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Religion and Nationalism in Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia – A Structural Equation Model

Abstract

The purpose is to discuss the relationship between religiosity, national ideology and ethnic distance, based on a sociological survey undertaken in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia. Religion is regarded as a multidimensional phenomenon, as is nationalism. In accordance with classical theories on nationalism and social identity theory, a distinction is further made between ethnocentrism and nationalism proper. In order to answer the question whether there is an association between on the one hand religion, and on the other nationalism and ethnocentric attitudes, the method of structural equation modeling has been used. An initial model where ethnocentrism is regarded as an independent dimension was compared to an alternative model where it is understood as an integral part of nationalism. The analysis compares both religious traditions (Islam, Catholicism, and Orthodoxy) as well as different cultural and political contexts (Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia).

Keywords: Religion, Nationalism, Ethnic Distance, Dimensions of Religiosity, SEM (Structural Equation Modeling).

Introduction

■ The Yugoslav wars in the 1990s were sometimes referred to as religious conflicts, and even if this may be a simplification, religion is a major ethnic marker in an area where people are using what is essentially the same vernacular. It is, therefore, natural to ask to what extent there is a relationship between nationalism and religion in Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia. This issue will be addressed relying on data from a sociological survey carried out in 1999.¹

¹ A preliminary sketch was presented at a conference in Uppsala (Magnusson 2004). Other topics of the investigation have been discussed in Magnusson 2001, 2005, and 2012.

There were about 7,000 respondents, 2,000 each in Croatia and Serbia (except Kosovo), and 3,000 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Data were collected by the agencies Puls in Zagreb and Medium in Belgrade. The samples are statistically representative in Serbia and Croatia. A multistage random sampling procedure was used in Bosnia. Interviews were made in Bosnian, Croatian or Serbian, using a questionnaire of 98 items.

The analysis is based on *Structural Equation Modelling* or *SEM*, a statistical method permitting the study of theoretical concepts, such as religion or nationalism, through an analysis of relations between *manifest* and *latent* variables, uncovering causal relations and structural features. An important role in the development of SEM was played, among others, by Karl Jöreskog and Dag Sörbom at Uppsala University, who also developed the software LISREL (Karmi & Meyer 2014). In this case the computer program EQS constructed by Peter Bentler has been used (Byrne 1994, Bentler 2006, Bentler & Wu 2008).

Assumptions

A basic assumption is that both religion and nationalism are complex, multidimensional phenomena which may be considered as latent constructs or factors, expressed empirically as beliefs, emotions, or behavioural aspects.

Another assumption is the difference between nationalism and ethnocentrism. Today nationalism is often understood as a synonym of xenophobia, and it is argued that we must not divide society into “us” and “them”. While it is true that one cannot endorse ideologies like racism, it is pointless to say that we should not classify people as “us and them”, since we are doing that all the time. According to Tajfel’s *Social Identity Theory* (Tajfel 1974, Turner 1987), the same processes which constitute our identity, i.e. social categorization, comparison and the quest for psychological distinctiveness, also create a certain distance towards members of another group. Defining myself as someone, I am inevitably different from others, and experiments have shown that even arbitrary identities give rise to processes of social distancing. This is a general feature of social life and concerns all types of groups. It is a social-psychological *mechanism* which is distinct

from *ideologies* emphasizing qualitative differences between members of cultural or social groups, and it does not inevitably result in serious social conflicts (Brewer 2001).

We may also point out that the classical literature on nationalism, discussing the rise of national movements in the 19th century, recognize the existence of groups known as peoples or nations, without necessarily equating this phenomenon with chauvinism (Calhoun 1993).

With this distinction in mind, we may construct a simple four-fold table of nationalism and ethnocentrism. In every-day language, by *nationalism* we usually mean a combination of *national rhetoric* and *xenophobia*, while non-nationalism represents the absence of both. However, it is possible to fill in the other fields of the table. For example, we traditionally speak about *patriotism* with is supposed to lack ethnocentric tendencies. It may also be argued, that there is a kind of *invisible nationalism*, i.e. xenophobic attitudes which are not expressed in a national rhetoric.

Figure 1. Nationalism and Ethnocentrism

		Ethnocentric Attitude	
		No/Low	Yes/High
National Rhetoric	Yes/High	"patriotism"	Nationalism
	No/Low	Non-Nationalism	"invisible nationalism"

Nationalism = National belonging as idea and value, expressed in a specific *rhetoric*.
 Ethnocentric Attitude = distance/hostility towards other groups

A concrete example is the labour migration to Sweden and Slovenia in the 1960s and 1970s. Both were traditionally homogeneous societies suddenly confronted with diverse cultures. In Slovenia, intellectuals were speaking of a serious threat to Slovenian national identity (Mežnarič 1986, Grafenauer 1987), whereas such a rhetoric was lacking in Sweden (Magnusson 1989). Does this mean that Swedes were less "nationalist"? I think not. Due to early nation-building, and the fact that Swedish identity was never questioned or under threat, a symbolic language concerned with the *fate of the nation* was missing. However, the

mechanism discussed by Social Identity Theory does exist, and ethnic distance was expressed in a discourse of modernity and individualism. That is, newcomers were, supposedly, not as advanced as the Swedes, who would assist them in overcoming patriarchal morals and become modern. A type of ethnocentric paternalism, if you wish.

