

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INFORMATION
ABOUT AND ATTITUDES TOWARD
OTHER NATIONS:
A PROPOSITIONAL INVENTORY.

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
RICHARD EDWARD JOYCE
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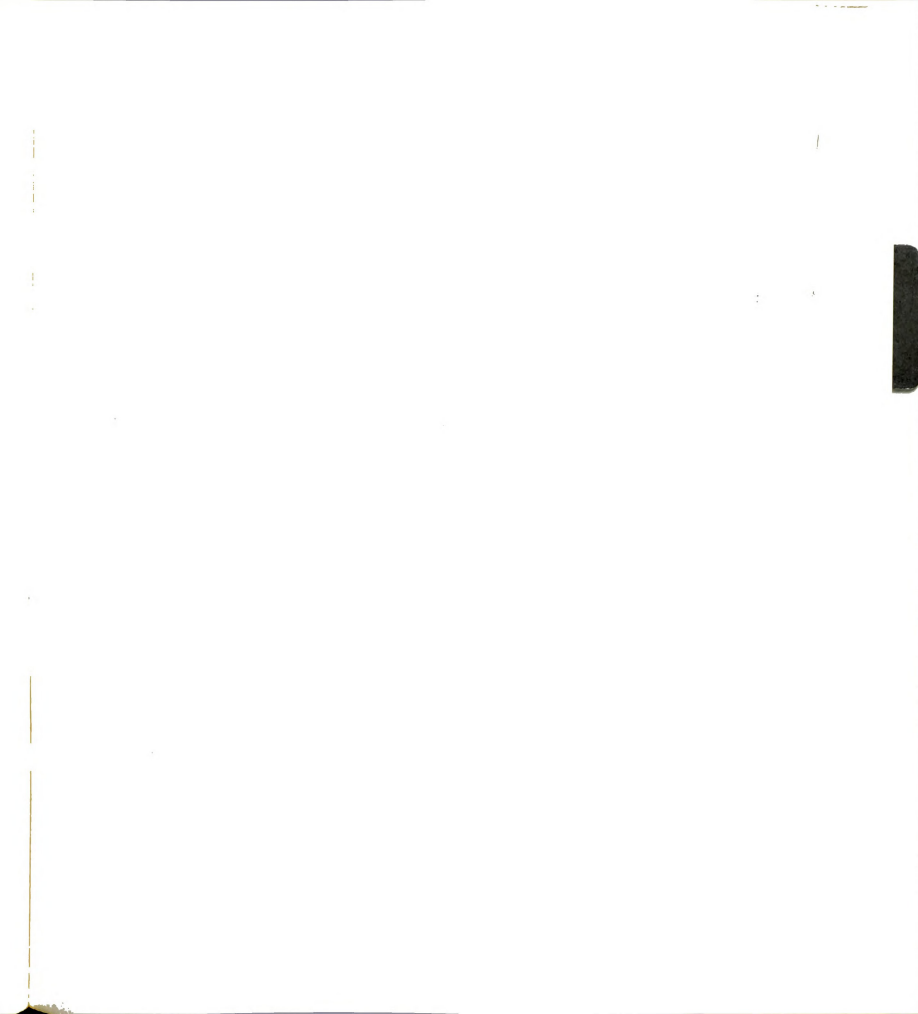
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ABSTRACT

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INFORMATION ABOUT AND ATTITUDES TOWARD OTHER NATIONS: A PROPOSITIONAL INVENTORY

By

Richard Edward Joyce

The present study is an examination of the relationships between an individual's information about particular foreign nations and their peoples, and his images of and attitudes toward those nations. The study includes (a) a discussion of nation-attitudes and the ways in which they have been measured, (b) a review of empirical, quantitative research on the factors which influence nation-attitudes, (c) the presentation of sixty-four propositions--tentative statements of relationships, derived from existing research on nation-images, drawn from analogy with data on other kinds of images and orientations, or offered as tentative hypotheses about untested relationships--about relationships between information and nation-attitudes, and (d) a series of suggestions for future research on these relationships.

A nation-image is defined as the organized representation of a given nation in the individual's cognitive system. A nation-attitude is defined as the affective-evaluative component of a nation-image.

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Richard Edward Joyce

Three kinds of information are discussed. Subjective information--another component of the nation-image--is the set of beliefs about the nation which the individual has accepted as true. Available information is the set of statements about the nation-object to which the individual is exposed, or to which he could easily expose himself. Factual information refers to the actual or objective characteristics of the nation. A simple model of information effects is that factual information about a foreign nation is discovered and transmitted to the individual (becoming available information), and then the individual accepts the information into his belief system (as subjective information) where it forms the basis of his attitudes toward that nation. In reality, the process is not so simple.

Most individual nations are not especially salient to most individuals, and so attitudes toward most nations tend to represent an orientation toward foreign nations in general, derived from such non-informational influences as authoritarianism, patriotism, and interpersonal orientations, rather than a response to information about the particular nation.

The individual does not automatically believe all the information about other nations which becomes available to him. Rather he tends to unconsciously derive his subjective information largely from those messages which are most consonant with his expectations and desires. Thus, although an individual whose subjective information is favorable toward a given nation (holding, for example, beliefs that the country is economically advanced and friendly to his homeland) is

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likely to have a favorable attitude toward that nation, the attitude is not necessarily derived from the subjective information.

Available information does not always correspond with factual information. The news and entertainment media, schools, interpersonal networks, and the conditions under which contact takes place all tend to present to the individual a limited and biased view of foreign nations.

Exposure to these sources of information is related in various ways to nation-attitudes. In general, the more education an individual has, the more he knows about most other nations, the more favorable to other nations he is, and the more he is exposed to information about other nations in the mass media. Most of the individual's information about other nations reaches him through the mass media. Direct contact with another nation through travel is likely to provide a more detailed and more personal kind of information and a more differentiated image. Under certain conditions, contact leads to more favorable attitudes, but such changes are often temporary.

In general, this study questions the common assumption that as people learn more and more about each other they will come to like each other. It is suggested that a more realistic understanding of the relationship of information and nation-attitudes provides a better basis for effective international communication.

RELATIVE

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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INFORMATION ABOUT AND ATTITUDES

TOWARD OTHER NATIONS: A PROPOSITIONAL INVENTORY

By

Richard Edward Joyce

A Dissertation

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Communication

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Accepted by the faculty of the Department of
Communication, College of Communication Arts, Michigan State
University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the Doctor of Philosophy degree.

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Until his death on June 29, 1973, Professor
Hideya Kumata served as chairman of the committee and
director of thesis.

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Letter

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

A. General Statement of Purpose

The object of this dissertation is the formulation of a number of propositions about relationships between people's attitudes toward foreign nations and their exposure to information about these nations. These propositions are intended both to summarize existing research and to suggest directions for future research on such relationships.

Underlying this object is a more general concern: What are the factors which determine the attitudes and beliefs that an individual citizen of one nation will have about other nations and their people? Will exposure to particular kinds and amounts of information about other nations influence his image of these nations and his orientation toward them? This dissertation does not fully answer these questions (1) because most of the research it summarizes does not directly measure the information that respondents have about other countries but rather forces one to infer it from other variables, and (2) because it is drawn largely from data which show covariance but not causal connection between the indices from which information is inferred and the subjects' images of other nations. It is hoped, however, that this study serves the function of indicating what needs to be researched, as well as that

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B. Images of Foreign Nations and Peoples

1. Rationale. Like many other people, the author would like to see increased friendship and cooperation between the peoples of different nations, and it is this wish which lies behind his interest in understanding cross-national communication processes.

One frequently runs across the naive assumption that the increasing exposure of peoples in one country to information about the peoples of other countries--through international travel, through mass communications, and through formal education¹--will result in reduced hostility and increased respect between the peoples of these different nations.² Such an assumption seems to be implicit in both the goals and

¹Some of this increase in exposure to information about other countries is documented in Angell (1969). Focussing on the period from 1955 to 1961, he estimates that study abroad is increasing nine percent each year, and research abroad ten percent each year. He also reports increases in other types of international contact, including travel to visit friends and relatives, participation in international non-governmental organizations, and residence abroad of businessmen (see also Angell, 1967). Cherry (1971) gives data on the growth of international news services, of international telephone traffic, of communications satellites (see also Mickelson, 1970), and of overseas broadcasting, and on increasing tourism and participation in international organizations. Data on North Americans overseas are available in Rubin (1966), which gives an estimate of 1,400,000 Americans living abroad in 1966, about 600,000 of them civilians. Data on overseas students in the United States are found in Institute of International Education (1972). This publication estimates that there are about 150,000 foreign students and scholars in the United States, and about 38,500 United States students and scholars abroad.

