

MODERNIZATION, SOCIAL CLEAVAGE, AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION

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The purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between political integration and social cleavage structure. It reviews major theoretical perspectives and then suggests a modified explanation of social cleavage and its political implications. This study finds that regionalized social cleavage is responsible for such historical events as internal wars and separations, which are an extreme form of political disintegration. By applying the pooled cross-section time-series design to longitudinal data, it also finds that the major factors of political disintegration are regionalized cleavage, minority rule, and political discrimination. In addition, economic growth clearly interacts with the regional patterns of social cleavage.

This paper has several implications for future studies. Studies of political integration should explicitly take into account the regional patterns of social cleavage. Regionalized cleavage not only affects integration directly, but it also interacts with other factors. Therefore, future studies should not assume that many factors mentioned in literature would have an additive effect.

INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between political integration and social cleavage. More specifically, it explores the following three questions: What impact does the existence of social subgroups such as racial, linguistic, or religious groups have on the integration of a society? In what way do other factors including modernization affect integration? Finally, how is the relationship between integration and other factors modified by the existing cleavage structure? In order to answer the research questions, one needs a general theoretical scheme that can explain political integration.

Existing theories relating underlying social cleavages to integration can be grouped roughly into the following four categories: modernization theories, primordial explanation, economic explanation, and political explanation. This paper will examine the above theoretical views and then suggest a modified explanation of social cleavage and its political implications.

MAJOR THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Modernization, Differentiation, and Universalism

An important proposition of the modernization paradigm is that the various process of modernization — economic development, urbanization, structural differentiation, and increased contact and communication — would eventually lead to societal assimilation and political integration. Modernization theory posits that the forces of modernization have a converging effect in shaping heterogeneous subgroups within a society into a nation. As a result, modernization may reduce group distinction and produce a stable modern society.

This view came from two different disciplines: sociology and political science. While both disciplines expect the convergence toward societal assimilation and political integration, they differ in the following manner. Sociological research emphasizes how the universalistic character of industrialization affects individuals' beliefs, values and behaviors, and mainly deals with the convergence across societies. It focuses on structural differentiation as a source of convergence. Political science, on the other hand, examines convergence within a political community, and emphasizes the way in which different subgroups converge in the social, political, occupational, and educational dimensions.

The political approach, whose major proponent is Karl Deutsch, focuses on the effect of modernization on subgroup solidarity and political community. According to Deutsch (1953, 1961, 1966, 1973), subgroup identity withers away as modernization proceeds in the form of economic development, urbanization, and mass communication and contact. The process of modernization gives rise to mobilization of large segments of the population which, in turn, increases the likelihood and the speed of assimilation. This mobilization has two distinct stages (1961). The first stage is the uprooting or breaking away from old settings, habits, and commitment. The second stage is the induction of the mobilized people into a stable and new patterns of group membership, organization, and commitment. People undergo changes of occupation, of social relation, and of institutions, and become open to new patterns of group affiliation and personal identity. These processes, according to Deutsch, lead away from the parochialism of traditional culture to the integration of the supralocal and national states. Thus, the ultimate consequence of modernization is seen as political integration.

The convergence thesis from sociological tradition posits that societies converge as they are industrialized (Eisenstadt 1964, 1966, 1973; Inkeles 1960, 1966, 1969, 1978; Moore 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966; Smelser 1959, 1964, 1966,

1973). According to it, industrialization produces common forms of social structure, and those structures, in turn, bring about a similar pattern of values, beliefs, and thoughts. Even members of diverse groups share a similar structure of attitude and values, which is designated as "individual modernity syndrome" by Inkeles and Smith (1974). Modernity has the following traits: openness to new experience and knowledge; orientation to the present or the future rather than the past; and emphasis on national affairs over purely subgroup affairs. Members of modern societies lack such traits as passive acceptance of fate, dependence on traditional authority, and exclusive identification with local and parochial primary groups.

Inkeles (1978) thus asserts that the industrial societies are converging on similar social structures, institutional forms, administrative practices, interpersonal relations, and social values. This societal convergence provides an essential condition for integrating various members that was lacking previously. Thus political alliance is possible between diverse social groups, and the state may bring them under one administration. Like political scientists, sociologists expect the emergence of a differentiated and integrated modern society.

Primordial Ties and Attachment

Several other theories have challenged the major thrust of the modernization perspectives. Contrary to modernization thesis, primordial explanation directs its attention to the persistence of subnational groups and its negative impact on internal integration. The concept of primordialism, firstly introduced by Shils (1957), was characterized by a state of intense and comprehensive solidarity, passion, and sacredness. Primordial ties and social cleavage based on these ties are seen as a major obstacle to internal unity, and thereby political integration (Geertz 1963; Glazer and Moynihan 1970; Connor 1967, 1969, 1972, 1973, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1984; Cheung 1979; Horowitz 1985).