Thus, on theoretical and empirical grounds we assume a difference between nationalism and ethnocentrism. Based on theory and literature on South-Eastern and East-Central Europe, it is possible to make certain assumptions concerning the character of both nationalism in general, and the Balkan variety. Therefore, by *Nationalism* is understood the idea that a people or a nation should have a state of its own, and that most members of a nation would live in that state; but also, an ambivalent view of one's own culture (Plamenatz 1973, Gellner 1983, Kedourie 1993) which is due to historical circumstances and may be interpreted within the framework of social identity theory. In that light Balkan nationalism would consist of at least two dimensions: The *Idea of a Nation*, or Nationalism proper, and a specific *View of History or Self Image*.

Variables and Factors

The two dimensions of *Nationalism* are represented by the following items in the questionnaire:

The Idea of Nation

Every people should have a state of its own.
All members of a nation should live in the same state.

Self-Image or View of History

My nation has only conducted defensive wars.
My nation has suffered more throughout history than other peoples.
My people are not perfect, but its cultural tradition is superior to others.
Similarly, **Religion** has three major dimensions: *belief, behaviour, and experience*.

Belief

Belief in God

Character of belief, i.e. the belief in a personal God
Degree of Conviction or Security of Belief
Belief in Jesus as Son of God [Belief in Muhammad as the Messenger of God]

Behaviour

Attending religious service

Individual prayer

Fasting during Ramadan or before Easter

Reading the Bible or the Quran

Experience

Experience of divine presence in ritual

Experience of divine presence during prayer

Experience of divine presence in nature

Ethnic Distance was measured by a Bogardus-scale, representing various degrees of acceptance of inter-ethnic contact.

“How do you feel about contacts with other peoples (of former Yugoslavia)? Would you accept...?”

A Serb (Croat, Muslim) living in your village or town

A Serb (Croat, Muslims) as a work-mate

A Serb (Croat, Muslim) as a friend

A Serb (Croat, Muslim) as husband or wife of someone from your family

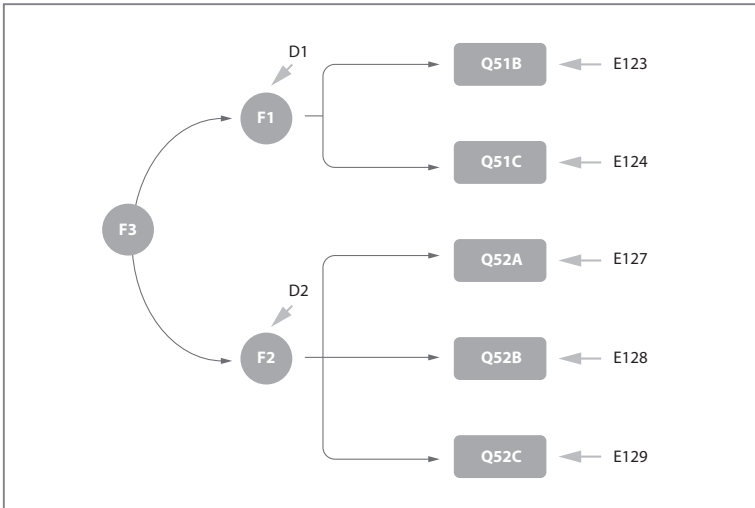
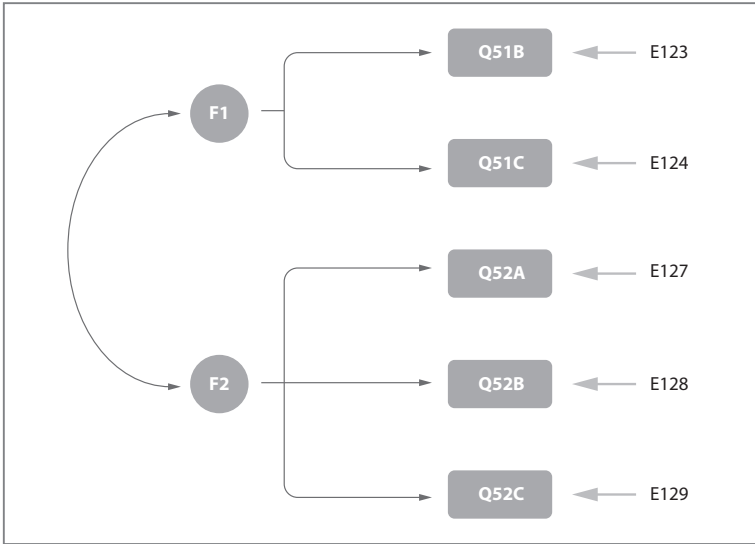
Answers: I would accept, I would not accept

These variables were recoded into summary variables on a five-point scale (0-4) expressing low-high degree of ethnic distance.

