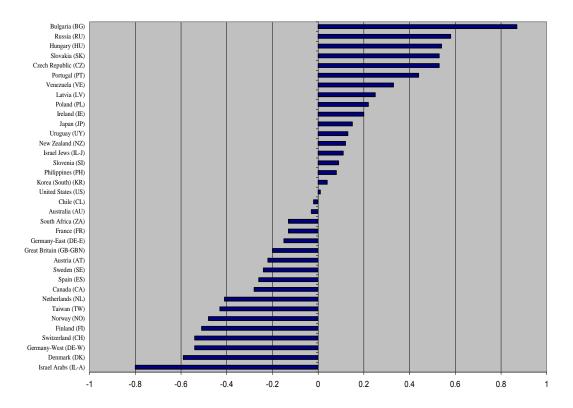


Figure 3. Country average scores on the factor of the inverse relations between the pride in elitist and mass country achievements (the higher the score the higher the elitist pride and the lower the mass achievements pride)

Country means on the direct single-item estimate of general national pride (Figure 4) yield considerably different results from the general domain-based factor. The latter represents a general estimation as well, but is derived from references to specific achievements and is therefore more rational. On the contrary, the single-item estimate based on the direct question is more normative and probably does not invite much reflection on the possible objective grounds of pride in one's nation.

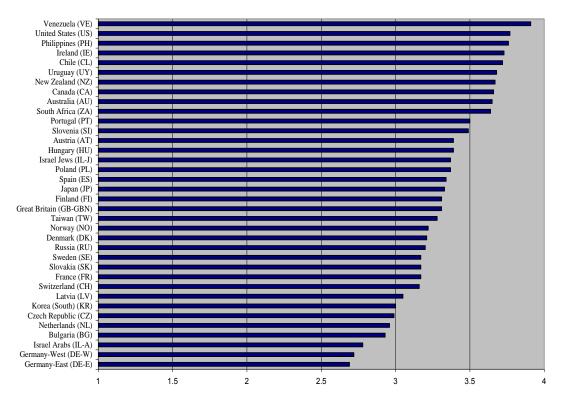


Figure 4. Country average scores of the direct single-item estimate of general national pride (the higher the score the higher the pride)

Figure 5 reflects the relative rankings of each country on both the first domain-based factor and the direct single-item estimates of general national pride. In this figure, specific attention is paid to some of the most pronounced disparities between relative rankings, and these are marked by arrows. The populations that have markedly higher relative positions on the domain-based factor than on the direct single-variable estimate of national pride include West Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Switzerland is structurally closer to a multinational state than to model nation-states, and it may explain the milder indoctrination of national pride. The much higher scores on the cognitively derived, grounded general estimate of national pride can be easily explained by successful country performance on both elitist and mass achievements. In Germany, the denazification efforts succeeded in making the very formulation of general national pride a taboo, unlike the pride in country specific achievements. The countries of the opposite type that rank on the direct single-item estimate much higher than on the domain-based factor estimate include Philippines, Portugal, Slovenia, and Uruguay. When the first factor is substituted for the single-variable estimate as a measurement of national pride, these four countries move from the middle to the very top, signaling the high influence of normative nationalism detached from the evaluation of national achievements.

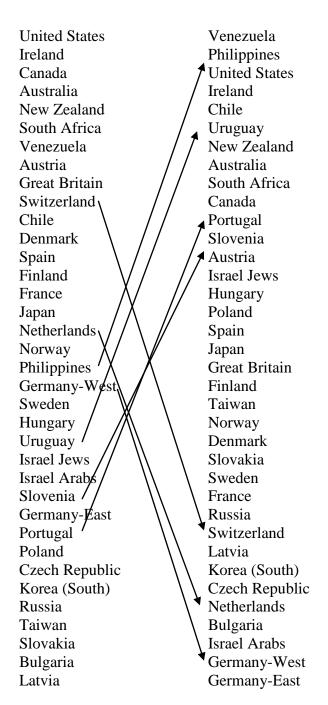


Figure 5. Country ranking on the domain-based factor of general national pride (on the left) versus direct single-item estimate of general national pride (on the right); sorted from the highest to lowest pride rating for each variable separately. Arrows connect the countries with the strongest differences between the two rankings.