²E.g., Aranguren (1967, p. 203): "Communication is also an important means of destroying the mythical images that form barriers between races and prevent mutual understanding. The people of other countries are men like ourselves, and their administrators are not very

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the methods of many programs promoting cross-national communication.³

This kind of assumption should not, however, be taken for granted.

One should instead try to discover when particular kinds of information in particular circumstances are likely to make for increased international friendship or hostility, esteem or contempt. It is easy to think in terms of a simple model where exposure to information leads to knowledge, and knowledge leads in turn to positive feelings and attitudes. Numerous studies in the literature on attitudes suggest, however, that there are times when individuals will receive information that makes them more negative toward an attitude object,⁴ that there are times, perhaps more often than not, that individuals accept only evidence that is consonant with their existing attitudes,⁵ and that an

different from ours. (It is in different systems of government that the vital distinctions occur.) Research into cross-cultures and a more objective and less nationalistic approach to the teaching of history, have helped dissolve stereotyped images created abroad or deliberately fabricated by image makers, and so make a valuable contribution to information and international understanding."

³As Merritt (1972) puts it, "The naive version of the argument asserts that the foreign student who comes to our shores to pursue his education will go away with a warm feeling toward the United States, Americans, and the American way of life. He will learn to appreciate our forms of democracy and our foreign policies."

⁴E.g., Brouwer and van Bergen (1960), according to Hawkins (1969), found that Dutch school children, after exposure to a movie about India which emphasized traditional elements in Indian culture, became increasingly negative toward India.

⁵E.g., Levine and Murphy (1943) found that both learning and remembering of material about Russia occurred more when the material was consonant with subjects' prior attitudes toward Russia. Selltitz and Cook (1966) found evidence that attitudes on race influence subjects' ratings of the plausibility of a series of statements.

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individual's attitudes often play a role in determining what information he will be exposed to.⁶

Much of an individual's communication, both as a source and as a receiver, is influenced by what he knows, or rather by what he thinks he knows, about the others with whom he is communicating. In order to understand communication events, one needs to know something about the images which people have of those with whom they are communicating. In order to understand what happens as communication takes place across national and cultural boundaries, it is necessary to have some understanding of the images that communicators in different nations have of each other. This, in turn, requires a study of the process by which information about one nation is communicated to the people of another nation.

The focus of this paper is upon the dependent variable of images of foreign nations and their peoples. This variable is a specific form of the more general variable, images of groups and persons. Certainly much of the variance in attitudes toward foreign nations can be predicted from current general theories of attitude formation and change; perhaps future development of such general theories will make studies like the present one, which look at the formation of attitudes toward particular classes of objects, unnecessary. Given the current state of general theory, however, middle-range generalizations, such as those in this

⁶Summaries of the literature on selective exposure to information--McGuire (1969), Freedman and Sears (1965), Sears and Freedman (1967)--indicate that attitudes and exposure to information consonant with these attitudes covary in many situations. There does not, however, seem to be a general tendency for people to seek out consonant, and to avoid dissonant, information.

dissertation, about attitudes toward other nations would seem to be useful both to those interested in improving or testing the generality of existing attitude theory and to those with an immediate concern with cross-national interaction.

The concentration on images of foreign nations and peoples is somewhat arbitrary, but there are reasons to expect that such images are often shaped by a somewhat different configuration of forces than those which shape other images of persons and groups. As a subset of the larger area, images of foreign nations seem to be distinguished by lack of direct contact between the viewer and the object of his image, by the magnitude and heterogeneity of the image object, and by their special relationship to the nationalism of the viewer. Additionally, the channels through which information is acquired from other nations--notably mass media, educational systems, and international travel--are all usually controlled to a considerable degree by the national government of the nation viewed and by the viewer's own national government, agencies which are likely to have special concerns with the resulting public images. The unique characteristics of nation-images are in part suggested by Niebuhr (1967, p. 40):

In modern life, the intergral national community has the sovereign power and necessary communal consensus to challenge, criticize, and transmute all social myths on the sub-national level. But it has neither the inclination nor the power to challenge the mythical content of its own pretensions to virtue that it presents to the larger world, in which neither sovereign power nor consensus exists as a moderating power on the self-esteem of nations.

2. Aspects of Images. The term image has been defined as "the organized representation of an object in an individual's cognitive

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system" (Kelman, 1965b, p. 24). Thus the image of a nation "constitutes the totality of attributes that a person recognizes (or imagines) when he contemplates that nation" (Scott, 1965, p. 72). This paper will use image in this broad sense, including not only the perceived nature of the nation referent, but also evaluations, moods, expectations, memories, and action orientations.⁷ Image, more than alternative terms which might have been chosen, seems to encompass a variety of different kinds of orientation to other countries.⁸ When considering an individual's images of particular nations, it is important also to consider them as subparts of the total belief system (Holsti, 1967, p. 18) or of "the image" of total reality which a person possesses (Boulding, 1956), and to remember that they may not be as clearly defined subparts for the subject as for the researcher.

Some authors have tried to make a distinction between the image of a nation and the image of a nation's people. Willis (1968) refers to these respectively as the "national image" and the "ethnic image."

⁷ Compare uses of image by Kelman (1965b), pp. 24-26; Scott (1965), pp. 72-75; Pruitt (1965), pp. 394-395; Holsti (1967), p. 18; Farrell (1967), pp. xiii-xv; Boulding (1956); Deutsch and Merritt (1965), pp. 132-135; Lasswell (1965), p. 341.

⁸ Thus to write of perceptions of other countries seems to imply direct rather than mediated contact with the objects of perception. To write of knowledge of other countries seems to imply that such knowledge is valid or true. To write of beliefs about other countries seems to exclude responses which are emotional and unarticulated, while to write of feelings seems to exclude beliefs which are affectively neutral. To talk about the information a person has about other countries ignores the fact that a person may have strong attitudes toward other countries even when he has little information about them. To talk about stereotypes suggests that the image is over-simplified and conformist. Though image has occasionally been used with some of these limitations, it seems to be the broader term and the best candidate to refer to the whole representations of other countries in peoples' minds.

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It seems more reasonable to treat the image of a foreign people as a particular aspect of the image of their nation, since when subjects are asked for their image of a given country they may interpret the question as calling for their feelings about the nation as a geographic unit, as a political entity, as a people, or in some other way or combination of ways.⁹ The differences in "national" and "ethnic" images found by Willis serve to emphasize that investigation of the extent to which images of other countries are differentiated in the subjects' minds is basic to any attempt to describe such images. In most of the literature reviewed in this paper, unfortunately, either "national" or "ethnic" images but not both was measured.

Investigations of images of nations and groups of people have considered a number of variables which may be thought of as dimensions of images, but not all scholars have considered images in terms of the same set of dimensions.¹⁰ A review of various sources suggests some

⁹See Doob (1964, pp. 65ff) for a discussion of the possible referents people have for the name of their country.

Where a given ethnic group (e.g., the Chinese) live in more than one country, it will not be possible to treat the image of the people as a subpart of the image of the nation without qualification (as, for instance, saying "Chinese in Mainland China"). Much of the literature on images of peoples gives no indication of whether subjects responded to stimulus words like "Chinese" in terms of images of particular groups like Chinese-Americans or Chinese in Mainland China, or in terms of relatively general and undifferentiated images.

¹⁰For example: Boulding (1956, pp. 47-48), dealing with images in general, talks about spatial images, temporal images, value images, affectional or emotional images, conscious, unconscious, or sub-conscious images, the certainty or uncertainty of images, the relational image ("the picture of the universe. . . as a system of regularities"), the personal image, the public or private aspect of the image, and the correspondence of the image with reality. Scott (1962a; 1962b; 1965, pp. 73-81), dealing with images of foreign nations, talks about the

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different questions which can be asked about the image an individual has of a given nation: (1) What are the content elements in the image?

