

SELF AND NATION  
A STUDY OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL NATURE  
OF NATIONALISM AND PATRIOTISM

THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH. D.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
KENNETH W. TERHUNE

1963

This is to certify that the  
thesis entitled  
**Self and Nation**  
**A Study of the Psychological Nature**  
**of Nationalism and Patriotism**  
presented by

**Kenneth W. Terhune**

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Psychology

F B Waisanen  
Major professor

Date March 11, 1963









## ABSTRACT

### SELF AND NATION

#### A STUDY OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL NATURE OF NATIONALISM AND PATRIOTISM

by Kenneth W. Terhune

Nationalism and patriotism were defined and measured as psychological variables for this study, and their relations to other variables of hypothesized relevance were examined. Nationalism was defined as an aspiration of greater strength or power for one's country. To it were related variables in the categories (a) personality, (b) perceived characteristics of one's nation, and (c) self-nation relationships, under which patriotism was included. Also examined was the relation of nationalism to an attitude of International Cooperation.

Data were obtained by questionnaires administered to foreign and American students, for which separate analyses were made. Nationalism and several other key variables were assessed by specially devised Guttman scales.

Personality characteristics examined were Dogmatism and Status Admiration. In Rokeach's theory Dogmatism includes the "belief in the cause," and through this aspect Dogmatism was expected to correlate positively with nationalism. Similarly, a characteristic of Status Admiration was hypothesized as correlating with national status-seeking through nationalism. Both variables were found to correlate significantly with the Nationalism measure, although only slightly for the Americans.

The individual's perceptions of three national characteristics were hypothesized as related to nationalism. Nationalism was expected to be stronger to the extent that the individual perceived his country as (a) lacking in power, (b) low in status, and (c) threatened from without. Results showed distinct differences between the foreign and American students. For the foreign students, only the National Status variable correlated significantly with Nationalism; for the Americans, only the power and threat variables were so related. Among the latter, Nationalism was associated with the perception of threat only among those attributing high power to their country.

An incomplete sentence was used to assess the specific fears of the subjects for their countries. Analyses showed that the foreign students' fears applied mainly to internal matters, while the Americans' fears were more externally oriented. The results thus suggest why Nationalism was related to external threat only among the Americans.

The self-nation relationships were delineated through three forms of "involvement." Affective Involvement, or "Patriotism Type A," was defined as a sentimental attachment to one's homeland. Goal Involvement, or "Patriotism Type B," represented a motivation to help one's country progress. Ego Involvement was specified as a relationship between the attributes and achievements of one's country and one's self-esteem. Also examined was loyalty to one's country relative to various other groups of varying inclusiveness.

In accordance with the literature, Ego Involvement was expected to correlate most with Nationalism. Results, however, showed the relationship to be but slight. Instead, Goal Involvement correlated most with Nationalism

Kenneth W. Terhune

for the foreign students, whereas Affective Involvement correlated most for the Americans. As hypothesized, professed loyalty to country was found strongest among those high on Nationalism, among both foreign and American students.

The final variable examined, an International Cooperation attitude, was found negligibly to correlate with Nationalism. This seems contrary to common ideas about the relation of nationalism and "internationalism."

While no hypotheses were made regarding specific nationalities, differences among the national groups appeared on several variables. Nationalism scores, for example, tended to be higher among students from underdeveloped countries. In contrast, national differences were negligible on the International Cooperation variable. Results are suggestive, therefore, for further research on national differences.

A review of the detailed findings led to the conclusion that the goals of contemporary nationalism seem to be prosperity and recognition, rather than raw national power. Hence, nationalism is strongest among the have-not nations. American nationalism seems to be a special case, defensive in nature and associated with fear of losing the status and prosperity which the United States enjoys. Personality factors also appear to be involved. Regarding international relations, nationalism did not seem to be necessarily incompatible with international harmony.

Approved

J B Wairanen  
Signature of Major Professor

Date

February 21, 1963



SELF AND NATION  
A STUDY OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL NATURE  
OF NATIONALISM AND PATRIOTISM

By  
Kenneth W. Terhune

A THESIS

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Psychology

1963

•

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the proceedings. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and each name is followed by a number indicating the page on which the name appears. The names are: [illegible]

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the proceedings. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and each name is followed by a number indicating the page on which the name appears. The names are: [illegible]

3.

156-774  
156-775

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer gratefully expresses his appreciation to those whose efforts contributed to this study. These include: Dr. Frederick B. Waisanen, chairman of the Guidance Committee; Dr. Harold H. Anderson and Dr. Eugene H. Jacobson, Committee members; Dr. Donald M. Johnson, who cheerfully consented to a last-minute request to serve on the examining committee; Dr. Harold H. Anderson and Dr. Gladys I. Anderson, who generously allowed me the use of their office facilities; my Spartan Village neighbors, whose efforts with the mail questionnaires were indispensable; my foreign student subjects, whose interest made the study possible; and my wife Joan, whose assistance and moral support were unceasing.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. PURPOSE AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY . . . . .	1
The Literature on Nationalism and Patriotism. . . . .	1
Theoretical Concerns. . . . .	2
Nationalism. . . . .	2
National Consciousness. . . . .	3
Belief in National Superiority. . . . .	5
Belief in a National Cause. . . . .	6
Summary . . . . .	10
Patriotism . . . . .	12
Identification . . . . .	15
Psychoanalytic Interpretations . . . . .	17
Research Related to Nationalism and Patriotism. . . . .	19
Nationalism-Patriotism and its Manifestations. . . . .	20
Measurement of National Identification . . . . .	24
Identification as National Involvement. . . . .	25
Identification via the Self Concept . . . . .	26
Identification as Shared Values . . . . .	27
II. FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM. . . . .	28
The Conceptualization of Nationalism. . . . .	29
Relation of Nationalism to Other Variables. . . . .	31
Personality Variables . . . . .	31
Dogmatism . . . . .	31
Status Admiration. . . . .	34
Perceived Characteristics of Nation . . . . .	34



CHAPTER	PAGE
Power . . . . .	34
Status . . . . .	34
Threat Orientation . . . . .	35
Relationships of Self to Nation . . . . .	35
Affective Involvement . . . . .	39
Goal Involvement. . . . .	40
Ego Involvement . . . . .	40
Differentiation of the Forms of Involvement . . .	41
Forms of Involvement and Nationalism. . . . .	43
Loyalty . . . . .	44
Nationalism and Internationalism . . . . .	45
III. POPULATION AND SAMPLE . . . . .	48
Sampling Procedure . . . . .	48
Foreign Students . . . . .	49
American Students . . . . .	51
Non-Responders: Qualitative Information . . . . .	52
Quantitative Comparison of Samples . . . . .	53
Foreign Students -- Distribution by Area . . . . .	53
Foreign Students -- Sources of Financial Support . .	54
Foreign Students -- Length of Stay in U.S. . . . .	55
All Subjects -- Distribution by Sex . . . . .	57
All Subjects -- Distribution by Marital Status . . .	57
All Subjects -- Distribution by Age . . . . .	58
All Subjects -- Academic Specialties . . . . .	59
All Subjects -- Occupation of Fathers . . . . .	60

CHAPTER	PAGE
IV. METHODS EMPLOYED . . . . .	63
Scales Developed . . . . .	63
General Procedure . . . . .	63
Nationalism Scale . . . . .	68
Goal Involvement Scale . . . . .	70
Ego Involvement Scale . . . . .	71
Affective Involvement Scale . . . . .	72
International Cooperation Scale . . . . .	72
Personality Variables . . . . .	74
Dogmatism . . . . .	74
Status Admiration . . . . .	74
Perceived Characteristics of Country . . . . .	75
National Power . . . . .	75
National Status . . . . .	75
Threat to Country . . . . .	75
Relation of Self to Nation . . . . .	77
Corresponding Characteristics of Nation and Self . . . . .	77
Loyalty . . . . .	77
Other Measures . . . . .	78
Meaning of Nationalism . . . . .	78
Aspects Liked . . . . .	78
V. RESULTS . . . . .	80
Meaning of Nationalism . . . . .	80
Relation of Nationalism to Personality . . . . .	81
Nationalism and Dogmatism . . . . .	82
Nationalism and Status Admiration . . . . .	83

Nationalism and Perceived Characteristics of One's Nation	84
National Power . . . . .	84
National Status . . . . .	85
Threat to Country . . . . .	86
Nationalism and the Relationships of Self to Nation . .	89
Differences in the Forms of Involvement . . . . .	90
Intercorrelations of the Forms of Involvement . .	92
Form of Involvement and Goal Achievement Milieu .	92
Form of Involvement and Cultural Milieu . . . . .	94
Form of Involvement and Identification . . . . .	95
Form of Involvement and Dogmatism . . . . .	96
Form of Involvement and National Status . . . . .	97
Form of Involvement and Other Variables . . . . .	98
Form of Involvement and Nationalism . . . . .	98
Loyalty and Nationalism . . . . .	99
Nationalism and Internationalism . . . . .	101
Nationalism and International Cooperation . . . . .	101
Relations Between Two Kinds of Internationalism . .	101
Internationalism and Forms of Involvement . . . . .	101
A Multiple Regression Analysis . . . . .	103
Differences by Nationality . . . . .	103
Nationalism . . . . .	105
Involvement with Country . . . . .	105
Internationalism . . . . .	106
Perceived Characteristics of Country . . . . .	108
Hierarchy of Loyalties . . . . .	108

CHAPTER	PAGE
VI. DISCUSSION . . . . .	111
Interpretation of the Findings . . . . .	111
What is Nationalism? . . . . .	111
Nationalism's Function . . . . .	111
Nationalism and Personality . . . . .	115
Nationalism: Obstacle to International Harmony? . . .	116
The Results in the Perspective of Extant Literature . .	117 <sup>a</sup>
Contemporary Nationalism . . . . .	117 <sup>a</sup>
Patriotism: Different From Nationalism? . . . . .	118
Measures of Nationalism . . . . .	118
Nationalism and Identification . . . . .	119
Loyalty . . . . .	119
Limitations of the Study . . . . .	120
The Samples . . . . .	120
Instruments . . . . .	121
National Power . . . . .	121
Dogmatism . . . . .	121
Threat Measure . . . . .	121
Identification Measure . . . . .	122
Involvement with Country . . . . .	123
VII. SUMMARY . . . . .	124
<b>REFERENCES</b> . . . . .	130
<b>APPENDICES</b> . . . . .	136

# LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. Response rates among foreign students . . . . .	51
2. Distribution of foreign students by area . . . . .	54
3. Governmental financial support for foreign students in the United States . . . . .	55
4. Governmental support for M.S.U. responders and non- responders . . . . .	56
5. Proportions of foreign students who have been in the United States over two years . . . . .	56
6. Proportions of males in samples and among foreign stu- dents in the United States . . . . .	57
7. Distribution of responders and non-responders by marital status . . . . .	58
8. Proportions of individuals under age 25 among subjects and among foreign students in the United States . . . . .	59
9. Distribution of foreign and American subjects by field of study . . . . .	60
10. Distribution of subjects by father's occupation . . . . .	61
11. The Nationalism Scale . . . . .	69
12. The Goal Involvement Scale . . . . .	71
13. The Ego Involvement Scale . . . . .	72
14. The Affective Involvement Scale . . . . .	73
15. The International Cooperation Scale . . . . .	73
16. The Status Admiration Scale . . . . .	75
17. Average ratings of nationalism on the Semantic Differ- ential . . . . .	81

TABLE	PAGE
18. Contingency tables of Nationalism and National Status scores for foreign students . . . . .	85
19. Nationalism and external threat: sentence completions	87
20. Fears for their country mentioned by foreign and American students . . . . .	89
21. Inter-correlations of forms of involvement with country	92
22. Correlations of forms of involvement with liking of the Cultural Milieu in one's country . . . . .	94
23. Affective Involvement and rating of Cultural Milieu by country . . . . .	95
24. Correlations of forms of involvement with Dogmatism .	97
25. Correlations of forms of involvement with National Status . . . . .	97
26. Correlations of forms of involvement, overall liking of country, and loyalty to country . . . . .	98
27. Correlations of involvement and Nationalism . . . . .	99
28. Correlations of Nationalism with loyalty to country	100
29. Relationships between Nationalism and relative loyal- ty to country vs. rest of world . . . . .	100
30. Relationships between Internationalism types A and B	102
31. Form of involvement with country and Internationalism types A and B . . . . .	102
32. Countries ranked by average Nationalism scores . . .	104
33. Ranks by country on forms of involvement . . . . .	105
34. Ranks by country on International Cooperation Scale .	107

TABLE	PAGE
35. Assessment of country on different variables . . . . .	109
36. Hierarchies of loyalty by country . . . . .	109
37. Relevance of certain variables to Nationalism . . . . .	128

• • • • •

• • • • • • • • • •

• • • •

•

•

•



## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
1. Focus of the research . . . . .	28
2. Hypothesized scattergram relating nationalism and Dog- matism . . . . .	33
3. Expected relation of nationalism to the perceptions of external threat and power of one's nation . . . . .	36
4. Expected relationship between Internationalism types "A" and "B" . . . . .	47
5. Relation between Nationalism and External Threat for Americans perceiving their country high and low in power	88
6. Relation between foreign students' Goal Involvement scores and rating of their countries' Goal Achievement Milieu . . . . .	93
7. Goal Involvement and rating of Goal Achievement Milieu by country . . . . .	93
8. Interrelationships of several variables and Nationalism	113

## LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX	PAGE
A. Explanatory Letter Enclosed with Foreign Student Questionnaires . . . . .	137
B. Questionnaire Used in the Study . . . . .	138
C. Scale Data . . . . .	148
D. Special American Versions of the Nationalism, Ego Involvement, and Affective Involvement Scales . . .	154
E. Analysis of the Non-Scale Items . . . . .	156
F. Short Form of the Dogmatism Scale Used in This Study	162
G. Coding Scheme for Threat Analysis . . . . .	163
H. Correlation Matrices . . . . .	165

.

## CHAPTER I

### PURPOSE AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In this research an attempt is made partially to fill in a rather large gap in empirical knowledge of the nature and meaning of nationalism and patriotism. These phenomena are here conceptualized psychologically, to be measured and related to other psychological factors of anticipated relevance. Using as subjects American and foreign college students, scales were developed to measure nationalism and three forms of personal involvement with country, with patriotism subsumed under the latter. Nationalism was then related to the forms of involvement, as well as to psychological characteristics of the individual and characteristics of the nation as perceived by the individual. Finally, the relation of nationalism to internationalism was investigated. Correlation analysis was employed empirically to establish the meanings of the variables and to examine hypothesized relationships.

### The Literature on Nationalism and Patriotism

Much interest has been generated over the years in the subjects of nationalism and patriotism, as they have gained the attention of representatives of all the social sciences, including historians, political scientists, sociologists, and social psychologists. The signal importance attributed to these phenomena is revealed by such statements as "Nationalism and patriotism are unquestionably among the most powerful motivations in the world today" (Krech and Crutchfield, 1948, p. 589) and "There can be no doubt that nationalism is by far the strongest social force of our time"

(Hertz, 1941, p. 409). Their treatment, however, has been considerably less through empirical research than through discursive analysis, which has seldom been raised out of the morass of definition. "In one sense," stated Whitaker, "the study of the subject is itself a study in definition and meaning" (1961, p. 3). Because conceptualization has usually included what seem to be psychologically different phenomena, confusion results.

In this chapter, extant theory and research on nationalism and patriotism will be reviewed, to prepare for the following chapter in which the problem for study will be formulated.

### Theoretical Concerns

#### Nationalism

While nationalism has been described variously as a process or social movement, a feeling or emotion, a motivation, a "social force," an objective, a means (Whitaker, 1961), most viewpoints as to its nature can be encompassed by describing it as an ideology, a set of beliefs which tend to appear in most movements called nationalistic. These beliefs generally focus on the nation as a social object, and on its relation to other nations. Nationalism is usually considered a modern phenomenon, having developed within the last 150 years (Kohn, 1955; Kedourie, 1960). However, as Kohn pointed out, it is modern only in the sense that it emphasizes or exaggerates beliefs about the nation which originated with the ancient Hebrews. These are (a) the emphasis on a common stock of memory of the past and of hopes for the future, (b) the idea of the chosen people, and (c) national messianism, taking the form of belief in a messianic mission, which becomes a symbol of

national pride, a call to greatness and overreaching power (Kohn, 1955, p.11). The modern counterparts of these beliefs will now be discussed as (a) national consciousness, (b) beliefs in the superiority and special endowment of one's own nation, and (c) beliefs in the great cause of one's nation.

National consciousness. National consciousness represents a perception of or striving for a distinct national identity, synonyms for which are "national personality," "national character," or "cultural distinctiveness." Claims to such distinctiveness usually emphasize that (a) certain characteristics are shared in common by all members of the nation and (b) these characteristics are unique, peculiar to the particular nation. Specific manifestations have been mentioned by Hayes (1961), Kedourie (1961), Kohn (1955), Shafer (1961), Wirth (1936), and Znaniecki (1952), as summarized below:

- (a). Common and distinct history--belief that the members of the nation have the same ancestors, who have worked together, suffered together, fought together and died together to build the nation.
- (b). Common customs, manner, traditions
- (c). Common ideals and values---may include notion that the nation was founded and built upon certain ideals, e.g. "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."
- (d). Common language
- (e). Common territory---usually placed in a historical context, as the land which the forefathers cultivated and defended, and in which lie their remains. It is maintained that the land inhabited by the people belongs to them.
- (f). Common literature--including folk tales and lore.

While these beliefs have long been held among peoples of the world, in modern nationalism they tend to be greatly stressed, with the intention of achieving national solidarity, increasing cohesiveness to unite behind some national cause. In the extreme, zealots combine fact with fiction to produce a national mythology. A glorious history may be portrayed, in which courageous ancestors defend the motherland against invading infidels, national saints and heroes are exemplified as "the ideal Frenchman," "the true German," etc., and the people are claimed to share "common blood" in a myth of racial unity. Such beliefs are inculcated in the children, often through the educational system. Finally to increase its saliency, national unity is expressed through symbols, patriotic songs and national holidays. Such are the analyses given by Grodzins (1951, 1956), Kedourie (1960), and Znaniecki (1952). The manifestations of these beliefs may appear at any time in a nation's history, but they seem to be especially important in the formation of a new nation. E. C. Hughes, in a personal conversation with Strauss (1959), suggested that the forming of a new nation from a heterogeneous population, as in Africa, is especially likely to involve creation of a national mythology.

Sometimes national uniqueness may be so glorified that the goal of purity and perfection is sought. The ideals of the nation are described as important to all of humanity (Russell, 1917), and the peculiarities, the idiosyncrasies which distinguish nations are held as things holy, to be fostered and preserved so that by each nation reaching the perfection of its kind, universal harmony can be attained. This requires that the national culture, including language, be cleansed of foreign accretions and borrowings. Kedourie (1960) described the German nation as a supreme example of this striving. The claim of the German philosophers, he said,

was that "to speak an original language is to be true to one's character, to maintain one's identity" (p. 67). He quoted Fichte as saying, "The separation of the Germans from the other European nations is based on Nature--through a common language and through common national characteristics which unite the Germans, they are separate from the others" (p. 68).

Belief in national superiority. It has been shown that the extreme form of national consciousness is a glorification of that which is perceived as unique in one's nation. From here it is but a small step to make comparisons favorable to one's own nation and unfavorable to others, thus judging one's own country as superior. Halbwachs (1958), in fact, considered this to be virtually a universal phenomenon. He maintained that, in general, every nation selectively perceives only those attributes in which it excels other nations. In a word, this is ethnocentrism. It ranges from merely disregarding other nations to outright rejection of the values, ideals, mores, and goals of other countries as inferior to those of the homeland. Grodzins (1956), Hertz (1941), and Shafer (1961) all mentioned these beliefs as characteristic of nationalism. Icheiser (1941) distinguished between vociferous rejection of other nations and the more unconscious acceptance of national values because they are "right" and "good." Only the latter, which he considered more dangerous, did he label "ethnocentrism," but generally they seem to be the same. Icheiser also noted the cognitive element of nationalism in the form of distorted stereotypes of other nations, and the attribution of moral motives to the actions of one's own nation while "seeing through" the actions of other nations to recognize their base and selfish motives.

The full flavor of this belief in national superiority is captured in the ideas of Fichte, as presented by Kedourie: "...only the German, the

original man who is not enmeshed in a lifeless, mechanical organization, considers Fichte, 'really has a people and is entitled to count on one, and he alone is capable of real and rational love for his nation'" (1960, p. 67).

Belief in a national cause. The characteristic which is most commonly attributed to nationalism is the belief in and pursuit of some national cause. A simple analysis of this aspect is difficult because it involves a complexity of goals and underlying motivations. Essentially, however, the goals may be viewed as the aim to raise or preserve the nation's power or status. Generally the cause is a call to action, the repercussions of which are very likely to be felt by other nations. The saliency of this characteristic of nationalism probably explains its interest to most writers on the subject. The following analysis, therefore, is based on the discussion of several authors, including Braunthal (1961), Fellner (1949), Grodzins (1951, 1956), Hertz (1941), Kedourie (1960), Kohn (1955), Morgenthau (1961), Morray (1959), Russell (1917), Shafer (1961), Wirth (1936), and Znaniecki (1952).

In broadest terms, underlying the devotion to the national cause is the conviction that the nation has the right to be autonomous, to determine its own fate, that it need not depend on nor be subservient to other nations, economically or politically. This belief is commonly held with distrust or animosity toward other nations which represent actual or potential blocks to such aspirations. It is for this reason that nationalism is often regarded as a divisive force, as for example, by Braunthal (1961), Kohn (1955), and Morgenthau (1961).

The causes espoused in nationalism may be categorized into two



general types, one based solely on national consciousness, the other on beliefs in national superiority as well. The former pursues the doctrine that humanity is naturally divided into nations because of the distinct characteristics of different groups of peoples. It therefore behooves each of these groups to form its own national self-government, the only legitimate form of government (Kedourie, 1960; Kohn, 1955). This is essentially what Morgenthau (1961) described as "the old nationalism." He added that the doctrine holds that the nation is the ultimate point of reference for political loyalties and actions, beyond which it recognizes that there are other nationalisms with similar and equally justifiable goals. With this ideology rooted in national consciousness, the cause is manifested in two different sub-types:

- (a) Goal: to attain sovereignty. A group whose members perceive themselves as unique and sharing common characteristics may be subjugated to another group, e.g. as a colony or province. By proclaiming their identity from the dominating group, they demand and fight for their right to establish themselves as a separate, independent nation.
- (b) Goal: to preserve national values. An already independent nation may perceive its autonomy, its solidarity, its national values threatened. Such threats may appear not only in the form of a military conqueror, but also in the form of infiltration such that traditional values will be lost. The cause is to preserve the traditional values, to eliminate the contamination of foreign influences. Fear of communist subversion in America, fear of "Westernization" in Africa and Japan, fear of "non-Nordic" values in Hitler Germany are examples. The cause

then is to maintain the traditional values, to defend against the contamination of foreign influences--in essence, to preserve the identity of the nation, and possibly to prevent loss of status.

The second major category of causes includes those based on the belief that not only does one's group share unique characteristics and values, but that the group is superior to other people. This seems most likely when the group already exists as an independent nation, with well-established national institutions, symbols, and so on. By the proclaimed inherent superiority of its peoples, the rights of the nation are believed to override the rights of other nations. This belief assumes a religious form, as the nation is deified, endowed with a glorious mission, and is supported by the conviction that it is on the side of God, history, or destiny. The cause thus is to raise the nation to the heights of grandeur which destiny has provided for it. This coincides with what Morgenthau (1961) called "the new nationalism," in which the doctrine is that "the nation is but the starting point of a universal mission whose ultimate goal reaches to the confines of the political world." It "claims for one nation and one state the right to impose its own values and standards of action upon all other nations" (p. 183). Goals of power and prestige are sought, usually in the form of territorial expansion. The full flavor of this expression of nationalism is eloquently captured in the words of Senator Albert J. Beveridge, in a speech made before Congress in 1900:

God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic people for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. He has given us the spirit of progress to overwhelm

the forces of reaction throughout the earth. He has made us adept in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples. Were it not for such a force as this the world would relapse into barbarism and night. And of all our race He has marked the American people as his chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world. This is the divine mission of America, and it holds for us all the profit, all the glory, all the happiness possible to men. We are trustees of the world's progress, guardians of its righteous peace. The judgment of the Master is upon us: "Ye have been faithful over a few things; I will make you ruler over many things."

(Shafer, 1961, pp. 18-19).

It is apparent that this belief in the superiority of one's own nation precludes any possibility of internationalism based on the acceptance of the equality and brotherhood of all men. Indeed, the cause of the nation feeds on hostility toward the outgroup, as expressed in a poem by the German poet Arndt, who wrote that in the German fatherland "...every Frenchman is called enemy [and] every German is called friend" (Kedourie 1960, p. 69).

Whether or not causes of this nature are the natural outcome of other expressions of nationalism is a moot point. Wirth (1936) suggested this possibility, as did Morgenthau (1961), who maintained that the only obstacle preventing today's oppressed from becoming tomorrow's oppressors is a balance of power. The point is not the concern of only the historian and student of social movements, for the psychologist may question whether there is an underlying continuity of motivation.

An extreme form of nationalism based on superiority notions arises when the nation comes to be identified with the body politic, the state. The goal of glory for the nation becomes the exaltation of the state, which demands the supreme loyalty of the people. While claiming to represent the people as a whole the state demands that self-interest and loyalty to primary groups be subordinated to the cause of the state. The

individual is encouraged to submerge his own identity in that of the nation. As Kedourie put it, the belief is that "the destiny of man is accomplished, and his freedom realized by absorption within the state, because only through the state does he attain coherence and acquire reality" (1960, p. 67). Fellner commented similarly on the national cause:

By creating the ideal nation, which is greater and nobler than any one individual in the nation, every individual felt greater and nobler himself; and he gains strength and self-importance from raising himself up to the deity he made for himself. And serving the all-powerful 'God,' the servant adopts the master, and himself becomes godlike. By sacrificing himself with enthusiasm he experiences the thrill of being in unity with the mighty one; in his sense of union he enjoys the power of being divine.

(Fellner, 1949, p. 270)

A by-product of extreme nationalism seems to be the explicit expression of codes or norms of behavior for the individual citizen vis-a-vis his country. This was suggested by Guetzkow,<sup>1</sup> who maintained that the bounds of loyalty and disloyalty come to be sharply defined.

It seems that at this point the belief in the superiority of the nation goes beyond any moral considerations. Allegiance becomes unquestioned, and as Russell (1917) pointed out, one's nation is always to be supported in any quarrel, no matter how the quarrel may have originated. This is the philosophy that "might makes right" and "my country, right or wrong."

Summary. There is little evidence that a less variegated and more precise definition of nationalism has been established by even the most recent thinkers on the subject. Rather, each new idea seems to have been added to an ever-expanding omnibus conceptualization of the phenomenon.

---

1. Guetzkow, H. Symposium on "Psychology and the Study of Political Behavior," Michigan State University, Feb. 24, 1962.

To illustrate this tendency, and as a review of considered aspects of nationalism, Shafer's definition is presented below. He offered the following conditions and beliefs; not all are claimed to be necessary, but nationalism is allegedly stronger the more of these that are present.

1. A certain defined (often vaguely) unit of territory (whether possessed or coveted).

2. Some common cultural characteristics such as language (or widely understood language), customs, manners, and literature (folk tales and lore are a beginning). If an individual believes he shares these, and wishes to continue sharing them, he is usually said to be a member of the nationality.

3. Some common dominant social (as Christian) and economic (as capitalistic or recently communistic) institutions.

4. A common independent or sovereign government (type does not matter) or the desire for one. The "principle" that each nationality should be separate and independent is involved here.

5. A belief in a common history (it can be invented) and in a common origin (often mistakenly conceived to be social in nature).

6. A love or esteem for fellow nationals (not necessarily as individuals).

7. A devotion to the entity (however little comprehended) called the nation, which embodies the common territory, culture, social and economic institutions, government, and the fellow nationals, and which is at the same time (whether organism or not) more than their sum.

8. A common pride in the achievements (often the military more than the cultural) of this nation and a common sorrow in its tragedies (particularly its defeats).

9. A disregard for or hostility to other (not necessarily all) like groups, especially if these prevent or seem to threaten the separate national existence.

10. A hope that the nation will have a great and glorious future (usually in territorial expansion) and become supreme in some way (in world power if the nation is already large).