The existence of diverse subnational groups is seen as a conspicuous feature of many societies. The patterns of diversity and cleavage within the existing countries are "givens" of social existence which have an ineffable coerciveness in and of themselves (Geertz 1963). According to Connor (1978), multi-ethnic states at all levels of modernization have suffered from ethnic unrest. About half of the independent countries of the world have been troubled in recent years from some degree of subnational movement. In fact, primordial ties and social cleavage are a powerful source of division and conflict both in developing societies and in industrial ones (Glazer and Moynihan 1970).

This perspective sees such groups as racial or religious groups more persis-

tent and stronger than any other kinds of economic groups. Economic dissatisfaction could threaten revolution but primordial discontent based on race, language, or culture could threaten partition or a change of the boundary of the state (Geertz 1963). Because the subnational groups of culturally heterogeneous societies have various ideologies, political integration of such societies is a remote goal (Cheung 1979). Political effort to foster a sense of national identity among citizens have often been threatened by such primordial attachment to subnational groups. This perspective implies that the more heterogeneous a society is, the less its internal integration and the lower its political stability becomes. This is the reason why a homogeneous country tends to be stable politically than a multi-lingual stage.

While the modernization thesis proposes that modernization leads to lessening of subgroup consciousness, primordial explanation argues that linguistic, religious, or racial subgroups have not disappeared in the process of modernization and that multi-ethnic states at all levels of modernization have suffered from primordial attachment; rather, it is the process of modernization that stimulates sentiments of parochialism, communalism, racialism, and so on.

Economic Inequality and Discrimination

There has recently been a trend away from both the primordial explanation and the modernization thesis toward a more dynamic perspective which stresses the pattern of distribution of scarce resources. Several theorists have examined economic structures and processes in the explanation of subgroup solidarity and conflict (Gurr 1969, 1970, 1980; Doeringer and Piore 1971; Bonacich 1972, 1975, 1979; Hechter 1971, 1974, 1975, 1978, 1982). The major argument of this perspective is that internal division and violent confrontation among subnational groups are not the result of primordial ties, but are natural responses of depressed groups to differential development and unequal access to jobs, incomes, and opportunities.

This perspective sees economic inequality and discrimination as crucial in the explanation of inter-group relations in a society. According to this explanation, some groups are simply not integrated and their division and inter-group conflict are the result of exclusion and exploitation. Cooperation, domination, and severe conflict all characterize inter-group relations and are dependent on economic inequality and discrimination. In short, the differential distribution of economic resources is the crucial factor for the rise and intensification of group conflict in multi-ethnic societies.

Two major theories in this tradition are labor market theory and cultural division of labor. Bonacich's labor market research (1972, 1975, 1979) prop-

oses that subgroup division or conflict is likely to occur when some groups receive differential treatment in the same labor markets for the same jobs. Other labor market research (Doeringer and Piore 1971; Reich *et al.* 1973; Piore 1979; Edward 1979) posits that the existence of dual labor markets has direct implications for the theoretical questions asked here. The research assumes that some groups are concentrated in the secondary labor market, which is unstable and less rewarded. To the extent that ethnic group members are concentrated in the secondary labor market, group conflict and separatist tendency are likely to occur (Grove 1978).

The situation becomes complex in the face of rapid economic development. The accelerated modernization often tends to highlight the distinction among subnational groups in acquiring income and other resources. Despite the objective improvement of overall economic life, the relative position of some minority group does not change, and often the gap between the group and the wealthier one is increased. The outcome is that the group feels victimized and becomes more conscious of its separate identity. Such realization often becomes a motivating force for the group to engage in political mobilization to demand cultural, economic, and ultimately political separation (Cross 1978).

This point is well addressed by Hechter (1974, 1975) in explaining cultural division of labor in modern society. Cultural division of labor exists when various ethnic groups are segregated into various occupational niches. Ethnic solidarity or conflict is likely to occur if the core group monopolizes economic advantages and discriminates against minor groups (Hechter 1982; Banton 1983).

Political Discrimination and Recognition

Other perspectives have emphasized the importance of politics in explaining inter-group relations in a modern society (Lipset 1960, 1963; Lipset and Rokkan 1967; Morrison and Stevenson 1972; Steiner and Obler 1975; James 1982, 1985). Like the economic perspective, the political explanation sees group relations as largely determined by political interest rather than simply by primordial sentiments. Stressing the increased role and the capacity of politics, this explanation has examined the political discrimination as a major source of inter-group conflict, and political pluralism as a mechanism to absorb group conflict.