content and structure of images. Elements of content include non-affective, non-evaluative cognitive elements, that is, beliefs about attributes of the nation, and affective elements such as preferences and attitudes, as well as action components. Structural elements, which in turn may be considered in terms of cultural structure--patterns found in a group of people--and psychological structure--patterns found among cognitive components within individuals' images--include differentiation or dimensionality or complexity, salience, unity or inter-community or hierarchic organization, functional equivalence of elements, centrality or peripherality, cognitive consistency or balance or congruity, and permeability or rigidity. A more recent elaboration on these variables is Scott (1969). Harding et al. (1969) say that most research on images of ethnic groups has considered whether beliefs are simple and undifferentiated or complex and differentiated, central and salient or peripheral and embedded, believed tentatively or believed with assurance, inadequately grounded or grounded on appropriate evidence, accurate or inaccurate, or tenacious or readily modified. Studies looking at attitudes have looked at general friendliness or favorability, and at specific feelings like sympathy, envy, and contempt, as well as at non-affective attitude elements, and have had to distinguish general factors (like ethnocentrism) which influence attitudes toward all other groups from group and specific factors. Edwards (1940), suggested that stereotypes could be described in terms of uniformity (across individuals), direction, intensity, and quality (content). Karlins, Coffman, and Walters (1969) looked at stereotypes of peoples in terms of the content of the beliefs, the favorableness of the beliefs, the uniformity or consensus on beliefs, the relations between the personal stereotypes held by individuals and the social stereotype held by the group, and both traditional and contemporary stereotypes. Jordan (1968, pp. 76ff), distinguishes perceived societal stereotypes, perceived societal interactive norm, personal moral evaluation, hypothetical personal behavior, personal feelings, and actual personal behavior. He provides a model for distinguishing these different aspects of the "conjoint structure of an attitude universe" and for examining the resulting data with Guttman "facet analysis" procedures. Bastide and Van Den Berghe (1957) looked at interracial attitudes in terms of evaluative beliefs, past personal behavior, perceived social norms, and hypothetical future personal behavior. Smith, Bruner, and White (1956, pp. 34-37) looked at opinions about Russia in terms of differentiation, saliency, time perspective, informational support, objective value (valence and intensity), and action orientation. Harvey (1967) suggested that the study of attitudes should distinguish content and structure, and emphasized concreteness-abstractness, including differentiation, articulation, integration, and centrality, as a central structural variable. Gordon (1962) distinguished autonomous and controlled imagery, depending on whether the individuals had conscious control of their images.

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(2) What are the structural characteristics of the image? (3) What are the relationships between the individual's image and certain phenomena external to the individual?

The content of an image is typically described in terms of beliefs or cognitive elements, affective or emotional elements, and behavioral dispositions. Beliefs may be thought of as having (1) evaluative components, of which both valence and intensity may be described, and (2) non-evaluative components, though it is not always easy to distinguish these in practice. Affect or emotion may involve both a general positive or negative orientation toward the object and more specific feelings like envy or contempt. The behavioral aspect of content includes memories of past personal behavior toward the object, expectations of future behavior, and ideas about ideal behavior, about what one ought to do.

The structure of an image includes both the interrelations of the content elements and the relationships between the particular image and the rest of the individual's belief system. Thus the structural elements of an image include consciousness and articulation, salience and centrality, differentiation and complexity, intensity, rigidity and uncertainty, and integration and cognitive consistency. Specific structural questions might deal with the relations between the image of a particular foreign nation and images of self, of what others in one's society believe, and of images of foreign nations and out-groups in general.

Once the content and structure of an image are described, it is possible to ask how that image relates to phenomena outside of the

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individual. One can look at the extent to which individuals in a group have similar images, at the relation between the individual's image and that projected by a particular source or medium of communication, and at the degree of correspondence between the image and "reality."

Some of these distinctions between aspects of images are conceptually neat but awkward in practice. Thus, although the focus of this essay is on the evaluative content of images, other aspects of images will also have to be considered at times.

C. Focus on Attitudes

1. Rationale. A large part of the research on images of nations and peoples has focussed on their evaluative and affective dimensions, both because these dimensions seem to be an especially important factor in cognitive processes and because of their presumed usefulness in predicting behavior. Thus Scott (1965, p. 82) writes,

An affective or evaluative attribute constitutes a central dimension of image structures for a wide range of objects (cf. Osgood et al., 1957). To the extent that any cognitive attribute is correlated with the affective attribute, an image that includes the former will elicit an affective response. Probably the tendency to ascribe qualities of "good-bad" is an exceedingly primitive one that is never wholly absent from any image structure, however elaborated with additional dimensions. Particularly if the dimensional complexity is fairly low, the available attributes may readily engage in an affective association.

As Scott indicates, the importance of the evaluative dimension has received support from factor-analytic studies. It also receives somewhat more qualified support from studies involving judgments of

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nonexistent nations, from studies of children's images of other nations, and from the studies of Peabody and others questioning the relative importance of descriptive and evaluative traits in stereotypes of peoples. Some of this research is summarized in the paragraphs which follow.

In their description of "semantic space" Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957, pp. 70-72) found "a pervasive evaluative factor in human judgment regularly appears first and accounts for approximately half to three-quarters of the extractable variance . . . thus the attitudinal variable in human thinking . . . based as it is on the bed-rock of rewards and punishments both achieved and anticipated, appears to be primary. . . ." They also point out that this general evaluative factor can be broken down into other more specific factors. They report (p. 199) that Tannenbaum had subjects respond to the concepts Germans, Chinese, and Hindus with semantic differential scales and with a form of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale. He found that the evaluative dimension correlated more than other dimensions of semantic space with the ratings on the Bogardus scale.¹¹ Prothro and Keehn (1957) gave the semantic differential to students in Lebanon for the concepts Italian, German, and Turk and found three factors similar to Osgood's evaluation,

¹¹Correlations between the evaluative factor and the Bogardus ratings were .22, .62, and .59 for Germans, Chinese, and Hindus, respectively. The corresponding multiple correlations utilizing all three semantic differential factors to predict the Bogardus ratings were .78, .80, and .72, a considerable improvement in prediction, especially in the case of the concept Germans, a concept one might assume to be relatively familiar.

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potency, and activity. The percentage of variance explained by these factors depended on the concept judged. Evaluation accounted for more variance in judging Italians, but not in judging Turks and Germans. Kumata and Schramm (1956) had Japanese, Korean, and American students rate a variety of concepts including names of countries, nationalities, and national leaders with twenty of Osgood's semantic differential scales. They consistently found two factors, evaluation and dynamism, in their data, with evaluation accounting for the most variance. Other research (Osgood, 1963) also indicates the regular appearance of these dimensions in diverse cultures.¹²

More recent studies are those of Gardner and others and Willis. The study by Gardner, Wonnacott, and Taylor (1968) showed that all items which seem to be evaluative do not necessarily group together in a clearly evaluative factor. In this study students in Ontario responded to the concept French-Canadians with semantic differential type scales. A separate set of subjects was used to judge whether scales were evaluative or not. The ratings of the concept were factor-analyzed, and the resulting factors were described in this way: (F1) evaluative items, mostly positive, not high in consensus (e.g., pleasant, likable, kind, sociable); (F2) mostly non-evaluative items, high in consensus (e.g., excitable, talkative, impulsive); (F3) some evaluative, some not evaluative (e.g., knowledgeable, sophisticated, cultured); and (F4) some evaluative, some not evaluative (e.g., undependable, unreliable, disloyal). In a subsequent study with similar results (Gardner, Taylor,

¹²For references to more recent studies of the appearance of evaluative factors in semantic differential responses in different cultures, see Tanaka (1972b).

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and Feenstra, 1970), they conclude, "The factor patterns obtained in this study as well as in the one by Gardner, Wonnacott, and Taylor (1968) clearly demonstrate that an individual's tendency to adopt the stereotype about an ethnic group is independent of his attitudes toward that group even though . . . the stereotype is highly evaluative."¹³ These studies differ from those previously cited in that only one concept was used in each to generate the data for factor analysis,¹⁴ suggesting that, while a single evaluative dimension may be useful for comparing images of different nations held by a given group, it may be less adequate for looking at images held by particular individuals or of particular nationalities.¹⁵

Willis (1968) used bipolar adjectives to collect data from American students on images of nations and of their peoples. He performed separate factor analyses for these two kinds of stimuli and

¹³From a similar study, Kirby and Gardner (1973) conclude that the consensual, stereotypic factor "can be further subdivided as informational (i.e., reflecting directly what is known about the group) and evaluational (i.e., reflecting a general evaluational interpretation of all that is known)." At the same time they emphasize "that the evaluational component reflects the community attitudes, but that an individual's willingness to subscribe to attributes in this component, like the informational component, is independent of his attitudes toward the group."

¹⁴They also differ in the choice of adjective pairs. Only three of the scales which had their highest loading on Kumata and Schramm's evaluative factor are used in Gardner, Wonnacott, and Taylor (1968), and all three of them had their highest loading there on F1.

¹⁵Peabody's methodological doubts, discussed later in this chapter, may also be relevant to understanding these results.