(Shafer, 1961, p. 5)

## Patriotism

Patriotism has been given less attention than nationalism in the literature, and seldom is a clear distinction between the two concepts made. Indeed, those works espousing the virtues of patriotism (e.g. Stewart and Desjardins, 1923; Wingfield-Stratford, 1913) proclaimed beliefs about the homeland which have been discussed in the above review of nationalism. The question presents itself, consequently, is there a difference between the two?

A common definition of patriotism is that it is love and devotion to one's homeland, usually involving loyalty to its institutions and zeal for its defense (English and English, 1958; Jones, 1923; Hayes, 1961; Kedourie, 1960). It is sometimes mentioned as a component of nationalism. Osgood (1960), for example, stated that nationalism includes "intense patriotism." Hayes maintained, in effect, that patriotism plus national consciousness equals nationalism, while Kedourie added the ingredient of xenophobia to produce nationalism.

Writers do not always make clear their meaning of "homeland." Some mean quite literally the land or territory belonging to the nation, while others use the term in the broader sense of "country" or "nation." Firth (1958), for example, discussed the patriotism of primitive societies as involving a strong tie with the territory on which they have shared common residence and ownership. The cathexis with which the land is invested is revealed by the fact that travelling natives when near death frequently express desire to be buried on their own land, and a tribe will fiercely fight back an enemy so as to allow a chief to die on home soil. Such sentiments are not dissimilar to those found in more advanced societies.

An affective tie with one's native soil, traditions, culture, and compatriots was presented as one aspect of nationalism by Bruanthal (1961), Kohn (1955), and Shafer (1961). They did not, however, give this the separate label of "patriotism." Their discussions were in much the same vein as those by Morray (1959), Russell (1917), Stewart and Desjardins (1923), and Wingfield-Stratford (1913), who, however, portended to discuss "patriotism" and did not use the term "nationalism." Finally to confuse the picture, Grodzins (1951, 1956) and Halbwachs (1958) discussed patriotism as embodying the aspects mentioned in our analysis of nationalism, but did not mention specifically any affective components.

Semantic problems aside, running through literature is the view that there exists an affective tie between some individuals and their country, which seems to be a phenomenon distinct from national consciousness, beliefs in the superiority of one's country, and adherence to a national cause. For now, we shall refer to this as patriotism.

Patriotism has not been elaborated upon by the writers, except to specify some of the aspects of the homeland which come to have affective meaning to the individual.

1. The land, the "native soil." This includes the pleasant associations with the land where one has lived--its beauties and its products.
2. One's compatriots. This has been described as feeling of solidarity, esprit de corps, group morale.
3. Traditions, institutions. Included here would be customs, mores and other familiar practices of one's homeland.

Associated with the love of country is a strong desire to protect it when threatened from without, and a sense of duty or obligation to one's compatriots. Generally, this affective tie is described as relatively independent of the government of the nation, but involves the

more familiar, intimate, personal association with one's country. When a nation is threatened in wartime, this appeal seems to arouse more zeal for defense than does the cause of preserving a certain form of government or economic system, abstractions which have less personal meaning for the individual. Wingfield-Stratford (1913) also noted that the appeal of patriotism is such that it is relatively independent of principles of justice or devotion to the abstract cause of humanity. Patriotism does not, however, seem to be necessarily incompatible with such notions.

Patriotism also has its extremes, as extolled by zealots. Thus for Wingfield-Stratford (1913) patriotism "is but the highest form of love for a created person" (p. xviii) which bids a man "to love his country as he loves his God, with all his heart, and with all his mind, and with all his soul, and with all his strength" (p. xxxiv). Such fervor leads men to say as did Horace, "Sweet it is and fitting to die for one's country," or with the eloquence of Robespierre: "Oh, sublime people! Accept the sacrifice of my whole being. Happy is the man who is born in your midst; happier is he who can die for your happiness" (quoted by Kohn, 1955, p. 27). Morray (1959) added a somber note by suggesting that in such patriotic passion it may be sweet and fitting to kill for one's country. At this extreme point one finds it difficult to discern a difference between patriotism and what were previously described as the extremes of nationalism.

Does patriotism necessarily beget aggression toward other nations? As mere affective attachment to homeland there seems to be no necessary component of hostility any more than affection for one's family leads one to aggress against other families. Thus, Stewart and Desjardins (1923) considered affection for homeland to be "static" patriotism.



(Their "dynamic" patriotism is more like nationalism as discussed earlier).

### Identification

A mechanism mentioned repeatedly in analyses both of nationalism and patriotism is that of the individual's identification with his homeland, in the sense that to a certain extent he experiences the life of the nation as if it were his own. Several writers (Bruanthal, 1961; Grodzins, 1956; Krech and Crutchfield, 1948 ; Morray, 1959; Russell, 1917) considered identification in the more limited meaning of gaining pride, pleasure, satisfaction from the positive accomplishments of the nation and of fellow nationals. Krech and Crutchfield suggested that all citizens experience identification with the power and prestige of their nation, which gives them vicarious satisfaction for their own thwarted personal needs for power and prestige. Grodzins (1956) maintained, however, that identification that is based only on the satisfaction of needs is delicate, likely to fade once the nation fails to produce a satisfactory balance of gratifications.

A more all-encompassing form of identification was mentioned by Fellner (1949), Grodzins (1952, 1956), Kedourie (1960), Kohn (1955), and Shafer (1961). Here, the person gives up his individuality by psychologically submerging his identity into that of the nation. The name of the nation becomes intimately woven with the self, the individual makes the nation's goals his own goals, and in so doing experiences his own fulfillment. He no longer feels himself as a unique entity, but rather as one with a common personality. His personal doubts are dissipated as the national cause give direction and purpose to his life. The nation's symbols and achievements are his own, as are its sorrows

and defeats.

This relation of individual to nation is that which is encouraged, if not demanded in the extreme statism form of nationalism described earlier. It has often been considered one of the general characteristics of nationalism. Kohn, for example, maintained that in modern nationalism, the masses feel "their own life--culturally, politically or economically--to depend upon the fate of the national body" (1955, p. 10). Benda went so far as to make identification in the form of pride the central aspect of nationalism; the individual wants his nation powerful "far less on account of the material results which will accrue...than on account of the glory, the prestige which the nation will acquire" (1961, pp. 26-27). This, Benda asserted, is a far stronger passion than self-interest.

This submerging of the individual's identity into the national cause clearly resembles the psychology of the "true believer" described by Hoffer (1958), the "authoritarian personality" of Fromm (1941) and Adorno et al (1950), and the "closed mind" of Rokeach (1960). All of these described the insecure, self-hating, doubt-ridden individual who seeks to escape from himself. Such a person will seek to regain for himself power and self-esteem by uniting himself with some cause, particularly any cause which offers power and prestige of a superordinate group. Nationalism may conveniently provide such a cause.

Both Grodzins (1951) and Guetzkow (1955) have distinguished the two forms of identification we have discussed. The first, in which the individual identifies with the nation because he gains satisfaction from its accomplishments was considered an "indirect nation-person tie" by Grodzins, and "loyalty as means to other ends" by Guetzkow. The second form, in which the individual identifies so completely that he regards

his own fate as completely entwined with the destiny of the nation is labeled a "direct nation-person tie" by Grodzins, or "patriotism as religion." Guetzkow considered this a "loyalty as end value," an autonomous need in which the individual's identification continues although the nation may no longer satisfy his needs. Whether these manifestations are discrete forms or simply different levels on a continuum remains a matter for empirical determination.

### Psychoanalytic Interpretations

A few writers have endeavored to analyze the individual's psychological relation to his homeland using the concepts of the clinical psychologist, usually based in Freudian theory. Appel viewed chauvinistic nationalism, isolationism, and demands for sovereignty as basically pathological manifestations. In all of these he saw too much influence of the family, childhood, and the past. His main concern was on strivings for sovereignty, which he interpreted as "a regressive drive for the security of the old, the accustomed, the familiar" (1945, p. 360). Emphasis on sovereignty was likened to the condition of manic delusions of grandeur and narcissism. Appel asserted that it is atavistic, anachronistic, and unrealistic because in today's world nations are by necessity interdependent, and no nation has absolute power over its own destiny nor can it live in isolation.

Patriotism has come under the focus of Freudians Jones (1923), Roheim (1950) and Feldman (1955). Jones delineated three sources of patriotism, as follows:

- a. Feelings about the self--Included here are self-love and self-interest. The self becomes identified with one's fellow citizens and the state is the magnified self. Jones feels that this is the most important source of patriotism.

- b. Feelings about the mother--Here, the nation becomes identified with the mother, and is referred to in the feminine gender. Names such as "la dolce France" and "Bharat Mata" (Mother India) and "Mother Russia" are vivid examples.
- c. Feelings about the father--Patriarchical conceptions identify the head of state with the father, and the country itself is the father's land. Jones considers this the least important source of patriotism.

It was Jones' suggestion that the type of patriotism common in different countries will be related to the types of family relationships characteristic of each.

Roheim was more exclusive in putting the "earth goddess" at the core of all patriotism. The land is the symbol of the mother. By being a member of the nation the individual masters the Oedipus complex and identifies with the father. He then owns the land and has a right to it. "To be separated from the nation is a castration threat and means being guilty of oedipal desires" (1950, p. 15). In this interpretation, a nation's claim to greatness is a censored representation of the claim to be truly masculine and virile. And while the nation or ingroup symbolizes the security of the mother's womb, other nations are outgroups which represent the bad, dangerous world outside the womb. The head of state is the father, and to bow down to him is to identify with the aggressor.

Feldman seemed much in agreement with Roheim, but he took issue with Jones on the centrality of self-feelings in patriotism. He maintained that self-love basically involves identifying one's self with its maternal source. Therefore all patriotism is associated with the mother or father. The true matriotic spirit involves loyalty to the country, not to its institutions, office-holders, or the "state." In

"Fatherland" is engendered the idea that the land is owned by the father, presumably the state.

While not a psychologist, Morray (1959) based his notions on Freudian theory. He proposed that patriotism is fundamentally a passion of brotherhood based on love of one father, while nationalism is a modernization of the primitive urge to live together in groups, the horde instinct. Cohesiveness within the group is fostered by Eros, the life instinct, while hostility toward all outgroups is the result of Thanatos, the death instinct.

While the research to be presented here will not be oriented within the Freudian framework, we wish to point out the notions of nationalism and patriotism which the Freudians share with others.

1. There is a distinction made between loyalty to the land and loyalty to the state, which correspond roughly with previous distinctions of nationalism and patriotism.

2. A psychological connection between the self and the nation is posited.

3. There is a suggestion, at least by Appel, that nationalism is incompatible with internationalism.

#### Research Related to Nationalism and Patriotism

To date, research on nationalism and patriotism has not been extensive, and it generally has not grappled with the problem of defining the terms, nor attempted to distinguish between them. Relevant research can be placed into two categories: (a) that attempting to measure nationalism-patriotism and its manifestations, and (b) measurement of

national identification.

### Nationalism-Patriotism and its Manifestations

Because instruments measuring nationalism or patriotism seem to be qualitatively similar, although labeled differently, they are here designated as nationalism-patriotism scales. Likewise, there has not been a clear distinction between the concepts in studies of their manifestations. All studies appear to tap in large measure an underlying ethnocentrism or authoritarianism.

One of the earliest attempts to measure American "patriotism" was made by Thurstone (1931), who developed a 20-item scale in two forms. The items appear to have a strong authoritarian-dogmatic bias, with the extremes making blindly pro- and anti-American statements. For example, the highest-scoring item on form A states "I'm for my country, right or wrong," while the lowest-scoring item states "I haven't an ounce of respect for the American people." Even intermediate items do not always evade dogmatism; e.g. one item is "In America there is rightly no room for Old World sentimental idealism." Thurstone (1934) factor-analyzed a number of his scales, resulting in two orthogonal factors which he labeled ~~nationalism-antinationalism~~ and radicalism-conservatism. The patriotism scale was about equally loaded on nationalism and conservatism, and it correlated  $-.44$  with intelligence. The scale with the highest loading on the nationalism factor was attitude toward war.

Hunter (1932) explored the various meanings of patriotism as embodied in news items, editorials, and letters to the editor concerning certain national crisis situations. His content analysis led him to the following typology of "patriotic" behavior.

- a. **State Supremacy:** Giving to the state a supreme, full, submissive and unquestioning allegiance.
- b. **Institutional Loyalty:** Giving loyal adherence to the generally prevailing forms of non-political social life as valuable or even necessary to the well-being of country and political state.
- c. **National Egocentrism:** Considering the institutions of the national group, both the governmental and the other social institutions, as the best to be found anywhere.
- d. **Eclectic Institutional Loyalty:** Welcoming revaluation and modification of loyalties to the general social institutions of country to meet new needs and demands.
- e. **Critical-Mindedness toward the State:** Holding a critical attitude toward the authority, form and procedure of the state and its government.
- f. **National Self-Sufficiency:** Intent upon building and maintaining the national group as a complete self-sufficing unit.

In none of these six types of "patriotism" did Hunter find a general loyalty to the country or nation-state as an abstract entity, but rather the pursuit of particular interests only. He concluded that such a broad meaning of patriotism is not legitimate.

Stagner (1940) analyzed "nationalistic opinions" which were actually items from a questionnaire on Methods of Preventing War. One item advocating the teaching of patriotism in schools was found to correlate positively with opposition to socialism and communism, with avoidance of "entangling alliances," and with militarism. The same item correlated negatively with items advocating the teaching of internationalism and a "United States of the World." Judging by the items and their inter-correlations, the scale probably assessed a complex of attitudes similar to Thurstone's Patriotism Scale.

Ferguson (1942) factor-analyzed Thurstone's scales on attitudes toward law, censorship, patriotism, and communism. The factor found

common to the four scales was labeled "nationalism," and a new scale was derived, using items from the original scales, so as to measure the common factor more directly. Few of the items refer specifically to the nation. Despite Ferguson's labeling, the content of the items indicate that his scale is basically tapping authoritarianism of the political right.

Levinson (Adorno et al, 1950) recognized that his patriotism scale was part of a broader ethnocentric ideology. He suggested that his scale really measures "pseudopatriotism," interpreted as "blind attachment to certain national cultural values, uncritical conformity with the prevailing group ways, and rejection of other nations as outgroups." This is opposed to "genuine" patriotism, which Levinson described as "love of country and attachment to national values [which] is based on critical understanding." "The genuine patriot," he stated, "can appreciate the values and ways of other nations, and can be permissive toward much that he cannot personally accept for himself. He is free of rigid conformism, outgroup rejection, and imperialistic striving for power" (Adorno et al, pp. 107-108).

Levinson's scale items express opinions that nations are hierarchically arranged from superior to inferior and the superior ones should dominate; militarism is advocated while deviants and foreign influences are rejected. The underlying ethnocentrism of these items is revealed in the .92 correlation of the patriotism scale with the Ethnocentrism Scale developed by Adorno and colleagues. The correlation is due in part to the fact that some patriotism items are included in the E scale, including an item about national sovereignty, and another stating that America is as close as possible to a perfect society. It is also



interesting to note that some patriotism items are included in the Politico-Economic Conservation scale reported by Levinson (Adorno et al, 1950). Levinson later (1957) referred to his "pseudopatriotism" scale as one measuring nationalism. He then developed an "Internationalism-Nationalism Scale" composed of nine foreign policy items similar in nature to those of the original Patriotism Scale, and three items advocating "internationalism" policies (reducing military expenditures, negotiating with the Chinese communists, and general de-emphasis of military force, and stressing more negotiation in foreign policy). With high scores indicating nationalism, this new scale again correlated highly (.77) with the Ethnocentrism Scale.

Scott (1960) also measured attitudes toward various areas of foreign policy, using eight Guttman-type scales. One of these was called "nationalism" and its five items in varying degrees stress American interests over those of other countries. This scale clustered with an "independence" scale which measures beliefs in sovereignty, and with a "power" scale concerned with national status. Scott correlated his foreign policy scales with others measuring supposedly analogous values in the interpersonal realm. (The latter deal with values admired in other people). Almost all correlations were low. What is interesting is that both the "nationalism" and "power" scales correlated about equally (around .22) with the personal status and loyalty scales. As the latter included items related to personal status and group identification, it appears that there is a common underlying syndrome involving admiration of status in other people (suggesting desires for self-status) and concern with national status and national self-interest.

One of the most recent studies on nationalism is Doob's (1962) research on the views of South Tyrolians. His method included content analysis of interviews, a sentence completion test, and children's essays. Referring to nationalism as a "syndrome," he included elements of ethnocentrism, patriotism, and incitement to action. Thus, his listing of the important components of nationalism is as follows:

1. Strong, favorable reactions to numerous subjectively distinctive aspects of an identifiable society as well as other reactions, usually unfavorable in part, to one or more foreign societies.
2. Strong cultural convictions concerning the need to gain control or to continue to control the power structure of their society for themselves and their peers.
3. Strong beliefs that [the aforementioned] convictions are variously, meaningfully, and deeply justified.

Several studies have attempted not to measure nationalism or patriotism directly, but rather some of their manifestations. Horowitz (1940) found that a nationalistic response in the form of judging the American flag as the "best looking" of several was found to appear at about age six and to increase thereafter with age of the child. Klineberg (1950) reported a host of studies on national stereotypes, which usually are more favorable to compatriots. Bjerstedt (1960) reported considerable variation among different nationality groups in their expressions of militaristic national aspirations and tendencies to view other nations in terms of black-white stereotypes.

#### Measurement of National Identification

Several studies have measured aspects of the individual's relation to his country which may be subsumed under the rubric "identification." Approaches have varied somewhat, so they shall be discussed here respectively as (a) identification as "national involvement,"

(b) identification via the self-concept, and (c) identification as shared values.

Identification as national involvement. In a study of prejudice, Morse and Allport (1952) hypothesized that anti-Semitism would be associated with "national involvement," which was defined as "the degree of importance of the nation to the individual." This was ~~measured~~ measured by six items (reported in Guetzkow, 1955) measuring respectively salience of American identification, emotional involvement in country, belief in military preparedness, national self-interest, national rectitude, and belief in the nation as a superordinate entity. The item intercorrelations ranged from .37 to .70, leading Morse to conclude that the scale was not unidimensional. The content of the items indicates that nationalism as well as identification may have been tapped.

In a study on foreign students in the United States, Morris (1960) found that national involvement was a major intervening factor affecting hostile reactions toward this country. He posited two main aspects of national involvement: (a) the degree to which the student's fate is tied to the fate of his own country, and (b) the degree to which the student personally feels attack, blame, or praise directed at his country or countrymen. Morris contended that this is independent of liking or admiration for homeland or degree of correspondence of own with national values. Findings were that the more involved the student was with his country, the more sensitive he was to the status which he perceived Americans to accord his homeland. If the student felt that Americans accorded less status to his country than he did himself, he was found likely unfavorably to regard Americans.

Identification via the self concept. McClintock and Davis (1958) had foreign students list fifteen self-characteristics, including nationality, in order of their importance to their self-concept. Measurements were taken twice, separated by a five-month interval. It was found that the nationality attribute increased in importance for those who were physically isolated and for those who were less favorable toward the United States. McClintock and Davis also assessed identification with a six-item scale measuring unwillingness to change citizenship, effort to keep informed about home country, belief in the advantage of revealing one's national origin, pride and shame regarding acts of compatriots, and perceptual saliency of nationality. (Note the similarity to Morris' measures of national involvement). The attribute of nationality was found to increase in importance for those who scored higher on the identification scale items. It seems possible that McClintock and Davis may be measuring the same thing (national identification) with two different indices, namely, by the identification scale and by the rank importance of nationality in the self-concept. In this case, their last finding may simply reveal a polarizing tendency for high identification to increase with duration of foreign sojourn.

The twenty-statement test was used by Kuhn (1960) to assess the self-concepts of American subjects. He found that use of nationality to identify oneself was rather infrequent.

Identification as shared values. In a nine-nation survey reported by Buchanan and Cantril (1953), respondents were asked whether they had more in common with their countrymen than with those of their social class in other countries. More people responded affirmatively than negatively in every country. This tendency was greater in the middle

class than in the lower class, and for those with greater education.

A study on Japanese students by Bennett, Passin and McKnight (1958) had as its central focus "the search for identity" of the subjects. Identification was measured by the subject's perceived degree of agreement between his own values and those of most Japanese in nine content areas. Relevant interpretations by the authors were as follows:

- (a). In the search for a Japanese national identity amidst the conflict of Western and oriental values, "national identity has for many come to be equated with personal identity." "The search for identity is, then, more than a nationalistic preoccupation; it is, for many Japanese, tantamount to a search for the self" (p. 25).
- (b). Identification with home country may be attained by the individual who is alienated from traditional values through identifying with important groups and forces in his country.
- (c). Identity tends to be a crucial problem mainly for those who are strongly concerned with humanistic ideals and aspirations. The individual whose focus is mainly on his professional career and not upon ideals or cultural identification is most likely to take his national identity for granted.
- (d). Identity and status appear to be thoroughly intertwined. The authors stated that a keen interest of the students was in the problem of a personal and national status, and its impact upon his goals and ideals. A common motive for the Japanese students to visit America was to learn "Am I, or are we, as good as Americans?" (p. 100).

## CHAPTER II

### FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM

Having reviewed the literature on nationalism and patriotism, the problem for research may now be formulated. Nationalism will be conceptualized as an orientation toward one's country in which one aspires for it a position of greater strength or power among nations. The psychological nature of nationalism will be examined by relating it to certain psychological variables of anticipated importance. These variables fall into three types or categories, specifically (a) personal characteristics, (b) characteristics of the nation, as perceived by the individual, and (c) the individual's psychological relationship to his country. (Patriotism, as commonly discussed, will be interpreted as falling within the last category.) This focus of the research may be illustrated schematically as in figure I.

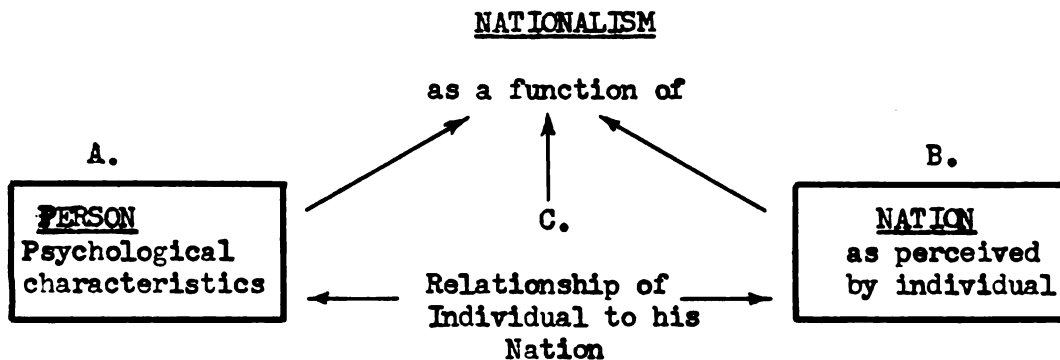


Figure 1. Focus of the research

In addition, we shall briefly examine what has commonly been considered a most important consequence of nationalism, its implication for international relations. This will be accomplished by relating

nationalism to a form of internationalism, an attitude which will be defined and measured.

### The Conceptualization of Nationalism

As was shown in the review of the literature, the phenomena of nationalism and patriotism have been given broad, and often vague and confusing definitions, in which a continuum for ordering individuals or nations is difficult to distinguish. Shafer's (1961) omnibus interpretation clearly exemplifies the pot-pourri of phenomena that have been included under the rubric of "nationalism." Notions of national consciousness, ethnocentrism, patriotism (as variously defined), nativism, chauvinism, statism, and imperialism have all been thrown in as components. This had led some writers to distinguish "types" of nationalism, and to separate an "old" from a "new" nationalism. To obtain a quantitative measure of nationalism, a more precise definition is obviously needed.

Hertz (1941) pointed out that words ending in "ism" commonly denote a collective striving or school of thought, characterized by a very strong, and usually one-sided, accentuation of a principle. Accordingly, nationalism would denote a mentality (Hertz's term) stressing nationality in a one-sided, exclusive way; it is characterized by a predominance of the striving for power and domination, and the subordination of all other values to these aims. Empirical evidence for this interpretation was shown earlier by Scott's (1960) finding that nationalism and power orientations in foreign policy were correlated. Hertz's definition seems more amenable to operationalizing for research than other more global and variegated conceptualizations. Of the three general phenomena that

have been considered aspects of nationalism, namely national consciousness, belief in national superiority, and adherence to a national cause, it emphasizes the last. This definition seems preferable, because it stresses the dynamic of nationalism, in that it pertains to goal-seeking for one's nation toward the end of greater power. This dynamic aspect is vital to international relations, for it is a factor in activities between and among nations. National consciousness, in contrast, seems to be more passive, being an awareness of national characteristics. This is indeed an important problem, but we prefer not to deal with it here because it is a topic mainly pertaining to the unity and integration within nations. Likewise, we prefer not to treat nationalism in terms of the beliefs in national superiority, for this seems to be a special case of ethnocentrism, a problem already widely explored. Both national consciousness and ethnocentrism have been enlisted in service of the national cause, another reason why we wish to concentrate directly on the latter.

Nationalism will thus be conceptualized as a cognitive and conative phenomenon, with the emphasis on the latter. Cognitively, it involves the perception of one's nation as positioned along an ordering of nations according to their strength or power. Conatively, it involves a seeking, an aspiration, a motivation directed toward the goal of increased strength for one's nation relative to that of other nations. In the Osgoodian sense, it seems mainly related to the potency dimension and secondarily to the activity dimension. Briefly, our definition is as follows:

Nationalism: an orientation of the individual toward his country in which his aspirations for his country are that it gain greater potency or power vis-a-vis other nations.

As a check on this definition, the consensual meaning of nationalism



will be examined. It is expected that most subjects will consider nationalism to be high on the potency dimension and fairly high on the activity dimension. Strong nationalists will probably evaluate nationalism as better on the evaluation dimension than people low in nationalism.

Hypothesis 1. On the three Osgood dimensions, the consensual meaning of nationalism is that it is high in potency and activity, but highest on the former.

Hypothesis 1a. Individuals high in nationalism evaluate nationalism more favorably than do those low in nationalism.

#### Relation of Nationalism to Other Variables

While undoubtedly social, cultural, political, and historical factors contribute to the formation of a nationalist orientation, this study focuses on psychological (or social psychological) factors. The antecedent variables are placed into three main categories: personality variables, perceived characteristics of one's nation, and the relationships of one's self to his nation. Each type will be considered in turn.

#### Personality variables

Dogmatism. The concept of Dogmatism has been developed by Rokeach (1960), as an outgrowth of earlier formulations on the authoritarian personality (Adorno et al, 1950; Fromm, 1941; Hoffer, 1958). Rokeach's theory analyzes belief systems in terms of various structural characteristics, such as isolation, differentiation, narrowing, and so forth.

These are the dimensions by which Rokeach distinguishes the "open" from the "closed" mind. To measure the degree of openness or closedness in the belief-disbelief system of any individual, he has developed the Dogmatism Scale. A high score on this scale is indicative of a relatively closed mind. The scale is also considered by Rokeach to be a measure of general authoritarianism, without the bias toward authoritarianism of the right which is inherent in the California F scale (Adorno et al, 1950).

Common to the theories of the authoritarian personality and the dogmatic personality is the notion that such an individual is insecure, with feelings of inadequacy and self-hatred. As compensation for this low self-esteem, the individual becomes obsessed with power and status, and is prone to join causes to identify with something greater than his own despised self. It is on this point that we see a possible link between nationalism and dogmatism. Nationalism provides a cause for the dogmatic individual to espouse, for by promoting the power and status of his country, he can compensate for his feelings of impotency and low status. The discussion of identification in Chapter I revealed that many other writers consider such processes to be paramount in nationalism.

Because nationalism is but one of several causes that the dogmatic individual may choose to espouse, it would not follow that all dogmatic people are necessarily nationalistic. Consequently, the expected relation between the two variables is as shown in figure 2. This is not a genuine curvilinear relationship, for predictions cannot be made from all values of either variable; a person low in nationalism may or may not be dogmatic, while a person high in dogmatism may or may not be nationalistic. What seems to be the most feasible hypothesis is as follows:

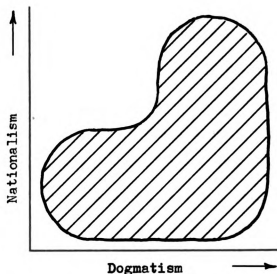


Figure 2. Hypothesized scattergram relating nationalism and Dogmatism

Hypothesis 2. Degrees of nationalism and Dogmatism are likely in all combinations except strong nationalism and low dogmatism.