3.2. Bivariate relations

The correlation coefficients between domain-based factors of national pride and its single-item estimate support the initial assumptions that the three parameters measure different kinds of national pride. The individual-level non-parametric Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of the direct single-item estimate of general national pride with the factor of general

national pride is predictably positive and statistically significant, though with a value of 0.362 it is rather far from 1.000 (N = 27736, p < 0.001). The similar correlation coefficient with the factor of inverse relations between the pride in elitist versus mass achievements of the nation is even lower in magnitude and equals 0.103 (N = 27736, p < 0.001), and its positive direction indicates that the single-item pride is predominantly elitist, i.e. translates into stronger pride in elitist achievements and weaker pride in the mass achievements.

In search for country-level predictors for multilevel models of national pride, we consider country-level correlation coefficients between each of the three estimates of national pride and economic, social, and cultural country variables (Table 2). The latter are represented by country GDP per capita for the year 2003, when the survey was taken (and also for 5 and 10 years before 2003), by country GDP per capita change measured in percentage compared to the GDP per capita 5 years prior to the survey year, by country Human Development Index (HDI) for 2003, and by country level of religiosity.

The coefficients of correlation between the GDP per capita with both domain-based factor measures of national pride are statistically significant, revealing positive correlations with the factor of general national pride and negative correlation coefficients with the factor of inverse relations of two kinds of national pride. Correlation coefficients for the single-item estimate of general national pride are statistically insignificant.

These correlations provide preliminary support for the hypothesis H1: When prompted to estimate their general national pride by domain-specific achievements respondents consider the objective achievements, with GDP per capita being their integrative indicator. And when the general national pride is measured by a normatively controlled single-item estimate, people do not invest enough rational efforts into scanning the country realities.

The connection of objective country achievements with the factor of inverse relations between two kinds of national pride has not been hypothesized. As the correlation coefficients reveal, the country economic advancement increases the pride in mass achievements (including pride in the "country's economic achievements" and the "country's social security system") and decrease the pride in elitist achievements.

The annual change in the GDP per capita for the survey year is significantly related to both cognitively processed pride scores, and this is not significantly correlated with the single-item estimate of national pride. The correlation coefficient with the general pride factor is negative, and the correlation coefficient with the factor of inverse relations is positive. The signs of these coefficients may be partly explained by the negative correlation between the absolute value of the GDP per capita and its annual change due to the relatively faster economic growth in less developed countries. An additional explanation may be that recent marked success may

cause an increase in the standards used by people in their decisions to be proud of their country achievements.

Table 2. Spearman's Rank Coefficients of Country-level Correlations between Three Measures of National Pride and Country Economic, Social, and Cultural Variables (N = 33 Countries)

	Country average score on the domain-based factor of general national pride	Country average score on the domain-based factor of the inverse relations between the pride in elitist and mass country achievements	Country average of the direct single- item estimate of general national pride
Country GDP per capita,			
2003	0.512**	-0.590***	-0.174
Country GDP per capita,			
1998	0.563**	-0.654***	-0.163
Country GDP per capita,			
1993	0.543**	-0.634***	-0.186
Country annual GDP per			
capita growth, 2003	-0.452**	0.403*	-0.204
Country Human Development			
Index (HDI), 2003	0.304	-0.486*	-0.243
Country level of religiosity	0.147	0.183	0.542**

^{* -} p < 0.05;**-p < 0.01;***-p < 0.001

The Human Development Index (HDI) is more focused on the social outcomes of economic advancement, it combines the GDP per capita with the country life expectancy and the quality of country healthcare and educational system indicators. It may explain the HDI significant positive relation (and negative correlation coefficient) with the pride in social security system, fair treatment of all groups in society, and economic achievements which is stronger at the negative pole of the factor of inverse relations between the pride in mass and elitist achievements.

In accordance with hypothesis H2, the single-item direct estimate of general national pride, which we treat as less grounded and more normative, has a statistically significant correlation coefficient with country level of religiosity only, and this coefficient is positive. It means that the higher the country religiosity the higher the general normative pride. Furthermore, religiosity is not related to the grounded measures of national pride represented by the two domain-based factor indexes at all.

Now we turn to multivariate regression models, which present a more sophisticated picture of the determinants of the various measures of national pride.