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found roughly similar factor structures involving two kinds of evaluation:¹⁶

The first factor in the analysis of the ethnic images, which accounts for 36.4 per cent of the total variance, loads highest on friendly, kind, peace-loving, cooperative, and honest. This is obviously an evaluation factor . . . of a special kind, having to do with motives and intentions rather than abilities. . . . The second ethnic factor . . . loads most heavily on industrious, with moderate loadings on thrifty and scientific. It is interpreted . . . possibly as an activity-efficiency factor. The third ethnic factor . . . loads highest on scientific, cultured, and intelligent. . . . It may be described as a "general superiority factor." The fourth ethnic factor . . . is interpreted as a potency factor. Its highest loadings appear on brave and strong. The last ethnic factor extracted, which accounts for 4.6 per cent of the total variance . . . loads most heavily on thrifty and next most heavily on mature. . . .

. . . The first national factor . . . , like its ethnic counterpart, is clearly a "good guy-bad guy" factor. The second national factor . . . is . . . also an activity factor. Now, however, it has more of a technological flavor, for the loading on scientific has jumped . . . to .75. The highest loading . . . is still on industrious. . . . The third national factor is more clearly a thrift factor in the narrow sense. . . . The fourth national factor . . . is . . . an evaluation factor relating primarily to abilities and attributes rather than intentions. . . . Its highest loadings are on cultured and intelligent. . . . The fifth and last national factor accounts for 4.4 per cent of the total variance. It . . . is clearly a potency factor.

Another approach to determining the dimensionality of images of nations has involved asking subjects which of several nations they

¹⁶In this, as in most of the factor-analytic studies reported, the name assigned to a factor represents only the researcher's personal attempt to infer what quality the variables with high loadings on the factor have in common. Moreover, the appearance of the factors themselves is contingent both on the arbitrary choices made in carrying out the analysis, and on the choice of scales used in the original instrument.

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consider similar, either using a grouping task (Robinson and Hefner, 1967, 1968; Jones and Ashmore, 1971; Wish, 1970) or using pair comparisons (Wish, Deutsch, and Biener, 1970; Wish, 1970, 1971). In general, these studies have indicated that the most influential dimension in such judgments is the political alignment of the nation-objects (usually communist-anticommunist), and that the second most influential dimension is level of economic development.¹⁷ Wish suggests that there may be a parallel between these two dimensions and Osgood's evaluation and potency factors. These studies clearly demonstrate, however, that not all subjects judge similarity of nations in terms of the same characteristics. Robinson and Hefner (1967) found that an academic sample emphasized development (and thus tended to see the United States as similar to the Soviet Union, for example) while a general sample of the public in Detroit emphasized communism (and thus did not rate the United States and the Soviet Union as similar). Wish, Deutsch, and Biener (1970) found that Americans who were "hawks" on the issue of Vietnam tended to emphasize political alignment whereas those who were "doves" were more likely to base similarity judgments on economic development.

Another kind of evidence for the importance of the evaluative dimension of images of nations comes from studies of the development of children's images of foreigners and ethnic groups. Children of five

¹⁷ Jones and Ashmore (1971) reported five non-independent dimensions: Christian-non-Christian, dark skinned-light skinned, dominant-subordinate, economically advanced-economically underdeveloped, and Western culture-non-Western culture.

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or six do not always have a clear idea of other countries. The concept tends to become clear for most children between the ages of seven and nine (Piaget and Weil, 1951). One study concluded that for children of five or six "national identity is a matter of a simple dichotomy; either one belongs to the good country or one does not" (Weinstein, 1957). This is indicative of the common finding that children begin to make evaluative and affective statements about their own and other nations and ethnic groups before they are able to provide any descriptive statements about them. A summary of research on the attitudes of American white children toward Negroes, for example, suggests that they make hostile responses to the word "Negro" before they are clear about its meaning. Specific content items appear later, first negative attributes and then positive ones, with the stereotype reasonably complete by the time the children are twelve (Buchanan, 1954, p. 5). Hess and Tourney (1967, p. 29), in a study of the political socialization of elementary school students, found that in general, ". . . children first think of political objects as good or bad; later, more complex information and orientations may be acquired."

Lambert and Klineberg (1967) studied the attitudes toward other nations of 6, 10, and 14-year-olds in ten countries. They report (p. 211) that:

The children's views of foreign peoples changed with age in several noteworthy ways. In the first place the 6-year-olds responded less frequently than the older children when questioned and the responses they gave were typically non-evaluative descriptions of facts, or general references to the good or bad qualities of the peoples in question. With age, children demonstrated a larger repertoire of evaluative distinctions, referring to foreign groups as

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Good, bad, intelligent, aggressive, poor, wealthy, peaceful, dominated, and ambitious. Striking concurrent changes were also apparent in the content of the descriptive statements made about foreign peoples. The descriptions of the younger children focused on physical features, clothing, language, and habits in contrast to the older children's preoccupation with personality traits, habits, politics, religion, and material possessions.

Either younger children evaluate peoples in terms of different criteria than adults or they evaluate peoples somewhat independently of the descriptive content of their images. Lambert and Klineberg (1972, p. 7) also note that the images of younger children are usually completely positive or completely negative, rarely combining positive and negative attributes.

Adults, as well as children, sometimes give evaluative responses to nations without knowing anything about them. Hartley (1946; cited in Allport, 1958, pp. 66-67) asked college students to respond to the names of 35 peoples, three of which were fictitious, on the Bogardus Social Distance Scale. Most of these students responded to the names of the fictitious as well as the real peoples,¹⁸ suggesting again that the evaluative dimension of images of foreigners even, making can be measured even in instances where the image has no descriptive content.

The concentration of research effort on the evaluative aspect of images of nations has been called into question by Peabody (1967;

¹⁸Not everyone responds to fictitious nations. Twenty years after Hartley, Armer (1966) found 66 percent of his subjects at the University of Wisconsin did not rate the prestige of a fictitious nation. Eisenberg (1968) reported that the more educated his subjects (Israeli students), the less likely they were to rate a fictitious nation. More recently Jones and Ashmore (1971) had difficulty in getting United States undergraduates to rate real nations evaluatively.

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1968). He has suggested that the apparent importance of the evaluative dimension in images of nations may be an artifact of the methods used to detect such images. He pointed out that most adjectives have both descriptive and evaluative meaning and that the use of adjective checklists tends to confound these two dimensions of meaning. Thus if a subject says Americans are generous, he is saying that they are on the positive side of a "good-spending/bad-spending" scale and that they are on the fast side of a "fast-spending/slow-spending" scale, even though he may intend to imply only one of these two ratings. Peabody (1967) had subjects rate adjectives on bipolar scales where one pole was an adjective similar to the rated adjective evaluatively but not descriptively and the other was an adjective similar to the rated adjective descriptively but not evaluatively. For example, subjects were asked to rate the concept "cautious" on the following scale: "bold" __:__: __:__: __:__: __:__: __ "timid". Ratings near the "bold" end of the scale were interpreted as indicating evaluative dominance in judging traits as similar whereas ratings near the "timid" end of the scale were interpreted as indicating descriptive dominance. On a series of seventy such items, Peabody's subjects always had a mean rating near the descriptive end of the scales, and he concluded that ". . . evaluation is a secondary aspect of judgment and is typically based on the extremeness of descriptive judgment." Subsequent studies using similar adjective sets but different analysis procedures (Rosenberg and Olshan, 1970; Felipe, 1970) found stronger evaluative effects than in Peabody's study. In Felipe's critical cases, evaluative consistency led to predictive errors only 36 percent of the time, while descriptive

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consistency led to predictive errors 64 percent of the time. These studies led Peabody to a revised summary of the place of evaluation in person perception (Peabody, 1970):

- (a) In analyses of general relations based on the covariation of many traits, descriptive and evaluative relations are of considerable importance;
- (b) in analyses of separate trait judgments, descriptive relations are more important where they are specifiable; (c) in the combining of several traits, preliminary evidence shows that descriptive relations are even more important than for single traits.

The issue does not seem to be fully resolved yet, but clearly Peabody's recognition of the way evaluative and descriptive data are confounded in the common use of adjective scales to study images calls for a reconsideration of much of the existing literature on images of nations.

A focus on the evaluative (or attitudinal) dimension (or dimensions) of images of nations and peoples is appropriate to our concern with the influence of nation-images on the communication process because of the importance of evaluation in the concepts of meaning and source credibility¹⁹ and because of the relationship between attitudes and patterns of interaction between individuals. For this reason, as well as because of the general importance of the evaluative dimension in images of nations, and because of the relative quantity of literature available on this aspect of nation-images, evaluation of other nations

¹⁹Berlo, Lemert, and Mertz (1969-70), in a factor-analytic study of judgments of message sources, found a central "safety" factor similar to the evaluation factor of Osgood et al. In a similar study, Schweitzer and Ginsburg (1966) found as their strongest factor "a very global one that can best be interpreted as indicating a lack of trustworthiness."