Political discrimination may be a fertile ground for extreme discontent especially among elites of the discriminated group. Discrimination here means the structural exclusion of some groups from decision-making positions, which is crucial to subgroup interests. Kasfir (1977), Lutchman (1972), and Schwartz

(1975) all demonstrate how political discrimination leads to a severe confrontation between subgroups.

While some students examine the impact of political discrimination on inter-group conflict, others, often called ethnic pluralists, emphasize the type of government as a mechanism for managing inter-group conflict arising out of linguistic, religious or other cultural division of a society (Lijphart 1969, 1977; Barry 1975; Enloe 1977, 1978, 1980, 1981; Young 1976, 1982; Horowitz 1985). The ethnic pluralists' definition of "plural society" is a society divided by segmental cleavages. The essence of ethnic pluralism is political recognition of subnational groups. Lijphart's discussion of consociational democracy outlines several characteristics of pluralism. The first characteristic is the government by a coalition of the political leaders of all segments of a society. The second characteristic is a high degree of autonomy for each subgroup in running its own internal affairs. An empirical form of consociational politics may be the federal system, which grants not only autonomy to constituent parts of the country but also overrepresentation of the smaller groups in the federal chamber.

The ethnic pluralist position is well summarized by Horowitz's discussion of mechanisms to reduce subgroup conflict. First, there is federalism. Second, through such means as devolution of power and reservation of offices on an ethnic basis, intra-ethnic conflict may be fostered, thus reducing the energy available for inter-group conflict. Third, inducements may be generated for inter-group cooperation, as in electoral coalitions. Fourth, political policies can encourage alignments based on interests other than ethnicity, such as class or territory. This follows from the thesis that cross-cutting cleavages reduce the intensity of conflict. Finally, disparities between groups can be reduced so that dissatisfaction declines.

Criticism and Alternative Explanation

I have examined major theoretical perspectives concerning political integration and social cleavage. The modernization perspective is characterized by the unquestioned expectation of national integration and political stability as a consequence of modernization. Primordial perspective emphasizes the enduring importance of primordial ties and social cleavages in national politics regardless of the level of modernization. The other two perspectives complement the primordial perspective by focusing on the economic and political inequalities among subnational groups.

Previous studies seem to have several limitations. First of all, they make unrealistic assumptions about the role of underlying social cleavage. While the modernization perspective assumes that subnational groups are dimi-

nishing, the primordial perspective assumes that social cleavage based on primordial ties is the sole threat to the internal integration of a political community. It is the contention of this research that neither of these extreme positions is tenable.

Part of the reason for these extreme positions is that both studies fail to explicitly take the structural patterns of social cleavage into account, especially the regional patterns and the relative strength of social cleavage. A regionalized subgroup itself may have several implications for the political system. Members of a regionalized subgroup are more likely than those of an unregionalized one to have a common interest and outlook because of their closeness and similarity. They could maintain their group solidarity and easily launch a collective movement. On the other hand, members of an unregionalized subgroup are less likely to have a common interest or a collective opinion because of different memberships or life styles. In short, regionalized cleavage works as a major threat to political integration but an unregionalized one may not. This expectation superimposes Truman's (1951) and Bentley's overlapping memberships and the crosscutting cleavage proposition of Lipset (1960) and Lipset and Rokkan (1967). All these authors propose that the psychological cross-pressure resulting from different membership with diverse interests and outlooks leads to moderate attitudes. Overlapping membership or cross-cutting cleavage is more likely to occur when members of subgroups are regionally dispersed.

Second, the modernization effect may differ by the regional patterns of social cleavage. The expected effect of modernization may not be substantiated if a society consists of regionally dispersed groups. Integration of an unregionalized society may not significantly differ by the level of modernization because the society tends to be stable already. However, a regionalized society may be relatively unstable because the very existence of regionalized subgroups works as a threat to integration. Therefore, the expected integrating effect of modernization seems to exist only in regionalized societies. In addition, the proportional distribution of power to diverse subgroups will be essential for the integration of a society. A society tends to be less integrated if a numerical minority group dominates.