Another theoretical characteristic of Dogmatism is relevant to nationalism. Dogmatic thinking is said by Rokeach to involve the acceptance of belief systems in toto; this is "party-line" thinking. If the nationalist is indeed dogmatic, then we might expect to find him enthusiastically endorsing all aspects of his country, without discriminating as to which aspects he likes and which he dislikes. From another standpoint, if the individual is compensating for low self-esteem by identifying with his country, it is to be expected that he would have a high overall evaluation of his country.

Hypothesis 3. Highly nationalistic individuals have a more favorable general evaluation of their country than do individuals low in nationalism.

Status Admiration. We might expect that a person who aspires for a position of greater power or strength for his nation to have a general respect for power. Scott (1960) found such a tendency in his study, wherein the admiration of high status in others was most highly correlated with the espousing of nationalism and power orientation in foreign policy (and, as was pointed out earlier, the latter two aspects were intercorrelated). Such a viewpoint is found also in the theory of Adorno et al (1950), in which the authoritarian personality is supposed to be oriented toward power and "toughness." Therefore, we shall submit:

Hypothesis 4. There is a positive correlation between nationalism and admiration of status in others.

#### Perceived Characteristics of Nation

Power. It is likely that the seeking of greater power for one's nation is directly related to the perception of the power which the nation does have presently. By power is meant a combination of potency and activity. (This is analogous to power in the physical sense, which is the product of force and movement over a distance through time.) An inverse relation is expected; the individual will most likely seek greater power for his country when he perceives that it in fact has little power.

Hypothesis 5. Perceived power of one's nation is negatively correlated with degree of nationalism.

Status. Perceived national status has already been shown by Morris (1960) to be related to foreign students' attitudes. National status may also be related to nationalism by making three assumptions. The first is

that the need for status and recognition is a basic human motive. The second is that those perceiving their countries as having low status will be motivated to see that status raised. The third is that nationalism may be instrumental toward raising the national status. On the basis of these assumptions, an inverse relationship between nationalism and perceived national status is expected.

Hypothesis 6. Degree of perceived status of one's nation is negatively correlated with nationalism.

Threat orientation. As noted earlier, many writers maintain that devotion to the cause of nationalism is commonly held with distrust or animosity toward other nations which represent actual or potential blocks to national aspirations. It may be expected, therefore, that if one perceives his nation as relatively weak among nations, other nations may represent a greater threat to the continued existence and viability of his own. A perception of external threat would then be grounds for seeking greater strength for one's own nation.

Hypothesis 7. An awareness of external threat to one's nation is associated with greater nationalism; this relation is intensified when one perceives that his own country is relatively lacking in power. This relation is illustrated in figure 3.

### Relationships of Self to Nation

The review of literature revealed that many writers mentioned identification with nation as an aspect central to nationalism. We interpret identification as connoting a type of relation between the individual's self and his country. In this section, the relations of self to nation

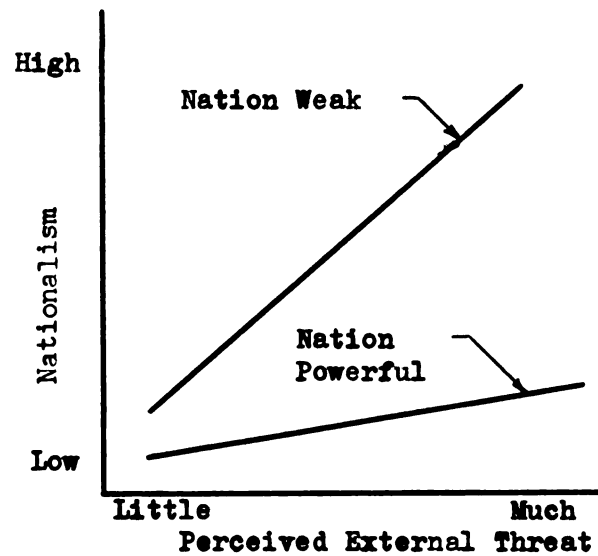


Figure 3. Expected relation of nationalism to the perceptions of external threat and power of one's nation.

will be considered so as to form specific hypotheses regarding types of relationship and nationalism.

Consider first the self. Some ~~major~~ thinkers in the social sciences hold that a person is strongly motivated to establish his identity and a sense of his own worth (sometimes referred to as validation of the self). Erickson (1959) developed this as a central theme; both Cooley (1902) and Fromm (1949) submitted that a sense of self-identity is ~~one~~ of man's basic needs. These theorists, as did Mead (1934), agreed that the sense of self is gained from or related to the groups of which one is a member, and both Cooley and Erickson specifically mentioned that identification with country can be part of the self-concept.

Just what is "identification?" This term has had many usages, as given by English and English (1958), Erickson (1956), Hall and Lindsey (1957), Kagan (1958), Krech and Crutchfield (1948), Newcomb (1950), Strauss (1959), and Thibaut and Kelley (1959). (English and English

give no less than ten different definitions of the **concept!**) Commonly it indicates a relation between two individuals, in which one individual takes over the features of another individual and makes them part of his own personality; the one person then vicariously experiences the effect associated with the successes and failures of the model. In a more active sense, the identifying individual may internalize the goals and values of the model.

One may identify with a group as well as with a single other individual (a relevant consideration in "reference group" theory.) The term is often applied in the same way as in person-person identification. It may also mean simply "belonging to" a group or "~~sharing~~ values and/or characteristics with" the group. The most profound psychological relation to the self is however, the individual experiencing his group membership as part of his self concept. As Krech and Crutchfield (1948) stated, the individual feels that the group is "his" group, its welfare "his" welfare, its achievements "his" achievements. "We" and "our" feelings are involved. The meaning here is very similar to "ego involvement" or "self involvement," terms which designate a relation between the person and some task, situation, or other persons which affect his evaluation of himself (English and English, 1958; Newcomb, 1950; Sherif and Cantril, 1947; Strauss, 1959).

To relate these notions to nationalism, let us **broaden** our considerations somewhat. Instead of concerning ourselves just with identification, let us consider more generally the relationships that can obtain between the individual and a group of which he is a member. Noting the concept of "we feeling" brought in by Krech and Crutchfield, we are led to contemplate how the concept of "group cohesiveness" bears on the

self-nation relationship.

In a review chapter on group cohesiveness, Cartwright and Zander (1953) cited three ways in which an individual may be attracted to a group. The first is that the individual may simply like the group members. This is similar to Guetzkow's (1955) notion of "loyalty as an autonomous need," in which the nation is evaluated as "good," a **value** which is emotionalized and reinforced irrespective of the nation's success or failure in meeting the needs of its members. The nation tends to be idealized, its values and standards being regarded as wise and fair.

A group may also be attractive, according to Cartwright and Zander, because it mediates the attainment of the individual's personal goals. Similarly, Guetzkow spoke of "loyalty through attachment to means." Again, Morris (1960) stated that an aspect of "involvement with country" is the degree to which the individual's fate is tied to or dependent on the fate of his country. Unlike the first type then, this form of attraction depends directly on the ability of the group to mediate goal-attainment.

Cartwright and Zander mentioned that a third form of group attractiveness is through the prestige or social status it confers on the individual. In a similar vein, Guetzkow stated that a form of loyalty obtains when the individual gains vicarious satisfaction in experiencing the accomplishments and virtues of the group as his own. To Guetzkow, this is "identification." Guetzkow submitted that this kind of loyalty is likely to be strongest when the object of attachment has an aura of success. Under a separate heading, he cited loyalty as self-avoidance, in which the individual submerges his identity in devotion to a cause. This seems to be merely an extreme form of identification. Similarly,



Morris presented as an aspect of "involvement" the degree to which the individual personally feels attack, blame, or praise directed at his country or compatriots.

Evidence of the separateness of these three forms of group attraction was provided in a group experiment by Back (1957). By varying instructions, he induced in his subjects either an interpersonal-liking orientation, a task-directed orientation, or a prestige orientation. These three methods had similar effects on group cohesiveness, but differences in specific intra-group behaviors were manifested.

We do not mean to imply in this discussion that the cited three forms of attraction to groups are the only ones mentioned by others. They have been delineated here because they appear repeatedly in discussions of cohesiveness, loyalty, identification and "national involvement." It seems, therefore, that these relationships of person to group may prove to be factors relevant to nationalism, in ways that shall be hypothesized shortly. At this point we shall simply note that the notions of "identification" as involved in nationalism seem to pertain to the second and third forms of group attractiveness. Morris, as has been noted, combines them into one concept of "involvement with country." We also detect in discussions of "patriotism" a referral to the first and second kinds of relationship.

These variables will now be defined for relation to our study. Analogous to the three forms of group attraction, we shall define three forms of involvement with country, namely Affective Involvement, Goal Involvement, and Ego-Involvement.

Affective Involvement. This is simply an emotional, sentimental relationship between the individual and his country. He feels that his

country is "home," it is a source of security, fond memories, and familiarity. The country is "motherland." We expect that this affect is directed toward both the physical environment and toward family and friends, and perhaps generalized to all compatriots. It is probably, according to the congruency tendency in person perception (Taguiri, Bruner, and Blake, 1957), that the individual will also perceive affect directed toward him by his compatriots. Briefly, our definition is as follows:

**Affective Involvement:** the mutuality of affect experienced by the individual between himself and his country, represented by degrees of liking.

This variable may also be considered "Patriotism--Type A."

Goal Involvement. This aspect is cognitive in the sense that the individual perceives his country as a facilitator, external to himself, of his personal goal attainment; he perceives his country's progress as helping him to achieve his goals. The involvement is conative in that the individual is motivated to help his country attain its goals, which will thereby help him personally. The definition follows:

**Goal Involvement:** the perception by the individual of a direct connection between his country's progress and his personal goal attainment, accompanied by a motivation to help his country attain its goals, and indexed by the degree to which the individual expresses a desire to participate in his country's goal attainment.

This variable may also be considered "Patriotism--Type B."

Ego Involvement. This is the form of involvement most directly related to self-evaluation or self-esteem. The individual perceives that his importance, value, worth as an individual stems directly from the attributes and achievements of his country. Unlike the previous two kinds of involvement, there is little mutuality, for the emphasis is on what the individual gains from his country in identity, status and esteem. In addition to this cognitive side, there is the self-directed affect

(pride, shame, etc.) associated with the country. Affective Involvement differs from Goal Involvement, because in the latter the country as external facilitator need not reflect on the individual's evaluation of himself. Briefly then, the definition is:

**Ego-Involvement:** the extent to which nationality is part of the individual's self-concept, such that his self-evaluation is dependent on the evaluation of his country, and he experiences self-directed affect in regard to his country.

An extreme form of ego-involvement occurs when the individual's identity is completely submerged into that of the nation. This is Hoffer's "true believer" type, portrayed as follows:

In every act, however trivial, the individual must by some ritual associate himself with the group. His joys and sorrows, his pride and confidence must spring from the fortunes and capacities of the group rather than from his individual prospects and abilities.  
(Hoffer, 1951, p. 61)

Such are the three forms of involvement with country proposed for examination. While they are considered different, they are expected to be related. Therefore, the first set of hypotheses regarding them will aim at explicating their meaning and delineating their differences.

Differentiation of the forms of involvement. It is anticipated that because of the intimate link between self and nation in Ego-Involvement, the ego-involved person will tend also to be affectively and goal-involved with his country. The latter variables however will less likely be connected.

Hypotheses 8. Ego-involvement is correlated more with affective-involvement and goal-involvement than the latter are with each other.

To distinguish between Affective Involvement and Goal Involvement, we shall posit, after Guetzkow, that the former is more autonomous and relatively independent of the satisfaction of material needs. We see the

latter, however, as more directly related to material need satisfaction. Thus Affective Involvement will be associated more with the liking of one's compatriots, the land in one's country, the customs, ideals and values of the nation. (These aspects shall henceforth be referred to as the Cultural Milieu.) Goal involvement will be associated more with liking of job opportunities, the economic system, security offered, and the freedom and rights offered by the nation (the Goal-Achievement Milieu).

Hypothesis 9a. Goal Involvement correlates more with liking of the Goal Achievement Milieu than does Affective Involvement.

Hypothesis 9b. Affective Involvement correlates more with liking of the Cultural Milieu than does Goal Involvement.

By definition, Ego Involvement implies a close connection between evaluation of self and nation. Therefore, the highly ego-involved individual should show a high correlation between assessed characteristics respectively of self and nation than should the low ego-involved person. Degree of Affective Involvement or Goal Involvement should show no such relationships.

Hypothesis 10. Degree of Ego-Involvement is correlated with correspondence of perceived characteristics of self and nation, while degree of Affective Involvement and Goal Involvement is not so correlated.

Of the three forms of involvement, we expect Ego-Involvement to be most associated with dogmatism. According to theories of the authoritarian-dogmatic personality, such an individual is supposed to be

characterized by self-avoidance through submerging his identity in an external social object. He would thus be ego-involved with that object, and dogmatism represents a defense of his tenuous self-esteem. Relevant here is Lambert and Bressler's (1955) study of the "sensitive area complex" of Indian students, in which the subjects' dogmatic defensiveness seems to reveal a strong ego-involvement with their country.

Hypothesis 11. Ego-Involvement is correlated more with dogmatism than are Affective Involvement and Goal Involvement.

We further expect the form and degree of involvement to be a function of the perceived status of one's country. He who evaluates himself by the prestige of his country will more likely identify with his country if it has high status. On the other hand, there need be no connection between status and affective involvement with country. For the person who feels that his welfare depends on that of his country and who seeks to help his country progress, we expect that low status of his country will make him more likely to be so motivated.

Hypothesis 12. Perceived status of country is positively correlated with Ego-Involvement, negatively correlated with Goal Involvement, and not correlated with Affective Involvement.

Forms of involvement and nationalism. Having delineated the three forms of involvement of self with nation, we now propose to examine their relation to nationalism.

Assuming that the ego-involved individual is one who seeks to gain personal status and prestige through his country, he may be expected to

be most zealous in seeking increased power for his nation, as suggested by Benda (1961).<sup>2</sup>

One goal-involved with his country will be concerned with its progress, but not necessarily through increasing its power internationally. Hence, Goal Involvement probably correlates with nationalism, but not to the same degree as Ego-Involvement. Finally, Affective-Involvement is expected to least correlate with nationalism, for the power of one's country is unlikely to be involved in sentiment toward the nation.

Hypothesis 13. Nationalism correlates most with Ego-Involvement, next with Goal Involvement, and least with Affective Involvement.

Loyalty. Another way of looking at the relation between self and nation is through the relative loyalty to one's nation as opposed to various other groups of which one is a member.

Just what is the psychological meaning of "loyalty?" English and English (1958) defined it as "an attitude or sentiment of firm attachment to a person, group, institution, or ideal." Guetzkow's definition is more extensive:

Loyalty: An attitude predisposing its holder to respond toward an idea, person, or group with actions perceived by the holder to be supported of, and/or with feelings which value the continued existence of, the object toward which the attitude is directed. (Guetzkow, 1955, p. 8).

We might think of loyalty as a form of identification, or extension of one's self-concept to social objects external to the individual. By

---

2. Suggestive here is a study by Sherif and Sherif (1953), in which two groups of boys were put into conflict. It was found that those socio-metrically of low status were the most ardent in promoting the cause of their own group. This might be considered to be analogous to nationalism on the part of these boys.

this token, we might expect the nationalist, whom we have already posited as highly ego-involved with his country, to express higher loyalty to his country than he who is not nationalistic.

According to Hertz (1941), nationalism is a mentality stressing nationality in a one-sided exclusive way. Our own definition of nationalism specifies that it involves promoting the power of one's country relative to that of others. Therefore, in a hierarchical listing of groups to which one feels some degree of loyalty, the highly nationalistic person may be expected to place his country higher in the ranking than would the low nationalist. Especially we predict that the nationalist would be more loyal to his country than to the rest of the world.

Hypothesis 14. Degree of nationalism is positively correlated with the rank of nation in the individual's hierarchy of loyalties.

Hypothesis 14a. The higher his nationalism, the more likely will the individual place loyalty to country over loyalty to the rest of the world.

#### Nationalism and Internationalism

Nationalism has commonly been assailed as the source of international difficulties. This was the consensus, for example, among four Michigan State University professors speaking at a recent seminar on the United Nations (Michigan State News, February 16, 1962). Nationalism and internationalism have sometimes been considered polar opposites, as for example by Levinson (1956), who constructed a bi-polar nationalism-internationalism scale. An occasional voice, however, denies this as a necessary relation; Emerson (1961) asserted that nationalism can be a stepping stone

toward a collaborative world order.

It appears that part of this confusion is due to differing definitions of nationalism (see Chapter I) as well as of internationalism. While it is not the purpose of this research to examine the various manifestations of "internationalism," two different forms seem apparent. The first ("Internationalism, Type A") is an interest in internationalism cooperation as a means to progress and peace; internationalism in this sense can be simply an expediency. The second form ("Internationalism Type B") is more idealistic, in that it adheres to a moralistic belief in the equality of man, and holds that all mankind should be united in pursuit of common goals. This is essentially the advocacy of "one world." Whereas the individual espousing the first kind of internationalism can still believe that nations should maintain their sovereignty and each pursue its separate goals, the believer in the second kind holds that national interests are anachronistic, and should be subordinated or eliminated in favor of the international cause. A pilot study of internationalistic items by the investigator revealed tentative dimensions which seemed to reflect these two opposing viewpoints.

For our purposes here, we shall examine the first kind of internationalism, in anticipation of refuting the common notion that nationalism and internationalism are necessarily opposed. For this purpose we submit the following definition:

Internationalism Type A: a belief in and advocacy of the international cooperation of nations for the attainment of goals.

We expect that some nationalists will be so concerned with the national cause that they will exhibit little interest in international cooperation, but there will be many others who advocate both nationalism and international cooperation.



Hypothesis 15. Nationalism and Internationalism Type A are slightly negatively correlated.

We have already predicted that the nationalist will express greater loyalty to his nation than to the rest of the world. The person who is more loyal to the world than to his country is exhibiting what we consider as Internationalism Type B. He will probably score high on "type A" internationalism, but the converse does not necessarily hold. Hence, the hypothesis is formulated as follows.

Hypothesis 16. Degrees of internationalism types "A" (international cooperation) and "B" (one world) are likely in all combinations except high on "type B" and low on "type A."

(See figure 4).

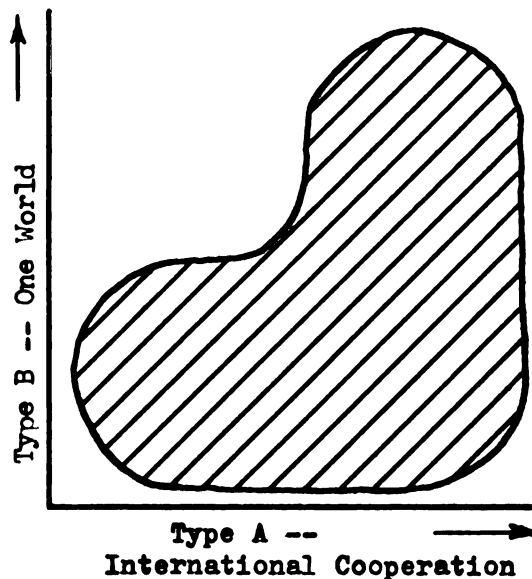


Figure 4. Expected relationship between Internationalism types "A" and "B."

### CHAPTER III

#### POPULATION AND SAMPLE

The population used in this study comprises students from six world areas and thirteen countries studying at Michigan State University and the University of Michigan during the academic year 1961-1962. Actually, two samples were obtained, one consisting of foreign students and the other of Americans. Foreign students were chosen for two reasons: (a) because it was expected that foreign students would provide considerably wider ranges on the variables under examination (an expectation later verified by the data), and (b) because it is anticipated that foreign students represent a pool from which many leaders of their respective countries will be selected and whose attitudes regarding nationalism may have important consequences. Sampling from such a heterogeneous population does have a drawback however, in that the general results may conceal national variations in the relations among the variables studied. For this reason, an American sample was selected to provide one large culturally homogeneous sample for comparison with the heterogeneous foreign sample.

Two universities were employed for selection of the foreign students so that a substantial number of foreign students would be available for drawing the samples. Michigan State University and the University of Michigan were readily accessible, and both had fairly large bodies of foreign students (about 640 and 1410 respectively). The six world areas were chosen to include all the major cultural-geographical areas represented by foreign students at the two universities. Within each area, samples were

selected from each of the two countries with the largest representation, to maintain sample sizes sufficient to detect any unusual national tendencies. (Three countries were selected from the Far East because of its extensive geographical and cultural distances; North America was represented only by Canadians because of the planned United States sample.) Planning for a total foreign sample of about 200, an effort was made to obtain data from 17 students from each of the following countries:

North America:	Canada
South America:	Colombia Venezuela
Western Europe:	England Germany
Middle East (including northeast Africa):	Egypt Iran
Africa (south of the Sahara):	Guinea Nigeria
Far East:	India Japan Korea

### Sampling Procedure

Foreign students. In choosing the subjects, names were systematically sampled from the listings by country in the foreign student directory of each university.<sup>3</sup> Both directories contained current listings. As data was obtained by mail questionnaire, 331 names were selected, with an expected 60 per cent return (based on a pilot study).

---

3. Stratified sampling was not considered practicable for (a) it would have further reduced the limited sample sizes from several countries, (b) there was insufficient advance information for such purposes, and (c) the self-selection by the mail survey respondents could upset the strata.

To maximize the rate of return of the questionnaires, each prospective subject was called by phone to solicit his cooperation. Despite repeated calls, only 136 persons were reached, of whom six declined to participate (mainly on grounds that they were too busy). A few reserved decision until they examined the questionnaire. The effect of the phone calls is uncertain, for 63 per cent of those called and accepting returned their questionnaires, while 57 per cent of those not called responded. Cultural factors may have operated, for all those called from Canada and England responded, compared to 37 and 45 per cent respectively for those not called. In contrast, considerably more responses were obtained from those not called among German, Iranian, Japanese, and Venezuelan students.

Further to increase the rate of return, an explanatory letter accompanied each questionnaire. A process was used in which each letter appeared individually written. To gain the subject's cooperation, an appeal was made to his interest in international relations, which could have biased the sample somewhat. (A copy of the letter appears in Appendix A). After one week, a follow-up letter was sent.

Of the 331 questionnaires sent out, ten were returned by the post office. Seven subjects declined to answer because they were becoming United States citizens or were too busy; two refused because they objected to the questionnaire. In all, a response of some sort was obtained from 62 per cent of those who apparently received the questionnaire. After deleting unuseable questionnaires (incomplete, wrong country, etc.), the final foreign sample comprised 177 subjects. Table 1 summarizes the foreign student response.

As table 1 reveals, the number of questionnaires sent to students from Nigeria and Guinea is considerably below the desired 31 per country.

Country	No. sent Question- naire *	Refusals by mail or telephone	Returned Questionnaires		Number useable Questionnaires
			n	%	
Canada	30	0	18	60.0	17
Colombia	26	1	14	42.3	14
Venezuela	31	0	21	67.7	16
Germany	30	4	21	70.0	19
England	30	1	18	60.0	17
Guinea	8	0	2	25.0	2
Nigeria	10	2	3	30.0	3
Egypt	32	1	12	37.5	11
Iran	30	1	23	77.4	22
India	31	0	23	74.2	21
Japan	31	1	19	62.5	18
Korea	31	2	17	54.8	17
TOTALS	320	13	191	59.7%	177

\*Less returns by post office

Table 1. Response rates among foreign students

This was necessary because few students from these countries were available.

American Students. The American sample comprised Michigan State University students from undergraduate psychology and sociology courses. One of the sociology courses was given off-campus and was composed generally of older students. After deleting foreign students, immigrants and incomplete questionnaires, a sample of 185 remained.

### Non-Responders: Qualitative Information

As one of the problems of the mail questionnaire is that responders may differ from non-responders in important ways, an effort was made to learn the reasons for not returning the questionnaire. It is important to point out here that because of scheduling difficulties, it was necessary to mail the questionnaire a few days before final examinations, an unfortunate circumstance which probably reduced the rate of return.

To check on the reasons for not responding, 28 of the non-responders were called by telephone about three weeks after the questionnaires had been mailed. Most students were away for the summer, and only four were reached. One claimed not to have received the questionnaire, another had anonymously returned his, and a third said he had been too busy. The fourth student was from Africa, to which we shall now give special attention.

As Table 1 shows, the three African countries (Egypt, Guinea, and Nigeria) had the lowest return rates. As results were similar on a pilot study, further investigation seemed warranted. Various sources of information were used, with results as follows:

Nigerian who refused to answer questionnaire: "no time"

Another refusing Nigerian (pilot study): "I am a Civil Servant of my country and any statement I make has to go through the Head of my Department....I cannot, by law make any statement criticizing my country....Most of the questions are formed in a way I do not like and hence I cannot answer them even incognito."

Another refusing Nigerian: "I am indisposed to political discussions."

Non-responding Nigerian (by phone): Disposed of questionnaire without reading it, because he didn't know purpose for which it would be used. Stated that Africans, including Egyptians, are "touchy," emotional in outlook. Africans are suspicious of social scientists because they have been studied too much by them, sometimes given unfair interpretations, no longer want to be



"guinea pigs." Suggested that responses by those who did return questionnaires may be atypical.

African informant not in study: Africans are suspicious. Feel Negro is exploited in United States. Studies by social scientists have given unfair treatment to Africans, so Africans do not wish to cooperate in further studies. Was informed by a Nigerian that he didn't intend to return questionnaire.

Egyptian responder: Egyptians are often supported by their government, feel obligated to present a "good front," are hesitant and guarded about making statements which may be wrongly interpreted. (Comment: Egyptian students were indeed found to be supported by their government more than those from other countries. Also, their responses were very extreme, expressing strong liking and support of their country.)

These responses clearly suggest a "sensitive area complex," which may explain the low return rate for Africans, and which could bias the responses. It is possible also that samples from other countries may have to a degree been similarly affected.

#### Quantitative Comparison of Samples

Because it is possible for sampling bias to creep in through a number of ways, the sample compositions were analyzed on a number of variables. Where possible, information was obtained on the foreign responders (mainly from the questionnaires), the foreign non-responders (mainly from the directories), foreign students in the United States, and on the American subjects. Data on all foreign students in the United States was obtained from the Institute of International Education report, Open Doors 1962, which gave statistics for the academic year 1961-1962.

Foreign students--distribution by area. In table 2 the distribution of foreign students from different geographical areas is presented. (Egypt is included with Africa to conform with the I.I.E. notation) It can be seen that the distribution of respondents corresponds generally



with the all-America distribution from the I.I.E. (There was no deliberate attempt, of course, to achieve this.) Comparison of responders with non-responders from each area shows that proportionally more Europeans and Middle-Easterners responded than not, while most Africans failed to respond.

	Foreign Responders	Foreign Non-responders	Foreign All-America
North America	9.4%	9.3%	11.4%
Latin America	18.3	17.1	17.2
Europe	20.2	16.3	11.7
Near and Middle East	12.0	5.4	14.2
Africa (including Egypt)	8.9	25.6	6.8
Far East	30.9	26.4	37.1
Other	--	--	1.6
	100%	100%	100%

Table 2. Distribution of foreign students by area

Foreign students--sources of financial support. As our Egyptian informant (mentioned earlier) suggested that source of financial support could possibly affect results, information was obtained<sup>on</sup> this. The I.I.E. statistics in table 3 lends credence to the report of our informant, for the Egyptians receive considerably more financial support from their own government than do students from elsewhere. Additional information was obtained on the sources of support for Michigan State University responders and non-responders, which unfortunately does not include Egyptians. Numbers supported by governments in this group are too low to give statistics by country, so table 4 gives only the overall sample proportions. The figures

are not conclusive, for the "non-responders" may include some students who returned their questionnaire anonymously. In general, however, the I.I.E. and M.S.U. figures suggest that a slightly lower rate of response may be found among those supported by their own government.

#### Foreign All-America

	Own govt.	U.S. govt.
Canada	3.0%	2.5%
Colombia	9.9	8.4
Venezuela	14.5	1.9
Germany	3.8	17.6
England	1.4	15.0
Guinea	3.5	36.2
Nigeria	16.3	14.3
Egypt	42.9	11.8
Iran	10.4	2.2
India	1.6	11.4
Japan	1.7	12.5
Korea	2.6	8.1

Table 3. Governmental financial support for foreign students in the United States. (Non-listed sources are self or private agencies).