3.3. Multivariate regression models

Initially, we estimated ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models for the three measures of national pride. Their results indicate that the variance explained by the individual characteristics is low but increases drastically when dummy variables for countries are introduced on the same level with other individual-level predictors (R-squares are presented in Table 3). This increase as well as the sufficiently high intraclass correlations (ICC) presented in Table 3 indicates the feasibility of estimating multilevel models including both individual and country-level predictors. (The OLS models can be found in the Internet Appendix: http://www.hse.ru/mirror/pubs/share/145704466)

Table 3. Model Evaluation Parameters for Various Estimates of National Pride as Dependent Variables, %

	Dependent variable			
Model evaluation parameter	Individual score on the domain- based factor of general national pride	Individual score on the factor of the domain-based inverse relations between the pride in elitist versus mass achievements of the nation	Individual direct single-item estimate of general national pride	
R^2 for OLS with individual characteristics only as predictors (N = 36309 respondents)	7.3	3.2	4.8	
R^2 for OLS with individual characteristics and country dummies as predictors (N = 36309 respondents)	25.4	22.0	17.7	
ICC (N=33 countries)	19	15	18	

Tables 4, 5, and 6 report the findings of the multilevel regression analysis for the three measures of national pride Each table includes four multilevel regression models. On the individual level we use all the predictors described in the Data and Methodology section. On the country level we use two of the three predictors described above, i.e. the GDP per capita and the level of religiosity. The Human Development Index (HDI) is not included in the final

presentation because it strongly correlates with GDP per capita (r = 0.94, N = 33, p < 0.001) and its regression effects are very similar to the effects of GDP per capita.

In each table, M1 is a zero-model with fixed effects for all individual-level predictors and random (country-specific) intercepts. M2, M3, and M4 include country-level predictors, such as the GDP per capita, the level of religiosity, and both GDP per capita and religiosity, respectively.

Table 4. Regression Models for the Domain-based Factor of General National Pride

	M1	M2	M3	M4
Individual level effects				
	0.003	0.003	0.003	0.003
Age (years)	(0.000)***	(0.000)***	(0.000)***	(0.000)***
	-0.012	-0.003	-0.014	-0.003
Gender (0-male, 1-female)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Marital status (from 1 – official	0.004	0.004	0.003	0.004
marriage to 5 – single)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Education (from 0 – no formal				
education to 5 – university degree	-0.029	-0.027	-0.029	-0.027
completed)	(0.004) ***	(0.004) ***	(0.004) ***	(0.004) ***
Employment status (0 – part-time or				
not employed, 1 – employed full	-0.018	-0.018	-0.019	-0.018
time)	(0.008)**	(0.008)**	(0.008)**	(0.008)**
Church attendance (from 1 – never	0.019	0.021	0.017	0.021
to 8 – several times a week)	(0.003)***	(0.008)**	(0.008)**	(0.008)**
Subjective social status (from 1 –	0.038	0.037	0.037	0.037
lowest to 10 – highest)	(0.003)***	(0.003)***	(0.003)***	(0.003)***
Country level effects				
		0.024		0.032
GDP per capita, 2003	-	(0.007)**	=	(0.007)***
			0.250	0.949
Level of religiosity	-	-	(0.403)	(0.343)**
AIC	85515	85297	90901	85290
BIC	85600	85390	90955	85392
N, level 1	36309	36309	36309	36309
N, level 2	33	33	33	33

^{*} significant at 0.05; ** significant at 0.01; *** significant at 0.001 AIC – Akaike information criterion, BIC – Bayesian information criterion

The *effects of individual-level predictors* proved robust within each series of models for each estimate of national pride. Age has significant positive effects on both measures of general national pride and has no effect on the factor measure of inverse relations between pride in country mass and elitist achievements. It means that elder people score higher on both grounded and normative general national pride thus corroborating Smith & Kim's (2006) findings. The conclusion of a stronger national pride in elder people is consistent with the well-established relation between the age and conservative/traditionalist values and attitudes (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Schwartz, 2007; Magun & Rudney, 2012; Meuleman et al., 2013).