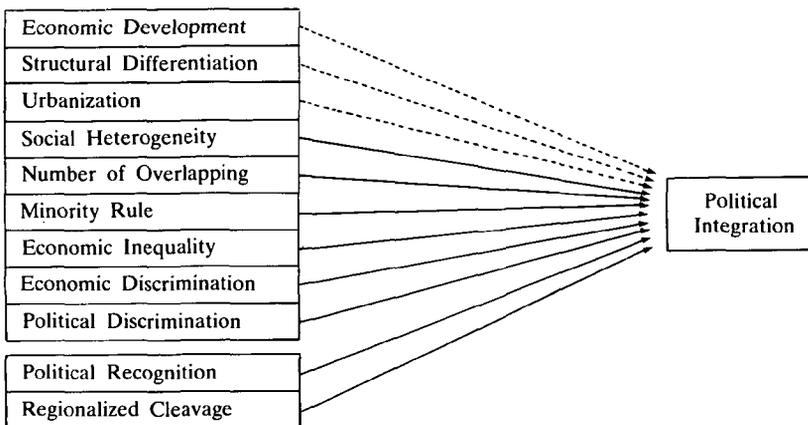
Third, although many factors affecting political integration are introduced in literature, they are not examined together: few analyses tend to be multivariate. This research suggests that one need a multivariate analysis.

Fourth, most previous studies of the relationship between political integration and social cleavage focus on recent events or rely on cross-sectional data (see Connor 1974; Gurr 1969). Both recent events and cross-sectional data have limitations. Studies based on recent events cannot always capture the long-term trends of political integration. Such events as divisions and inter-

nal wars are critical cases but are often omitted. Cross-sectional data at one time-point not only eliminate much variance in modernization variables but also fail to provide the degree of freedom necessary for a multivariate analysis. To overcome the limitations, we need both a historical analysis and pooled cross-sectional time-series data.

The review of literature has shown that each theory has a limited usefulness in explaining political integration. Based on the discussion so far, the following theoretical expectations are derived. As expected, modernization processes such as economic development, urbanization, and structural differentiation may affect political integration but their effect may differ by the regional patterns of subgroups. Like primordial explanations, social heterogeneity or diversity could be a threat to integration. But the existence of diverse subgroups itself is not. Subgroups may be a source of disintegration if their division lines are clear and cumulative. Economic variables such as inequality and discrimination may affect political integration. Political discrimination may decrease integration, but the political recognition of subgroups through the government system may increase integration.

Following are the schematic representations of the analysis model derived from the theoretical expectations discussed so far. Figure 1 presents the possible causal linkages between a set of independent variables and a dependent variable. This figure is unidirectional with no feedback loops between variables. Political integration is a function of economic development, structural differentiation, urbanization, social heterogeneity, the number of overlapping division lines, minority rule, economic inequality, economic discrimination, political discrimination, political recognition, and regionalized cleavage,



Note: The dotted line implies a different relationship by the regional patterns of societies.

FIGURE 1. MODEL OF POLITICAL INTEGRATION

political discrimination, and political recognition of subgroup. The dotted lines between two variables imply a different relationship by the regional patterns of subgroups. Following the discussions, themes and theory, this paper will focus on empirical analysis, which consists of a preliminary analysis dealing with historical context and background materials and a multivariate analysis using recent data at three time-points from 1965 to 1980.

ESTIMATION TECHNIQUE, MEASUREMENT, AND DATA SOURCES

Scope and Estimation Technique

The scope of this research is all sovereign nations of the world. According to the information in *Political Handbook of the World* (1988), there are 169 independent countries in the world. Out of these countries, historical data are available for 152 countries and complete information on all variables is obtained for 65 countries at three time-points. The 152 countries constitute the object of historical analysis. The information for 65 countries is utilized in a multivariate analysis.

The pooled cross-sectional time-series data provide a sample size of 195, large enough for a multivariate analysis. However, the use of pooled cross-sectional time-series data means the sample units are no longer independent and the model errors may be correlated. Furthermore, because of different population sizes and measurement techniques, each nation may not have a constant error variance. With these problems of serial correlation and of heteroscedasticity of the errors, ordinary least square estimates are unbiased but inefficient without a lagged dependent variable. Unless adjustments are made, serial correlation in the OLS residuals means the degree of freedom is overestimated because of time redundancy. Heteroscedasticity underestimates error of nations with large errors and overestimates it for nations with small errors. Although these create problems in estimation of standard error, they may have more serious effect — both bias and inefficiency — in the presence of a lagged variable.

To deal with these problems, generalized least square estimates are obtained by applying the cross-sectional time-series design. In effect, the procedure subtracts out overtime redundancy in the variable so that each time-point achieves independence from the others, and weighs nations in inverse proportion to their error variance.