Foreign students--length of stay in the United States. Previous studies (Kiell, 1951; Loomis, 1948; Sewell and Davidson, 1956; Watson and Lippitt, 1955) on foreign students have shown that attitudes toward the United States vary as to the length of time in this country. As this could affect the rate of response to the questionnaire, figures on this

Foreign Responders	10.4%	5.2%
Foreign Non-responders	12.3%	7.0%

Table 4. Governmental support for M.S.U. responders and non-responders.

were assembled (table 5). While the comparison does not include non-responders, the figures show consistently that the responders have been in this country considerably longer than the national average for their respective countries. It seems that for whatever their reasons, the newly-arrived are less inclined to respond to the questionnaire. Possibly the problems of adjustment mitigate against this.

	<u>Foreign Responders</u>	<u>Foreign All-America</u>
Canada	70.6%	38.2%
Colombia	64.3	24.2
Venezuela	81.2	43.3
Germany	52.6	15.6
England	64.8	22.8
Guinea	0	6.8
Nigeria	66.7	32.1
Egypt	72.7	26.3
Iran	54.6	54.7
India	42.8	29.5
Japan	66.7	31.2
Korea	88.2	53.8

Table 5. Proportions of foreign students who have been in the United States over two years.

All subjects--distribution by sex. Table 6 shows that the samples are composed primarily of males. Comparing responders with non-responders, it can be seen that males responded proportionally more than females, except among the Canadians, English and Germans and Indians. Here again, cultural factors seem to be operating. Table 6 also shows that the foreign sample contains proportionally more males than does the American.

	Responders-- % males	Non-responders % males	Foreign All-America % males
Canada	77%	100%	80.9%
Colombia	93	75	82.2
Venezuela	88	81	88.4
Germany	74	83	72.8
England	71	73	76.9
Guinea	100	100	94.8
Nigeria	100	100	93.5
Egypt	100	95	85.3
Iran	91	80	91.8
India	95	100	88.7
Japan	83	69	72.9
Korea	82	64	82.8
All foreign	85.3	84.5	83.6
U.S.A.	61.0	--	--

Table 6. Proportions of males in samples and among foreign students in the United States.

All subjects--distribution by marital status. No data has been furnished by the I.I.E. on the marital status of foreign students across the

country, but we can at least compare responders with non-responders on this variable. Table 7 reveals a tendency for married students to respond more than single students, with the main exception to this being the Egyptian sample.

	Single responders	Single non-responders
Canada	65%	92%
Colombia	64	75
Venezuela	53	71
Germany	74	75
England	59	67
Guinea	100	100
Nigeria	33	63
Egypt	60	37
Iran	83	80
India	76	73
Japan	78	100
Korea	59	77
All foreign	66.7	73.0
U.S.A.	64.0	--

Table 7. Distribution of responders and non-responders by marital status.

All subjects--distribution by age. No information was available on the non-responding foreign students, so it is difficult to determine whether this factor influenced tendency to respond. The I.I.E. census has not published figures on age since the academic year 1953-1954, so these figures are given for comparison. Table 8 shows that the foreign sample is older than the American, but there is considerable variation.

from country to country sampled. There appears to be little correspondence between the sample statistics and the proportions by age among foreign students in 1953-54.

	Responders	Foreign--all America 1953-54
Canada	66%	64.4%
Colombia	57	74.8
Venezuela	63	72.8
Germany	63	54.5
England	41	49.5
Guinea	50	--
Nigeria	67	39.8
Egypt	9	29.8
Iran	73	51.0
India	40	42.9
Japan	17	47.6
Korea	12	55.5
Total foreign	46.9	57.5
U.S.A.	69.7	---

Table 8. Proportion of individuals under age 25 among subjects and among foreign students in the United States.

All subjects--academic specialties. Classifying the subjects according to field of study reveals that the foreign responders, more so than non-responders, are represented in education, social science, and the humanities. Table 9 shows also that a somewhat lower response rate was obtained from among the physical and natural sciences and engineering.

Broadly speaking, it seems that those in the human-oriented fields were more prone to respond than those in the non-human-oriented fields. The American sample is also shown to be heavily weighted in the human-oriented fields, to be expected in light of the courses from which they were drawn.

	Foreign Responders	Foreign Non-responders	Foreign All-America	Americans
Education	7%	4%	5.2%	25.7%
Business Administration	6	6	8.8	14.7
Medicine	2	5	7.1	0.7
Phys. and Nat. Science	9	12	16.2	1.5
Social Science	17	11	14.5	29.4
Engineering	28	33	22.4	1.5
Humanities	10	4	19.2	16.2
Agriculture	9	7	3.3	0
Other	<u>13</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>10.3</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 9. Distribution of foreign and American subjects by field of study.

All subjects--occupation of father. To provide an indication of social class, occupations of father was obtained from all participants. (This was not available from non-responders nor in the I.I.E. census.) No attempt was made to place these into social classes, for occupations are likely to vary as to social status in different countries. The occupations were placed into the categories resulting from a survey by Hatt and North (Bendix and Lipset, 1953). The groupings listed in table 10

are ordered according to their prestige or "general standing" among a national cross-section of Americans.

It is apparent from table 10 that the foreign sample is rather an elite group. The occupations fall more into the prestigious positions (by American standards) which are likely to be accorded very high status in some of the underdeveloped countries. Fathers of the American sample also dominate the prestigious positions, but not to the extent of the foreign group.

	Foreign Responders	Americans
Executives & Government Officials	6.3%	3.3%
Professional and Semi-professional	39.6	25.3
Proprietors, Managers & Officials (except farm)	29.9	22.7
Clerical, Sales, & Kindred Workers	4.2	9.7
Craftsmen, Foremen & Kindred Workers	4.2	14.3
Farmers & Farm Managers	13.2	6.5
Protective Service Workers	1.4	2.0
Operatives; Factory Workers	0	9.7
Farm Laborers	0	0.7
Service Workers (except domestic & protective)	0	3.2
Laborers (except farm)	1.4	2.6

Table 10. Distribution of subjects by father's occupation.

Summary. There are several indications that the responders differed from the non-responders. It seems that they are perhaps less defensive about their countries and thus more willing to answer questions; possibly



they include more of those not supported by their home government; they probably have been in this country longer than their non-responding counterparts; they include generally a greater proportion of women and married students; and they tend to be studying social sciences and humanities more than engineering or the physical and natural sciences. We do not know, of course, the extent to which these factors affected our findings. Caution is suggested in the generalizing of the results until further studies are made.

## CHAPTER IV

### METHODS EMPLOYED

All the data for testing the hypotheses were collected by means of a questionnaire, mailed to the foreign students and administered to the American subjects in a single class period. (A copy of the questionnaire is given in Appendix B) The analysis of the questionnaire data will now be described.

#### Scales Developed

General procedure. Five Guttman-type scales were developed for measuring respectively nationalism, the three forms of involvement with country, and "international cooperation." The scales were tried first in a pilot study, administered to 63 foreign students and 25 American students. The foreign students were all from Michigan State University and represented the same countries as in the final study, except that Brazilian students were used instead of Venezuelans, and students from Kenya rather than Guinea were sampled. The final sample did not include Brazilians and Kenyans because there were insufficient numbers available at the two universities sampled.

The pilot study was used to determine the potential scalability of the variables and to develop first approximations of the final scales. As a result of the initial scaling, additional items were written to conform to refined definitions of the variables. The items were then administered to the foreign and American subjects. (Part I of the

questionnaire in Appendix B presents the items.) Scales were formed from the foreign student responses and verified by checking their scalability with the Americans. The method for developing the scales was as follows.

The subjects were required to state their degree of agreement or disagreement with the scale items through selection of one of five answers (see Appendix B). A total score was obtained for each subject on each potential scale by summing his responses, weighting them from zero for "strongly disagree" to four for "strongly agree." All subjects were then ranked in order of total score on each scale and an optimum point determined for combining the five response categories into two categories of agreement-disagreement. Dichotomous responses were necessary for scaling by the Lingoes Multiple Scalogram Analysis (to be discussed shortly), but beginning with multiple choice items allows for greater flexibility of scale development (Willis, 1960). It also saves the respondent the frustration of having to state simple agreement or disagreement and lessens the danger of falsification when the subject does not know whether his response will be scored agree or disagree.

The main bases for determining the cutting points were (a) least error for each item (Waisanen, 1960), and (b) avoidance of extreme imbalance (say, .90 - .10) in the proportions of subjects agreeing and disagreeing with a given item. Occasionally different cutting points met the requirements about equally, whereby the following criteria influenced the choice.

(a) Consistency. To facilitate interpretation of a given scale score, it was considered desirable to keep the cutting points of all items as much alike as possible. It seems, for example, better to avoid

having the "agree" category meaning "strongly agree" for one item, and anything other than "strongly disagree" for another. This situation can create bizarre effects, such as shifting a mild item into an extreme position, or vice-versa.

(b) Marginal popularity. An attempt was made to maintain a wide range of marginal popularities, so that the scale would discriminate along a full continuum. Likewise, dichotomizations causing two or more items to have nearly equal popularity were avoided as much as possible, for this was found to increase error and lower reproduceability.

Having established the cutting points, the subjects' responses to each potential scale were submitted to Michigan State University's MISTIC computer and scales determined by the Lingoes Multiple Scalogram Analysis program. In using this program, the allowable error per item is entered as a parameter, and the program then determines the Guttman scales that can be formed from the items submitted. (For details of the method see Lingoes, 1960.) It computes first the largest scale (in number of items) that can be formed without exceeding the allowable error. When this has been achieved, another scale is selected from the remaining items; thus no item appears in more than one scale. The process continues until no more scales of at least three items can be formed. For each scale the Coefficient of Reproduceability is calculated.

A trial and error method was found necessary in using the program, for it was not possible to determine in advance the degree of reproduceability a certain allowable error would effect. An effort was made to obtain scales which had at least five items (for reliable measure) and a Coefficient of Reproduceability approaching .90, the standard Guttman criterion. Reproduceability below .85 was considered unsatisfactory.

This somewhat lenient criterion was employed because errors were scored by the Goodenough method, which counts more errors than the standard Cornell technique (Edwards, 1957).

The Multiple Scalogram Analysis was employed (a) because its computer program saves time, (b) because a large initial pool of items can easily be handled, and (c) because it shows whether there are more than one dimension in the item pool. These advantages were in fact realized, but often the resulting scales were unsatisfactory for one or more of the following reasons:

(a) High reproduceability was sometimes obtained only with a scale of few items, undesirable because this could have occurred by chance.

(b) While adequate in length and reproduceability, a scale may contain items of only high or low popularity, thus not discriminating at one end of the continuum.

(c) The program sometimes reflects items (i.e. counts agreements as disagreements and vice versa) in order to form a scale.<sup>4</sup> This was considered undesirable, for the meaning of a reflected item in a continuum is difficult to understand.

(d) The program sometimes produces scales with items reversed in order of popularity, which an ideal Guttman scale should not have.

These characteristics are built into the program and sometimes

---

<sup>4</sup>. An experiment was run in which three hypothetical "scales" of ten items each were formed. The "responses" of 23 subjects were devised so that each scale would have perfect reproduceability ( $R = 1.00$ ). "Scores" of the subjects were randomized so that the three scales would be uncorrelated. The 30 items were then submitted to the computer for Multiple Scalogram Analysis. The analysis did result in the formation of three scales which corresponded highly (but not perfectly) to those intended. However, on two of the scales, several items were reflected, so that the resulting score for each "subject" corresponded poorly with the score obtainable by not reflecting items.

cannot be avoided. However, it was often found that the resulting scales could be improved by eliminating or adding selected items, by eliminating reversals, or by not reflecting any items. By "improved" we mean scales longer in length and/or in range of item popularity, with higher Coefficient of Reproduceability, with items ordered by popularity, and without reflected items. To double-check on these scales, the selected items only were resubmitted to the computer, and usually it would form the scale in the way intended. If not, the investigator's version of the scale was checked for mistakes, and if there were none, that scale was accepted.

At this point another criterion for the scale was checked. The Coefficient of Scalability was computed for each, as a measure of relative improvement that results from a knowledge of both category frequencies and scores, rather than from either of these alone (Menzel, 1953). The acceptable level of this index is not yet established, but Menzel suggested a value of .60 - .65. Menzel did not use the conservative Goodenough scoring of errors, a method which seems to make it extremely difficult to meet his criterion. Consequently, some of the scales had low Coefficients of Scalability.

Schuessler (1961) has proposed a method for checking the statistical significance of a scalogram. In finding that the scales were significant at extremely high levels (beyond .001), it was realized that such a test is not legitimate in testing a scale of selected items, for the statistical prerequisite of allowing chance to operate is not met. Only when unsatisfactory items have not been eliminated is this legitimate. Consequently, Schuessler's test was applied to the replication with American subjects on scales that were formed from the foreign student responses.

In this case, even the scales of relatively low reproduceability were significant. Perhaps an even more convincing indication that the scales were not the result of chance is the very fact that they were found to scale again on the Americans.

The scales finally accepted are by no means ideal Guttman scales. Sometimes the undesirable characteristics of the MSA scales could not be eliminated. The Coefficients of Reproduceability are not always as high as we would prefer, and some of the scales are better considered quasi-scales. Occasionally scales contain items close in popularity which leads to increased error. In general, however, the scaling of the variables was considered successful, considering that the subjects were from different cultures, and their meaning systems and comprehension of English undoubtedly varied. For continued use the scales should preferably be refined further, by trying new items, administering to new samples, manipulating item cutting points, and so forth. But for our purposes here, which is more to test hypotheses than to develop elegant instruments, the scales were considered adequate.

Nationalism scale. In the pilot study, 38 items were devised representing the gamut of characteristics that have been claimed for nationalism. These included chauvinism, national ethnocentrism, patriotism, beliefs in sovereignty, and national consciousness. The only promising scale that appeared was one whose items corresponded essentially with the definition of nationalism submitted in chapter II. Consequently, the items most consistent with that definition were selected, and new items written. (Additional guidance on possible items was obtained from the pilot study, in the forms of answers to incomplete sentences such as "My country needs ...," "I hope that my country will...", and "My

country's place in the world....") These scaled rather well in the final study, and the resulting Nationalism Scale is presented in table 11.

Item	Agreement Categories
1. My country should strive for power in the world.	YES
2. My country should be more forceful in influencing other countries, when it believes it is in the right.	YES
3. It is only natural that my country should put its own interests first.	YES
4. To the degree possible, my country should be both economically and politically independent of all nations.	YES
5. My country should guard against nations which may try to push it around.	YES
6. The best way for my people to progress is to maintain themselves as a distinct and independent nation.	?, yes, YES
7. My country must seek to control its own destiny.	yes, YES

Table 11. The Nationalism Scale

Note that in five of the seven items, "agreement" was an answer of "YES" ("strongly agree"). This cutting point, established by the principle of least error, indicates that the other answer categories failed to discriminate subjects as well.

While the items scaled rather well for both foreign students and Americans, item 4 had low popularity among the Americans, and is thus the most extreme item for them. While this does not affect the scale scores for Americans, it does change the interpretation of the scores. Thus, only an American with a scale score of seven is likely to have agreed with item four, while a foreign student with a score of four or above is likely to have agreed with that item.



The scale characteristics of the Nationalism Scale are presented in Appendix C. An American version of slightly higher reproduceability is given in Appendix D; for comparing foreign and American results, only the general version is used in the analysis.

The Nationalism Scale has certain advantages over previous scales portending to measure nationalism or "patriotism," such as those by Thurstone and Levinson. The following are its desirable characteristics:

(a) While we cannot categorically state that the Nationalism Scale has no cultural bias, it does seem less culture-bound than the other scales. The items do not mention any specific country, group, nor ideology. In contrast, the Patriotism sub-scale of the F-scale has an item referring to "native, white, Christian Americans," and the Thurstone scale mentions the United States, the "democratic ideal," and the "Old World."

(b) The Nationalism Scale is not time-bound, as it does not refer to specific events nor contemporary institutions.

(c) As a Guttman scale, subjects' scores are more meaningful and we may have greater confidence in the unidimensionality of the variables measured.

(d) An attempt was made to avoid building in relationships to other variables to be examined. Thus, while Levinson (1957) made nationalism and internationalism opposite poles of his scale, this was avoided in the Nationalism Scale. (As will be shown later, Levinson's assumption was not justified by our data.)

Goal Involvement Scale. The Goal Involvement Scale is presented in table 12. Results were similar for the foreign students and Americans on this scale, with the exception that very few Americans responded affirmatively to item 1. (See Appendix C.) The scale proved to be the best possible for Americans,

<u>Item</u>	<u>Agreement Categories</u>
1. A main factor in my choice of occupation is whether it will benefit my country.	YES
2. I can best achieve my personal goals through the progress of my country.	YES
3. Since I live in my country, I want actively to participate as a citizen in its national life.*	YES
4. I feel that, as a citizen, I have a definite duty to my country.	YES
5. My homeland needs my services.	yes, YES
6. I would like personally to help my country attain its goals.	yes, YES

\*Revision of item from Thurstone Patriotism Scale, form A.

Table 12. The Goal Involvement Scale

i.e., no improved American version could be devised.

Ego Involvement Scale. The Ego Involvement Scale was the least satisfactory scale, being but a crude quasi-scale. Not only were the Coefficients of Reproduceability and Scalability low, but the range of items marginals includes mainly the less popular items (See Appendix C). We can only speculate on the reasons for difficulty here, but in addition to inadequate definition, the variable may deal with feelings not fully at the level of awareness, or which one does not readily admit. Table 13 presents the scale.

It was found possible to develop an improved American version of the scale (Appendix D), which is better in that it has higher reproduceability, it has more items, and a better distribution of item marginal popularities. (This suggests that the concept of ego-involvement may have different meanings for different cultures, hence making a cross-

<u>Item</u>	<u>Agreement Categories</u>
1. A person who praises my country praises me.	YES
2. The main way for me to gain self-esteem is through the status and prestige of my country.	yes, YES
3. An outstanding accomplishment of my country gives me a great feeling of pride.	YES
4. I would feel ashamed if one of my country's leaders did something disgraceful.	YES
5. I gain my identity from my country.	yes, YES

Table 13. The Ego Involvement Scale

cultural scale difficult to obtain.) For testing hypotheses, only the general scale was used.

Affective Involvement Scale. The Affective Involvement Scale, shown in table 14, proved to have satisfactory characteristics for both foreign and American samples. While it does contain an item exceeding the standard bounds on popularity (item 6), the Coefficient of Scalability is nevertheless fairly high. (The Coefficient of Scalability, unlike the Coefficient of Reproduceability, is not spuriously inflated by extreme item marginals.) A check on item 6 showed that it had only a third of the errors expected by chance.

An improved American version of the Affective Involvement Scale is presented in Appendix D. It has the desirable features of more items, greater range of item popularities, and higher reproduceability than the general version.

International Cooperation Scale. In the pilot study, one main dimension was formed from among 22 general "internationalism" items. These items were identified as dealing mainly with international cooperation,

<u>Item</u>	<u>Agreement Categories</u>
1. I am never as comfortable among foreigners as I am with my fellow countrymen.	yes, YES
2. When I die, I want it to be in my homeland.	YES
3. I doubt that there are any other countries where I could live as happily as in my own.	yes, YES
4. My country is the only place where I can be completely "at home."	yes, YES
5. My closest friendships are with my countrymen.	yes, YES
6. I love my country.	yes, YES

Table 14. The Affective Involvement Scale

<u>Item</u>	<u>Agreement Categories</u>
1. The world would be a better place if international barriers were removed, such as tariffs and immigration restrictions.	YES
2. My country should participate more actively to help achieve peaceful solutions in conflicts among nations.	YES
3. My country should actively strive to improve the United Nations.	YES
4. It is in the best interests of one's own country to be concerned with the welfare of other nations as well.	YES
5. All nations, including my own, have something to contribute to the world.	YES

Table 15. The International Cooperation Scale

while a second three-item dimension suggested the theme of subordination of national interests such as through a world government. The decision was made to concentrate on the former, and the International Cooperation Scale (table 15) resulted. The Coefficients of Reproduceability and Scaleability indicate that this is only a quasi-scale, but the items scaled equally well for Americans as for foreign students. All items

were endorsed by the vast majority of subjects, so in every case only the YES answer ("strongly agree") was scored as an agreement.

### Personality Variables

Dogmatism. The measure of dogmatism used was Schulze's<sup>5</sup> ten-item version of Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale (see Appendix F). The short form, which correlated .76 with the full scale, was intended by Schulze to form a Guttman scale. In this study, however, no unidimensionality among the items was found, so simple summated scores were used.<sup>6</sup>

As an additional measure of dogmatism, to the questionnaires for Americans were added the seven Dogmatism items espousing "belief in the cause."<sup>7</sup> These were assumed to bear most directly on the rationale relating dogmatism and nationalism.

Status Admiration. To measure status admiration, a five-item "status" measure developed by Scott (1960) was used. The items were slightly reworded, and five response categories were employed. As Scott had found, the items formed a Guttman scale (table 16). Reproduceability coefficients were .88 for the foreign students, .90 for the Americans. The first two items reversed in order for the Americans, slightly changing the meaning of the high scale scores.

---

5. R.H.K. Schulze is a graduate student in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Michigan State University.

6. Schulze had obtained a Coefficient of Reproduceability of .83, and this likely would have been lower had the more conservative Good-enough scoring been used. Apparently, the Dogmatism Scale is too heterogeneous in content such that a unidimensional scale is not feasible.

7. These are items 37-43 of the Dogmatism Scale, Form D (Rokeach, 1960). They appear in Part IX of the questionnaire in Appendix B.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Agreement Categories</u>
1. I admire people who have the respect of important people.	YES
2. I admire people who gain recognition for their achievements.	YES
3. I admire people who show great leadership qualities.	YES
4. I admire people who are in a position to direct and mold other's lives.	yes, YES
5. I admire people who have the ability to lead others.	yes, YES

Table 16. The Status Admiration Scale

Perceived Characteristics of Country

National Power. Each subject was required to rate his country on the evaluation, potency, and activity dimensions of the Semantic Differential. In accordance with the rationale, a "power" score was obtained by multiplying the potency and activity ratings of each subject.

National Status. Morris's (1960) method was used for each subject's assessment of the status of his country (see Part V of questionnaire in Appendix B). Morris had found that political standards, cultural standards, and the standard of living were considered important criteria for international comparison by foreign students, and these criteria gave the greatest spread of description. As in Morris' procedure, a total status score was obtained by simply adding the three ranks assigned by the individual to his own country.

Threat to country. An incomplete sentence was used to assess the national threat most salient to each subject. The statement beginning "I fear that my country will..." was included with two other incomplete sentences, as not to make obvious our interest in just one area. The answers were then content analyzed into categories of external threat,

internal threat, or no threat. (See Appendix G for coding scheme.) An inter-coder agreement of 88 per cent was obtained for mention of external threat.

For the American subjects, an additional threat measure was employed. On the basis of what is known about issues of concern to the American public today, and also from answers to the incomplete sentences used in the pilot study, a list of current sources of internal and external threat to the United States was compiled. The sources of possible external threat were: World Communism, the Afro-Asian Bloc, Socialism in the World, Communist Bloc Nations, and the European Common Market. Listed as possible internal threat were: the John Birch Society, American Liberals, Medicare, Unions, and American Communists. The subjects were requested to rate each of these on the evaluation, potency, and activity scales of the Semantic Differential, and on a "threat" scale (see part VIII of questionnaire in Appendix). A similar procedure was not included in the foreign student questionnaire because a set of threat sources for all the countries represented was not considered feasible.

For each American subject, an internal and external threat score was obtained by summing the "threat scale" ratings for each respective set. To check on the meaning of "threat," Waisanen's<sup>8</sup> interpretation that threat is a combination of "bad" and "strong" was employed. By scoring as "plus" all degrees of "good" and "minus" all degrees of "bad," and multiplying these values with the rating of potency, an auxiliary measure of threat was obtained for a subject's response to a given concept. The two measures were compared for three "external threat sources," namely

---

B. Dr. Frederick B. Waisanen, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University.

World Communism, Socialism in the World, and the Afro-Asian bloc. These were arbitrarily selected, and were considered sufficient to determine the meaning of threat to the subjects.

#### Relation of Self to Nation

The three scales for measuring the forms of involvement with country have already been described. Additional measures of the relation of self to nation were as follows:

Corresponding characteristics of nation and self. Hypothesis 11 stated that degree of ego-involvement correlates with a correspondence of the perceived characteristics of nation and self. To test this, each subject was required to rate himself and his country on the evaluation, potency and activity dimensions of the semantic differential. The degree of correspondence of self-nation characteristics was obtained simply by obtaining the differences in the ratings of self and nation on each characteristic. This proved to be an unsatisfactory measure, as most subjects were found to rate themselves and their country similarly, hence there was little discrimination among the scores. It was concluded that the data was inadequate to test Hypothesis 11. More will be said on this later.

Loyalty. To determine the "hierarchy of loyalties" for each subject, a measure of relative loyalty was obtained for six concepts. These included "myself," "my family," "my state or region," "my country," "my continent," and "the world." Choice of these concepts was made to include increasingly larger concentric elements of the individual's social world, in the manner suggested by Allport (1954). The subjects were presented with each concept paired once with every other, with the order of



presentation randomized. Instructions were as follows:

Below you will find pairs of words referring to yourself and different groups. Now suppose that in your work you found yourself in a situation where you had to make a decision such that only one of the pair would benefit. For each pair, circle the one you would decide in favor of.

On the basis of his choices, it was possible to establish a rank order of loyalties for each subject. Any concept could be chosen as many as five times or not at all; a rank was assigned to each concept by the number of times it was chosen. Most subjects were found completely consistent, in that each concept was chosen over any below it in the rank order. If any two concepts were chosen the same number of times, their relative ranks were established by which concept was chosen when the two were paired together. Occasionally three concepts were chosen the same number of times with no clear ordering among them. In these instances, the three concepts were ranked equally.

### Other Measures

Meaning of nationalism. To obtain a consensual measure of the meaning of nationalism, the subjects were asked to rate the concept "nationalism" on the three Semantic Differential factors of evaluation, potency, and activity. Averages were then computed on each of these dimensions for those scoring high (5, 6, or 7) and those scoring low (0, 1, or 2) on the Nationalism Scale.

Aspects liked. All subjects were asked to rate how well they liked each of twelve characteristics of their country on a seven-item scale. (See Part III of the questionnaire in Appendix B.) As Hypothesis 3 predicted that nationalism would correlate with the number of aspects

liked about one's country, the total of the ratings was used to index the latter. To test the hypothesis independently of the varying characteristics from country to country, all subjects "liking scores" were converted to T - Scores, based on the distribution of responses for each country.

Hypothesis 11 related two forms of involvement with country to liking of the "cultural milieu" and the "goal achievement milieu." To assess liking of the "cultural milieu," a sum was made of each subject's ratings of his fellow countrymen, the land in his country, its customs and traditions, and its ideals and values. These were the first four characteristics listed in Part III of the questionnaire. Likewise, a score for liking of the "goal achievement milieu" was formed by summing ratings of the economic system, job opportunities, security, and freedom and rights in the subject's country. These values were not converted to T-scores, for national differences were considered relevant.

## CHAPTER V

### RESULTS

A majority of the hypotheses were completely or partially supported by the results, and the totality of findings help to clarify the psychological nature of nationalism in a way not possible with previous non-empirical analyses. In addition to the tests of hypotheses, some additional findings will be presented to facilitate understanding of the relationships examined.

All analyses were replicated separately on the foreign and American subjects. Distinct differences between the two groups were found on several of the relationships, indicating that nationalism functions somewhat differently for the Americans than for the foreign students. Furthermore, the Americans did not exhibit the range of variation as did the foreign students on several of the variable, including the main nationalism measure. Consequently, the correlations were not always as high for them, and in a few instances, the American group did not enable adequate tests of the hypotheses. The foreign group was considered, therefore, to provide the more general analysis.

#### Meaning of Nationalism

The consensual meaning of nationalism to the subjects was found to accord with the definition submitted in Chapter II. As predicted (Hypothesis 1), the subjects assessed nationalism as both potent and active. Somewhat different from the prediction was the finding that the subjects

considered nationalism about equal in activity and potency; those high in Nationalism (scoring 5, 6, or 7 on the scale), however, considered nationalism as significantly more potent than did those with low Nationalism Scores (0, 1, or 2). Table 17 shows these relationships.