Model

Nationalism and religion are thus understood as a set of factors, which may be conceptualized in two ways. Either as separate but inter-related factors, or as a more cohesive factorial structure with distinct dimensions.

The first examples show two factors: *The Idea of Nation*, and *View of History*, which are supposed to be correlated. The other model is a second order factor analysis, that is, the two factors are themselves explained by a factor on a higher level, *nationalism*.



Since we presume that nationalism, as well as religion, are complex multi-dimensional phenomena a second-order factorial solution is presupposed.

It should be stated that the analysis was explorative. There was no earlier research of a similar nature, no established theory or hypoth-

esis that could be confirmed or rejected. Jöreskog has distinguished three ways of using SEM: 1) strictly confirmative, 2) comparison of and modification of alternative models 3) explorative analysis (Byrne 1998:7-9).

This study was of type 2 and 3. The analysis was made in stages, using exploratory factor analysis, before the final model was tested. However, the basic theoretical pattern was there from the beginning.

The respondents were divided into five groups: Bosniaks,² Croats, and Serbs in Bosnia, as well as Croats in Croatia and Serbs in Serbia, altogether 6,570 respondents. We may thus compare similarities and differences between religious groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also between Catholics and Orthodox in different countries. The model was tested for each group separately.

The main features of the model are:

Religion is a second order factor, formed by the three first order factors belief, behaviour and experience.

Nationalism is a second order factor, based on two factors, i.e. attitude towards the idea of nation, and self-image or view of history.

Ethnocentrism is postulated as a first-order factor measuring ethnic distance towards two groups: Muslims vs Croats and Serbs; Croats vs Muslims and Serbs; Serbs vs Croats and Muslims.

The Model is presented in two figures, one simplified, which intuitively illustrates the major relationships between factors and variables, another, using the conventions of EQS. Manifest variables are the questionnaire items (Q), whereas latent variables are factors of different orders (F). Errors (E) and disturbances (D) are also accounted for. Straight arrows represent causal effects, curved lines associations.

In a SEM-analysis, there are two models. A measurement model, which deals with the relations between manifest and latent variables, and a structural model showing the relationship between latent variables. The task is to estimate whether the postulated model corresponds to the relations that exist between variables in the data-set. The plausibility of the model is dependent on measures of goodness of fit. Two such measures will be used: a) Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and b) Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). Note that robust measures will also be provided, due to the character of the datasets.

² In the survey 40 % of the Bosnian Muslims declared themselves as Muslims, and 60 % as Bosniaks.

It should finally be said that missing values have been treated according to Bentler's method for pairwise deletion (Bentler 2006:275-300).