Variable Measurement

The literature review indicates that complex processes determine political

integration. Thus we must explain technical details of measurement for a large number of variables. For several variables, a summary of standard operationalization used in most previous research is sufficient. Economic development is measured by real gross domestic income per capita (RGDP) in U.S. dollars of 1975 international prices. Urbanization is measured by the percentage of urban population in a country. Structural differentiation is measured indirectly by the percentage of persons employed in the non-agricultural sector. economic inequality is measured by the percentage of national income attained by the richest 10 percent of the total population. Economic discrimination is defined as the deliberate and invidious exclusion of a social group from some desired economic goods because of the group's ascribed status. An ordinal scale is used to measure economic discrimination from scale 0 for no economic discrimination to scale 4 for extreme economic discrimination. Political discrimination is measured by a similar method.

Political recognition of subgroups is directly related to the government system. The government system differs by the degree of political power given to local government. It is initially classified as follows; federal system with explicit pluralism, federal system without it, centralized system without forced assimilation policies, and centralized system with them. Both federal systems produce no difference in integration variable in preliminary data analysis. The government system is thus ranked as follows; 3 for federal system, 2 for nonfederal system without forced assimilation policies, and 1 for nonfederal system with them.

The identification of regionalized cleavage, the number of overlapping division lines of subgroups, and the diversity or heterogeneity is crucial in this research. To identify regionalized cleavage, countries are classified into four groups — countries without regionalized subgroups, countries with small regionalized subgroups (less than 5 percent of total population), countries with small groups divided along urban or rural boundaries, and countries with clear regionalized subgroups (more than 5 percent of total population constituting more than half of the population in a given region). A preliminary data analysis indicates that there is a big difference in integration variable between the countries with clear regionalized subgroups and other countries. For this reason, analysis is based on a dichotomy, countries with clear regionalized subgroups and other countries.

The sources of cleavage differ from society to society according to its religion, language, race, or culture. Each country is examined carefully whether its population is divided along the cleavage line. Next, each country is checked whether a subgroup in the source of cleavage is identical to subgroups in other sources of cleavage. Finally, the number of overlapping division lines is counted. For example, if French Canadians are mostly Catholics

and speak French, then the number of overlapping division-lines is three. To measure the heterogeneity, this research utilizes the index of ethnic and linguistic fractionalization. It is also needed to identify whether a minority subgroup dominates or not. All countries are classified into two groups — countries with minority rule and other countries. Political integration is defined as the degree of cohesion that binds members of a social system together (Morrison and Stevenson 1972). Political integration is measured by the separatism index which ranks all countries from scale 5 for the nation with strong separatism to scale 0 for the nations with no separatism at all.

Sources of Data

Data are collected from various sources. Basic information on linguistic, racial, and religious subgroups is collected from *Worldmark Encyclopedia of the Nations* (1988), *Political Handbook of the World* (1988), and *Countries of the World and Their Leaders Year Book* (1989). Index of ethnic and linguistic fractionalization is obtained from *Compendium of Data for World System Analysis* (1979). Government system is classified on the basis of information in *Political Handbook of the World* (1988). Separatism index is obtained from *The World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators III* (1983) for 1965 and 1975 and from *The New States of the World Atlas* (1984) for 1980. Indices of economic discrimination and political discrimination are collected from *The World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators III* (1983). Real gross domestic income per capita (RGDP) is obtainable from *Review of Income in Statistics* (1984). Percentage of urban population and of total income going to the top ten percent are collected from *World Table* (1983) and *Compendium of Data for World System Analysis* (1979) respectively.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Background and Historical Contexts

As mentioned earlier, it is necessary to examine the historical context — the birth of a new nation, division, and internal wars in the past which have some implications for the current state of affairs. We have witnessed a massive wave of independence since 1900. One hundred and seventeen countries gained independence from 1900 to the 1980s. This research includes all these newly independent countries in the historical analysis but not in multivariate analysis. Many critical cases have to be excluded because of the lack of data. They are Afghanistan, Angola, Bangladesh, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Fiji, Guyana, Iran, Nigeria, Somalia, and Zaire. Exclusion of these cases tends to dilute the

TABLE 1. THE BIVARIATE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTERNAL WAR AND REGIONAL PATTERNS OF SOCIAL CLEAVAGE STRUCTURE

Internal War	Regionalized Cleavage	No Regionalized Cleavage
Occurred	16 (18.8%)	5 (7.5%)
Not Occurred	69 (81.2%)	62 (92.5%)
Total	85(100.0%)	67(100.0%)

$$\chi^2 = 53.94, df = 1, P < .01.$$

potential effect of social cleavage. Therefore, one should not rely solely on the statistics based on multivariate analysis to be presented.