Hypothesis 1a was supported as stated, for high scorers on the Nationalism Scale evaluated nationalism as significantly better than did the low scorers. The former considered nationalism as definitely "good," while the latter's ratings were near to neutral. In a sense, this indicates reliability in the measure of nationalism.

	Foreign Students			Americans		
	High Nationalism (n = 49)	Low Nationalism (n = 74)	High- Low	High Nationalism (n = 14)	Low Nationalism (n = 97)	High- Low
Eval- uation	1.84	0.19	1.65***	2.00	0.67	1.33**
Potency	5.71	5.04	0.67**	5.64	4.81	0.83*
Activity	5.52	5.08	0.44	5.50	5.05	0.45

\*Significant @ .05    \*\* Significant @ .01    \*\*\* Significant @ .001

Table 17. Average ratings of nationalism on the Semantic Differential. (The scales ranges from +3 to -3 for evaluation; 1 to 7 for potency; 1 to 7 for activity).

#### Relation of Nationalism to Personality

The results indicated that nationalism is indeed associated with the personality syndrome considered authoritarian or dogmatic. Consistent with the hypotheses, scores on Nationalism were found generally correlated with the Dogmatism measures and Status Admiration. Contrary to

expectation, however, there was little indication that strong nationalists exhibit the assumed dogmatic characteristic of overrating their country. The details on these findings follow.

### Nationalism and Dogmatism

Instead of the somewhat curvilinear relation predicted between Nationalism and Dogmatism, a direct linear correlation was obtained. The coefficient was  $+.48$  (significant at  $.001$ ) for the foreign students, but only  $+.13$  (significant at  $.05$ ) for the Americans. Plotting the scores revealed no tendencies for curvilinearity.

According to the rationale presented, the component of Dogmatism expected to correlate most with nationalism is "cause espousal." This was found. The analysis, which was limited to the American subjects, showed the Cause Espousal and Nationalism measures to have a  $+.20$  correlation (significant at  $.01$ ), which is somewhat higher than the American correlation of  $+.13$  between Nationalism and general Dogmatism.

It is necessary to interject a comment regarding the low Dogmatism correlations for the Americans. An obvious explanation is that the smaller range of Nationalism scores for the Americans would tend to depress the correlation. But it is also likely that the Americans were more knowledgeable regarding the Dogmatism Scale and hence more guarded in their answers. That this is a real possibility is indicated by the fact that several Americans recognized the Dogmatism items. More than one complained that they had answered these questions "at least ten times" before (and suggested that researchers devise new items!). Although these subjects were eliminated from the sample, it is probable that many, if

not most, of the Americans had previous exposures to the Dogmatism Scale and knew what it was supposed to measure.

Hypothesis 3 concerned the tendency to overrate all aspects of one's country, an assumed dogmatic characteristic. Results were as predicted, for Nationalism correlated positively with the total scores of aspects liked. Magnitudes were, however, only  $+0.13$  for the foreign students, and  $+0.23$  for the Americans. While these are statistically significant at the  $.05$  and  $.01$  levels respectively, a trivial amount of variance on the Nationalism Scores was accounted for. Furthermore, dogmatism seems an insufficient explanation for general liking for one's country, as the "liking scores" correlated with Dogmatism only  $+0.21$  and  $-0.16$  for the foreign and American students respectively. (Notice, however, the difference in sign for the Americans.) In conclusion, it appears that Dogmatism was directly associated with Nationalism, but neither Nationalism nor Dogmatism accounted much for general liking of country.

#### Nationalism and Status Admiration

The test of Hypothesis 4 confirmed Scott's (1960) finding that nationalism was related to the admiration of status. The Nationalism and Status Admiration scores correlated  $+0.41$  and  $+0.24$  (both significant at  $.001$ ) for the foreign and American students respectively. The latter was remarkably close to Scott's obtained  $+0.25$  correlation between the status variable and his nationalism measure. (Scott's subjects were also American students.)

Are Status Admiration and Dogmatism part of the same psychological syndrome? The answer seems to be that the two concepts are related, but not sufficiently to be considered merely "the same thing." Status



Admiration and Dogmatism were correlated  $+.45$  and  $+.26$  (both significant at  $.001$ ) for the foreign and American groups respectively. Each variable thus accounted for a minor portion of the variance on the other, but the conclusion seems tenable that we are dealing with two different personality factors.

#### Nationalism and Perceived Characteristics of One's Nation

All three of the national characteristics variables proved to be related to nationalism, but there were distinct differences between the foreign and American groups. For the foreign students, perceived national status was the single national characteristic related to nationalism; for the Americans, national status was of no consequence. In contrast, both perceived power and perceived threat were related to nationalism for the Americans, but not for the foreign students. The results were as follows.

#### National Power

Nationalism, as an aspiration for greater national power, was expected to correlate negatively with the extant power perceived for one's nation. This hypothesis was not supported. For the foreign students, a correlation of  $-.07$  between Nationalism and rated power (potency X activity) was not significant; however, a positive correlation of  $.33$  (significant at  $.001$ ) was obtained with the Americans.

Further analyses still failed to reveal any relation between perceived power and Nationalism with the foreign students. There was no indication of a curvilinear relationship, nor did examination by country



reveal a tendency for correlation within national groups. For the foreign students, therefore, the null hypothesis is considered tenable.

The American results will be discussed in Chapter VI.

### National Status

Among the foreign students, a highly significant negative relationship was obtained between Perceived National Status and Nationalism. Table 18 shows the contingency table for the 148 foreign students who ranked their country on the three status criteria. (The remaining 29 did not understand the question or declined to answer on grounds of insufficient knowledge.) The consistent tendency was for those with higher Nationalism Scores to rank their country lower in relative status.

Status-Rank	Nationalism Score						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6,7
1-9	11	16	19	11	9	5	5
10 or more	1	2	13	12	12	24	8
Proportion scoring 1-9	92%	89%	59%	48%	43%	17%	38%

$$\chi^2 = 22.5 \text{ Significant @ } .001.$$

Table 18. Contingency table of Nationalism and National Status scores for foreign subjects.

The product-moment correlation similarly reveals the relation between status-rank of country and Nationalism. A coefficient of  $-.43$  was significant at the .001 level, for the foreign students.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> As a low status score indicates high national status, the correlation here was numerically  $+.43$ . All correlations reported on national status were reversed in sign to conform to the meaning of the status score.

The Chi-square provides a more legitimate index of relation on statistical grounds, for the National Status measure as an interval scale is questionable.

For the Americans, there was an absence of a significant relation between Nationalism and Perceived National Status. Part of the reason for this could be the fact that the Americans had a limited range of status scores (most ranked their country at the upper extreme). This is not the complete explanation, however, for the range of status scores was sufficient to yield significant correlations with other variables (see Appendix H).

### Threat to Country

Perceived threat was first examined by content analysis of completions to the sentence beginning "I fear that my country will..." There was no statistically significant relation between threat and nationalism, but the American results did reveal a tendency for a relation in the hypothesized direction. It can be seen in table 19 that the Americans with high Nationalism scores (five or above) mentioned external threat proportionately more than did those scoring zero on the Scale. In comparison, the foreign students showed no such tendencies.

The American findings with the sentence completions were given more conclusive support by the direct threat ratings. This method, in which the Americans rated the threat of different sources, revealed a  $+0.36$  correlation (significant at  $.001$ ) between Nationalism and external threat. A  $+0.16$  correlation (significant at  $.05$ ) was obtained with the internal threat measure. For the Americans then, there were consistent indications that nationalism was associated with the perception of external threat to one's country.

Hypothesis 7a predicted that the relation between threat and nationalism would be intensified for those who perceived their country as

Foreign Students:

	Nationalism Score						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6,7
External Threat	4	5	12	9	6	9	2
No Exter. Threat	10	16	27	18	21	24	14
n	14	21	39	27	27	33	16
% Exter. Threat	29%	24%	31%	33%	22%	27%	13%

$^2 = 1.2$   
(not significant)

Americans:

	Nationalism Score						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	5,6,7
External Threat	1	13	12	21	8		8
No Exter. Threat	11	27	34	30	14		6
n	12	40	46	51	22		14
% Exter. Threat	8%	33%	26%	41%	36%		57%

$^2 = 1.6$   
(not significant)

Table 19. Nationalism and external threat: sentence completions

low in power. Results, however, contradicted the hypothesis. While analyses of the sentence completions failed to reveal any relations, the threat ratings did. In the American sample, those who had "power scores" of 49 (the highest possible) were compared with those scoring 30 or below. A +.30 correlation (significant at .01) between external threat scores and Nationalism was obtained for the former, but a non-significant correlation of +.04 was found for the latter. Figure 5 shows the regression lines.

The meaning of threat for the Americans was checked by examining their potency and evaluation ratings of World Communism, Socialism in the World, and the Afro-Asian Bloc. While the direct threat ratings and the

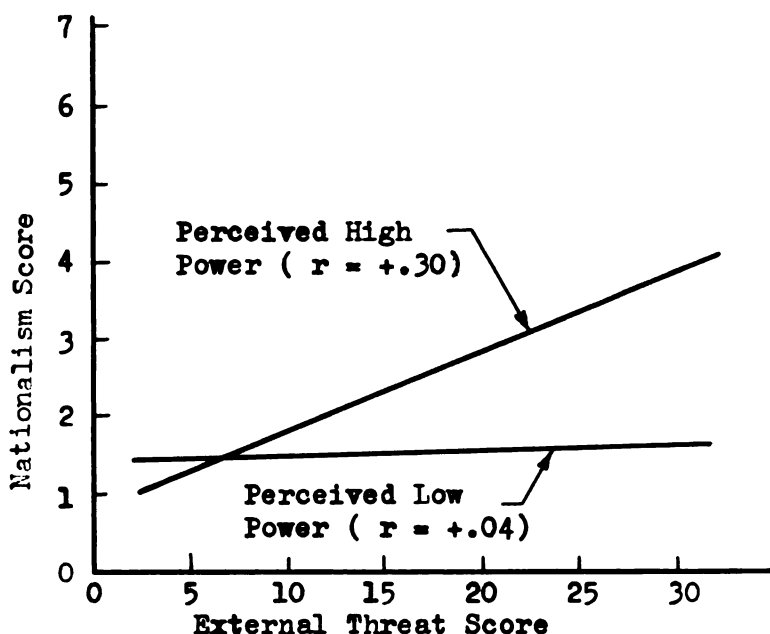


Figure 5. Relation between Nationalism Score and External Threat Score for Americans perceiving their country high and low in power.

Exp products were significantly related (chi-squares were significant at .001), the relationships were not clear-cut. Thus, 58 per cent of the Americans scored no threat for Socialism by the Exp method, but rated some degree of threat on the Threat Scale; the same thing was true for 70 per cent of the Americans in rating the Afro-Asian Bloc. The direct threat rating seemed therefore to be the more precise measure of threat.

To gain an increased understanding as to the nature of the fears or threats mentioned by the Americans and foreign subjects, further content analyses were made on the answers to the statement "I fear that my country will...." Answers given by the two samples are shown in table 20.

The Americans feared mainly that their country would become involved in war, that it would degenerate into a weaker position, and/or that it would err in its foreign relations. In contrast, the foreign students



<u>Fear Expressed</u>	<u>Foreign Students</u>	<u>Americans</u>
Confrontation of specific internal problems or obstacles	20.4%	7.6%
Dangerous forces within country	17.5	10.8
Inadequate progress of country	16.4	2.7
Degeneration of country	13.0	21.6
Poor foreign policy	10.7	31.9
Involvement in war	4.5	19.5

Table 20. Fears for their country mentioned by foreign and American students

feared that their respective countries would fail to achieve adequate progress, and that they would face specific obstacles and dangerous forces within their countries. In light of these findings, it seems less surprising that nationalism is associated with the perception of external threat for the Americans, but not for the foreign students.

#### Nationalism and the Relationships of Self to Nation

As discussed in Chapter II, the variables delineating relationships of self to nation were three forms of involvement with country and loyalty. Before relating these to nationalism, the basic differences among the forms of involvement were explored. They were found to differ in various ways, although not always as hypothesized. Upon relating the forms of involvement to nationalism, results once again were found to differ for the foreign and American students. Instead of the hypothesized importance of Ego Involvement to nationalism, results showed that nationalism was associated most with Goal Involvement for the foreign students,

while Affective Involvement was the form most related to the nationalism of the Americans. In both groups, however, nationalism was associated with loyalty to country. The details will now be presented.

### Differences in the Forms of Involvement

The three forms of involvement were found to have a complexity of relationships with each other and with other variables, in ways not always as predicted. Results showed that often these variables operated differently for the foreign and American students. In an effort to clarify the nature of the forms of involvement, below are summarized their distinctive relationships.

1. The three variables were, as expected, related to each other. In accord with the prediction, the relation between Goal Involvement and Affective Involvement was rather slight. Ego Involvement, on the other hand, was found to correlate substantially with both of the other forms.

2. Goal Involvement was related to other variables in unique ways for the foreign students, as follows.

- (a) A U-shaped relation obtained between Goal Involvement and ratings of the Goal Achievement Milieu, such that liking of the Goal Achievement Milieu was associated with either a very high or very low degree of Goal Involvement. The factors governing this relationship seemed to be the length of time a country has been independent and its relative prosperity.
- (b) Greater Goal Involvement was found among those who perceived their country to be low in status.
- (c) Goal Involvement was associated more with loyalty to country

than were the other forms of involvement.

In contrast, all the above relationships were only slight, if not negligible, for the Americans. It seems, therefore, that Goal Involvement is a relatively unimportant variable for them.

3. Affective Involvement was expected to distinctively correlate with liking of the Cultural Milieu of one's country. In fact, however, the relationship was slight, and Affective Involvement was not distinguished from Goal Involvement in this regard. There was some evidence that the Affective Involvement measure taps a deeper sentiment than mere "liking," for while the nationality groups exhibited little differences in Cultural Milieu ratings, there was a distinct spread in the average Affective Involvement scores.

The only other distinctive feature of Affective Involvement was its relation to Dogmatism, in interaction with nationality. Among the foreign students, all forms of involvement correlated about equally with Dogmatism; among the Americans, however, Affective Involvement was associated more with Dogmatism than were the other forms of involvement. Later analyses of nationalism and internationalism will reveal further the special importance of Affective Involvement for the Americans.

4. Ego Involvement failed to reveal any distinctive relationships, probably due to the fact that it correlated substantially with both of the other forms of involvement. There was a slight tendency for it to correlate more with liking of the Cultural Milieu. In general, however, the analysis did not reveal Ego Involvement to be an especially salient variable in the analysis of nationalism.

The results for the specific hypotheses regarding the forms of involvement will now be examined.



Inter-correlations of the forms of involvement. Hypothesis 8 states that ego-involvement is related more to the other forms of involvement than they are to each other. This was supported. Table 21 shows this was true in the case both of zero-order and partial correlations.

<u>Foreign Students:</u>	Zero Order Correlations		Partial Correlations	
	Aff. Inv.	Ego Inv.	Aff. Inv.	Ego Inv.
Goal Inv.	+.59***	+.64**	Goal Inv.	+.24**
Ego Inv.	+.61***		Ego Inv.	+.41***

<u>Americans:</u>	Aff. Inv. Ego Inv.		Aff. Inv. Ego Inv.	
	Aff. Inv.	Ego Inv.	Aff. Inv.	Ego Inv.
Goal Inv.	+.16*	+.51***	Goal Inv.	-.08
Ego Inv.	+.43***		Ego Inv.	+.41***

\*Signif. @ .05    \*\* Signif. @ .01    \*\*\*Signif. @ .001

Table 21. Inter-correlations of forms of involvement with country.

Form of involvement and Goal Achievement Milieu. Hypothesis 9a predicted that Goal Involvement would correlate higher with liking of the Goal Achievement Milieu than would Affective Involvement. This indeed was found, but somewhat differently than anticipated. The foreign students' ratings of the Goal Achievement Milieu and Affective Involvement correlated  $-.18$ , while a  $.31$  curvilinear correlation obtained with Goal Involvement. (Both were significant at the  $.01$  level.) The U-shaped relation is shown in figure 6.

Understanding of the U-shaped relation is fostered by plotting the average goal-involvement and goal-milieu scores for each nationality in the sample (figure 7). Resulting is an exaggeration of the U-Curve, with

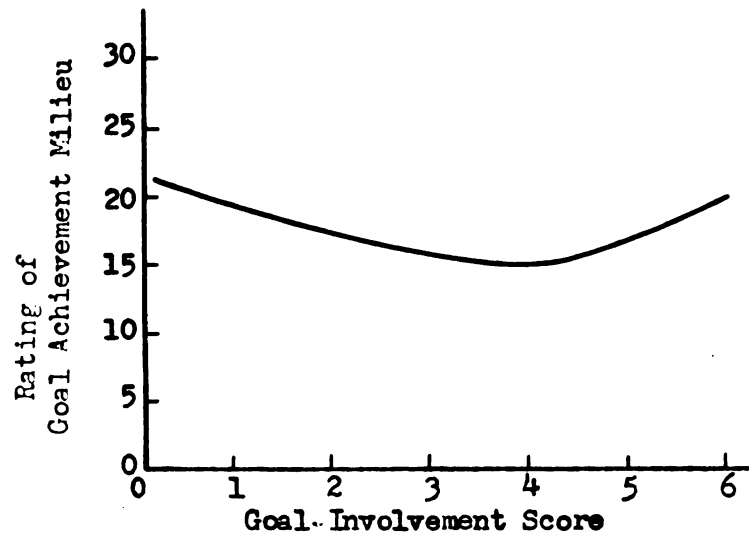


Figure 6. Relation between foreign students' Goal Involvement scores and rating of their countries' Goal Achievement Milieu.

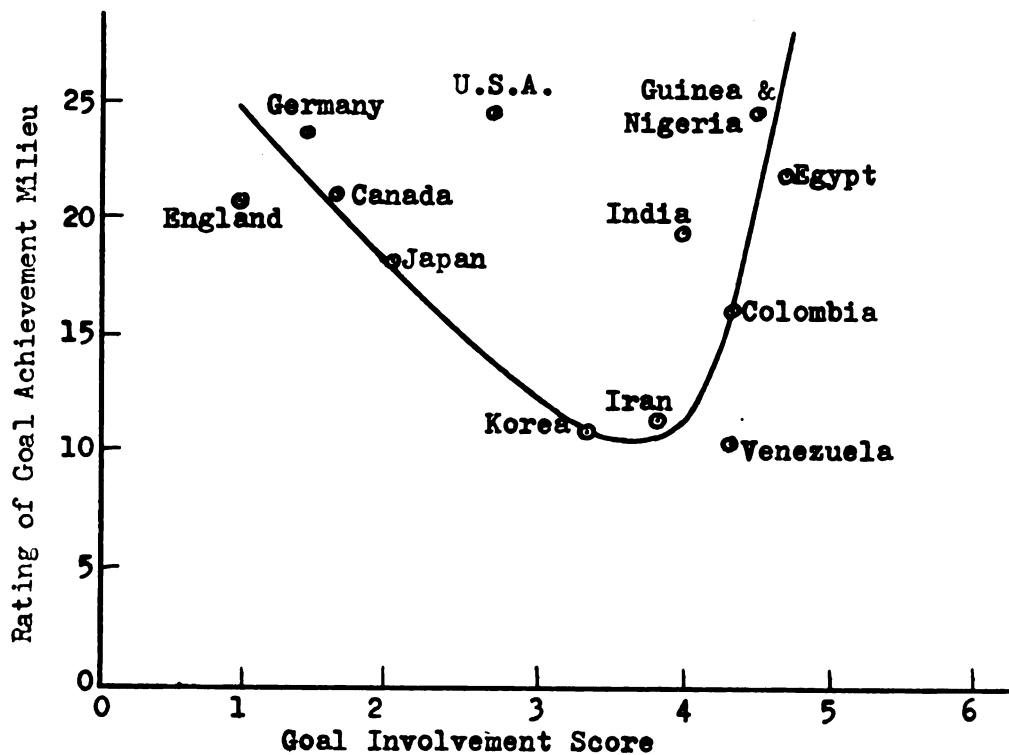


Figure 7. Goal Involvement and rating of Goal Achievement Milieu by country.

only the Americans deviating substantially. (For the Americans, there was only a +.15 correlation between Goal Involvement and rating of the Goal Achievement Milieu.) In general, subjects from long-independent and prospering nations (Canada, England, Germany, Japan) highly rated their country's Goal Achievement Milieu, but had low Goal-Involvement scores. The newly independent nations (Egypt, Guinea, India, Nigeria) tended to be high on both variables. The long independent but generally underdeveloped countries (Colombia, Iran, Korea, Venezuela) scored lowest on Goal Achievement Milieu and moderately on Goal Involvement.

Plotting the relationships of Ego Involvement and Goal Involvement with liking of the Goal Achievement Milieu failed to show any curvilinear relationships. This supports the contention that Goal Involvement is a variable distinct from the others.

Form of involvement and Cultural Milieu. Hypothesis 9b predicted that Affective Involvement would correlate higher with liking of the Cultural Milieu of one's country than would Goal Involvement. This was not supported by the results, shown in table 22.

	Foreign Students	Americans
Goal Involvement	+.15*	+.26***
Affective Involvement	+.15*	+.31***
Ego Involvement	+.25***	+.33***

\* Significant @ .05      \*\*\*Significant @ .001

Table 22. Correlations of forms of Involvement with liking of the Cultural Milieu of one's country.

Affective involvement seems to tap a deeper sentiment than mere "liking." Examination of the results by country (table 23) shows that while students from the different countries varied considerably in Affective Involvement, there was little variation in rating of the Cultural Milieu.

	Affective Involvement	Rating of Cultural Milieu
Venezuela	3.8	25.5
Colombia	3.6	22.2
Korea	3.6	22.9
Iran	3.6	21.4
U.S.A.	3.5	23.8
Egypt	3.3	23.3
India	3.0	23.5
Guinea & Nigeria	2.8	25.0
Japan	2.8	22.5
Canada	1.8	23.3
Germany	1.5	23.6
England	0.9	23.5

Table 23. Affective Involvement and rating of Cultural Milieu by country.

Form of involvement and identification. In formulating Hypothesis 10, it was assumed that Ego Involvement was tantamount to "identification," in that the attributes of the model would be perceived as one's own. It was expected that individuals highly ego-involved with their country would rate themselves and their nation similarly, on the

three main dimensions of the Semantic Differential. However, as mentioned in Chapter III, most subjects rated themselves and their country similarly, so there was little discrimination among individuals. (For example, the mean differences between self and nation for foreign students were .9, 1.4, and 1.4 on the evaluation potency, and activity dimensions respectively.) Consequently, scores on the three forms of involvement failed to correlate with any of the difference scores between self and nation (except for a trivial +.13 correlation between Goal Involvement and potency differences, for the foreign students). For the interested reader, the correlations of forms of involvement and difference scores are presented in Appendix H.

Another, perhaps the most crucial, methodological problem is that the concepts of evaluation, potency, and activity may have different meanings when applied to self and to nation. Smith (1962) reported in a recent factor analytic study, that the evaluation, potency, and activity dimensions were respectively loaded on factors of social worth, physical potency, and self-confidence when applied to the self. It is doubtful that these same meanings would be applied to one's nation.

It is concluded that the methodological problems alone render Hypothesis 10 inadequately tested. Reconsideration of the hypothesis will be given in the next chapter.

Form of involvement and dogmatism. Little empirical support was given to the hypothesis that Ego Involvement is the form most correlated with dogmatism. Table 2 4 shows that the Dogmatism Scale correlated somewhat more with Ego Involvement for the foreign students, but this was not so with the Americans. For them, Affective Involvement correlated most

with Dogmatism. But for the foreign students, the most tenable overall conclusion appears to be that the three forms of involvement with country are about equally correlated with dogmatism.

	Foreign Students	Americans
Goal Involvement	+.48***	+.02
Ego Involvement	+.51***	+.19**
Affective Involvement	+.45***	+.33***

\*\*Significant @ .01

\*\*\* Significant @ .001

Table 24. Correlation of forms of involvement with Dogmatism.

Form of involvement and National Status. Hypothesis 12 was supported to the extent that the ordering of the three forms of involvement in their correlations with National Status was as predicted. For example, Goal Involvement would be expected to correlate more negatively or less positively with National Status than would the other forms of involvement. However, the specific directions of the correlation for each form of involvement failed to agree with predictions (table 25). Notice that the American correlations were all opposite in sign to those of the foreign

	Predicted Correlation	Obtained Correlations Foreign Students	Americans
Goal Involvement	-	-.53***	+.05
Affective Involvement	0	-.44***	+.07
Ego Involvement	+	-.29***	+.24***

\*\*\*Significant @ .001

Table 25. Correlations of forms of involvement with National Status.

students. For them, the lower they considered the national status, the lower the degree of involvement (significant only for Ego Involvement). As national status correlated negatively with liking of one's country (including the Cultural Milieu and Goal Achievement Milieu), it may be that low involvement for the Americans implies dislike of their country. (It may be recalled that most Americans imputed very high status to their country.) In general, however, it must be concluded that the lower the perceived status of one's country, the greater the involvement.

Form of involvement and other variables. To further understanding of the nature of the forms of involvement, table 26 presents their correlations with the two remaining orientation-to-country variables. Ego Involvement was shown consistently to correlate highest with overall liking. Loyalty was correlated more with all forms of involvement for the foreign students than for the Americans.

	<u>Overall Liking</u> <u>of Country</u>		<u>Loyalty to</u> <u>Country</u>	
	<u>Foreign</u> <u>Students</u>	<u>Americans</u>	<u>Foreign</u> <u>Students</u>	<u>Americans</u>
Goal Involvement	+.21**	+.24***	+.52***	+.19**
Ego Involvement	+.27**	+.32***	+.39***	+.28***
Affective Involvement	+.22**	+.29***	+.33***	+.16*

\*Significant @ .05

\*\*Significant @ .01

\*\*\*Significant @ .001

Table 26. Correlations of forms of involvement, overall liking of country, and loyalty to country.

Forms of Involvement and Nationalism. As the previous analyses showed, Goal Involvement seemed to have special significance for the foreign students, while it appeared that Affective Involvement may have been

more important for the Americans. These indications were reinforced by the relations between the forms of involvement and our main variable of interest, nationalism. Findings were that Goal Involvement correlated most with Nationalism among the foreign students, while Affective Involvement correlated most among the Americans (see table 27).

	Foreign Students	Americans
Goal Involvement	+.39***	+.10
Ego Involvement	+.13*	+.13*
Affective Involvement	+.21**	+.35***
*Signif. @ .05    **Signif. @ .01    ***Signif. @ .001		

Table 27. Correlations of involvement and Nationalism.

Contrary to Hypothesis 13, Ego Involvement bore only a slight relation to Nationalism. It appears that the source of nationalism has relatively little to do with the evaluation of the self. What it does involve will be discussed in the next chapter.

### Loyalty and Nationalism

As predicted in Hypothesis 14, results showed that the more nationalistic the individual, the higher he was likely to place his country in his hierarchy of loyalties. This is consistent with the notion that nationalism involves emphasizing the interests of one's country over other interests.

The correlations showing this relationship are in table 28. In addition to the Coefficients of Linear Correlation, biserial correlations were also computed. The latter is cruder in that the ranks of country were simply dichotomized, but it is more legitimate statistically.



	Foreign Students	Americans
r	-.39***	-.18**
r <sub>bis</sub>	-.38***	-.15
**Significant @ .01    *** Significant @ .001		

Table 28. Correlations of Nationalism with loyalty to country.

Note that there was but a slight relation between Nationalism and loyalty for the Americans. This may be due in part to the concentration of low Nationalism scores in the sample.

Hypothesis 14a was addressed to the relative loyalty to country vs. rest of the world. Correlations of +.32 (significant at .001) and +.21 (significant at .01) were obtained for the foreign students and Americans respectively. A high Nationalism score thus indicated greater loyalty to one's country than to the rest of the world. The relationship is shown more clearly by comparing individuals with extreme scores on the Nationalism Scale (table 29).

	Nationalism Score		Nationalism Score	
	<u>0.1</u>	<u>6.7</u>	<u>0.1</u>	<u>6.7</u>
Country Before World	31%	88%	55%	100%
World Before Country	69%	12%	45%	0%
	<u>n=36</u>	<u>n=16</u>	<u>n=53</u>	<u>n=4</u>
	<u>Foreign Students</u>		<u>Americans</u>	

Table 29. Relationships between Nationalism Score and relative loyalty to country vs. rest of world.