Table 5. Regression Models for the Domain-based Factor of the Inverse Relations between the Pride in Elitist and Mass Country Achievements

	M1	M2	M3	M4	
Individual level effects					
	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	
Age (years)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	
	0.082	0.082	0.082	0.082	
Gender (0-male, 1-female)	(0.011)***	(0.011)***	(0.011)***	(0.011)***	
Marital status (from 1 – official	-0.002	-0.002	-0.002	-0.002	
marriage to 5 – single)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	
Education (from 0 – no formal					
education to 5 – university degree	-0.007	-0.007	-0.007	-0.007	
completed)	(0.003)*	(0.003)*	(0.003)*	(0.003)*	
Employment status (0 – part-time					
or not employed, 1 – employed	-0.006	-0.006	-0.002	-0.002	
full time)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	
Church attendance (from 1 –	-0.002	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001	
never to 8 – several times a week)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	
Subjective social status (from 1 –	-0.010	-0.010	-0.010	-0.010	
lowest to 10 – highest)	(0,002)***	(0.002)***	(0.002)***	(0.002)***	
Country level effects					
		-0.024	-	-0.026	
GDP per capita, 2003	-	(0.005)***		(0.005)***	
			0.438	-0.132	
Level of religiosity	-	-	(0.474)	(0.429)	
AIC	77386	77372	77387	77374	
BIC	77471	77466	77480	77476	
N, level 1	36309	36309	36309	36309	
N, level 2	33	33	33	33	

^{*} significant at 0.05; ** significant at 0.01; *** significant at 0.001

Gender has a significant effect on the factor of inverse relations between pride in elitist and mass country achievements only. Women are more proud of elitist achievements and less proud of the mass achievements. This fact is consistent with traditional gender social roles according to which women should be responsible for home and family needs. This responsibility probably increases their demands for country economic achievements, social security, and distribution fairness when making their statements of pride.

The respondent's marital status has negative effect on the direct single-item measure of national pride. This means that currently unmarried or divorced respondents display weaker normative pride than those who are officially married. To account for this, we may assume that marriage can be considered as a more standard social status than being unmarried and thus as a kind of social conformity. In that case, this status has some similarity to conformity in following the social norm of strong national pride.

Table 6. Regression Models for the Direct Single-item Estimate of General National Pride

	M1	M2	M3	M4		
Individual level effects						
	0.004	0.004	0.004	0.004		
Age (years)	(0.000)***	(0.000)***	(0.000)***	(0.000)***		
	0.014	0.014	0.011	0.011		
Gender (0-male, 1-female)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)		
Marital status (from 1 –						
official marriage to 5 –	-0.007	-0.007	-0.009	-0.009		
single)	(0.002)**	(0.002)**	(0.002)**	(0.002)**		
Education (from 0 – no						
formal education to 5 –	-0.052	-0.052	-0.052	-0.052		
university degree completed)	(0.003)***	(0.003)***	(0.003)***	(0.003)***		
Employment status (0 – part-						
time or not employed, 1 –	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002		
employed full time)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)		
Church attendance (from 1 –						
never to 8 – several times a	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024		
week)	(0.002)***	(0.002)***	(0.002)***	(0.002)***		
Subjective social status (from	0.029	0.029	0.029	0.029		
1 - lowest to 10 - highest)	(0.002)***	(0.002)***	(0.002)***	(0.002)***		
Country level effects						
		-0.005	-	0.001		
GDP per capita, 2003	-	(0.005)		(0.005)		
			0.815	0.846		
Level of religiosity	-	=	(0.254)**	(0.285)**		
AIC	69979	69980	69972	69974		
BIC	70055	70064	70056	70067		
N, level 1	34657	34657	34657	34657		
N, level 2	33	33	33	33		

^{*} significant at 0.05; ** significant at 0.01; *** significant at 0.001

The level of education of a respondent has significant effects on all three measures of national pride. As expected, education has negative effects on the general estimates of national pride, both grounded and normative. In other words, respondents with higher education demonstrate lower general national pride, consistent with Smith and Kim's (2006) and Hjerm's (2001) findings. Education system transmits standards and nurtures the aspirations with which country achievements are compared so that the higher the educational level, the higher the aspirations and the lower the grounded domain-based general pride. Education nurtures critical thinking as well and it explains the negative effect of education on the normative national pride which is instilled by indoctrination. There is also an effect of education on the factor of inverse relations between two kinds of national pride. It has not been hypothesized, and it demonstrates the higher preference of mass over elitist achievements among more educated people. This result is consistent with Coenders' (2001) and Coenders and Scheepers's findings (2003) that education is negatively related to ethnic exclusionism, but not to pride in country's economy, political influence, and democracy, all of which belong to the realm of mass values. The higher pride in mass achievements may be an interpretation made by educated people with respect to

their own life experience; they may give the country its due for the possibility of obtaining higher education and the opportunities this education has made available to them. The lower pride in elitist achievements may be an implication of higher expertise and higher standards for these achievements acquired with education.