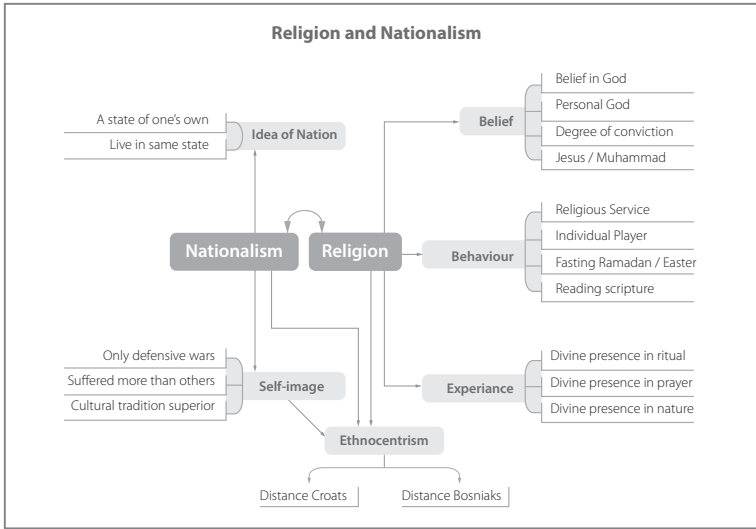


Figure 2. Religion, Nationalism, Ethnocentrism. Simplified SEM-Model

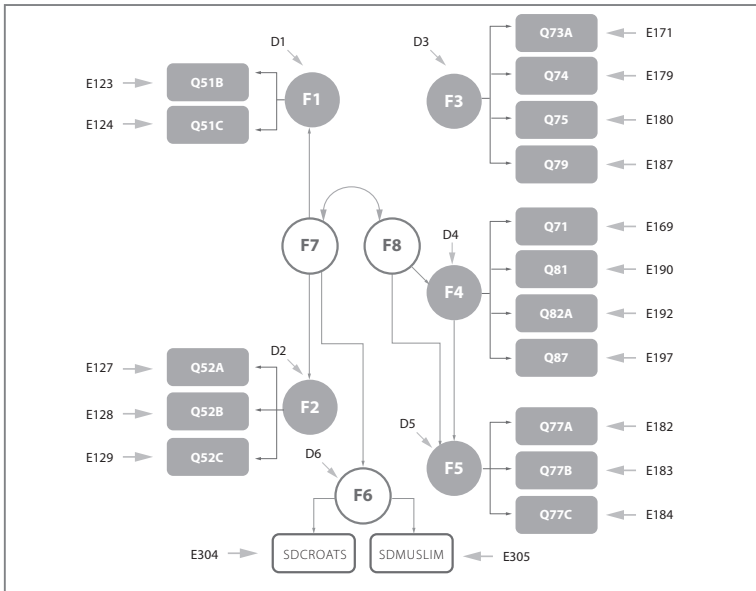


Figure 3. Religion, Nationalism, Ethnocentrism. EQS Model 1

Results

Details for the five groups are found in tables 5 - 9. Initially we will look at the results concerning Serbs from Serbia.

At first the proposed factors emerge. All items supposed to join do so. That is, the theoretical factors are reproduced according to the model.

Second, both religion and nationalism may be understood as second order factor structures.

Third, the three constructs nationalism, religion and ethnocentrism are related.

Fourth, nationalism is more strongly related to ethnic distance than to religion, and the correlation between religion and ethnic distance is weaker than between religion and nationalism. In other words, religion does not seem to be a primary source of ethnocentrism.

Table 1. Factors Nationalism: Serbs in Serbia

	F1	F2
Every people should have its own state	.615	
All members of a nation should live in the same state	.875	
My people only conducted defensive wars		.554
My people suffered more than others		.827
My people not perfect - cultural tradition superior		.773

Table 2. Factors Religion: Serbs in Serbia

	F3	F4	F5
Belief in God	.797		
Believer – Atheist	.836		
Security of Belief	.937		
Belief in Jesus son of God	.597		
Attendance Religious Service		.643	
Individual Prayer		.810	
Fasting before Easter		.569	
Reading the Bible		.509	
Experience of Divine Presence in Ritual			.777
Experience of Divine Presence in Prayer			.786
Experience of Divine Presence in Nature			.562

Table 3. Second order Factors: Serbs in Serbia

	F6	F7	F8
F1 Idea of Nation		.541	
F2 View of History/Self Image		.669	
F3 Religious Belief			.862
F4 Religious Behaviour			.996
F5 Religious Experience			.856
Var. Distance Croats	.996		
Var. Distance Muslims/Bosniaks	.826		

Table 4. Correlation between Factors: Serbs in Serbia

	F7 Nationalism	F8 Religion
F8 Religion	.163	
F6 Ethnocentrism	.646	0.95

The same general patterns do appear among Bosnian Muslims, Croats, and Serbs, as well as among Croats in Croatia (Tables 7-9 and Model 1), although in some cases a single indicator of a factor has been left out³. Still, we find the same hypothesized factor structures, and the latent variables religion, nationalism, and ethnocentrism are, indeed, associated. Again, ethnocentrism is more closely related to nationalism than to religion, and religion is closer to nationalism than to ethnocentrism. However, we may note a clear difference between, on the one hand, Serbia and Croatia, and, on the other, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The relationships between religion and ethnocentrism, as well as religion and nationalism are stronger in Bosnia, although the association religion/nationalism is relatively high in Croatia. This seems natural in a situation of ethnic conflict, especially if religion, not language, is the most obvious symbol of national identity.

To be reasonable a model should have a CFI value of at least 0.90, preferably 0.95. The RMSEA is acceptable if below 0.08, good if below 0.06, and better if around 0.04.

³ This is the case for religious ritual and religious experience among Croats in Croatia and Bosnia, and Serbs in Bosnia. The items concerned were experience of divine presence in nature, and reading the scripture.

Model 1 Religion, Nationalism, Ethnocentrism: 3 F and 2 F solution
 Factor Structures and Goodness of Fit Measures

	Bosniaks	Croats	Serbs	Croats	Serbs
Correlations	Bosnia	Bosnia	Bosnia	Croatia	Serbia
Nationalism/ Ethnocentrism	.794	.469	.602	.454	.646
Religion/ Ethnocentrism	.569	.415	.420	.195	.095
Religion / Nationalism	.590	.499	.506	.477	.163
CFI	0.961	0.956	0.930	0.961	0.957
RMSEA	0.050	0.054	0.079	0.049	0.053
Robust CFI	0.961	0.946	0.937	0.963	0.966
Robust RMSEA	0.041	0.037	0.058	0.047	0.045
Religion/ Nationalism	.635	.615	.629	.471	.163
CFI	0.963	0.957	0.943	0.968	0.963
RMSEA	0.049	0.054	0.066	0.044	0.051
Robust CFI	0.964	0.944	0.948	0.970	0.971
Robust RMSEA	0.040	0.037	0.053	0.039	0.040

Nationalism Second order factor [Idea of Nation & View of History]
 Religion Second order factor [Belief, Behaviour, Experience]
 Ethnocentrism First order factor [Summary variable Ethnic Distance]
 Solution 2: Ethnocentrism included in Nationalism.