## Nationalism and Internationalism

### Nationalism and International Cooperation

As was stated in Chapter IV, we expected to refute the common notion that nationalism and internationalism are necessarily opposed. To be cautious, however, Hypothesis 15 predicted that the Nationalism scores would be slightly negatively correlated with the International Cooperation scores. Instead, there was a slightly positive correlation between the two variables for the foreign students, and a non-significant correlation for the Americans. The values respectively were  $+.12$  (significant at  $.05$ ) and  $-.07$ .

It is concluded that, while the specific hypothesis is not tenable, there was support for the general expectation that nationalism and international cooperation are not incompatible.

### Relations Between Two Kinds of Internationalism

Earlier, International Cooperation was designated as "Internationalism Type A" and loyalty to world before country as "Internationalism Type B." As predicted in Hypothesis 16, these variables were found to have a non-linear relation to each other. Table 30 shows that loyalty to world before country was infrequently combined with high International Cooperation scores. To test the significance of this, it was necessary to compute chi-square for this combination versus every other combination. As table 29 shows, all were significant.

### Internationalism and Forms of Involvement

While no hypotheses were made as to the relationship of involvement

		International Cooperation		
		0,1,2	3,4,5	
<u>Foreign Students</u>	World Before Country	A 17	B 40	$\chi^2$ A-B = 8.5 (P < .01)
	Country Before World	C 71	D 49	$\chi^2$ A-C = 31.9 (P < .001)
				$\chi^2$ A-D = 14.6 (P < .001)
		International Cooperation		
		0,1,2	3,4,5	
<u>Americans</u>	World Before Country	A 21	B 42	$\chi^2$ A-B = 6.3 (P < .05)
	Country Before World	C 65	D 57	$\chi^2$ A-C = 21.5 (P < .001)
				$\chi^2$ A-D = 18.0 (P < .001)

Table 30. Relationships between Internationalism types A and B.

with country and internationalism, investigation of this proved interesting. Of the three forms of involvement, **Affective Involvement** consistently seemed least amenable to internationalism (table 31). To speculate on this, it may be that Affective Involvement is allied with ethnocentrism.

	International Cooperation		World Before Country	
	Foreign Students	Americans	Foreign Students	Americans
Goal Involvement	+.23**	+.24***	-.02	+.11
Ego Involvement	+.24***	+.21**	-.05	-.07
Affective Involvement	+.02	-.12*	-.22**	-.26***

\*Signif. @ .05    \*\*Signif. @ .01    \*\*\*Signif. @ .001

Table 31. Forms of involvement with country and Internationalism types A and B.

### A Multiple Regression Analysis

With all the variables that have been related to nationalism, it was considered desirable to determine the variance on the Nationalism Scale that had been accounted for. As the foreign students provided the more general sample, a multiple regression equation was established, using some of the best predictor variables. Resulting was the following equation.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Nationalism Score} = & 1.243 + .304 (\text{Goal Involvement}) \\ & +.180 (\text{Ego Involvement}) +.106 (\text{Affective Involvement}) \\ & +.160 (\text{Status Admiration}) +.030 (\text{Dogmatism}) \\ & -.003 (\text{Rating of Cultural Milieu}) -.039 (\text{Rating of Goal} \\ & \text{Achievement Milieu}) +.017 (\text{National Status}) \end{aligned}$$

The Coefficient of Multiple Correlation resulting with this equation was +.68. Thus, almost half the variance on the Nationalism Scale was accounted for. As suggested in Chapter II, it is probable that much of the remaining variance is due to unique nationality factors, such as cultural, political, and historical influences.

### Differences by Nationality

While the limited samples of foreign students from two universities cannot be considered representative of their respective countries, examination of the variations across national lines is suggestive. The rather large differences indicate that nationality is a major factor. The

findings are presented here so that they might suggest avenues for further research, and so they may facilitate understanding of the results of this study.

### Nationalism

The several countries represented in the sample ordered similarly on Nationalism through both the pilot study and main studies. This comparison is legitimate, for the pilot study measure of nationalism was similar to the final Nationalism Scale. Table 32 shows the ranks by country.

<u>Pilot Study</u>		<u>Main Study</u>	
Egypt (6):	3.86	Venezuela (16):	4.69
Iran (7):	3.86	Egypt (11):	4.09
Korea (6):	3.50	Iran (22):	3.86
Japan (8):	3.50	Korea (17):	3.82
Colombia (5):	3.00	Colombia (14):	3.79
India (8):	3.00	India (21):	3.67
Kenya & Nigeria (6):	2.83	Guinea & Nigeria (5):	3.60
Brazil (4):	2.83	Japan (18):	2.72
Canada (6):	2.33	U.S.A. (185):	2.43
U.S.A. (27):	2.07	Canada (17):	2.06
England (2):	0.50	Germany (19):	1.42
Germany (4):	0.25	England (17):	1.41

Table 32. Countries ranked by average Nationalism Scores.

The Japanese groups were the only ones which changed much in

relative position across the two studies. Note that the upper part of the lists includes the generally underdeveloped countries, while the countries low on nationalism comprise the industrialized, prospering nations (cf. figure 7). An interesting finding is that the German students, from a country formerly epitomizing nationalism, scored extremely low on the Nationalism Scale. These students may be atypical, but their scores may also reflect the outlook of "the new German."

### Involvement with Country

The three forms of involvement all showed considerable variation by country. Table 33 shows that while the orderings were similar for the three variables, some countries changed position by several ranks. Egypt, for example, moved from rank 1 on Goal and Ego Involvement to rank 6

<u>Goal Involvement</u>	<u>Ego Involvement</u>	<u>Affective Involvement</u>
Egypt: 4.54	Egypt: 3.55	Venezuela: 3.75
Venezuela: 4.37	India: 2.90	Colombia: 3.64
Guinea & Nigeria: 4.20	Colombia: 2.57	Korea: 3.59
Colombia: 4.14	Iran: 2.50	Iran: 3.55
India: 3.91	Venezuela: 2.25	U.S.A.: 3.47
<del>Iran</del> : 3.68	Guinea & Nigeria: 2.20	Egypt: 3.27
Korea: 3.06	Korea: 2.21	India: 2.95
U.S.A.: 2.64	Japan: 1.89	Guinea & Nigeria: 2.80
Japan: 2.00	U.S.A.: 1.72	Japan: 2.78
Canada: 1.53	Germany: 1.05	Canada: 1.76
Germany: 1.42	England: 0.94	Germany: 1.47
England: 0.94	Canada: 0.76	England: 0.94

Table 33. Ranks by country on forms of involvement.

on Affective Involvement. These variations provide further evidence of the differences in the three forms of involvement.

If the "sensitive area complex" described by Lambert and Bressler (1955) corresponds to Ego Involvement with country, then our results accorded with their findings. Their description was based mainly on Indian students in the United States, and, as table 33 shows, the Indians scored very high on the Ego Involvement Scale.

Note that the American average is well up in the ranks of the Affective Involvement Scale. It will be recalled that Nationalism was most correlated with this form of involvement for Americans. These facts indicate that Affective Involvement may be a key variable in the American's orientations to their country.

### Internationalism

Differences across nationalities were small on the International Cooperation Scale. As table 34 shows, there was no strong tendency for nations to rank according to their stage of development or industrialization.

Notice that the two countries highest on the Nationalism Scale (Egypt and Venezuela) were also highest on International Cooperation; likewise German students scored extremely low on both scales. These same countries retain similar positions on the involvement scales, which may indicate response set. From the considerations in Chapter III, the extremes of the Egyptian students may be the result of their attempting to present a "good front."

To shed some light on the meaning of the German responses, it is helpful to consider other characteristics of the German sample. First,

Egypt	3.18
Venezuela	2.75
Japan	2.72
Guinea & Nigeria	2.60
U.S.A.	2.58
India	2.52
England	2.47
Korea	2.41
Iran	2.23
Colombia	2.21
Canada	2.12
Germany	2.00

Table 34. Ranks by country on International Cooperation Scale.

they had the highest refusal rate, with four students expressing unwillingness to answer the questionnaire. Second, comments written by several of the German students partially revealed their attitudes. Following are excerpts:

"My reactions...are probably not typically German, since most Germans are more nationalistic than I am.... I was torn between a feeling to reunite with East Germany (a nationalistic feeling) and a feeling of internationalism to form one big European nation."

"There can be no understanding among nations as long as they are so different in their basic characteristics.... Mankind will have to wait 200 years before there is real understanding among nations, but by then we probably have no nations any more...."

"I have an inherent ambivalence towards Germany...I think the same picture would be repeated in the questionnaires of many Germans in my age group." (Age: 31)



"Merely by requesting such data you engender enough resistance to potentially distort the accuracy of any answers you might get."

"At exam time...I was tempted to throw the questionnaire in the waste basket."

A few other German students indicated possible hostility by criticizing the methods of the research. From these qualitative findings, it seems that (a) there was a certain hostility, resistance, or defensiveness regarding questions about their country; and (b) there was an uncertainty of their own feelings toward their country and to the rest of the world. These indications appear consistent with the positions of the Germans on the several scales.

#### Perceived Characteristics of Country

The nationality groups also varied considerably in assessments of their respective countries, as shown in table 35. That the status, power, and "liking" variables were somewhat related is shown by the similarity of ranks for any given country. The rather unrealistic assessment of their country's power by the Egyptian students is another example of their extremeness of response. It may be that their rating here was based on Egypt's power among the African and Middle Eastern nations. The Egyptians were not extreme in rating their country's status.

#### Hierarchy of Loyalties

The various countries showed interesting variations in their hierarchies of loyalty. As can be seen in table 36, country and family commanded a strong loyalty for most of the students. Relatively low in rank were loyalty to continent, state or region, and self. Exceptions to the

<u>Status-Score</u>		<u>Power of Country</u>		<u>Total Liking Score</u>	
U.S.A.:	3.9	U.S.A.:	41.1	Guinea & Nigeria: 73.0	
England:	4.7	Egypt:	35.5	U.S.A.:	70.2
Canada:	6.1	Germany:	28.7	Egypt:	70.1
Germany:	6.3	England:	28.3	England:	65.6
India:	7.6	Canada:	27.9	India:	65.6
Japan:	8.7	India:	27.8	Canada:	64.7
Egypt:	9.1	Guinea& Nigeria:	25.4	Germany:	64.3
Guinea & Nigeria:	12.0	Japan:	20.6	Japan:	57.6
Iran:	12.6	Colombia:	15.4	Colombia:	52.8
Korea:	13.2	Venezuela:	12.9	Venezuela:	49.8
Venezuela:	13.6	Korea:	11.5	Korea:	49.0
Colombia:	13.9	Iran:	11.0	Iran:	47.6

Table 35. Assessment of country on different variables.

	U.S.A.	Canada	Colombia	Venezuela	Germany	England	Guinea & Nigeria	Egypt	Iran	India	Japan	Korea
World	3.8	3.8	3.9	3.1	3.8	2.4	3.6	3.2	3.4	4.0	4.4	4.8
Continent	4.1	4.1	3.7	3.4	3.8	3.7	3.4	4.0	3.8	4.5	4.8	4.5
Country	2.7	3.2	2.5	2.4	3.6	3.1	2.2	2.2	2.7	2.3	2.8	2.4
State	4.1	4.1	3.8	4.1	4.9	4.6	3.6	3.5	3.9	3.8	3.1	4.1
Family	2.3	1.8	2.7	2.9	1.9	2.7	3.6	3.6	2.9	2.6	1.7	1.8
Self	3.9	4.1	4.3	5.2	2.9	4.4	4.6	4.5	4.4	3.7	2.7	3.4

Table 36. Hierarchies of loyalty by country.

last were Japan and Germany, where self was second only to family.

Note also that the world was relatively low in the loyalty ranks. England was the lone exception, for the English students on the average assigned to the world their primary loyalty. Overall, only 32 per cent of the foreign students placed the world before their country, as did 34 per cent of the Americans.

## CHAPTER VI

### DISCUSSION

This chapter presents first an interpretation of the findings, in an attempt to form a coherent picture of the psychological nature of nationalism and patriotism. Some of the speculations will be based on incomplete evidence, so more solid conclusions must await further research. After that, the findings will be related to the literature. To end the chapter, a critique of some of the methodology will be presented.

#### Interpretation of the Findings

##### What is Nationalism?

Nationalism was defined in Chapter II as the aspiration for greater potency or power for one's nation relative to other nations. The evidence of the study supports this. First, it was possible to form a unidimensional scale based on the definition. This scale showed consistency in the ranking of the national groups of students through the pilot and main studies. Second, the meaning of nationalism consensually determined from the subjects accords with the definition. And third, the Nationalism Scale was able to separate those subjects inclined favorably to nationalism from those neutrally disposed, and this was by a scale in which the concept nationalism was not mentioned.

But definition alone is sterile as far as explaining how and for what purpose nationalism functions. This shall be considered next.

##### Nationalism's Function

On the basis of the findings, it is concluded that the goal of

contemporary nationalism isn't necessarily power for its own sake. It seems rather that the nationalism of the subjects in this study is concerned with the benefits which accompany increased power, specifically prosperity and recognition. This inference is based on the following findings with the foreign students, the more general sample.

1. Nationalism was strongest among the have-not nations. With due recognition of the fact that the national groups were not representative, the evidence was that the higher Nationalism Scores obtained with the students from underdeveloped countries.

2. Nationalism correlated negatively with national status. It thus seems that nationalism is a means toward achieving "a place in the sun" for one's nation.

3. The form of involvement correlated most with nationalism was Goal Involvement. This form of involvement, which was called "Patriotism Type B," represents a desire to help one's country progress, thereby facilitating one's own goal achievement. Goal Involvement was strongest among those perceiving low status for their country, indicating that high Goal Involvement, strong nationalism, and perception of low National Status go together.

4. Nationalism correlated negatively with the subjects' ratings of the Goal Achievement Milieu in their respective countries.

5. Nationalism was not generally correlated with perception of external threat nor specifically with power of the subjects' countries.

6. The fears for their countries expressed most frequently by the foreign subjects were that their countries would not achieve adequate progress, that they faced specific obstacles and internal dangers.

An integration of some of the important relationships is provided by figure 4 (based on figure 7 in Chapter IV). Length of time of a

country's independence seems to be a factor, so it is included. To speculate, it seems that students from countries of high status and prosperity feel little need to commit themselves to their country's progress (Goal Involvement). In the sample, this included the Canadians, the English, the Germans, and the Japanese, all of whom were relatively

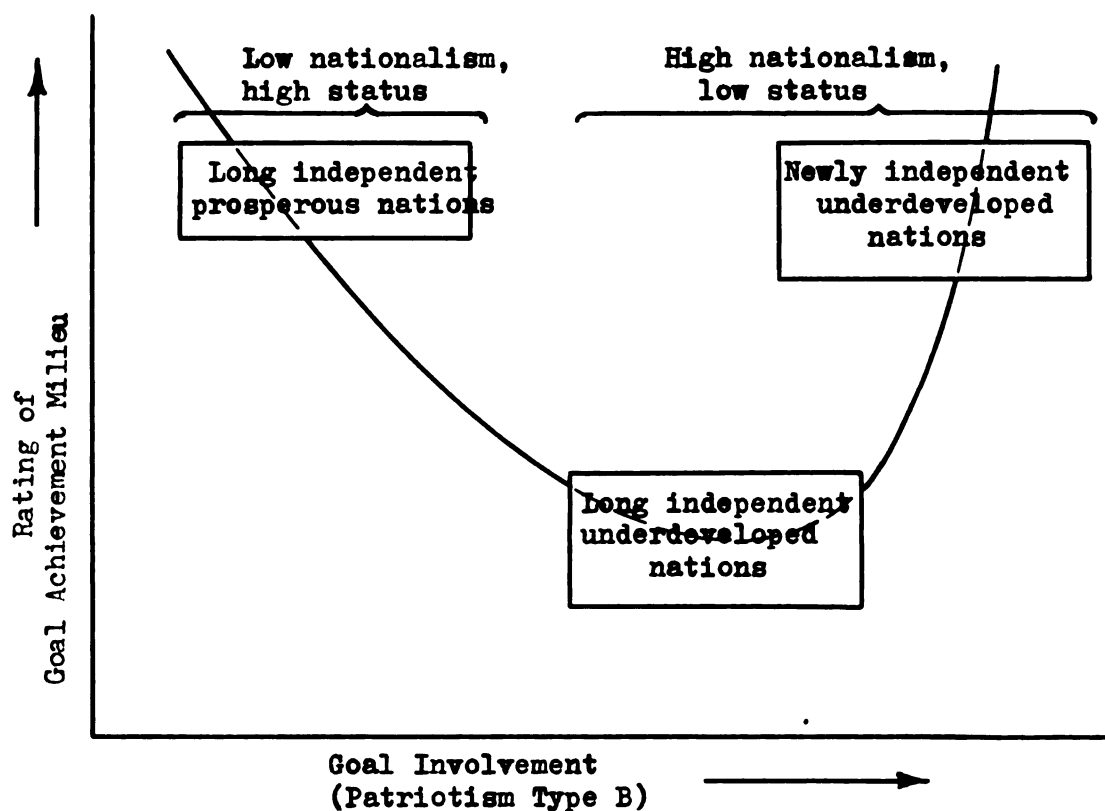


Figure 8. Interrelationships of several variables and nationalism.

low on Goal Involvement and Nationalism. Those from newly independent nations (Egypt, Guinea, India, and Nigeria) probably feel that their respective countries hold great promise, but require their efforts to achieve progress. They were high on Goal Involvement and Nationalism. Finally, an intermediate degree of Goal Involvement seems to characterize

students from countries whose relative failure of progress promises less in the way of opportunities for goal achievement. These countries included Colombia, Iran, Korea, and Venezuela, which had high average Nationalism Scores.

Among the Americans, it will be recalled, the Nationalism Scores were relatively low. But when an American is nationalistic, what does this mean? The United States is a nation of high power, status, and prosperity. The results indicated that the American subjects recognized this. Surely then, the above statements do not apply to nationalism in this country. It is submitted that American nationalism is more of a fear reaction, a reaction to the danger of losing that which is dearly cathected. These assertions are based on the following findings.

1. For the Americans, Nationalism was correlated with the perception of external threat. The fears expressed more by the Americans were those of war, degeneration of their country, and mistakes in foreign relations. These, it would seem, reflect fears that the high position of the United States as a world power is jeopardized. Thus, Nationalism was correlated with external threat only for those Americans who rated their country high in power; apparently, those most aware of the power of their country were the ones most likely to react to the threat of losing that power.

2. For the Americans, Affective Involvement was the main form of involvement, with salient findings as follows:

- (a) Affective Involvement correlated more with American Nationalism more than did the other forms of involvement.
- (b) Affective Involvement, for the Americans, correlated more with Dogmatism than did the other forms of involvement. This Dogmatism may be interpreted as a reaction to threat (Rokeach, 1960, Chapter 21).

(c) Affective Involvement was strongest for those Americans who perceived their country as high in status. This, combined with point 1 (above), indicates that American nationalism is strongest among those who (a) recognize the high status and power of their country, (b) have a deep emotional involvement in their country, and (c) fear that their country will lose its high status and power.

3. While Goal Involvement did not correlate highly with Nationalism for the Americans, they were found to be more goal-involved than the Canadians, English, Germans, and Japanese. This, it may be conjectured, was the result of fears for their country's degeneration and loss of power.

In summary, American nationalism is not to find a place in the sun, but to keep the place America has.

### Nationalism and Personality

As a "cause," does nationalism attract a particular personality type, the authoritarian-dogmatic "true believer"? On the basis of the findings, the answer is yes, but with qualifications. Nationalism did indeed correlate with Dogmatism, Cause Espousal, and Status Admiration, indicating that a certain personality syndrome is prone to be nationalist. This partially may explain why Nationalism and perceived National Status were correlated. However, none of the personality correlations were high enough to indicate that these variables provide the central explanation for nationalism. Furthermore, the low correlations between Nationalism and Ego Involvement indicated that evaluation of the self accounted for a very minor portion of the variance in Nationalism Scores.



It is concluded, therefore, that at least as important as personality in the phenomenon of nationalism are the perceived characteristics of one's nation and the associated forms of involvement with country.

Worthy of consideration is the reason for a linear correlation of Nationalism and Dogmatism for the foreign students. According to our rationale, strong Dogmatism seemed an inadequate basis for predicting that a person would be nationalistic. In considering the countries whence the nationalistic students came, however, there may be a logical explanation for the direct relationship between the two variables. Their countries were the underdeveloped, in which the cause of nationalism would likely be the cause for the dogmatic individual to adhere to. Such a directive tendency could lead to a straight line correlation between Dogmatism and Nationalism.

#### Nationalism: Obstacle to International Harmony?

The findings indicate that nationalism can be, but not necessarily, an obstacle to harmonious international relations. We shall consider first how it can lead to discord.

It is assumed that conflict is potential when a nation seeks power and dominance over other nations. Such notions are expressed in the Nationalism Scale by items 1 and 2, which advocate the seeking of world power and using forceful influence on other countries. While in general these items were strongly endorsed by relatively few of the subjects, proportionally more endorsed them among the countries with high mean Nationalism Scores. Furthermore, a scored "agreement" to these items means only a "YES" answer ("strongly agree"); thus, more subjects

ostensibly agreed (by checking "yes") with the strong items than were counted as agreeing. Therefore, it would seem that among the highly nationalistic countries there is a potential for supporting the seeking of power and dominance over other nations.

There is evidence, however, which indicates that nationalism is not incompatible with harmonious international relations. It first should be realized that while nationalism is defined and measured as the seeking of power for one's nation, most items on the Nationalism Scale do not imply seeking power over other nations. Of perhaps greater import is the evidence of the correlations with the International Cooperation Scale. Here again, most subjects ostensibly endorsed the items, but only "YES" answers were counted as agreements. On this basis, there was a slight but significant positive correlation between Nationalism and International Cooperation for the foreign students, and a non-significant correlation for the Americans. From this it can be concluded that while nationalism involves national self-interest, this does not mitigate against cooperation with other nations having similar self-interests.

The findings did show that only a minority of subjects felt greater world loyalty than national loyalty. While primacy of world loyalty may be considered the ideal by some, the evidence of our limited sample is that an immense conversion of the masses would be necessary for world loyalty to become paramount. It seems unlikely that this would occur among the underdeveloped nations until they too achieved prosperity and status.

### The Results in the Perspective of Extant Literature

The findings in this study do not generally accord with current descriptions of the nature of nationalism. Some of the hypotheses inspired by the literature were not supported; this was particularly true of Hypothesis 13, in which Ego Involvement was posited as central to nationalism. It therefore behooves us at this point to reassess the literature on the basis of the findings.

#### Contemporary Nationalism

In Chapter I, the causes espoused in nationalism were delineated into two kinds. The first characterized what Morgenthau (1961) described as the "old nationalism." In this, the end sought is national autonomy and self-determination, and the nation is made the focal point of political loyalties and actions. But other nationalisms are recognized as having similar and equally justifiable goals. Contrasting to this is Morgenthau's "new nationalism," in which beliefs in national superiority lead adherents to seek for their nation a grandeur and dominance over other supposedly inferior nations. In the extreme, exaltation of the state leads to a loss of individuality, and blind loyalty is demanded. (See Fellner quote in Chapter I.)

It is submitted here that the nationalism of the subjects in this study more aptly fits the description of the "old" nationalism. The individuals strongest in nationalism were from the underdeveloped, low-status countries. As was suggested earlier, it seems that the national goals they seek are increased prosperity and recognition. There was

little indication that they sought dominance of their nations over others, nor were they indisposed to international cooperation.

It would be a mistake, we submit, to automatically associate contemporary nationalism with chauvinism and jingoism. This is the "new nationalism" of pre-World War II Germany and Japan. While modern nationalism could assume this form in some countries, it seems at least equally possible, as Emerson (1961) asserted, that nationalism can be a stepping stone toward a peaceful and collaborative world order.

#### Patriotism: Different from Nationalism?

The discussion in Chapter I revealed a confusion between the concepts of nationalism and patriotism. Do the results of this study warrant a distinction between the concepts? It seems that they do, if the distinction is allowed that nationalism is an orientation about one's country vis-a-vis other countries, while patriotism is a form of relation between the individual and his country. It was found useful in the study to distinguish two types of patriotism, which were labeled Goal Involvement and Affective Involvement. Relations between measures of these and the Nationalism Scale were such to indicate that neither could be considered identical to nationalism.

#### Measure of Nationalism

Most of the reviewed measures of nationalism (or "patriotism") assessed a rightist, ethnocentric nationalism. These tend to have a built-in incompatibility with internationalism.<sup>10</sup> The development of

---

10 In the pilot study, Thurstones's Patriotism Scale and Levinson's Nationalism Scale correlated respectively  $-.45$  and  $-.66$  with the International Cooperation measure.

the Nationalism Scale in this study indicates that such a bias is unnecessary; instead, the relation between nationalism and national ethnocentrism should be treated as a problem for separate study.

### Nationalism and Identification

The discussion in Chapter I revealed that many writers have considered identification a major factor in nationalism. Benda (1961) went so far as to assert that the nationalistic individual is little concerned with the material interests of his nation, but is intent more on the acquisition of national glory and prestige, for the sake of pride. This would surely indicate that ego involvement should be central to nationalism. The findings of this study failed to support this. It seems that writers who stress the role of identification in nationalism may have been too much influenced by the one-sided view that nationalism entails the yielding of individuality to achieve unity with the state.

### Loyalty

Allport's (1954) notions on concentric loyalties were drawn upon in examining the relation of loyalty to nationalism. Consequently, some of the results bear upon what Allport has said about loyalty. He suggested (a) that loyalty becomes weaker for concentric groups of increasing inclusiveness, and (b) that concentric loyalties need not clash. The latter statement is given as a psychological principle, and Allport specifically mentioned that patriotism need not clash with world-mindedness.

Allport's first assertion received little support from the results of the study. Instead of the hierarchy of loyalties suggested by him,

the results showed considerable variations across nationalities (cf. table 36). Family and country often received primary loyalty, but not always. Loyalty to self showed the greatest variation, from second place among the Germans and Japanese, to last place for several other nationalities.

Likewise, Allport's second assertion seems unwarranted. In the case of Patriotism Type A (Affective Involvement), there was generally a negative correlation with the forms of internationalism. It seems more appropriate to say that concentric loyalties may not clash, if a choice is not forced upon the individual. But when, as in the hypothetical situation presented to our subjects, the individual is confronted with a forced-choice situation, the loyalties must necessarily clash. That most people do not encounter this situation does not negate the argument.

#### Limitations of the Study

##### The Samples

It is acknowledged that foreign students in the United States represent a select group, such that generalizations to nations would be hazardous indeed. Furthermore, the samples that were used in this study were restricted on several factors. Hence, the only populations to which the results are legitimately generalized are the populations of foreign and American students at Michigan State University and the University of Michigan similarly constituted on the several variables described in Chapter II.

While foreign students provide a readily accessible cross-national

population, the selective factors of mail surveys indicate that this is not the best method of sampling. No matter how carefully the researcher selects his lists, his sample of respondents is likely to be biased in some way. With foreign students, cultural variations in response may compound this bias. It is recommended, therefore, that in subsequent research with foreign students, each subject chosen should be personally contacted to insure his participation.

### Instruments

In measuring the several variables of this study, a few of the methods were found to be inadequate for their intended purpose. These were as follows:

National Power. It is quite possible that the subjects varied in their frames of reference in assessing the power of their respective countries. The fact that the Egyptian students rated their country very high on power suggests this. It is recommended therefore that subsequent assessments of perceived power employ a comparative measure, similar in fashion to the way national status was measured in this study.

Dogmatism. Chapter III has already detailed the shortcomings of the short form of the Dogmatism Scale used in the study. Future studies attempting to measure Dogmatism should use either the complete 40-item scale or a better developed short form.

Threat measure. The incomplete sentence method of determining perceived threat seems to be too crude to provide an adequate measure. On the one hand, it fails to assess degree of threat, and on the other, the wording of the incomplete sentence can bias the content of the response elicited. The rating scale approach overcomes the first of

these difficulties, but the selection of the concepts to be rated can still bias the measure. Use of both unstructured and structured measures in successive phases of study should prove helpful. (This was essentially the method used with the Americans in this study.) The unstructured phase should be extensive enough to determine most sources of threat perceived by the subjects. Ideally for a cross-cultural study, the possible sources of threat used in the second phase should be expressed generally enough so that they are meaningful to all the subjects.