Large-scale internal wars occurred in 20 countries since 1900. The countries are: Afghanistan, Angola, Burundi, Chad, China, Congo, El-Salvador, Ethiopia, Kampuchea, Lebanon, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Uganda, USSR, North Yemen, Yugoslavia, and Zaire. Out of these 20 countries, 6 countries have experienced two internal wars and eleven countries are still suffering from prolonged internal wars. All but the wars in three countries are direct results of subgroup conflicts. Other twenty-two countries have suffered either from local armed struggles or from frequent violence.

It was anticipated earlier that regionalized subgroups might work as a threat to political integration. Such historical events as divisions and internal wars are more likely to occur in societies with regionalized cleavage structures than in other societies. The relationship between internal wars and cleavage structures confirms our expectation shown in Table 1. The first row of the table shows that 16 out of 21 internal wars occurred in regionalized societies where subgroups are regionally segregated while only 5 internal wars occurred in other societies. This means 18.8% of regionalized societies suffered from internal wars while 7.5% of unregionalized societies did. Internal wars have been more likely to occur in regionalized societies.

It is necessary to discuss in detail the nature of internal wars because the table may distort the real relationship. Three internal wars which occurred in regionalized societies were not necessarily related to subgroup conflicts. They reflect ideological conflicts in China from 1927 to 1949, in Spain from 1936 to 1939, and in Soviet Union from 1917 to 1918. All internal wars but one in unregionalized societies originated from ideological conflicts. An exceptional case is the conflict between a dominant minority and a subordinate majority in Burundi. After taking these cases into account, I classified internal wars into ideological internal wars and internal wars between subgroups. As seen in Table 2, ideological wars occurred almost equally in both types of societies. However, a clear difference exists in the occurrence of inter-

TABLE 2. THE BIVARIATE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NATURE OF INTERNAL WAR AND THE REGIONAL PATTERNS OF SOCIAL CLEAVAGE STRUCTURE

Nature of Internal War	Regionalized Cleavage	No Regionalized Cleavage
Ideological Internal War	3 (3.5%)	4 (6.0%)
Internal War between Subgroups	13 (15.3%)	1 (1.5%)
Not Occurred	69 (81.2%)	62 (92.5%)
Total	85(100.0%)	67(100.0%)

$\chi^2 = 128$, $df = 2$, $P < .01$.

subgroup internal wars between the two types of societies. Inter-subgroup internal wars occurred more frequently in the regionalized society than in other type of society.

Historically, 18 countries became independent through the division of existing countries. While 3 countries — China, Germany, and Korea — were divided because of ideological conflicts after World War II, fifteen countries gained independence by separating as the result of severe conflicts between subgroups. The countries are: Albania from Turkey in 1912; Bangladesh from Parkistan in 1972; Belgium from the Netherlands in 1830; Bulgaria from Turkey in 1904; Turkish Cyprus from Cyprus in 1975; Czechoslovakia from Austria in 1918; Finland from Russia in 1917; Hungary from Austria in 1926; Iceland from Denmark in 1944; Ireland from the United Kingdom in 1921; Luxembourg from the Netherlands in 1867; Norway from Sweden in 1905; Pakistan from India in 1947; Rumania from Turkey in 1878; and Yugoslavia from Austria in 1918. Both new countries and mother countries have experienced a fundamental change in social cleavage structure.

In examining the relationship between division and regional patterns of social cleavage structures, the expectation is that division is more likely to occur in regionalized societies than in unregionalized societies. Table 3 demonstrates the result. Sixteen of 18 divisions occurred in regionalized societies and only 2 divisions occurred in unregionalized societies. That means 18.8% of regionalized societies experienced division but only 3% of unregionalized societies did. It is informative to examine exceptional cases. As mentioned, the division of Germany and Korea reflects neither internal conflict nor the demand of subgroups. It was simply imposed by the two super powers after World War II. The division of China was caused by an ideological conflict in a regionalized society. Except for the three cases, all the divisions occurred in regionalized societies.

We have thus far examined internal wars and divisions. Both internal wars

TABLE 3. THE BIVARIATE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DIVISION AND THE REGIONAL PATTERNS OF SOCIAL CLEAVAGE STRUCTURE

Division	Regionalized Cleavage	No Regionalized Cleavage
Not Occurred	69 (81.2%)	65 (92.5%)
Occurred	16 (18.8%)	2 (7.5%)
Total	85(100.0%)	67(100.0%)

$$\chi^2 = 8.49, df = 1, P < .01.$$

and divisions are closely related to the regional patterns of social cleavage. It becomes clear that historical events cannot be understood without considering social cleavage structures.