In Model 1 two alternative solutions are compared. The first one, which we have discussed so far, treats ethnocentrism as a dimension independent of nationalism, while the alternative model postulates that ethnocentrism, is an integral part of nationalism. If we look at the measures of goodness of fit, the results are not clear-cut. While our hypothesized model is good, it does seem that the alternative solution, according to the CFI and RMSEA measures is somewhat better.

Does this mean that our original hypothesis – ethnocentrism is distinct from nationalism – is not valid? Not necessarily. In general, from a theoretical point of view, the three-factor model is reasonable. Our first example is a minimal model of two dimensions of nationalism and

three dimensions of religion, related to each other and to ethnic distance. That religion consists of belief, ritual and experience is a starting point in all discussions on religious dimensions. Further, the nationalism factor reflects the original understanding of nationalism as a phenomenon, as well as the peculiar ambivalence characterizing what Gellner called "Habsburg and further east-nationalism", i.e. the national movements of Central Europe and the Balkans. It is remarkable that a similar structure appears in all five cases, although with elements of differing strength. This is particularly true of the self-image or view of history.

One reason for the ambiguous outcome might be that the study was undertaken in a situation of ethnic mobilization and war, and that, consequently, ethnocentrism increases and becomes part of a highly salient national ideology.

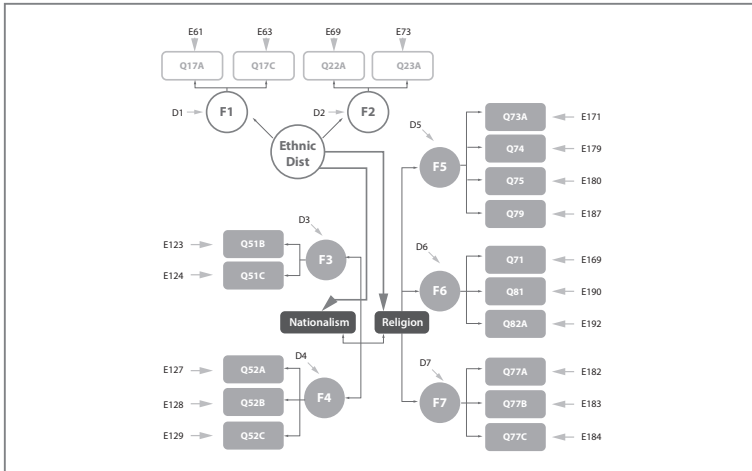
Moreover, this tendency may be affected by the measurements used. A Bogardus scale measuring distance towards explicit groups in serious conflict is perhaps less adequate than a more abstract scale of ethnocentrism, avoiding direct references to Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks, or Albanians. The items of the questionnaire were, however, not suitable for a comprehensive approach of that kind.

The differences between the two models are not very large, and, consequently, theoretical issues would be decisive. An important point is that the model distinguishing between ethnocentrism and nationalism is more differentiated. If we compare the initial solution with the alternative model – where ethnocentrism is included in nationalism – the association is apparently influenced by the strength of ethnocentrism, hidden behind the concept of nationalism, as it were. As a result, the connection between religion and nationalism is somewhat exaggerated. In other words, the first model gives more information than the second, and should, due to its theoretical relevance, not be easily dismissed.

What one could do is to add variables and/or concepts, or otherwise modify the approach. We made the following modifications. At first, ethnocentrism was treated as a second-order factor. Second, the summary variable of ethnic distance was replaced by a) the acceptance of Bosniaks, Croats, Serbs living in one's village or town, and b) the general attitude towards a given group (I respect them; I have nothing against them; I do not like them; I hate them).

The new model is illustrated in Figure 4. The results are provided in Model 2.

Figure 4. Religion, Nationalism, Ethnocentrism. EQS Model 2



Model 2 Religion, Nationalism, Ethnocentrism: 3 F and 2 F solution

	Bosniaks Bosnia	Croats Bosnia	Serbs Bosnia	Croats Croatia	Serbs Serbia
Nationalism/ Ethnocentrism	.680	.392	.666	.648	.704
Religion/ Ethnocentrism	.302	.348	.588	.147	.151
Religion / Nationalism	.431	.487	.472	.439	.243
CFI	0.952	0.947	0.938	0.961	0.963
RMSEA	0.054	0.056	0.067	0.043	0.053
Robust CFI	0.932	0.929	0.943	0.958	0.960
Robust RMSEA	0.054	0.044	0.057	0.042	0.050
Religion/Nationalism	.399	.577	.607	.246	.195
CFI	0.948	0.931	0.936	0.946	0.959
RMSEA	0.056	0.064	0.067	0.051	0.052
Robust CFI	0.927	0.905	0.941	0.942	0.958
Robust RMSEA	0.054	0.050	0.057	0.049	0.051

Religion Second order factor [Belief, Behaviour, Experience]

Nationalism Second order factor [Idea of Nation & View of History]

Ethnocentrism Second order factor [Attitude towards group & Accept in one's place of living] Solution 2; Ethnocentrism included in Nationalism

When replicating the first model, understanding ethnocentrism as a second order factor, the same pattern emerges, although the strength of individual associations may change. The difference between the respondents in Bosnia and those in Croatia and Serbia persists, and in one case, among Serbs in Bosnia, the relation between religion and ethnocentrism is more pronounced. Further, the relevant indices are generally high, and it is interesting that now the three-factor solution is slightly better than the two-factor model. Our initial model does seem to make sense, but the RMSEA values are lower in the modified alternative.