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and peoples is the main dependent variable in this discussion.

2. Explication. Attitude, as it is used in the present study, refers to the affective-evaluative component of the image. An individual is said to have a favorable nation-attitude to the extent that he likes a given nation and/or believes that it is good.

It is with some reluctance that the term attitude is used to refer to the dependent variable in the present study. There seems to be as much disagreement as agreement among social scientists on how this term should be used.²⁰ McGuire (1969) concludes that the attitude

²⁰For instance: Attitudes are clusters of evaluative or approach-avoidance behaviors (Cronkite, 1969); social attitudes include such dimensions as authoritarianism/humanitarianism, social liberalism/conservatism, religionism, political liberalism/conservatism, nationalism, tendermindedness/toughmindedness, and sex permissiveness (Digman, 1962); attitude refers to both the "mediating evaluative response" associated with a particular belief and to the summation of such mediated responses toward a particular attitude object (Fishbein, 1965); "Attitudes . . . are the orientation which the organism assumes as a result of the perceptions and images it experiences and the concepts and beliefs which it has built up for itself" (Gordon, 1962); "Attitudes are the inferred bases for observed consistencies in the behavior of individuals" (Hartley, Hartley, and Hart, 1952); "The nature of attitudes is generally agreed to lie in the direction of learned sets or dispositions to respond, often evaluatively . . . " including both cognitive and affective components (Hollander and Hunt, 1963); "Attitude is the predisposition of the individual to evaluate some symbol or object or aspect of his world in a favorable or unfavorable manner. Opinion is the verbal expression of an attitude. . . . Attitudes include both the affective, or the feeling core of liking or disliking, and the cognitive, or belief, elements . . ." (Katz, 1960); Attitude(s) is the affective aspect of an image, and an image is the "organized representation of an object in an individual's cognitive system" (Kelman, 1965b); "A social attitude . . . may be defined as a set of evaluative categorizations formed toward an object or class of objects." Attitudes have "emotional and motivational aspects inseparably intertwined with cognitive content" (Sherif, Sherif, and Nebergall, 1965); "An attitude is an idea charged with emotion which predisposes a set of actions to a particular class of social situations." Thus attitudes include a cognitive component, an affective component (feeling), and a behavioral component (predisposition to action) (Triandis, 1971, pp. 2-3); attitudes, as opposed to perceptions, are

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field has too much conceptual elaboration. And Berelson and Steiner (1964, p. 557), summarizing our knowledge of opinions, attitudes, and beliefs, give up in their attempt to discriminate clearly between them:

These terms do not have fixed meanings in the literature, but in general they refer to a person's preference for one or another side of a controversial matter in the public domain--a political issue, a religious idea, a moral position, an aesthetic taste, a certain practice (such as how to rear children). Opinions, attitudes, and beliefs (hereafter OAB's) are rational and/or emotional judgments on such questions.

A traditional approach has been to define an attitude as a behavioral predisposition toward its object.²¹ Though attitudes have been defined in this way, it is usually recognized that behavior toward a given object at a given time will be influenced by a unique configuration of situational factors such that the attitude cannot be easily inferred from behavior toward its object unless a consistent pattern of behavior is observed across a wide variety of situations.

Inferences from verbal responses solicited by the researcher are often presumed to relate more closely to abstract predispositions and less closely to situational variation than are other types of behavior.

relatively permanent, are about relatively general and abstract entities, and persist in the absence of the stimulus (Warr and Knapper, 1968, p. 4); "An attitude . . . has at least five aspects: (1) it is a mental and neural state (2) of readiness to respond, (3) organized (4) through experience (5) exerting a directive and/or dynamic influence on behavior" (G.W. Allport, 1935, in Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. C. Murchison; cited in McGuire, 1969). McGuire (1969) provides an extensive summary of the current conceptualization of the word attitude.

²¹E.g., Scott (1958b) says: "Attitudes toward foreign affairs can be conceived as acquired behavioral dispositions toward a particular class of events." Campbell (1963) lists a variety of other terms also defined as "acquired behavioral predispositions," including belief, cognitive structure, concept, evaluation, meaning, mental image, orientation, and stereotype.

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Even communication researchers find it easy to accept what a man says as an operational equivalent of what he thinks or feels. Ultimately, however, verbal behaviors are subject to the particular situation, and hence to the same problems of inference, as other behaviors. A variety of questions, asked in a variety of ways, are used as measures of attitude, yet different measures often produce different results. One who would talk about the resulting data often has two options.²² He may talk about a difference as a defect of method, conclude that his indices of attitude are weak, and either average the results of different indices or eliminate the indices which seem weakest in retrospect; or he may assume the validity of his measures and conclude that he has measured two different dimensions of attitude or image. Neither current theory nor current methodology seems strong enough to make the choice easy, and so one who would look for a common thread in existing studies must concentrate his search on what was measured and not on what was concluded.

Cook and Selltiz (1964) take the position that attitudes must be inferred from overt indicators including: "Self-reports of beliefs, feelings, behavior, etc., toward an object or class of object; . . .

²²Fishbein and Ajzen (1972) found over 500 operations used to measure attitudes; this is disturbing in light of the frequency with which studies using more than one operation report different results from different measures.

Cook and Selltiz (1964) suggest the following approaches to interpreting a discrepancy between measurements: (1) assume there is a true attitude which one or both measures failed to gauge; (2) assume there are different classes of attitudes toward an object--i.e., verbal attitudes, action attitudes, etc.; (3) equate attitude with behavior as a descriptive term for observed consistencies in behavior; (4) "think of attitude as an underlying disposition which enters along with other influences, into the determination of a variety of behavior toward an object or class of objects, including statements of beliefs and feelings about the object and approach-avoidance actions with respect to it."

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the individual's reactions to or interpretations of partially structured material relevant to the object; . . . performance on objective tasks where functioning may be influenced by disposition toward the object; and . . . physiological reactions to the object." They suggest that attitude measurement should utilize a multiple indicator approach (i.e., multi-operationalism). By this criterion most studies of attitudes toward foreign peoples and similar groups are weak, because few use more than one indicator of attitude and very few use indicators other than self-reports of beliefs and feelings.

Perhaps the most common approach to measuring images of nations involves giving the subject a list of adjectives and asking him to check those which he feels describe a given nation or ethnic group.²³ Ostensibly these checklists are designed to reveal beliefs or stereotypes held by the subjects, but often they are used to make inferences about attitudes as well. Sometimes such inferences have depended on a priori assumptions by the researcher about the favorability of the adjectives (Buchanan and Cantril, 1953; Reigrotski and Anderson, 1959); at other times subjects have been asked to judge the favorableness of the adjectives on the list (Vinacke, 1956; Abate, 1969; Karlins, Coffman, and Walters, 1969).²⁴ Subjects have sometimes objected to making the checklist ratings, suggesting that results attained by this method may

²³E.g., Katz and Braly (1947), Gilbert (1951), Prothro (1954a), Bayton and Byonne (1947), Berreman (1958), Diab (1962), Rabushka (1970). For lists of other studies using this approach, see Lambert and Klineberg (1967, pp. 4-5) and Ehrlich and Rinehart (1965).

²⁴Kirby and Gardner (1972) have published ratings on seven dimensions, including evaluation, of 208 words frequently used in measuring stereotypes.

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be artificially stereotyped. The subject who checks "hardworking" for the concept "Germans" may know very well that not all Germans work hard all the time (Eysenck and Crown, 1948; Brigham, 1971).

A related but more sophisticated approach uses scales--typically with seven intervals--anchored by pairs of presumably bipolar adjectives. Often, but not always, the pairs of adjectives are taken from Osgood's semantic differential. Studies using this approach are able to make inferences about attitudes, either from previous data on what adjectives cluster on an evaluative dimension (Triandis and Triandis, 1962; Willis, 1963; Peabody, 1967, 1968; Sheikh and Gardner, 1968; Felipe, 1970) or by factor-analyzing the data generated by the study and identifying one or more evaluative dimensions (Kumata and Schramm, 1956; Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, 1957; Prothro and Keehn, 1957; Willis, 1968; Gardner, Wonnacott, and Taylor, 1968).

Adjectives and descriptive statements have also been elicited, and sometimes used to infer attitudes, in essays (Coelho, 1958), in interviews (Smith, 1947; Smith, Bruner, and White, 1956; Parry, 1960; Isaacs, 1958; Bjerstedt, 1962; Selltitz et al., 1963; Rosenberg, 1965; Lambert and Klineberg, 1967; Becker, 1968), and by sentence-completion tasks (Prothro, 1954b; Watson and Lippitt, 1955; Pool and Prasad, 1959).