Multivariate Analysis of Integration

Sets of background information useful in understanding multivariate analysis are the distribution of key independent variables and the relationship between them. Out of 152 countries, 53 countries have two overlapping division lines and 28 countries have three overlapping division lines. Also, 72 countries have regionalized cleavage but 69 countries do not. Fifteen countries currently maintain a non-federal system with forced assimilation policies and 105 countries do not. Thirty-two countries maintain a federal system. Fourteen countries changed their government systems at least once. Eleven countries are controlled by a numerical minority group and others are not. For multivariate analysis, three time-points are pooled. It is necessary to test changes over time and the constancy over time. An examination of the residuals gives a rationale to use the result of a random effect model.

It is useful to present descriptive statistics and correlation coefficients of all independent variables with the dependent variable. Table 4 illustrates that time component of the data adds some variations to several variables. The means for 1965 and 1980 show that changes have occurred in RGDP, urbanization, and nonagricultural population. The bivariate correlations demonstrate that political integration is strongly correlated with most variables, especially with primordial variables. The correlations of the dependent variable with the three modernization variables are all above .5 and the correlation of the dependent variable with the regional cleavage is .76.

It was expected earlier that a substantial difference in political integration exist between the two types of society. The mean value of separatism for regionalized societies is 2.229 with the standard deviation of 1.294 and that for unregionalized societies is .051 with the standard deviation of .331. A clear difference exists in the mean values between the two types of society. A

TABLE 4. MEANS (ALL YEAR, 1965, AND 1980), STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES, AND THEIR CORRELATIONS WITH POLITICAL SEPARATISM

Variables included	Mean all	Sd.	Mean 65	Mean 80	Correlation with Separatism
Separatism	1.12	1.44	1.07	1.17	—
RGDP	5628	1951	2019	3145	-.36
% of Urban	51.9	22.7	47.2	55.6	-.41
% of Nonagri.	63.2	24.4	57.6	67.8	-.40
Regional Cleavage	.49	.50	.49	.49	.76
Fractional ^a	35.0	28.4	35.0	35.0	.54
Overlapping Line	1.70	.81	1.70	.11	.66
Minority Rule	.11	.31	.11	.11	.36
Economic Ineq. ^b	32.0	9.6	32.3	31.9	.11
Economic Discrim.	.99	1.17	1.00	.98	-.13
Political Discrim.	1.06	1.17	1.03	1.07	.10
Government System	2.19	.65	2.18	2.21	-.26

^adata for 1978, ^bdata for 1965-1980.

formal statistical test also confirms the difference. T-test result shows that there is a substantial difference in separatism at .001 level by the regional patterns of social cleavage.

The result of multivariate analysis is presented in Table 5. The table presents three different kinds of coefficients: OLS estimates in the first column and GLS estimates in the second and third columns. Some preliminary observations can be summarized as follows. First, GLS estimates downwardly bias the influence of most variables. The size of coefficients in the GLS model is smaller than that of coefficients in the OLS model. This is the expected result with the GLS adjustment. Second, although there are several differences between the two models, the basic pattern of coefficients of GLS model changes very little compared to that of the OLS model. Two coefficients change their directions in the GLS model, but they are small and insignificant. The only exception is that "economic discrimination," which is significant in the OLS model becomes insignificant in the GLS model. Third, to check the impact of multicollinearity, GLS estimates in the third column are obtained by adding one variable from a group to the equation with all remaining groups of variables. As seen in the third column, the coefficient of most variables slightly increases in the model, but there is no significant difference in the pattern of relationship. Therefore, the following interpretation is based on the GLS estimates in the second column.

In the theoretical consideration, the existence of regionalized subgroups was regarded as a potential threat to integration. As expected, regionalized

TABLE 5. GLS AND OLS ESTIMATES FOR THE MODEL OF POLITICAL INTEGRATION: 1965-1980

Independent Vars	OLS Estimates	GLS Estimates (1)	GLS Estimates (2)
RGDP	-.000 ¹	.000	.000
	-.078 ²	.035	.045
% of Urban	-.005	-.005	-.001
	-.081	-.030	-.020
% of Nonagri.	.010	.000	.002
	.175	.012	.042
Regionalized Cleavage	1.963**	1.907**	2.139**
	.684	.664	.674
Fractional	.004	.002	.002
	.085	.035	.037
Overlapping Line	.052	.073	.077
	.029	.042	.044
Minority Rule	.592*	.713*	.751*
	.129	.153	.161
Economic Inequality	-.003	.003	-.000
	-.017	.019	-.004
Economic Discrim.	-.254**	-.162	-.157
	-.205	-.127	-.130
Political Discrim.	.188*	.157*	.170*
	.153	.128	.138
Government System	-.130	-.068	-.180
	-.059	-.032	-.082
RGDP × Regional	-.0004*	-.0002*	-.0002*
	-.437	-.198	-.126
Urban × Regional	.013	.006	.005
	.254	.117	.039
Intercept	.166	.131	
R ² (OLS)	.694	.694	
df	180	180	

¹unstandardized. ²standardized (**P < .01 *P < .05).