The employment status has a significantly negative impact on the domain-based factor measure of general national pride. The mechanism behind this effect may be similar to one behind the educational effect. In view of his/her larger input into country achievements, an employed person has higher aspirations for these achievements which lead to lower grounded pride.

As hypothesized, church attendance ¹², as a proxy for individual-level religiosity, has positive effects on both grounded and normative estimations of general national pride. As we discussed in the Introduction, these effects are powered by different mechanisms. First, religiosity dampens the aspirations and increases grounded pride measure. Second, religiosity makes a person more loyal to the nation-state because of the friendly relations between church and secular authorities in many of the countries studied, and it makes a person more vulnerable to the norm of strong national pride resulting in a higher normative pride measure. Third, religiosity indicates individual susceptibility to indoctrination, which is a road to higher normative pride as well.

The subjective social status has significant effects on all three measures of national pride and, contrary to the hypothesis, all these effects are positive. It means that people with higher self-evaluated statuses have a higher opinion of their country's domain-specific achievements and also appear to be more susceptible to the social norm of national pride. They prefer to be proud of the elitist achievements at the expense of the mass ones as well. Therefore, the alleged higher aspirations associated with the higher status are not relevant as a factor explaining the status effects on pride. Instead, the status effect on domain-based general pride may be explained by the better personal experiences of higher status people. The status effect on normative general pride is explained by the fact that compliance with social norms (norm of national pride included) is instrumental to high social status in one's country. As to the status effect on the factor of inverse relations between two kinds of pride, it may be due to the fact that by being aware of their belonging to higher social strata, higher status people identify themselves more strongly with the elitist achievements and feel more detached from mass achievements of their countries.

¹²Both church attendance and subjective social status involve some risk of endogeneity in a sense that they both may be affected by national pride.

Both country-level predictors, the GDP per capita and religiosity, have positive effects on domain-based general national pride. This finding means that the pride is higher in countries with a higher GDP per capita and a higher percentage of religious people in their population. Both effects have been hypothesized. Still, it is worth mentioning that the positive effect of religiosity is not statistically significant in a model where it is the only country-level predictor but gains significance when taken together with the GDP per capita. That is why the effect of religiosity has not been detected in bivariate correlations where GDP per capita was not controlled (such a control is necessary because the higher religiosity is typical for countries with lower GDP per capita, $\rho = -0.491$, p < 0.01).

For the domain-based factor of inverse relations between two kinds of pride, the GDP per capita is the single significant predictor. A higher GDP per capita leads to higher pride in country mass achievements and lower pride in elitist ones. This effect has not been hypothesized yet it is quite understandable because "mass achievements" include country economic success and social security system, and GDP per capita is the valid proxy for both these objects of pride. So the GDP per capita exerts an effect on the factor of inverse relations due to its influence on the perceived country achievements.

As hypothesized, the single-item normative estimate of general national pride is not affected significantly by GDP per capita, and the single significant effect on this variable is from country religiosity. In this case, country religiosity is not the vehicle lowering the standards of evaluation (as with the domain-based estimate of general pride), but instead is the indicator of willingness to acquire uncritically the normative message of pride from the national state as well as from the church itself. Reality as represented by country economic achievements is not a factor in predicting such pride at all.

Multiple cross-level interaction effects were tested as well, and all of them were below the level of statistical significance. Thus, country-level peculiarities influence the level of national pride directly instead of changing the effects of the individual-level variables.

4. Discussion and Conclusion

This paper presents the analysis of national pride based on the data from the 36 countries and regions participating in the ISSP-2003 survey. We outline the notion of two kinds of national pride, one that is more rational and takes into account the real country achievements (grounded national pride), the other one that is more normative, stemming from the social norm of national pride and more susceptible to indoctrination.

Using the ISSP survey data we suggest measures of both kinds of general social pride. The respondents estimated their pride in country achievements in each of the 10 specific domains, and general factor combining all those estimates was considered to be a measure of grounded general pride. The survey participants estimated their overall level of national pride by responding to the direct one-item question as well, and this response was considered to be a measure of normative general pride in one's country.