Another type of self-report has called for subjects to explicitly rate the object in terms of an evaluative dimension or in terms of his feelings toward it. Abate (1969) and Wish (1971) used paired comparisons to measure subjects' liking of nations. Subjects have been asked to rank lists of nations in order of power (Alcock and Newcombe, 1970), general prestige (Armer, 1966; Schwartzman and Mora y Araujo, 1966), and

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economic, cultural, and political status (Morris, 1960). They have been asked to name peoples they most and least like or feel friendly toward (Buchanan and Cantril, 1953; Keehn and Prothro, 1956), to name the countries they would prefer to live in (Buchanan and Cantril, 1953; Lambert and Klineberg, 1967) and to name peoples they find it easiest and hardest to get along with (Reigrotski and Anderson, 1959). And subjects have been asked to rate peoples or nations from lists in terms of liking and friendliness (Zeligs, 1954; Lambert and Klineberg, 1967; Berrien, 1969), overall favorableness (Selltitz et al., 1963), and similarity to their ideal country (Wish, Deutsch, and Biener, 1970; Wish, 1971). Some studies have used either Likert (Schonbar, 1949; Hanchett, 1950; Morris, 1960) or Thurstone (Peterson and Thurstone, 1933; Grice, 1934; Nettler and Golding, 1946; Remmers et al., 1956) attitude scales.

Another major approach to measuring attitudes toward groups of people has involved the Bogardus Social Distance Scale and related techniques. Subjects are asked if they would be willing to have relationships of various kinds with the object peoples.²⁵ Recognizing that social distance may not be a simple unidimensional variable, Triandis (1964; 1967) has developed a "behavioral differential" distinguishing such factors as respect, marital acceptance, friendship acceptance, social distance, and subordination.

Though the social distance and behavioral differential measures deal with particular behaviors and relationships, they are actually

²⁵Studies using this general method include Hartley (1946), Bogardus (1947), Zeligs (1954, 1955), Bardis (1956), Adinaryan (1957), Triandis and Triandis (1960, 1962, 1965), Smith (1969), and Rabushka (1970). Other studies using this technique are listed in Bogardus (1959) and Miller (1964).

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self-reports of feelings toward such relationships, and in that respect they are similar to measures which call for self-reports of past or habitual personal behavior (Bastide and Van Den Berghe, 1957; Rabushka, 1970) or for conceptions of future or proper behavior (Bastide and Van Den Berghe, 1957).

A major weakness of self-report measures is that the subject is usually aware of what is being measured, and it is thus relatively easy for him to present a distorted picture of his attitudes. To some extent such distortion can be avoided by measures which seem to deal with stimuli or tasks in which the attitude toward the object does not appear to be the only purpose of the investigation. In some cases this approach only involves a reversal of the usual self-report approach. Centers (1951) presented the stereotypes found by Katz and Braly (1947) to his subjects, and asked them what people they described. Similar techniques were used by Bastide and Van Den Berghe (1957) and Berrien (1969). At other times subjects have been asked to group nations into clusters sharing similar characteristics (Robinson and Hefner, 1967, 1968). Razran (1950) asked subjects to describe people with different ethnic names. Bjerstedt (1962) used a Thematic Apperception Test and a photo-sorting task. Smith, Bruner, and White (1956) used a cartoon stereotype test. Other researchers have used word associations to provide a measure of attitudes to other peoples. (Szalay and Lysne, 1970; Kelly and Szalay, 1972; Gardner and Taylor, 1969). And several researchers have asked subjects to judge or react to statements in which ethnic or foreign groups were mentioned (Smith, Bruner, and White, 1956; Selltiz, Edrich, and Cook, 1965; Selltiz and Cook, 1966).

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Presumably even less subject to deliberate distortion by the subject are overt behaviors and physiological responses to other groups, although for other reasons these are subject to varying interpretations. Such measures are, however, uncommon in the literature surveyed. Brislin (1971) used a behavioral measure, observing intergroup interaction in a university cafeteria. Bjerstedt (1962) observed children's interaction in the international children's camps. Cooper (1959) studied attitudes toward groups by measuring the galvanic skin responses made by subjects listening to statements about various groups.

D. Focus on Exposure to Sources of Information

The main independent variable in the present study is the information which individuals have about particular foreign nations. It is important to recognize that "having information" is a rather vague concept. On one hand it is usual to say that an individual has information when it is known that the information was "given" to him. An experimenter who has presented a message to his subjects is likely to say that these subjects have the information the message contained. But to say that a person has information is to imply that he has it now, not that he was once exposed to it.

An individual's image of a given nation may include a variety of beliefs about what the nation is really like. To him these beliefs represent information about the nation, though in reality they may be less than accurate. Thus an individual's beliefs are subjective information about a nation-object.

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Beliefs, however, can neither be measured directly nor manipulated. It is important, therefore, to consider the relationship of subjective information to available information, the statements about the nation-object to which the individual is exposed (or to which he could easily choose to expose himself). Available information can be measured independently of the nation-attitude, and thus it is possible to ask whether increased exposure to such information relates to nation-attitudes.

Ideally it would be possible to relate attitudes toward foreign countries to exposure to particular items of information about the countries. In practice this is rarely possible. The number of messages involved in field studies is often too great to allow detailed description of the information to which a person is exposed. Often gross indices of exposure to information, such as number of years abroad or amount of formal education, must be used to try to understand why different people have different international attitudes. In the laboratory it is often possible to see to it that subjects are exposed to particular information, though there is still little control, other than random assignment, of differences in information attained prior to the experiment.

Individuals exposed to a message about another country will of course differ from each other in their retention and understanding of the message content. To understand the relationship between exposure to information, and attitudes toward other nations, it is necessary to look both at the relationship between exposure to and retention and understanding of information about other nations, and at the relationship

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between attitudes toward, and retention and understanding of information about, other nations. Additionally, the individual's recall of information is, in some cases, the only indication available of his exposure to particular messages.

A person may remember and understand the content of a message and yet not believe it to be true. If a subject who has read a message stating that most Russians like Americans still believes otherwise, an information test based on the message is likely to say that he has (on this point) little information when in fact he may be relatively high in information drawn from other sources. Unfortunately, measures of belief (of what the individual can state about the nation-object) and measures of knowledge (of what the individual can state "correctly") are not always clearly distinguished in existing research on attitudes toward foreign nations.²⁶ We must also, therefore, look at belief statements about other countries as possible indications of exposure to particular kinds of information.²⁷

²⁶Fagen (1966, p. 75) says that most political images cannot be classified easily because they are mixtures of information and evaluation. Nettler (1946) says that a given item may be seen as a measure of information or of attitude depending on whether the instructions indicate that a "correct" answer or an opinion is sought, but often different people may disagree on whether a question is one of fact or opinion.

²⁷The importance of measuring acceptance, as well as reception, is emphasized by Fishbein and Ajzen (1972, p. 520): "It has been argued . . . that to be effective a message must, at a minimum be attended to and comprehended. However, a subject's reception of supportive beliefs is no guarantee that he has accepted them, and it is his acceptance of these supportive beliefs, and not his reception of them, that is assumed to influence persuasion. Similarly, although a subject may be unable to recognize or recall a given supportive belief, he may nevertheless accept it. Further, the message may have indirect

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In looking at exposure to information, therefore, it is useful to consider the following kinds of variables as relevant to understanding a person's information about other countries: (1) exposure to sources presumed to carry information about other countries, (2) exposure to messages known to contain particular information about other countries, (3) retention and comprehension of information about other countries, (4) self-perceived knowledge about other countries, and (5) acceptance of statements about other countries as true.

The actual reality of a given nation makes up a third level of the concept information. Just as subjective information does not correspond perfectly with available information, the information available to an individual will not correspond perfectly with factual information about the nation-object. If the individual chooses to believe what he has heard, the resulting beliefs may be either true or false or somewhere in between. In Chapters II and III of the present study, however, it is assumed that whether the information to which an individual is exposed is accurate or inaccurate is irrelevant to the process by which information influences (or is influenced by) his attitudes toward nations. Not to make this assumption would require an investigation of the realities of other nations and peoples, not an easy task.²⁸ In this

effects on beliefs not contained in the message, and these effects would obviously not be revealed by any reception test where such beliefs would be regarded as 'errors.' . . . It is often impossible to tell whether a given 'learning' or 'reception' test is a measure of reception or of acceptance. Therefore such tests may or may not be found to correlate with persuasion and the results appear to be inconsistent."

²⁸Boulding (1956, pp. 164ff) argues that it is worthwhile to compare images with other images rather than with "truth," ". . . proposing in effect . . . to make a science out of knowledge by the deft

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There are two exceptions to the above assumption. First, it may be relevant that an individual does not share a consensually accepted view of another nation. Lack of knowledge of basic, noncontroversial information may be taken as an indication of lack of exposure to information about nations, or it may indicate that the group with consensus is not serving as a reference group for the individual.