Concluding Remarks

The analysis has shown that both religion and nationalism may be reproduced as a set of distinct first-order factors, and that a second-order factor model is possible. Especially three findings are interesting. On the one hand it is possible within the structure of nationalism to find a dimension expressing a specific self-image related to the process of nation-building in the Balkans. This syndrome is the same regardless of cultural or religious background and may be explained according to both social identity theory and Gellner's structural view on nationalism. On the other hand, the association between religion and nationalism, or religion and ethnic distance is generally weaker than sometimes supposed, although Bosnia and Hercegovina constitutes a special case. This illustrates the differences between formal religious identity (and the role it has played historically) and actual religiosity. Third, the question of whether to regard ethnocentrism as independent from or integral to nationalism, remains at least partly open.

Obviously much depends on how the latent constructs are measured. This is true not only of ethnocentrism, but also of religion and nationalism. Except the choice of indicators, there is also the issue of dimensions. The present approach was comparative, trying to use the same items to study different groups. This may not be optimal, since characteristic features of, for example, a religious tradition, are not accounted for, or certain aspects may be simplified. In other words, it would be fruitful, on the one hand, to include specific cultural traits, and on the other, to allow for more

indicators/dimensions. For example, religion might include a political and a moral dimension, and nationalism might incorporate the salience of ethnicity and more elaborated aspects of identity and politics.

Ultimately, these issues are related to theory, especially the question whether nationalism *per se* should be treated as a negative phenomenon (Kedourie 1993) or as an inherent feature of modern society (Gellner 1983) which may potentially, but not necessarily, produce serious tensions and conflicts. In a social psychological perspective any type of collective identity, social, political, or religious may, in principle, have opposite effects on society.

It should, finally, be remembered that the results do not concern the strength or prevalence of nationalism or ethnic distance as such. This is a study of how dimensions are *related*, how religion is *associated* with other factors. The case of Bosnia shows that there may be a high or low degree of ethnic distance regardless of the relations between ethnocentrism, nationalism, and religion.

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Table 5. Bosniaks Bosnia: Factor Structures and Goodness of Fit Measures

Bosniaks Bosnia		F1	
		Nationalism	
Q51B	Every people should have its own state	.628	
Q51C	All members of a nation should live in the same state	.710	
Q52A	My people has only conducted defensive wars		
Q52B	My people has suffered more throughout history than others		
Q52C	My people not perfect but its cultural tradition is superior		
Q73A	Belief in God		
Q74	Believer – Atheist		
Q75	Security of belief		
Q79	Belief in Jesus as Son of God/Muhammad Messenger of God		
Q71	Attendance weekly religious service		
Q81	Individual prayer outside religious service		
Q82A	Fasting during Ramadan / before Easter		
Q87	Reading the Bible / the Quran		
Q77A	Experience of divine presence during ritual		
Q77B	Experience of divine presence when praying alone		
Q77C	Experience of divine presence in nature		
SDCROATS	Ethnic Distance Croats		
SDSERBS	Ethnic Distance Serbs		
	First Order Factors		Second Order Factors
F1	Nationalism	.695	F7 Nationalism
F2	Self Image/View of History	.705	F7 Nationalism
F3	Religious Belief	.703	F8 Religion
F4	Religious Ritual	.985	F8 Religion
F5	Religious Experience	.756	F8 Religion
F6	Ethnic Distance		
	CFI = 0.961	RMSEA	0.050
robust	CFI = 0.961	RMSEA	0.041

F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
Self Image/ View of History	Religious Belief	Religious Ritual	Religious Experience	Ethnic Distance
.515				
.759				
.703				
	.785			
	.893			
	.952			
	.660			
		.700		
		.821		
		.723		
		.641		
			.864	
			.889	
			.599	
				.881
				.783

Correlation, Nationalism, Religion, Ethnic Distance

	Nationalism	Religion	
Nationalism			
Religion	.590		
Ethnocentrism	.794	.569	

90 % confidence interval of RMSEA (0.045 – 0.055)

90 % confidence interval of RMSEA (0.036-0.046)