The correlation coefficient between the normatively imposed single-item and the domain-based grounded measures of general national pride is positive and statistically significant but far from 1.0 ($\rho = 0.360$, N = 27736, p < 0.001). Some countries strongly differ in relative rankings on the two average estimates of general national pride. Thus, populations of the Philippines, Portugal, Slovenia, and Uruguay have remarkably higher ranks on the normatively imposed national pride, and populations of West Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands have remarkably higher ranks on the domain-based grounded estimate of national pride. This result confirms the feasibility of considering the specifics of each of the two pride measures.

The multilevel regression models estimated for the grounded and normative measures of general national pride mostly confirm the hypotheses. In accordance with H1, *grounded* national pride is positively affected on the country level by GDP per capita representing objective country achievements and by religiosity indicating the [lower] level of aspirations for those achievements. On the individual level, a negative effect of education and positive effect of church attendance on grounded national pride confirms H1 as well. Contrary to H1, subjective social status increases grounded pride, and we explain this finding by the better personal life experience of higher status people.

As hypothesized in H2, *normative* national pride is not affected by objective country achievements at all but is affected by the level of religiosity on both country and individual levels. Religiosity affects normative pride because it serves as an indicator of the individual willingness to accept normative messages uncritically, and also because the church supports secular authorities and the social norm of national pride in many of the countries studied. As hypothesized, education has a negative effect on normative national pride because it brings up critical thinking and resistance to indoctrination. And again, contrary to H2, subjective social status exerts a positive effect on normative pride, and we explain this finding by the fact that adhering to social norms is instrumental to high social status in one's country.

The differential country effects detected by multilevel models explain why some countries rank differently for the two kinds of national pride (Figure 5). The countries that rank higher on normative than on grounded national pride, like the Philippines or Portugal, have relatively high levels of religiosity compared to other countries in the dataset and they rank much

lower on the GDP per capita. In fact, the Philippines combines the highest scores on religiosity and the lowest GDP per capita of all the countries included in the analysis. Alternatively, countries like the Netherlands or Switzerland have, respectively, a low and about average level of religiosity and some of the highest scores on the GDP per capita.

The research results corroborate the feasibility of the suggested distinction between the grounded and normative national pride. The limitations of the analysis outlined in this paper are related to the fact that the same empirical measures, i.e. country religiosity level or educational level, serve as referents for different theoretical constructs such as level of aspiration or critical thinking.

In addition to the domain-based dimension of general national pride, factor analysis detected the dimension of the inverse relations between the pride in elitist (arts and literature, sports, history, science and technology) and mass (social security, democracy, economy, etc.) achievements of the nation. On the country level, the scores on this dimension were affected by GDP per capita which expectedly increased the pride in mass achievements at the cost of the elitist ones. On the individual level, the educational level and subjective social status are two significant predictors. The higher pride in mass achievements indicated by the more educated participants may be an interpretation of their own life experiences which they could consider as proof of their society's provision of opportunities for mass education and other achievements. And the lower pride in elitist achievements may be an implication of higher expertise and higher standards for these achievements brought up by the education system. The higher preference of elitist pride over the mass ones among higher status people may be due to the fact that being aware of their belongingness to the higher social strata, these people identify more with the elitist achievements and feel more detached from mass achievements of their countries.

Taken together, the research presented here relates to a broader debate on grounded versus normative mechanisms behind nationalism. The prevailing argument in the nationalism studies claims that the strong attraction of nationalism compared to other ideologies stems from its irrationality and that nationalism is a set of ideas artfully designed by a few to benefit from the many who conform to them (Calhoun, 1997; Barreto, 2012; Mosk, 2013). Contrary to this claim, the present research demonstrates that national pride in the contemporary world no longer draws a division line between trusting irrational masses and the rational manipulative elite. Instead, grounded and normative kinds of national pride coexist in the whole population.

The practical implication of the difference between two kinds of pride stems from the fact that in their striving for objectively grounded national pride, people would be eager to contribute to a country's tangible achievements while keeping to normatively imposed pride would, in many cases, merely stimulate wishful thinking.

In conclusion, several directions for future research can be delineated based on the outcomes of this study. To continue the search for determinants of national pride in quantitative comparative perspective, the range of both individual and country-level predictors for grounded and normative national pride should be extended. Besides, the focus of case studies might be shifted from the one-sided deconstruction of nationalist propaganda to examining an interplay between nationalist indoctrination, its rational public critique, and its acceptance/rejection by lay people (intuitive ideologists).

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