The other exception does involve an assumption about what nations and their peoples are really like. It is assumed that a nation (and a people) are neither wholly good nor wholly bad, neither wholly modern nor wholly primitive. Nations and peoples are complex stimuli which can never be fully described in words nor ever be fully known and understood by an observer.

In reviewing the effects of information on attitudes toward other nations and peoples a distinction will be made between sources of information which are direct and those which are mediated.²⁹ An

substitution of something that is not what the philosopher means by knowledge, namely the image, for the real thing."

²⁹A similar distinction is made by Cherry (1971, pp. 8-10), who argues that the expanding network of world communication provides mainly "knowledge-by-reporting" which encourages us to think about foreign peoples but only as abstracts, classes, types, or "things." Shared experience, on the other hand, is "knowledge-by-encounter," likely to have a very different effect on attitudes. Boorstin (1961, pp. 79ff), argues that much communication (and travel) today exposes us only to "diluted, contrived, prefabricated . . . pseudo-events." Sherif and Hovland (1961, p. 199) distinguish learning which draws on extensive contact with the stimulus and learning which instead "is based largely

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individual receives information about another country directly when he travels to that country or talks with people from that country and makes generalizations and judgments about the country based on his personal experiences and contacts. Mediated information is information about the other country which is communicated to the individual by other individuals, and it includes, implicitly, or explicitly, the judgments and generalizations of these other people. Chapter IV discusses some of the ways in which both mediated and direct available information are frequently discrepant from factual information.

This distinction between direct and mediated information is not always clearcut. A conversation with a national of another country may give one firsthand (direct) information, and at the same time that person may relay his opinions about what his nation is like (mediated information). An article about another country may present information that has passed through and been modified and selected by a long string of communication mediators, yet the reader may draw his own personal conclusions from the article just as he would from observing an event in the other country himself. Despite such ambiguities, it is useful to make this distinction, because the influences of direct contact like foreign travel are often very different from the influences of mediated information from schools, mass media, leaders of one's own nation, and one's peers.

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It should not be assumed at this point that direct information is somehow better than mediated exposure, or that it results in more favorable attitudes toward foreigners. Each type of source has its own set of biases, which may in particular cases work toward or against favorable attitudes. Where mediated communication depends on the deliberate and inadvertent biases of the mediators, direct contact is often more likely to be biased by the inexperience of the traveler, the limited sample of places and people he meets, and his own morale as he travels. It is true, however, that in a strict, information-theory sense of the word information, direct exposure presents more information to more senses than a comparable exposure to mediated messages can; however, the mediators may well have served to eliminate redundant and irrelevant details from the message.

E. Overview of the Present Study

This chapter has discussed two broad classes of variables, (1) attitudes and images of other nations and peoples and (2) exposure to, reception of, and acceptance of information about other nations and peoples. This dissertation is intended to be an exploration of the relationships between these two classes of variables.

After an extensive review of literature on such relationships, it was concluded that an attempt to synthesize and evaluate existing research is in order. A variety of empirical findings relevant to images of nations are available, but these findings have not been satisfactorily related to each other. Our knowledge of the correlates of international attitudes is limited by the limited variety of samples

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on which findings are based, by inadequate measurement of the variables involved, by the fact that many possibly influential variables have not been studied under controlled conditions, and by the lack of multivariate analyses of factors related to international attitudes. The present study is intended to help make clear what is known, what is not known, and what needs to be known.

The review of literature has been directed mainly toward empirical studies of the images and attitudes which people in one nation have toward another nation or toward the people of another nation. These studies involved a variety of variables which appear to be related to attitudes toward other nations. Where such variables appeared to be relevant to the relationship between information and attitudes, an additional review was made of literature dealing with the correlates of these variables. In addition, a somewhat less thorough review was made of studies involving predictors of such similar variables as attitudes toward ethnic groups within nations, internationalist and world-minded attitudes, and attitudes toward foreign policy.

The review of literature involved a systematic search of various periodical indices and abstracts for the period from 1965 through 1972,³⁰ a similar search of all issues of certain journals for the same period,³¹

³⁰Including Psychological Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts, Peace Research Abstracts Journal, The ABS Guide to Recent Publications in the Social and Behavioral Sciences, The Annual Review of Psychology, Current Sociology, The International Bibliography of Sociology, International Political Science Abstracts, and Dissertation Abstracts International Retrospective Index.

³¹Including Journal of Social Issues, Journal of Peace Research, Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Journal of Social Psychology, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of International Affairs,

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and a search through various bibliographies.³² An attempt was made to read all relevant articles. From the works cited in the articles read, additional references were drawn, including references to material published before 1965, and these were read in turn. Certainly not all relevant material has been covered; inadequacies of indices and bibliographies, inadequacies of libraries, and an eventual need to stop reading and start writing have all limited the review. It is believed, however, that this review is fairly complete and fairly representative.

The results of the review of literature described above are presented in the form of a series of propositions. Such propositions are tentative statements of relationships, derived from existing research on nation-images, drawn from analogy with data on other kinds of images and orientations, or offered as tentative hypotheses about untested relationships.³³ Together they form a tentative model of the

Journal of Communication, Canadian Journal of Psychology, Public Opinion Quarterly, Journalism Quarterly, and Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.

³²Including Mowlana (1971), Gray, Gray, and Gregory (1968), Tumin and Anderson (1972), Angell (1966), Smith, Lasswell, and Casey (1946), Smith and Smith (1956), International Sociological Association (1957), Breitenbach (1970).

³³For a general discussion of the propositional approach, see Reindl (1970, pp. 67-75).

In general, the propositions presented in the present study were derived from existing research findings in the following way: (1) the relevant variables measured in the studies reviewed were identified; (2) measures in these studies of relationships between two or more variables were identified; (3) all results pertaining to the relationships between given sets of variables were drawn together and compared; (4) propositions were derived which expressed the dominant pattern of the data pertaining to particular relationships.

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Many different research findings exist which pertain, directly or indirectly, to the relationship between information about foreign nations and nation-attitudes. Though some attempts have been made to summarize and synthesize findings relating to particular aspects of the issue (e.g., Brigham, 1971; Merritt, 1972; Amir, 1969), no previous study has drawn generalizations from the range of studies reviewed in the present work.

The propositional inventory is not a theory of informational effects on nation-attitudes. It is, instead, an attempt to form from existing research findings, some of the building blocks which can be used to begin the construction of a theory. In particular, it should be noted that each proposition is to be understood to have a ceteris paribus (other things being equal) assumption, as if the relationship described by each proposition were independent of the relationships described by the other propositions. An effective theory of nation-attitudes will have to explain the complex way in which the particular relationships described by these propositions are interwoven in a multivariate system.

The present study can be thought of as an investigation of a simple model whereby factual information influences available information, available information influences subjective information, and subjective information influences attitudes (Figure 1).

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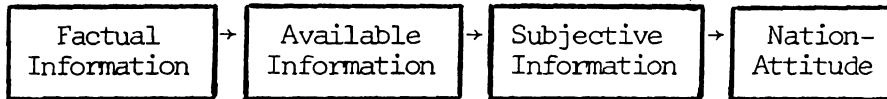


Figure 1. A Simple Paradigm for the Present Study

Chapter II examines the relationship between the perceptions or beliefs (the subjective information) people hold of other nations and their attitudes toward these nations. In a sense, it is a further examination of the structure of the dependent variable, but such a consideration of the place of subjective information is a necessary prelude to investigation of the effects of external messages.

Chapter III considers the responses a person makes to the information available to him about other nations. It considers the effects of exposure to information from several sources, including direct contact, and looks at the processes which determine whether the individual will accept the information to which he is exposed.

Chapter IV looks briefly at the chances of an individual in one nation being exposed to accurate information about other countries. Thus, in reverse order, the present study asks, what kind of information about other countries is a person likely to be exposed to; how likely is it that he will accept the information he is exposed to; if he does accept it, is this acceptance likely to change his attitudes; and just what are nation-attitudes anyway?

Finally, Chapter V provides a summary of the propositions presented in the earlier chapters and discusses the implications of the study for researchers concerned with a theory of nation-attitudes.

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CHAPTER II

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

This chapter suggests and discusses the evidence for a number of propositions about the relationships between the somewhat overlapping variables of cognitions, evaluations, and affect toward other nations. Chapters III and IV deal with the nature of the information to which an individual is exposed and with the likelihood of his believing that information. This chapter assumes that information has reached him and that he has formed beliefs about another nation, and it asks how such beliefs will relate to his attitude toward that nation.