Table 6. Croats Bosnia: Factor Structures and Goodness of Fit Measures

		Croats Bosnia		F1
				Nationalism
Q51B	Every people should have its own state			.745
Q51C	All members of a nation should live in the same state			.809
Q52A	My people has only conducted defensive wars			
Q52B	My people has suffered more throughout history than others			
Q52C	My people not perfect but its cultural tradition is superior			
Q73A	Belief in God			
Q74	Believer – Atheist			
Q75	Security of belief			
Q79	Belief in Jesus as Son of God/Muhammad Messenger of God			
Q71	Attendance weekly religious service			
Q81	Individual prayer outside religious service			
Q82A	Fasting during Ramadan / before Easter			
Q87	Reading the Bible / the Quran			
Q77A	Experience of divine presence during ritual			
Q77B	Experience of divine presence when praying alone			
Q77C	Experience of divine presence in nature			
SDMUSLIM	Ethnic Distance Croats			
SDSERBS	Ethnic Distance Serbs			
	First Order Factors		Second Order Factors	
F1	Nationalism	.875	F7	Nationalism
F2	Self Image/View of History	.599	F7	Nationalism
F3	Religious Belief	.805	F8	Religion
F4	Religious Ritual	.958	F8	Religion
F5	Religious Experience	.611	F8	Religion
F6	Ethnic Distance			
	CFI = 0.956	RMSEA	0.054	
Robust	CFI = 0.946	RMSEA	0.037	

F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
Self Image/ View of History	Religious Belief	Religious Ritual	Religious Experience	Ethnic Distance
.724				
.853				
.650				
	.774			
	.807			
	.878			
	.587			
		.608		
		.683		
		.675		
		.-		
			.755	
			.755	
			-	
				.765
				.962
Correlation, Nationalism, Religion, Ethnic Distance				
		Nationalism	Religion	
Nationalism				
Religion		.499		
Ethnocentrism		.469	.415	
90 % confidence interval of RMSEA (0.048 – 0.060)				
90 % confidence interval of RMSEA (0.030 – 0.043)				

Table 7. Serbs Bosnia: Factor Structures and Goodness of Fit Measures

		Serbs Bosnia		F1
				Nationalism
Q51B	Every people should have its own state			.808
Q51C	All members of a nation should live in the same state			.679
Q52A	My people has only conducted defensive wars			
Q52B	My people has suffered more throughout history than others			
Q52C	My people not perfect but its cultural tradition is superior			
Q73A	Belief in God			
Q74	Believer – Atheist			
Q75	Security of belief			
Q79	Belief in Jesus as Son of God/Muhammad Messenger of God			
Q71	Attendance weekly religious service			
Q81	Individual prayer outside religious service			
Q82A	Fasting during Ramadan / before Easter			
[Q87]	Reading the Bible / the Quran			
Q77A	Experience of divine presence during ritual			
Q77B	Experience of divine presence when praying alone			
[Q77C]	Experience of divine presence in nature			
SDCROATS	Ethnic Distance Croats			
SDMUSLIM	Ethnic Distance Muslims			
	First Order Factors		Second Order Factors	
F1	Nationalism	.676	F7	Nationalism
F2	Self Image/ View of History	.376	F7	Nationalism
F3	Religious Belief	.837	F8	Religion
F4	Religious Ritual	.947	F8	Religion
F5	Religious Experience	.776	F8	Religion
F6	Ethnic Dis- tance			
	CFI = 0.930	RMSEA	0.074	
Robust	CFI = 0.937	RMSEA	0.058	

F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
Self Image/View of History	Religious Belief	Religious Ritual	Religious Experience	Ethnic Distance
.701				
.698				
.696				
	.751			
	.851			
	.932			
	.571			
		.702		
		.800		
		.673		
		-		
			.858	
			.728	
			.-	
				.810
				.921

Correlation, Nationalism, Religion, Ethnic Distance

	Nationalism	Religion	
Nationalism			
Religion	.506		
Ethnocentrism	.602	.420	

90 % confidence interval RMSEA (0.068 – 0.079)

90 % confidence interval RMSEA (0.052 – 0.064)

Table 8. Croats Croatia: Factor Structures and Goodness of Fit Measures

		Croats Croatia		F1
				Nationalism
Q51B	Every people should have its own state			.600
Q51C	All members of a nation should live in the same state			.591
Q52A	My people has only conducted defensive wars			
Q52B	My people has suffered more throughout history than others			
Q52C	My people not perfect but its cultural tradition is superior			
Q73A	Belief in God			
Q74	Believer – Atheist			
Q75	Security of belief			
Q79	Belief in Jesus as Son of God /Muhammad Messenger of God			
Q71	Attendance weekly religious service			
Q81	Individual prayer outside religious service			
Q82A	Fasting during Ramadan / before Easter			
Q87	Reading the Bible / the Quran			
Q77A	Experience of divine presence during ritual			
Q77B	Experience of divine presence when praying alone			
Q77C	Experience of divine presence in nature			
SDSERBS	Ethnic Distance Serbs			
SDMUSLIM	Ethnic Distance Muslims			
	First Order Factors		Second Order Factors	
F1	Nationalism	.710	F7	Nationalism
F2	Self Image/View of History	.787	F7	Nationalism
F3	Religious Belief	.803	F8	Religion
F4	Religious Ritual	1.000	F8	Religion
F5	Religious Experience	.669	F8	Religion
F6	Ethnic Distance			
	CFI = 0.961	RMSEA	0.049	
Robust	CFI = 0.963	RMSEA	0.043	