Identification measure. Here there are questions not only about the method of measurement but of the hypothesis itself. (Hypothesis 10 stated that ego involvement with country is associated with a congruence of self and nation characteristics.) Methodologically, it seems very difficult to establish dimensions which have the same meaning when applied to one's country and to himself. A more fruitful and meaningful line of inquiry might be to determine the extent to which an individual identifies with his fellow countrymen or to the leaders of his country. Such concepts as "the typical American" or "the ideal German" could be related to the self-concept. One approach to this would be the method commonly used in assessing stereotypes. Here, a trait list is checked by the subject on characteristics he perceives as typical of different groups. By having him check traits of himself and his compatriots, perceived similarities could be established.

Another useful approach may be to examine not identification with country, but to determine rather the importance of nationality to the individual's identity. For example, Ego Involvement may be found to be the form of involvement correlating most with salience of nationality in



the self-concept. The Twenty Statements Test (Kuhn, 1960) might be employed in such an analysis of the self concept.

In the analysis, a distinction need be made between identification and projection. Both would result in similarity of perceived characteristics of self and group. The evidence is that authoritarians tend more to project than to identify (Adorno et al, 1950; Saenger and Flowerman, 1954; Stotland and Hillmer, 1962). If ego involvement is more characteristic of the authoritarian personality, then the rationale for Hypothesis 10 must lie in projection rather than identification.

Involvement with country. The three forms of involvement with country were not empirically distinguished as much as was desired. Part of the difficulty may have been due to similarities of the variables greater than was assumed. Yet there were differences in some of the ways predicted, and it is expected that further research could clarify the nature of the differences.

Ego involvement is the concept most in need of clarification. This is true in general, as well as in the special form of ego involvement dealt with in this study. The concept of ego involvement apparently has yet been given little empirical examination, for Newcomb (1950) stated that no methods had yet been devised for measuring amounts of ego-involvement. Chances are that the concept subsumes several different factors, as indicated by the discussion of the "ego-involvement" items in Appendix E. Therefore, the Ego Involvement Scale used in this study should be considered only a first approximation toward measuring a concept awaiting further development.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY

Nationalism and patriotism have been recognized by social scientists as among the most powerful social forces of our time. A review of the literature revealed, however, that research was necessary in order to clarify the meanings of the concepts and empirically to establish some of their psychological ramifications. The study reported here represents an attempt in this direction.

Nationalism was defined as an essentially motivational orientation of the individual to his country, such that he aspires for it greater international strength or power. On this basis, nationalism was related to three types of psychological variables of assumed relevance. These included (a) personality characteristics, (b) perceived characteristics of the individual's nation, and (c) the individual's relation to his country. One consequential variable was also examined, specifically an attitude labelled International Cooperation.

Data was obtained by means of a questionnaire administered to foreign and American students. Foreign subjects were used in anticipation that they would provide wide ranges on the variables in question and thus provide broader tests of the hypotheses. An American sample was used for replicating the analyses on one culturally homogeneous sample.

Nationalism and several other variables under examination were measured by Guttman scales, developed for this study. Each of these was found to scale for both the foreign students and Americans. Findings showed that high scorers on the Nationalism Scale evaluated Nationalism

favorably, while low scorers were neutrally disposed to it.

Personality characteristics selected for examination were Dogmatism and Status Admiration. The former was chosen because part of the Dogmatic syndrome is, according to Rokeach and others, the "belief in the cause"; accordingly, adherence to the cause of nationalism may reflect the dogmatic attribute. Similarly, a personality characteristic of Status Admiration may well find expression in the seeking of status for one's nation through nationalism. The analysis revealed that indeed both of the personality characteristics were correlated with Nationalism, although the relationships were but slight for the American subjects. There was little support, however, for the hypothesis that nationalism is associated with an assumed dogmatic characteristic of overrating one's country. Indications were that the assumption was in error.

Three characteristics of one's country, as perceived by the individual, were hypothesized to be related to nationalism. The first of these was national power; logically, it seemed that if one considered his country to be relatively weak internationally, he might wish to see his nation stronger and thus espouse nationalism. The second variable considered was Perceived National Status, measured in terms of cultural, political, and economic standards. Nationalism was hypothesized to be stronger among those who perceived low status for their country, on the assumption that associated with such perception would be the motivation to raise the National Status. The third variable examined was external threat to one's nation; nationalism was expected to be stronger to the degree that one perceived his nation as threatened from without.

All three of the perceived national characteristics were related

to the Nationalism scores, but their relative importance varied considerably between the foreign and American students. Among the foreign students, National Status was the only national variable associated with Nationalism. The relationship was clearly significant, and in the direction hypothesized. Among the Americans, however, perceived National Status was not related to Nationalism, but the power and threat variables were. Interaction was found, for Nationalism was associated with the perception of threat only among those attributing high power to their country.

By means of an incomplete sentence, the specific fears of the subjects for their countries were elicited. Results revealed that the foreign students perceived the main threats accruing within their countries, while the Americans' fears pertained more to relations with other countries. These findings help to explain why nationalism was associated with external threat among the Americans but not among the foreign students.

To analyze the relationships of the individual to his country, three forms of involvement were delineated. The first was Affective Involvement, representing a sentimental attachment to one's homeland (Patriotism Type A). The second was Goal Involvement, defined as a motivation to help one's country as a result of a perceived connection between national progress and personal goal attainment (Patriotism Type B). The third was Ego Involvement, a relationship in which the individual perceives the attributes and achievements of his country as reflecting on him and of consequence to his self-esteem. An additional relationship of the individual to his country was posited in the form of relative loyalty to country as opposed to loyalty to self and various concentric groups of which the individual is a member.

The three forms of involvement were not assumed to be orthogonal and were in fact found related in a complexity of ways, with difference appearing between the foreign and American students. One of the salient findings was that, as hypothesized, Affective Involvement and Goal Involvement were little related. Ego Involvement did correlate substantially with both variables as anticipated.

Nationalism was hypothesized to correlate most with Ego Involvement, a notion commonly expressed in the literature on nationalism. Reinforcing this expectation was the fact that Ego Involvement seems to subsume the other two forms. Results nevertheless refuted the hypothesis. Ego Involvement correlated to a very minor degree with Nationalism. The form of involvement that was most associated with Nationalism varied between the foreign and American students. Goal Involvement distinctively correlated with Nationalism among the foreign students, while Affective Involvement seemed paramount for the Americans.

As hypothesized, professed loyalty to country was found strongest among the most nationalistic. Results showed that very few of those with high Nationalism scores would favor the world over their country in a forced-choice situation.

The final variable examined was an attitude labeled International Cooperation. Contrary to common ideas about nationalism, incompatibility between Nationalism and International Cooperation was not hypothesized. Results did indeed reveal virtually no relation between the two variables; there was in fact a slight positive correlation between them for the foreign students.

All the reviewed relationships are summarized in Table 37. A correlation with Nationalism whose absolute value exceeds .25 was arbitrarily

selected as "relevant," with statistical significance as a necessary but not sufficient condition. The table clearly shows the similarities and differences between the foreign and American groups.

	Personality		National Characteristics			Self-Nation Relationships				Intl Coop
	Sts		Ntl	Ntl	Ext	Involvement			Lvlty	
	Doga	Adm	Sts	Pwr	Thrt	Ego	Affect	Goal		
Foreign Students	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
American Students	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No

Yes =  $|r| > .25$

Table 37. Relevance of certain variables to Nationalism.

No hypotheses were made regarding specific nationalities in the foreign student sample because of the questionable representativeness of these groups. There were numerous indications, however, that the national groupings differed on many of the variables. There was a definite tendency, for example, for Nationalism scores to be highest among students from underdeveloped, non-industrialized countries. In contrast, there were negligible national differences on the International Cooperation variable. An interesting finding was that the "hierarchies of loyalty" varied across national lines, probably indicating cultural differences. Primary loyalties were generally given to family and country, but the Germans and Japanese gave high loyalty to self. The English students were the only ones to express primary loyalty to the world, which generally was low on the respective hierarchies.

In the discussion, a review of the detailed findings led to the



conclusion that the goals of contemporary nationalism seem to be prosperity and recognition, rather than raw national power. Hence, nationalism is strongest among the have-not nations. American nationalism seems to be a special case, defensive in nature and associated with fear of loss of the status and prosperity which the United States enjoys. Personality factors, within the limitations of the present study, seem to be operating but are by no means the main bases for nationalism. It seems then, that modern nationalism does not function toward dominance of other nations. The latter function of nationalism characterized the Axis powers prior to World War II, and is mistakenly identified by some writers with nationalism everywhere. The evidence indicates, therefore, that nationalism does not necessarily preclude harmonious international relations.



## REFERENCES

- Adorno, T.W., Frenkel-Brunswik, Else, Levinson, D.J., & Sanford, R.N. The authoritarian personality. New York: Harper, 1950.
- Allport, G. The nature of prejudice. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954.
- Appel, K.E. Nationalism and sovereignty: a psychiatric view. J. abnorm. soc. Psychol., 1945, 40, 355-362.
- Back, K. W. Influence through social communication. In Eleanor E. Maccoby, T.M. Newcomb, & E.L. Hartley (Ed's.), Readings in social psychology. (3rd ed.) New York: Holt, 1958.
- Benda, J. The treason of the intellectuals. In U.G. Whitaker, Jr. (Ed.), Nationalism and international progress. (2nd ed.) San Francisco: Chandler, 1961.
- Bendix, R., & Lipset, S.M. Class, status, and power. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953.
- Bennett, J.W., Passin, H., & McKnight, R.K. In search of identity; the Japanese overseas scholar in America and Japan. Minneapolis: Univer. Minnesota Press, 1958.
- Bjerstedt, A. "Ego-involved world-mindedness," nationality images, and methods of research: a methodological note. J. Conflict Resolution, 1960, 4, 185-192.
- Braunthal, J. The moral paradox of nationalism. In U.G. Whitaker, Jr. (Ed.), Nationalism and international progress. (2nd ed.) San Francisco: Chandler, 1961.
- Buchanan, W., & Cantril, H. How nations see each other: a study in public opinion. Urbana, Ill., Univ. Ill. Press, 1953.
- Cameron, N. The psychology of behavior disorders: a biosocial interpretation. New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1947.
- Cartwright, D., & Zander, A. Group dynamics. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1953.
- Cooley, C.H. Human nature and the social order. New York: Scribner's, 1902.
- Deutsch, K. W. An interdisciplinary bibliography on nationalism, 1935-1953. Cambridge, Mass.: Technology Press of M.I.T., 1956.
- Deutsch, K. W. Nationalism and social communication: an inquiry into the foundations of nationality. New York: Wiley, 1953.
- Doob, L.W. South Tyrol: an introduction to the psychological syndrome of nationalism. Publ. Opin. quart., 1962, 26, 172-184.

- Edwards, A.L. Techniques of attitude scale construction. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957.
- Emerson, R. The progress of nationalism. In U.G. Whitaker, Jr. (Ed.), Nationalism and international progress. (2nd ed.) San Francisco, Chandler, 1961.
- English, H.B., & English, Ava C. A comprehensive dictionary of psychological and psychoanalytical terms. New York: Longmans, Green, 1958.
- Erikson, E.H. Identity and the life cycle. Psychol. Issues, 1959, 1 (1).
- Feldman, A.B. Mother-country and fatherland. Psychoanal., 1955, 3(2), 27-45.
- Fellner, E. The psychology of nationalism. Hibbert J., 1949, 47, 266-271.
- Ferguson, L.W. The isolation and measurement of nationalism. J. soc. Psychol., 1942, 16, 215-228.
- Firth, R. Human types. New York: New American Library, 1958.
- Freud, S. Group psychology and the analysis of the ego. New York: Liveright, 1951.
- Fromm, E. Escape from freedom. New York: Rinehart, 1941.
- Fromm, E. The sane society. New York: Rinehart, 1955.
- Grodzins, M. The basis of national loyalty. Bull. atomic Scientists, 1951, 7, 356-362.
- Grodzins, M. The loyal and the disloyal. Chicago: Univer. Chicago Press, 1956.
- Guetzkow, H. Multiple loyalties: theoretical approach to a problem in international organization. Princeton, New Jersey: Center for Res. on World Polit. Instns., 1955.
- Halbwachs, M. The psychology of social class. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958.
- Hall, C.S., & Lindzey, G. Theories of personality. New York: Wiley, 1957.
- Hayes, C.J.H. Bases of nationalism. In U.G. Whitaker, Jr. (Ed.), Nationalism and international progress. (2nd ed.) San Francisco: Chandler, 1961.
- Hertz, F. The nature of nationalism. Soc. Forces, 1941, 19, 409-415.
- Hoffer, E. The true believer. New York: New American Library, 1958.
- Horowitz, E.L. Some aspects of the development of patriotism in children. Sociometry, 1940, 3, 329-341.

- Hunter, E.L. A sociological analysis of certain types of patriotism. New York: Maisel, 1932.
- Icheiser, G. Some psychological obstacles to an understanding between the nations. J. abnorm. soc. Psychol., 1941, 36, 428-432.
- Institute for International Education. Education for one world: annual census of foreign students in institutions of higher education in the United States, 1953-1954.
- Institute of International Education. Open doors, 1962: report on international exchange.
- Jones, E. Essays in applied psychoanalysis. London: Hogarth, 1923.
- Kedourie, E. Nationalism. London: Hutchinson Univer. Library, 1960.
- Kiell, N. Attitudes of foreign students. J. higher Educ., 1951, 22, 188-196.
- Klineberg, O. Tensions affecting international understanding. New York: Soc. Sci. Res. Council, 1950.
- Kohn, H. Nationalism: its meaning and history. New York: Van Nostrand, 1955.
- Kohn, H. A new look at nationalism. In U.G. Whitaker, Jr. (Ed.), Nationalism and international progress. (2nd ed.) San Francisco: Chandler, 1961.
- Krech, D., & Crutchfield, R.S. Theory and problems of social psychology. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948.
- Kuhm, M.H. Self-attitudes by age, sex, and professional training. Sociol. quart., 1960, 1, 39-55.
- Lambert, R.D., & Bressler, M. The sensitive-area complex: a contribution to the theory of guided culture contact. Amer. J. Sociol., 1955, 60, 583-592.
- Levinson, D.J. An approach to the theory and measurement of ethnocentric ideology. J. Psychol., 1949, 28, 19-39.
- Levinson, D.J. Authoritarian personality and foreign policy. J. Conflict Resolution, 1957, 1, 37-47.
- Lindesmith, A.R., & Strauss, A.L. Social psychology. New York: Dryden, 1949.
- Lingco, J.C. Multiple scalogram analysis: a generalization of Guttman's scale analysis. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Mich. St. Univer., 1960.

- Loomis, C.P., & Schuler, E.A. Acculturation of foreign students in the United States. Appl. Anthropol., 1948, 7, 17-34.
- McClintock, C.G., & Davis, J. Changes in the attribute of "nationality" in the self percept of the "stranger." J. soc. Psychol., 1958, 48, 183-193.
- Mead, G.H. Mind, self, & society from the standpoint of a social behaviorist. Chicago: Univer. Chicago Press, 1934.
- Meltzer, H. The development of children's nationality preferences, concepts, and attitudes. J. Psychol., 1941, 11, 343-358.
- Menzel, H. A new coefficient for scalogram analysis. Publ. Opin. quart., 1953, 17, 268-280.
- Michigan State News, Feb. 16, 1962. Seminar blames UN weakness on nationalism.
- Morgenthau, H. Nationalism: dilemma. In U.G. Whitaker, Jr. (Ed.), Nationalism and international progress. (2nd ed.) San Francisco: Chandler, 1961.
- Murray, J.P. Pride of state. Boston: Beacon, 1959.
- Morris, R.T. The two-way mirror: national status in foreign students' adjustment. Minneapolis: Univer. Minnesota Press, 1960.
- Morse, Nancy C., & Allport, F.H. The causation of anti-semitism: an investigation of seven hypotheses. J. Psychol., 1952, 34, 197-233.
- Newcomb, T. Social psychology. New York: Holt, 1950.
- Osgood, C.E. Graduated reciprocation in tension-reduction. Univer. Ill., December, 1960. (Mimeo.)
- Roheim, G. The psychology of patriotism. Amer. Imago, 1950, 7, 3-19.
- Rokeach, M. The open and closed mind. New York: Basic Books, 1960.
- Russell, B. Why men fight. New York: Century, 1917.
- Saenger, G. & Flowerman, S. Stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes. Human Relat., 1954, 7, 217-238.
- Schuessler, K. F. A note on statistical significance of scalogram. Sociometry, 1961, 24, 312-318.
- Scott, W.A. International ideology and interpersonal ideology. Publ. Opin. quart., 1960, 24, 419-435.
- Sewell, W.H., & Davidzen, O.M. The adjustment of Scandinavian students. J. soc. Issues, 1956, 12, 9-20.

- Shafer, B.C. Toward a definition of nationalism. In U.G. Whitaker, Jr. (Ed.), Nationalism and international progress (2nd ed.), San Francisco: Chandler, 1961.
- Sherif, M., & Cantril, H. The psychology of ego-involvements. New York: Wiley, 1947.
- Sherif, M., & Sherif, Carolyn. Groups in harmony and tension. New York: Harper, 1953.
- Smith, P.A. A comparison of three sets of rotated factor analytic solutions of self-concept data. J. abnorm. soc. Psychol., 1962, 64, 326-333.
- Stagner, R. A correlational analysis of nationalistic opinions. J. soc. Psychol., S.P.S.S.I. Bulletin, 1940, 12, 197-212.
- Stewart, H.F., & Desjardins, P. French patriotism in the nineteenth century (1814-1833). Cambridge: Cambridge Univer. Press, 1923.
- Stotland, E., & Hillmer, M.L., Jr. Identification, authoritarian defensiveness, and self-esteem. J. abnorm. soc. Psychol., 1962, 64, 334-342.
- Strauss, A.L. Mirrors and masks: the search for identity. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959.
- Tagiuri, R., Bruner, J.S., & Blake, R.R. On the relation between feelings and perception of feelings among members of small groups. In Eleanor E. Maccoby, T.M. Newcomb, & E.L. Hartley (Ed's.), Readings in social psychology (3rd ed.) New York: Holt, 1958.
- Thibaut, J.W., & Kelley, H.H. The social psychology of groups. New York: Wiley, 1959.
- Thurstone, L.L. (Ed.) The measurement of social attitudes. Chicago: Univer. Chicago Press, 1931.
- Thurstone, L.L. The vectors of mind. Psychol. Rev., 1934, 41, 1-32.
- Waisanen, F.B. Research note: a notation technique for scalogram analysis. Sociol. quart., 1960, 1, 245-252.
- Watson, Jeanne, & Lippitt, R. Cross-culture learning: a study among a group of German leaders. I.I.E. News Bull., 1955, 30, 2-5.
- Whitaker, U.G., Jr. (Ed.) Nationalism and international progress (2nd ed.) San Francisco: Chandler, 1961.
- Willis, R.H. Manipulation of item marginal frequencies by means of multiple response items. Psychol. Rev., 1960, 67, 32-50.
- Wingfield-Stratford, E. The history of English patriotism. Vol. 1. New York: Lane, 1913.

Wirth, L. Types of nationalism. Amer. J. Sociol., 1936, 41, 723-737.

Znaniecki, F. Modern nationalities; a sociological study. Urbana, Ill.:  
Univer. Ill. Press, 1952.

## **A P P E N D I C E S**

## Explanatory Letter Enclosed With Foreign Student Questionnaires

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY • SOCIAL RESEARCH SERVICE

Dear Mr. ( - - - ):

We are writing to you because we feel that as a foreign visitor to the United States, you may wish to participate in a study on international relations.

The Department of Sociology and Anthropology, through the cooperation of the Social Research Service at Michigan State University, is presently conducting a study of the relationship between individuals and their respective home countries. The research is undertaken in the hope that its findings may contribute to understanding among nations. You may realize that international relations has traditionally been the concern of political scientists, but the present research represents a new approach, using sociological and psychological orientations. In this way we hope to learn more about areas of international relations previously but little explored.

You may participate in the study simply by filling in the enclosed questionnaire and returning it in the stamped addressed envelope which we have included. By so doing, you will help your country adequately to be represented.

On examining the questionnaire, you may feel that some questions are vague, ambiguous, or simply strange. This is necessary in constructing a survey that will be applicable to citizens of several different countries, and still provide the kind of information that we need. Ideally, we would like to interview each respondent so that he might more fully explain his answers, but time limitations prohibit this. Therefore, we ask you simply to make your own interpretation of the meaning of each question and give the answer closest to your personal views. The results of the study will then help us in planning future research.

We realize that, being a student, your time is valuable, and therefore we will be especially grateful if you will help us in our endeavor by answering the questionnaire and returning it within a week.

Sincerely,

( Signed)

Frederick B. Waisanen  
Director, Social Research  
Service Laboratory

FBW/kt





# APPENDIX B: Questionnaire Used in Study

## QUESTIONNAIRE

SOCIAL RESEARCH SERVICE  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Please fill in the information below. You may omit your name if you wish to remain anonymous, but it is preferred that you give it. Your answers to the questionnaire will be tabulated along with those of other respondents, and your answers as an individual will be held strictly confidential, according to professional ethics.

Your name: \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Sex: \_\_\_\_\_  
You are a citizen of: \_\_\_\_\_ Marital status: \_\_\_\_\_  
Country of birth: \_\_\_\_\_ Father's occupation: \_\_\_\_\_  
How long have you been in the United States? \_\_\_\_\_

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS: Please answer every question in every part of the questionnaire, for an incomplete questionnaire cannot be used.

PART I. Below you will find a number of statements about your country and your relation to it. After each, please circle the ONE answer which most closely states your degree of agreement or disagreement with the statement. The meanings of the answer categories are as follows:

YES - I strongly agree with the statement  
yes - I agree in general with the statement  
? - I am uncertain or indifferent  
no - I disagree in general with the statement  
NO - I disagree strongly with the statement

1. If I hear someone criticizing my country, I earnestly desire to answer his criticisms. YES yes ? no NO
2. The heritage of my country, its customs and traditions, are things of which I am proud. YES yes ? no NO
3. My country should actively strive to improve the United Nations. YES yes ? no NO
4. My country ought to heed the criticisms of other countries, because they may be justified. YES yes ? no NO
5. My country should strive for world leadership in the fields it considers most important. YES yes ? no NO
6. I gain my identity from my country. YES yes ? no NO
7. Other countries have good ideas which my country can use. YES yes ? no NO
8. In making decisions in the national interest, my country's leaders should not be influenced by "world opinion". YES yes ? no NO
9. I like to describe my homeland to those who have not seen it. YES yes ? no NO
10. Until other countries can be trusted, my country should protect its welfare by reserving the right to accept or reject any decisions of the United Nations. YES yes ? no NO

- |   |     |     |   |    |    |
|---|-----|-----|---|----|----|
| 11. My homeland needs my services.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 12. My closest friendships are with my countrymen.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 13. I am disturbed if one of my countrymen abroad behaves shamefully.   | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 14. It is in the best interests of one's country to be concerned with the welfare of other nations as well.                 | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 15. The world would be a better place if international barriers were removed, such as tariffs and immigration restrictions. | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 16. A main factor in my choice of occupation is whether it will benefit my country.   | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 17. My country should be more forceful in influencing other countries, when it believes it is in the right.                 | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 18. I would be very disturbed if I thought that something I did was against the best interests of my country.               | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 19. I believe that what I do with my life can have some effect on my country as a whole.                                    | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 20. The road to peace is through international agreements.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 21. My country is the only place where I can be completely "at home".   | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 22. If I were visiting another country, I would want the people to know my nationality.                                     | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 23. I would feel ashamed if one of my country's leaders did something disgraceful.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 24. I can best achieve my personal goals through the progress of my country.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 25. I love my country.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 26. I personally resent an unfair criticism of my country by foreigners.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 27. Since I live in my country, I want actively to participate as a citizen in its national life.                           | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 28. When I die, I want it to be in my homeland.   | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 29. My country must seek to control its own destiny.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 30. My country should guard against nations which may try to push it around.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 31. I feel that, as a citizen, I have a definite duty to my country.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |

- |  |     |     |   |    |    |
|--|-----|-----|---|----|----|
| 32. Nowhere could I achieve my personal goals better than in my homeland.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 33. Peaceful means <u>only</u> should be considered for settling international differences.                            | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 34. I am never as comfortable among foreigners as I am with my fellow countrymen.                                      | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 35. My country should guard against other nations altering its identity and national way of life.                      | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 36. My welfare is directly tied to the welfare of my country.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 37. My country should strive for power in the world.   | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 38. I like to find out what people from other lands think of my country.   | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 39. My country should play a more important role in global affairs.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 40. It is only natural that my country should put its own interests first.   | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 41. The main way for me to gain self-esteem is through the status and prestige of my country.                          | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 42. I would like personally to help my country attain its goals.   | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 43. A person who praises my country praises me.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 44. Other countries may be interesting to visit, but I love most the beauties of my homeland.                          | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 45. When nations have similar goals, it makes good sense for them to work <u>together</u> to help achieve those goals. | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 46. The land where I am from is <u>my</u> country in a very personal way.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 47. My family and friends are what bind me to my country.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 48. To help my country, I believe in buying its products in preference to foreign imports.                             | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 49. I feel toward my country as a son does to his mother.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 50. An outstanding accomplishment of my country gives me a great feeling of pride.                                     | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 51. The best way for my people to progress is to maintain themselves as a distinct and independent nation.             | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 52. I feel that to some extent I am responsible for the acts of my country.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |

- |  |     |     |   |    |    |
|--|-----|-----|---|----|----|
| 53. My country should participate more actively to help achieve peaceful solutions in conflicts among nations.       | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 54. My country should strive to wield greater influence in international affairs.                                    | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 55. I doubt that there are any other countries where I could live as happily as in my own.                           | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 56. My nationality is an important part of myself.   | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 57. To the degree possible, my country should be both economically and politically independent of all other nations. | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 58. All nations, including my own, have something to contribute to the world.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 59. If I had to spend the rest of my days outside my homeland, I would feel that I had not really lived.             | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 60. Knowing my country is secure makes me feel secure.   | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |

PART II. Below are a number of general statements to which you should mark your degree of agreement or disagreement as you did in Part I. Please be sure to answer all questions.

- |   |     |     |   |    |    |
|---|-----|-----|---|----|----|
| 1. Most people just don't know what's good for them.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 2. Once I get wound up in a heated discussion I just can't stop.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 3. A person who thinks primarily of his own happiness is beneath contempt.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 4. I admire people who have the ability to lead others.   | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 5. In this complicated world of ours the only way we can know what is going on is to rely upon leaders or experts who can be trusted.     | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 6. I admire people who are in a position to direct and mold other's lives.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 7. It is often desirable to reserve judgment about what's going on until one has a chance to hear the opinions of those who one respects. | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 8. In the history of mankind there have probably been just a handful of really great thinkers.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 9. Fundamentally, the world we live in is a pretty lonely place.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |
| 10. I admire people who show great leadership qualities.  | YES | yes | ? | no | NO |

11. In the long run, the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own. YES yes ? no NO
12. While I don't like to admit this even to myself, I sometimes have the ambition to become a great man like Einstein, or Beethoven, or Shakespeare. YES yes ? no NO
13. I admire people who have the respect of important people. YES yes ? no NO
14. The worst crime a person can commit is to attack publicly the people who believe in the same thing he does. YES yes ? no NO
15. I admire people who gain recognition for their achievements. YES yes ? no NO

PART III. Below are listed a number of general attributes of your country. Please circle the number which best indicates how much you like or dislike that characteristic of your country. Meanings of the numbers are as follows.

1= Dislike intensely; 2 = Dislike in general; 3 = Dislike slightly;  
4= Indifferent; 5 = Like slightly; 6 = Like in general; 7 = Like intensely

My fellow countrymen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The land, countryside	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Its customs, traditions, culture	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Its ideals and values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Its history	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Its form of government	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Its political leaders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Its governmental policies	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Its economic system	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The job opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The security it offers you	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The freedom and rights you have	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

PART IV. Below you will find pairs of words referring to yourself and different groups. Now suppose that in your work you found yourself in a situation where you had to make a decision such that only one of the pair would benefit. For each pair, circle the one you would decide in favor of. Do all fifteen pairs.