GLS(1): all variables included.

GLS(2): one variable in a group included once at a time.

subgroups are the strongest negative predictor of political integration. The existence of regionalized subgroups alone is responsible for increasing the level of separatism by .664 standardized unit. Neither heterogeneity nor overlapping division lines are important. Unlike the expectation of primordial view, the heterogeneity or diversity of a society may not be a threat to integration. It becomes a major source of disintegration only if it is regional-

ized. Other important variables are, as predicted, minority rule and political discrimination. A standardized unit increase in political discrimination increases the degree of disintegration by .128 standardized unit. This seems to occur partly because its existence may cause damage to the interest of a discriminated group. Minority rule also increases the level of disintegration by .153 standardized unit.

While RGDP is statistically insignificant, the interaction term for regional cleavage and RGDP is significant. This result is interpreted as follows: economic growth does have a significant effect (standardized coefficient = $-.198$) on the level of integration only in societies with regionalized subgroups but not in societies without regionalized subgroups. In the theoretical consideration, it was expected that regionalized societies have some room for economic growth to operate but unregionalized societies do not. Thus, economic growth contributes to the integration of a society where subgroups are regionally divided. This means that economic growth cannot be explained without considering regional patterns of social cleavage. All in all, regionalized cleavage is not only the major source of disintegration but it also "specifies" or "modifies" the relationship between integration and economic growth often mentioned in the existing theories. Unlike the expectation of modernization theories, the effect of economic growth exists only when there is a regionalized cleavage.

Other variables worth mentioning are government system, economic inequality, and economic discrimination. They were expected to operate. As expected, government system tends to reduce the degree of political disintegration slightly but it is still insignificant. Neither economic discrimination nor economic inequality decreases the level of political integration. None of the existing theories expects this result. Instead, economic discrimination has a slightly opposite effect against our prediction. The fact that economic discrimination does not contribute to political disintegration is still a mystery to be solved in later studies. However, it is explainable why economic inequality does not contribute. The economic inequality as measured does not differentiate the intra-subgroup inequality from inter-subgroup inequality. Inter-subgroup disparity may decrease political integration but intra-subgroup disparity may decrease inter-group conflict. The effect of economic inequality may be nullified by the very existence of intra-subgroup inequality. To test this expectation, one needs further refined data on inter-subgroup inequality and intra-subgroup inequality, which are not available at present.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper was to examine the relationship between political integration and social cleavage structure of a society. This research explicitly treated the patterns of social cleavage as a major factor in the theoretical expectations of integration and further specifies existing theoretical expectations according to the regional patterns of social cleavage. To examine the long-term trend of integration in connection with social cleavage, this research analyzed such historical events as the birth of new nations, divisions, and internal wars which are important but often excluded from the multivariate analysis. This research demonstrated that regionalized social cleavage is responsible for the division of a country and that internal wars mostly occur in regionalized societies. Both internal wars and the division of a country cannot be understood without considering regionalized social cleavage.

The result of multivariate analysis is complex but generally supports the main thrusts of this research. The major predictors of integration are regionalized cleavage, minority rule, and political discrimination. Economic growth has no effect on integration in societies without regionalized cleavage structures but it does in regionalized societies.

These facts and findings have several important implications. First, the results give considerable credibility to the main argument of this research that the existence of regionalized social cleavage should be treated as a major variable of integration. Second, the results also validate the thesis that the regional patterns of social cleavage interacts with the factor found in modernization research. The modernization thesis is thus useful but the theme that modernization has a universal effect on integration should be modified. Therefore, future studies should not assume that many factors mentioned in literature would have an additive effect. Third, the primordial view provides a valuable insight into the integration of a society. But, without considering the regional patterns, one will not find diversity or heterogeneity of a society sufficient to explain a society's disintegration. Fourth, the political view offers a partial explanation. Political discrimination decreases the degree of integration. Finally, this research demonstrated that the examination of historical data is useful, whenever available, in capturing the long-term trend of integration.

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