F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
Self Image/ View of History	Religious Belief	Religious Ritual	Religious Experience	Ethnic Distance
.611				
.795				
.715				
	.683			
	.804			
	.857			
	.608			
		.656		
		.790		
		.494		
		-		
			.778	
			.845	
			-	
				.727
				1.000

Correlation, Nationalism, Religion, Ethnic Distance

	Nationalism	Religion	
Nationalism			
Religion	.477		
Ethnocentrism	.454	.195	

90 % confidence interval of RMSEA (0.045 – 0.053)

90 % confidence interval of RMSEA (0.039 – 0.047)

Table 9. Serbs Serbia: Factor Structures and Goodness of Fit Measures

	Serbs Serbia		F1	
			Nationalism	
Q51B	Every people should have its own state		.615	
Q51C	All members of a nation should live in the same state		.878	
Q52A	My people has only conducted defensive wars			
Q52B	My people has suffered more throughout history than others			
Q52C	My people not perfect but its cultural tradition is superior			
Q73A	Belief in God			
Q74	Believer – Atheist			
Q75	Security of belief			
Q79	Belief in Jesus as Son of God / Muhammad Messenger of God			
Q71	Attendance weekly religious service			
Q81	Individual prayer outside religious service			
Q82A	Fasting during Ramadan / before Easter			
Q87	Reading the Bible / the Quran			
Q77A	Experience of divine presence during ritual			
Q77B	Experience of divine presence when praying alone			
Q77C	Experience of divine presence in nature			
SDCROATS	Ethnic Distance Croats			
SDMUSLIM	Ethnic Distance Muslims			
	First Order Factors		Second Order Factors	
F1	Nationalism	.541	F7	Nationalism
F2	Self Image/View of History	.669	F7	Nationalism
F3	Religious Belief	.862	F8	Religion
F4	Religious Ritual	.996	F8	Religion
F5	Religious Experience	.856	F8	Religion
F6	Ethnic Distance			
	CFI = 0.957	RMSEA	0.053	
Robust	CFI = 0.966	RMSEA	0.041	

F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
Self Image/ View of History	Religious Belief	Religious Ritual	Religious Experience	Ethnic Distance
.554				
.827				
.773				
	.797			
	.836			
	.937			
	.597			
		.643		
		.810		
		.569		
		.509		
			.777	
			.786	
			.562	
				.996
				.826

Correlation, Nationalism, Religion, Ethnic Distance			
	Nationalism	Religion	
Nationalism			
Religion	.163		
Ethnocentrism	.646	.095	

90 % confidence interval of RMSEA (0.049 – 0.056)

90 % confidence interval of RNSEA (0.037 – 0.045)

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Contents

- 6**
Mirko Blagojević
Introduction: Religious Change –
Traditional and Non-traditional Religiosity
- 12**
Dragoljub B. Đorđević
New Religious Movements: Typical
Characteristics of a Cult
- 26**
Mijo Nikić, Marina Jurčić
The Challenge of New Religiosity
- 54**
Dragan Todorović
Pentecostalism in Southeastern Serbia
- 76**
Yuri Stoyanov
Contemporary Alavi and Bektashi
Religiosity in Turkey and Balkans-
Traditional Forms and Postmodern
Expressions
- 96**
Vladislav Yeryomin
Concepts of the Unity of Religions in the
Teachings of New Age and the
Traditionalism of R. Guénon
- 114**
Vladimir Bakrač, Predrag Živković, Emil
Hilton Saggau
Some Sociological Aspects of Religiosity
(Religiosity in Contemporary Societies
Between Neo-liberalism and Globalization)
- 136**
Zora Hesová
The Paradoxes of a Return of Religion to
Public Debates and Political Discourses
- 156**
Kjell Magnusson
Religion and Nationalism in Bosnia,
Croatia and Serbia – A Structural Equation
Model
- 184**
Nada Novaković, Marijana Maksimović
Social Development, Traditional Religion
Movements and Migrants in Europe
- 206**
Nataša Jovanović Ajzenhamer
Max Weber on Russia and Orthodoxy: An
Analysis of the Collectivist Ethical Basis of
Eastern Christianity
- 226**
Ольга Смолина
Культурологические проблемы
религиозной жизни украинских земель
В X – XVII вв.
- 248**
Vladimir Mentus
Religiosity and Life Satisfaction in
Economically Developed European
Countries
- 262**
Neven Cvetičanin, Ivana Arsić
New Religiosity, Postmodern Age and
Post-materialistic Values
- 276**
Златко Матич
Пост-традиционное христианство:
православная церковь между
ностальгией и антиципацией

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