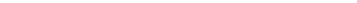
- |  |                                       |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1. myself vs. my family                | 9. my family vs. my state or region   |
| 2. my family vs. my continent          | 10. my state or region vs. my country |
| 3. the world vs. my family             | 11. my continent vs. the world        |
| 4. myself vs. the world                | 12. my continent vs. myself           |
| 5. my country vs. my continent         | 13. my country vs. my family          |
| 6. the world vs. my country            | 14. my state or region vs. myself     |
| 7. my continent vs. my state or region | 15. myself vs. my country             |
| 8. my state or region vs. the world    |                                       |

NOTE: Interpret "the world" as the rest of the world outside your country

PART V. We probably all would agree that every country is different from every other in some respect. We would like to know how you would rank various countries ( France, India, Japan, Mexico, the United States, and your own country if not already listed ) on the basis of their economic, cultural, and political standards.

<u>Standard of Living</u>	<u>Cultural Standards</u>	<u>Political Standards</u>
1st _____	1st _____	1st _____
2nd _____	2nd _____	2nd _____
3rd _____	3rd _____	3rd _____
4th _____	4th _____	4th _____
5th _____	5th _____	5th _____
6th _____	6th _____	6th _____

PART VI. Below are given five different concepts which we would like you to assess or evaluate on each of three different dimensions. Simply mark an "X" at the point on each scale which you feel best describes the word given. For example, if you consider yourself a fairly strong person, you might rate yourself on the strength scale as follows:

myself: 

Please rate each concept on each scale in this way.

<u>Myself</u>		
Bad	Neither (or not relevant)	Good
Weak	Neither (or not relevant)	Strong
Passive	Neither (or not relevant)	Active

My country			
Bad		Neither (or not relevant)	Good
Weak		Neither (or not relevant)	Strong
Passive		Neither (or not relevant)	Active

(Continued on following page)

The United Nations

<u>Bad</u>	<u>Neither</u> (or not relevant)	<u>Good</u>
<u>Weak</u>	<u>Neither</u> (or not relevant)	<u>Strong</u>
<u>Passive</u>	<u>Neither</u> (or not relevant)	<u>Active</u>

Nationalism

<u>Bad</u>	<u>Neither</u> (or not relevant)	<u>Good</u>
<u>Weak</u>	<u>Neither</u> (or not relevant)	<u>Strong</u>
<u>Passive</u>	<u>Neither</u> (or not relevant)	<u>Active</u>

Internationalism

<u>Bad</u>	<u>Neither</u> (or not relevant)	<u>Good</u>
<u>Weak</u>	<u>Neither</u> (or not relevant)	<u>Strong</u>
<u>Passive</u>	<u>Neither</u> (or not relevant)	<u>Active</u>

PART VII. In this section you are given the beginnings to three sentences. Please finish each sentence in your own words.

1. When I think of my country, I think of

2. I hope that my country will

3. I fear that my country will

(Note: this terminates the general version of the questionnaire. The rest was administered to the American subjects only.)



PART VIII. Below are ten concepts which we want you to evaluate as you did in part VI. If you consider a dimension not relevant to a given concept, mark "neither" on the scale. Please rate each concept on each scale.

World Communism

Bad	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Good
Weak	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Strong
Passive	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Active
Non-threatening	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Threatening

John Birch Society

Bad	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Good
Weak	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Strong
Passive	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Active
Non-threatening	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Threatening

African-Asian Bloc

Bad	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Good
Weak	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Strong
Passive	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Active
Non-threatening	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Threatening

American Liberals

Bad	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Good
Weak	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Strong
Passive	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Active
Non-threatening	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Threatening

Socialism in the World

Bad	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Good
Weak	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Strong
Passive	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Active
Non-threatening	_____	_____	Neither	_____	_____	Threatening

Medicare (Old-age health insurance through social security)

	<u>Bad</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Good</u>
	<u>Weak</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Strong</u>
	<u>Passive</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Active</u>
Non-threatening				<u>Neither</u>			<u>Threatening</u>

Communist Bloc Nations

	<u>Bad</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Good</u>
	<u>Weak</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Strong</u>
	<u>Passive</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Active</u>
Non-threatening				<u>Neither</u>			<u>Threatening</u>

Unions

	<u>Bad</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Good</u>
	<u>Weak</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Strong</u>
	<u>Passive</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Active</u>

European Common Market

	<u>Bad</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Good</u>
	<u>Weak</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Strong</u>
	<u>Passive</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Active</u>
Non-threatening				<u>Neither</u>			<u>Threatening</u>

American Communists

	<u>Bad</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Good</u>
	<u>Weak</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Strong</u>
	<u>Passive</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Active</u>
Non-threatening				<u>Neither</u>			<u>Threatening</u>

PART IX. In this final section, please state your degree of agreement or disagreement with each item as you did in the previous sections.

- |  |                         |
|--|-------------------------|
| 1. A man who does not believe in some great cause has not really lived.  | YES   yes   ?   no   NO |
| 2. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.                               | YES   yes   ?   no   NO |
| 3. Of all the different philosophies which exist in this world there is probably only one which is correct.  | YES   yes   ?   no   NO |
| 4. A person who gets enthusiastic about too many causes is likely to be a pretty "wishy-washy" sort of person.                                     | YES   yes   ?   no   NO |
| 5. When it comes to differences of opinion in religion we must be careful not to compromise with those who believe differently from the way we do. | YES   yes   ?   no   NO |
| 6. In times like these, a person must be pretty selfish if he considers primarily his own happiness.   | YES   yes   ?   no   NO |
| 7. It is only when a person devotes himself to an ideal or cause that life becomes meaningful.   | YES   yes   ?   no   NO |

END OF QUESTIONNAIRE - THANK YOU

# APPENDIX C

## Scale Data

(Errors counted by the Goodenough scoring method)

### Nationalism Scale -- Foreign Student Data

Item	Scale Type								Errors	No. Agree.
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
1. Strive for power	0	0	0	1	2	6	6	5	15	20
2. Be more forceful	0	1	1	2	6	14	8	5	27	37
3. Nat'l interests 1st	0	1	1	2	4	18	11	5	23	42
4. Econ-polit indep.	0	0	5	6	19	30	9	5	24	74
5. Guard ag. nations	0	1	7	17	26	32	11	5	20	99
6. Distinct & indep.	0	4	33	26	24	32	10	5	16	134
7. Control own destiny	0	13	31	27	27	33	11	5	15	147
Errors	0	14	28	22	24	40	12	0	140	---
Frequency	15	20	39	27	27	33	11	5	---	177

C. of R. = .89, C. of S. = .56

Nationalism Scale -- American Data

Item	Scale Type								Errors	No. Agree
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
1. Econ-polit. indep.	0	0	0	5	6	5	0	3	16	19
2. Strive for power	0	0	1	5	5	7	1	3	18	22
3. Be more forceful	0	2	2	7	5	4	1	3	22	24
4. Ntl interests 1st	0	0	5	11	12	9	1	3	27	41
5. Guard ag. nations	0	1	13	40	22	9	1	3	26	89
6. Distinct & indep.	0	8	29	34	18	6	1	3	50	99
7. Control own destiny	0	29	42	51	20	10	1	3	17	156
Errors	0	22	42	56	32	24	0	0	176	---
Frequency	12	40	46	51	22	10	1	3	---	185

C. of R. = .86, C. of S. = .44

Goal Involvement Scale -- Foreign Student Data

Item	Scale Type							Errors	No. Agree.
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6		
1. Choice of occupation	0	0	1	1	10	9	19	21	40
2. Personal goals	0	0	0	3	10	14	19	19	56
3. Participate as citizen	0	1	2	5	23	17	19	22	67
4. Duty to country	0	2	4	15	30	20	19	18	90
5. Homeland needs services	0	13	30	22	30	20	19	21	134
6. Personally help country	0	18	29	23	34	20	19	20	143
Errors	0	32	14	18	39	18	0	121	---
Frequency	14	34	33	23	34	20	19	---	177

C. of R. = .88, C. of S. = .52

Goal Involvement Scale -- American Data

Item	Scale Type							Errors	No. Agree.
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6		
1. Choice of occupation	0	0	0	3	0	3	2	6	8
2. Personal goals	0	2	4	8	8	16	2	24	40
3. Participate as citizen	0	0	3	5	30	17	2	16	58
4. Duty to country	0	1	10	25	36	18	2	20	92
5. Homeland needs services	0	12	45	27	37	18	2	27	141
6. Personally help country	0	16	46	31	37	18	2	25	150
Errors	0	30	34	32	16	6	0	118	---
Frequency	10	31	54	33	37	18	2	---	185

C. of R. = .89, C. of S. = .54

Ego Involvement Scale -- Foreign Student Data

Item	Scale Type						Errors	No. Agree.
	0	1	2	3	4	5		
1. Praise country, praise me	0	0	0	4	13	12	17	29
2. Self-esteem thru country	0	2	7	12	17	12	29	50
3. Pride in country	0	6	13	28	23	12	25	82
4. Ashamed of leaders	0	9	13	25	22	12	35	81*
5. Gain identity from country	0	26	25	27	25	12	26	115
<hr/>								
Errors	0	34	40	32	26	0	132	---
<hr/>								
Frequency	36	43	29	32	25	12	---	177

C. of R. = .85, C. of S. = .31

Ego Involvement Scale -- American Data

Item	Scale Type						Errors	No. Agree.
	0	1	2	3	4	5		
1. Praise country, praise me	0	0	0	4	8	8	12	20
2. Self-esteem thru country	0	4	9	14	5	8	33	40
3. Pride in country	0	7	22	27	11	8	32	75
4. Ashamed of leaders	0	10	24	18	9	8	41	69*
5. Gain identity from country	0	42	27	27	11	8	37	115
<hr/>								
Errors	0	41	62	36	16	0	155	---
<hr/>								
Frequency	33	62	41	30	11	8	---	185

C. of R. = .84, C. of S. = .31

\* Although item 4 has a lower popularity than item 3, this ordering produced the fewest errors. This characteristic, along with the low coefficients of Reproduceability and Scaleability, show the Ego Involvement Scale to be definitely inferior as a Guttman scale.

Affective Involvement Scale -- Foreign Student Data

Item	Scale Type							Errors	No. Agree.
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6		
1. Comfortable with countrymen	0	1	1	2	5	11	11	20	31
2. Want die in homeland	0	0	1	5	13	17	11	24	47
3. Live happily in count.	0	0	3	4	22	18	11	19	58
4. "At home" in country	0	0	12	17	26	21	11	24	87
5. Friendships-countrymen	0	3	21	20	24	21	11	30	100
6. I love my country	0	40	36	24	30	22	11	5	163
Errors	0	8	24	22	36	22	0	122	---
Frequency	9	44	37	24	30	22	11	---	177

C. of R. = .89, C. of S. = .56

Affective Involvement Scale -- American Data

Item	Scale Type							Errors	No. Agree.
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6		
1. Comfortable with countrymen	0	0	0	3	23	9	23	35	58
2. Want die in homeland	0	0	0	6	7	18	23	20	54
3. Live happily in count.	0	1	2	11	29	24	23	31	90
4. "At home" in country	0	0	5	17	34	24	23	35	103
5. Friendships-countrymen	0	4	33	33	43	25	23	14	161
6. I love my country	0	10	38	35	44	25	23	7	175
Errors	0	10	14	40	60	18	0	142	---
Frequency	3	15	39	35	45	25	23	---	185

C. of R. = .87, C. of S. = .55



International Cooperation Scale -- Foreign Student Data

Item	Scale Type						Errors	No. Agree.
	0	1	2	3	4	5		
1. Remove internat'l barriers	0	3	9	9	13	13	34	47
2. Achieve peaceful solutions	0	2	6	12	34	13	24	67
3. Improve United Nations	0	3	13	26	34	13	32	89
4. Concern with welfare of other nations	0	1	14	33	35	13	28	95
5. All nations contribute	0	25	24	34	36	13	24	132
Errors	0	18	56	42	26	0	142	---
Frequency	21	34	33	38	38	13	---	177

C. of R. = .84, C. of S. = .34

International Cooperation Scale -- American Data

Item	Scale Type						Errors	No. Agree.
	0	1	2	3	4	5		
1. Remove internat'l barriers	0	1	4	2	6	14	13	27
2. Achieve peaceful solutions	0	0	7	12	34	14	24	67
3. Improve United Nations	0	8	22	38	38	14	39	120
4. Concern with welfare of other nations	0	3	25	40	39	14	28	121
5. All nations contribute	0	14	30	46	39	14	26	143
Errors	0	24	66	28	12	0	130	---
Frequency	16	26	44	46	39	14	---	185

C. of R. = .86, C. of S. = .47

## APPENDIX D

### Special American Versions of the Nationalism, Ego Involvement, and Affective Involvement Scales

#### I. The American Nationalism Scale

<u>Item</u>	<u>Agreement Categories*</u>	<u>Popularity</u>
1. To the degree possible, my country should be both economically and politically independent of all other nations.	YES	10.3%
2. My country should be more forceful in influencing other countries, when it believes it is in the right.	YES	13.5
3. It is only natural that my country should put its own interests first.	YES	21.1
4. My country should guard against other nations which may try to push it around.	YES	49.2
5. My country should strive to wield greater influence in international affairs.	yes,YES	59.5
6. My country must seek to control its own destiny.	yes,YES	84.3

\* YES = strongly agree; yes = agree in general

R = .87 (Goodenough scoring)

#### II. The American Ego Involvement Scale

<u>Item</u>	<u>Agreement Categories*</u>	<u>Popularity</u>
1. A person who praises my country praises me.	YES	10.8%
2. The main way for me to gain self-esteem is through the status and prestige of my country.	yes,YES	21.6
3. The land where I am from is <u>my</u> country in a very personal way.	YES	32.4
4. An outstanding accomplishment of my country gives me a great feeling of pride.	YES	40.5

(continued next page)

## (Continuation of American Ego Involvement Scale)

<u>Item</u>	<u>Agreement Categories</u>	<u>Popularity</u>
5. The heritage of my country, its customs and tradition, are things of which I am proud.	YES	54.6%
6. I personally resent an unfair criticism of my country by foreigners	yes, YES	76.2

R = .87 (Goodenough scoring)

III. The American Affective Involvement Scale

<u>Item</u>	<u>Agreement Categories</u>	<u>Popularity</u>
1. I feel toward my country as a son does to his mother.	YES	7.6%
2. If I had to spend the rest of my days outside my homeland, I would feel that I had not really lived.	yes, YES	17.8
3. When I die, I want it to be in my homeland.	YES	29.2
4. I doubt that there are any other countries where I could live as happily as in my own.	yes, YES	48.6
5. My country is the only place where I can be completely "at home."	?*, yes, YES	55.7
6. Other countries may be interesting to visit, but I love most the beauties of my homeland.	?, yes, YES	78.4
7. My closest friendships are with my countrymen.	yes, YES	87.0
8. I love my country.	yes, YES	94.6

R = .90 (Goodenough scoring)

(If the extreme items, numbers 1 and 8, are eliminated, R = .89)

\* ? = uncertain or indifferent.

## APPENDIX E

### Analysis of the Non-Scale Items

In developing the **various scales** used in this study, pools of items were developed as relevant to each of the variables. As a result of the Guttman scaling procedures, no pool was completely used. To clarify the nature of the variables measured by each of the scales, and to suggest other dimensions of interest for research, the items not included in the scales will be reviewed here.

It is important to realize that omission of an item from a scale does not necessarily mean that that item was irrelevant to the concept under examination. Often two items were close in popularity, so there was little discrimination between them. In such cases it was feasible to use just one of the items to reduce the total error.

#### Nationalism Items

From a pool of thirteen items, six were not used in the Nationalism Scale. Four of these could have been included, but the result would have been a quasi-scale of .83 reproduceability. These items, denoted by their assigned number in the questionnaire, were as follows.

5. My country should strive for world leadership in the fields it considers most important.
10. Until other countries can be trusted, my country should protect its welfare by reserving the right to accept or reject any decisions of the United Nations.
35. My country should guard against other nations altering its identity and national way of life.
39. My country should play a more important role in global affairs.

It is apparent that two of these items (5 and 39) advocate international leadership, while the other two (10 and 35) are essentially defensive in nature. Both of these views have been accounted for in the Nationalism Scale, the first by item 1 (striving for power) and the second by item 5 (guard against other nations). Some subjects questioned the meaning of items 5 and 10, the latter particularly by the Germans and Koreans, whose countries are not U.N. members. The ambiguity of these items may explain their failure to scale.

The two other excluded items were as follows.

8. In making decisions in the national interest, my country's leaders should not be influenced by "world opinion."
54. My country should strive to wield greater influence in international affairs.

Item 8 was poorly expressed, as suggested by some of the subjects. By being stated negatively, confusion resulted as to the meaning of the "yes" and "no" answer categories. This is a possible explanation of its failure to scale.

The content of item 54 is very similar to that of item 39 (cited above). Ambiguity may have caused difficulty here also, because the type of "influence" is not specified.

#### Goal Involvement Items

Of the seven items excluded from the Goal Involvement Scale, five could have been included to form a quasi-scale of .83 reproduceability. These were as follows.

18. I would be very disturbed if I thought that something I did was against the best interests of my country.
19. I believe that what I do with my life can have some effect on my country as a whole.

32. Nowhere could I achieve my personal goals better than in my homeland.

36. My welfare is directly tied to the welfare of my country.

60. Knowing my country is secure makes me feel secure.

Item 18 was originally included in the Goal Involvement Scale, but finally eliminated because its popularity was virtually identical to that of item 5 of the scale ("my homeland needs my services"). Likewise, the content and popularity of item 32 were very similar to scale item 2 (achieve personal goals through progress of country).

It may be noted that items 18 and 19 relate to the effects the individual has on his country, which is essentially the content of five of the six Goal Involvement items. On the other hand, the omitted items 32, 36, and 60 pertain to the effects of the country on the individual's welfare, which is stated only by item 2 in the final scale. It is possible that more precise measurements of goal involvement would separate these two relationships. That the dimensions are somewhat different is indicated by the fact that in combination they formed only a quasi-scale.

Items 48 and 52 did not enter even the quasi-scale. They were as follows.

48. To help my country, I believe, in buying its products in preference to foreign imports.

53. I feel that to some extent I am responsible for the acts of my country.

Why these items failed to scale can only be conjectured. Regarding item 48, the goal-involved subjects may believe that they can help their countries without having to sacrifice their interests in material goods. Item 52, on the other hand, may be confusing in not specifying

the acts of the country to which reference is made, and the nature of the individual's "responsibility" may be too abstract to be meaningful.

### Ego Involvement Items

Only five of the pool of thirteen Ego Involvement items could be scaled, and the result was only a quasi-scale. Among the eight omitted items, the following fell into one dimension with scale item 5.

1. If I hear someone criticizing my country, I earnestly desire to answer his criticisms.
2. The heritage of my country, its customs and traditions, are things of which I am proud.
22. If I were visiting another country, I would want the people to know my nationality.
26. I personally resent an unfair criticism of my country by foreigners.
38. I like to find out what people from other lands think of my country.
46. The land where I am from is my country in a very personal way.
56. My nationality is an important part of myself.

The reproduceability of the scale formed by these items was only .77, which is insufficient to indicate a single dimension. Items 22 and 56 appear to tap nationality as part of the self-concept. Concern and defensiveness regarding opinions of others is reflected by items 1, 26, and 38. Pride is an element of item 2 and possibly of item 46. While each of these aspects is included to some extent in the Ego Involvement Scale, the apparent complexity of dimensions warrants further research.

The one other item excluded from the Ego Involvement Scale was number 13, "I am disturbed if one of my countrymen abroad behaves

shamefully." The Multiple Scalogram Analysis included this item in the Ego Involvement Scale, but it was eliminated because it introduced excessive error. This was probably due to the item's identical popularity with scale item 3, which specifies pride in accomplishments of one's country.

#### Affective Involvement Items

Of the five Affective Involvement items omitted from the final scale, the Multiple Scalogram Analysis included four in one dimension, with .82 reproduceability. These were as follows.

- 9. I like to describe my homeland to those who have not seen it.
- 44. Other countries may be interesting to visit, but I love most the beauties of my homeland.
- 49. I feel toward my country as a son does to his mother.
- 59. If I had to spend the rest of my days outside my homeland, I would feel that I had not really lived.

These items seem generally to reflect a maudlin, romantic view of one's country. The "son to his mother" item seemed to perplex several of the subjects, because they wrote question marks and one commented that the statement was "too philosophical."

Item 47 was not found to scale in any way with the other items. In stating "My family and friends are what bind me to my country," the item may have been too restrictive to be included in the broader sentiment of Affective Involvement.

#### International Cooperation Items

From a pool of ten items, five were excluded from the International Cooperation Scale. Two of these were included by the Multiple Scalogram



Analysis with the main scale items, but their error lowered the reproduceability to .81. The items are presented below.

4. My country ought to heed the criticisms of other countries, because they may be justified.
45. When nations have similar goals, it makes good sense for them to work together to help achieve those goals.

While these items clearly suggest international cooperation, they imply a certain willingness to yield autonomy and sovereignty. In this way they seem to deviate from the International Cooperation Scale items.

The other omitted items are presented below. Two of these (20 and 33) are concerned with peace, which may reflect another form of "internationalism," i.e., pacifism. This possible dimension warrants further research. The third item, number 7, expresses an idea which is probably unrelated to international cooperation.

7. Other countries have good ideas which my country can use.
20. The road to peace is through international agreements.
33. Peaceful means only should be considered for settling international differences.

## APPENDIX F

### Short Form of the Dogmatism Scale Used in This Study

(The items were given in Part II of the questionnaire)

1. Most people just don't know what's good for them.
2. Once I get wound up in a heated discussion I just can't stop.
3. A person who thinks primarily of his own happiness is beneath contempt.
4. In this complicated world of ours the only way we can know what is going on is to rely upon leaders or experts who can be trusted.
5. It is often desirable to reserve judgment about what's going on until one has a chance to hear the opinions of those who one respects.
6. In the history of mankind there have probably been just a handful of really great thinkers.
7. Fundamentally, the world we live in is a pretty lonely place.
8. In the long run, the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own.
9. While I don't like to admit this even to myself, I sometimes have the ambition to become a great man like Einstein, Or Beethoven, or Shakespeare.
10. The worst crime a person can commit is to attack publicly the people who believe in the same thing he does.

## APPENDIX G

### Coding Scheme for Threat Analysis

The following scheme is for coding the completions to the sentence beginning "I fear that my country will ...". There are five main categories, of which the second has sub-categories. A subject's response may include one or more of the categories; exceptions are categories D and E, which are mutually exclusive with the other categories.

- A. External threat. Here there is a definite mention of a source outside the nation which is threatening. The following are examples: domination by another nation or nations; imperialism; colonialism; too much influence by other nations or cultures; communism from other countries; involvement in war; getting caught in the East-West struggle; international economic competition.
- B. Internal threat. Here the sources of the problem is definitely within the nation. The specific types of threat are as follows.
  - 1. Dangerous forces within the country. Examples: dictatorship; totalitarianism; police state; corruption; political power struggle; intrigue; civil war; internal communism; denial of freedoms.
  - 2. Poor progress. The idea of failure in progressing or goal achievement is mentioned. Includes inadequate or slow progress. Answers are usually general statements. Examples: country will fail to "make it"; country will remain in its present state.
  - 3. Problem confrontation. The idea of confronting a specific problem or obstacle is mentioned. Examples: economic problems; over- or under-population; incompetent leaders (as opposed to unscrupulous leaders, an answer which goes under category B-1); failure to establish unity (as with Korea and Germany).
  - 4. Poor foreign relations. Here the concern is about the performance of one's nation internationally. The source of the problem is seen as the nation's own deficiencies, inadequacies, or errors, rather than other nations. Examples: bungling foreign policy; attempt to dominate other nations; will start a war; will be too isolationist.
  - 5. Degeneration. The fear is stated that the country will deteriorate, regress, develop undesirable characteristics which it doesn't have presently, or lose something good which it now has. While item B-2 refers to failure of forward movement, this item is concerned with backward movement. Examples: become too materialistic, too soft, too democratic, "too civilized."
- c. Other threat. Any fear not mentioned above, including vague threat. Examples: have problems; face crises.

- D. No threat. There is a specific statement saying the individual has no fears for his country.
- E. No answer or unclear. This includes all statements in which the presence of threat cannot be determined, such as vague, ambiguous, of illegible statements, or answer omitted. Caution: do not confuse with category C.

APPENDIX H  
Correlation Matrix - Foreign Students

	Gl	Ego	Aff	Int	Sts		Clt	GLA	Gen	Loy	Loy	Ext	Ntl	Ntl	Ntl	Self-Nation
	Inv	Inv	Inv	Cpn	Adm	Dog	Mil	Mil	Lik	Wld	Cty	Tht	Sts	Pwr	Pot	Evl Pot Act
Nationalism	62	53	51	12	41	48	16	-24	13	-17	39	-06	43	-07	-10	--
Goal Involvement		64	53	23	44	48	15	31*	21	-02	52	-02	-53	-06	--	09 13 05
Ego Involvement			61	24	41	51	25	-04	27	-05	39	09	-29	03	--	06 -03 -07
Affective Involvement				02	25	45	15	-18	22	-22	33	-02	44	-13	--	06 12 09
International Cooperation					19	13	19	-09	00	24	01	-07	--	09	--	--
Status Admiration						45	10	-10	15	-05	20	03	-28	-12	--	--
Dogmatism							15	-08	21	-10	27	10	-24	-10	--	--
Cultural Milieu Rating								16	47	-01	15	00	12	24	--	--
Goal Achvmt Milieu Rating									61	-07	-01	13	61	56	--	--
Gen'l liking of Country										-11	21	07	20	28	--	--
Loyalty to world											-07	02	--	-02	--	--
Loyalty to country												12	-26	-01	--	--
Perception of external threat													--	-10	--	--
Perceived National Status														62	59	--
Perceived National Power														--	--	--
Perceived National Potency														--	--	--
Difference, (Evaluation														--	--	--
Self-Nation (Potency														--	20	27
(Activity															--	51

\* Correlation Ratio (Curvilinear correlation)

N.B. (a) On the variables loyalty to world, loyalty to country, and national status, the signs of the obtained correlations have been reversed to conform to the meaning of the variables.

(b) Correlations not given were not computed.

(c) A sample size of N = 177 was used in all correlations, with the following exceptions:

Correlations involving national status, n = 148

Correlations involving self-nation differences, n = 170

APPENDIX H (Continued)  
Correlation Matrix -- American Students

	Gl	Ego	Aff	Int	Sts	Cse	Clk	GLA	Gnl	Loy	Loy	Wld	Cty	Ext	Tnt	Tnt	Sts	Pwr	Pot	Ntl	Self-Nation	
	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Dog	Exp	Mil	Mil	Ldk	Wld	Cty	Tnt	Tnt	Tnt	Tnt	Sts	Pwr	Pot	Evl	Pot	Act
	23	35	45	-07	24	13	20	23	19	23	-22	18	36	16	08	33	29	-02	13	03		
Nationalism																						
Goal Involvement	51	16	24	21	02	17	26	15	24	11	19	33	33	19	05	11	20	-11	07	-01		
Ego Involvement		43	21	34	19	21	33	28	32	-07	28	31	15	07	19	26	-03	02	-05			
Affective Involvement			-12	21	33	32	31	28	29	-26	16	29	08	24	25	15	08	02	-02			
International Cooperation				18	-15	-15	08	-01	06	24	-09	-03	-09	-13	06	01	-02	07	-15			
Status Admiration				26	17	02	15	07	07	-07	07	21	04	15	09	05	-08	00	-23			
Dogmatism				40	-11	-17	-16	-15	06	21	22	06	-09	-04	12	-15	-05					
Cause Espousal				13	04	10	-05	13	13	15	24	-08	14	00	-01	00						
Cultural Milieu Rating					60	86	-08	29	04	01	41	38	39	-23	03	-12						
Goal Achvmt Milieu Rating						84	-11	23	14	00	33	37	27	-09	04	-16						
Gen'l Liking of Country							-13	29	12	-02	42	39	39	-17	00	-14						
Loyalty to world								11	-13	-09	-13	-02	-11	-03	03	08						
Loyalty to country								06	11	11	13	14	-14	01	02							
Perception of external threat								47	07	22	18	-02	-02	03								
Perception of internal threat									-03	02	11	-06	-19	-02								
Perceived National Status									10	19	-07	-12	-19									
Perceived National Power									25	-09	24	14										
Perceived National Potency									-09	02	-07											
Difference, (Evaluation																						
Self-																						
Nation																						
(Potency																						
(Activity																						

N.B. (a) On the variables loyalty to world, loyalty to country, and national status, the signs of the obtained correlations have been reversed to conform to the meanings of the variables.

(b) A sample size of N = 185 was used in all correlations.

1967 Dec. 11

~~DEC 9 1967~~  
67-12-11

FROM THE 1967