The variance in attitudes of different observers toward a particular nation may be thought of as made up of variance across observers in their attitudes toward other nations in general and of variance within individuals between their views of specific nations (and of interactions between the two). The main concern of this study is with sources of variance within individual observers in their views of different nations, since this is the variance that would be expected to relate most closely to information about other nations. The variance in attitudes toward foreign nations in general is discussed first because it provides the background against which specific nation

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A. The Tendency to Like or Dislike Foreign Nations in General

Hartley (1946, p. 25) used the Bogardus Social Distance Scale to measure the attitudes of United States college students toward thirty-five nations and races. The split-half reliability of these data was $+ .95$, indicating that the scores varied more with the judge than with the country being judged. This finding is consistent with the more general finding in person perception research that more variance is associated with the perceiver than with the object perceived (Hasdorf, Schneider, and Polefka, 1970, p. 13), and it indicates the important role of general liking or disliking of others in determining nation-attitudes. Thus,

Proposition 2A1 - The favorability of an individual's attitude toward a given foreign nation is positively related to the mean favorability of his attitudes toward all other nations.

It should be understood that most people can name a relatively small proportion of the nations that actually exist, but if anything, the proposition is more accurate in the form above than it would be if it referred to the mean of the individual's attitudes toward all other nations which are salient to him, as is shown by Hartley's finding that social distance to the nonexistent "Danierians," "Pireneans," and "Wallonians" correlated from $+ .78$ to $+ .85$ with mean social distance to the real countries. It is for nations particularly salient to the individual that we would expect the proposition above to have relatively

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Positive correlations between attitudes toward other groups have appeared often enough in studies of ethnic groups within countries that Berelson and Steiner (1964) offer the generalization about human behavior that "People prejudiced against one ethnic group tend to be prejudiced against others." Scott (1965, p. 72) cites various studies indicating a tendency either to like or to dislike foreign countries in general. For instance, a Canadian Institute of Public Opinion survey in 1959 of a national cross-section of Canadian adults found that favorableness of attitudes toward any one country on the list was positively correlated with favorableness of attitudes toward the rest of the countries listed (the countries were Germany, France, Italy, and Japan).

Occasionally, however, exceptions have been found to this pattern. Isaacs (1958, p. 382) found that 39 percent of his sample either liked or disliked both India and China but that 61 percent liked one and disliked the other. But his elite sample was made up of men who were likely to find other countries particularly salient, many of whom had had differential experiences in India and China. Triandis and Triandis (1962) found a positive correlation between attitudes toward Negroes and toward Jews for data from Greek university students but not for United States university students. Again, the concepts may have been more salient for the latter group. It may be that Proposition 2A1 should be qualified by the statements which follow:

Proposition 2A1.1 - The relationship between the favorability of an individual's attitude toward a given nation and the mean favorability of his attitudes toward all other nations will be more strongly positive when the given nation

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Proposition 2A1.2 - The relationship between the favorability of an individual's attitude toward a given nation and the mean favorability of his attitudes toward all other nations will be more strongly positive for individuals to whom foreign nations in general are relatively non-salient.

These sub-propositions are consistent with much research on thought processes in general. Bruner, Goodnow, and Austin (1962), for instance, argue that we use larger categories or equivalence classes in dealing with stimuli with which we are not especially concerned, thus reducing the complexity of our subjective environment and making it more manageable. But they have not been adequately tested in research on nation-images where salience, though it may occasionally be guessed at, has not usually been measured.

There is some evidence that the tendency to react in the same way to other nations and ethnic groups may be part of a more general tendency to react in the same way to all people. This is expressed in the following proposition:

Proposition 2A2 - Individuals who tend to have favorable attitudes toward people they deal with in everyday life will be more likely to have favorable attitudes toward other nations than will individuals who tend to have unfavorable attitudes toward people they deal with in everyday life.

There are two kinds of theoretical support for this reasoning. First, it is possible that individuals with certain kinds of personalities have a generalized need to treat those they classify as "others" in a particular way, and that the concept of "others" applies for them to different social levels. Second, it may be that assumptions about

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interpersonal relationships, being learned relatively early in life and being practiced frequently, are generalized to international relationships when the individual is confronted with them later in life. The second of these theoretical positions will be discussed first.

Some evidence for this "generalization hypothesis" comes from Christiansen (1959, pp. 23-24, 127), who states it as the hypothesis that a person's reactions to international situations will parallel his reactions to everyday situations. He classified Norwegian cadets as threat-oriented or problem-oriented and as passive, active-inward, or active-outward in their reactions to everyday situations and found that this classification explained a moderate amount of the variance in their attitudes toward international affairs. Scott (1965) reports that Gladstone (1955) "found that a belligerent orientation toward nations is associated with interpersonal belligerence, while pacificism at the international level tends to go with nonviolent attitudes toward people." He also reports that Scott (1960) found that with United States college students "the kind of foreign policy advocated for one's nation bears some correspondence to the kind of interpersonal relations advocated for individual humans."

Research on the generalization hypothesis is not adequate to allow specification of when it is most likely to predict attitudes toward nations. One problem is that these studies have emphasized evaluations of kinds of international behavior rather than conventional measures of attitudes toward nations. It may be that generalization does not apply to both. Another problem is that it oversimplifies the nature of interpersonal behavior. In learning interpersonal behavior

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individuals learn to respond differently to different categories of people. In studying the generalization hypothesis it should be possible to see if the same differences exist in attitudes to foreign nations that exist in attitudes to other people. We might, for instance, find out if the individual has We-They distinctions in his interpersonal orientations that parallel similar distinctions in his international orientations.

The approach suggested in the preceding paragraph might give the generalization hypothesis greater generality for cross-national research. Levine (1965, p. 50) suggested that sometimes generalization will take place and at other times a displacement or complementarity effect will occur:

. . . It may well be that the critical factor determining whether a generalization or displacement type of effect operates is a concept of dissimilarity or boundedness with the outgroup in question. If the group is viewed as similar to the ingroup, generalization would be expected to operate, whereas if it is viewed as dissimilar, then a displacement expectation would be reasonable. Thus the choice of behavior mechanisms would hinge on the stimulus equivalence of ingroup and outgroup for ingroup members. The stimulus equivalence is established or prevented by the social structure of the group.

Traditional and modern societies differ in their definition and treatment of friends and strangers within the society, and presumably they would differ in the way they generalized these habits to intersocietal images.

Tentatively, then, it might be well to break Proposition 2A2 into the following two subpropositions:

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Proposition 2A2.1 - Individuals who emphasize a distinction between ingroups and outgroups in interpersonal and intrasocietal relations will be more likely than other individuals to emphasize a distinction between ingroups and outgroups in their attitudes toward nations.

Proposition 2A2.2 - The evaluative and descriptive distinctions an individual makes in his judgments of nations will be similar to those he makes in his judgments of individuals and groups within his society.

Concepts like intrasocietal and intersocietal may be meaningful to the sociologist, but the distinction they imply is not always clear in real situations. A person may be to a given individual both a member of an intrasocietal outgroup and of an intersocietal ingroup. In such a case predictions from the preceding propositions will be useful only if the situation clearly indicates which kind of interaction will be salient.¹

This problem becomes apparent in the discussion of "decentration" by Piaget and Weil (1951):

. . . The feeling and the very idea of the homeland are by no means the first or even early elements in the child's makeup, but are a relatively late development in the normal child, who does not appear to be drawn inevitably towards patriotic sociocentricity. On the contrary, before he attains to a cognitive and affective awareness of his own country, the child must make a considerable effort towards "decentration" or broadening his centres of interest (town, canton,

¹One situational factor that may influence salience of nationality is interaction with people of other nationalities. Thus Bochner and Perks (1971) found that Asian and Australian students were more likely to mention nationality in describing a person they had interacted with if he was not of their own nationality than if he was. Bruner and Perlmutter (1957) found students from the United States, Germany, and France were more likely to mention nationality in describing a person if he was not of their nationality and if he was being described at the same time as other people of other nationalities.

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etc.) and towards integration of his own impressions (with surroundings other than his own) in the course of which he acquires an understanding of countries and points of view different from his own. The readiness with which the various forms of nationalist sociocentricity later emerge can only be accounted for by supposing, either that at some stage there emerge influences extraneous to the trends noticeable during the child's development (but then why are these influences accepted?), or else that the same obstacles that impede the process of "decentration" and integration (once the idea of the homeland takes shape) crop up again at all levels and constitute the commonest cause of disturbances and tensions.

If the individual who has relatively unfavorable attitudes toward other nations is the one whose decentration has not gone beyond the level of ethnocentrism, it would not be expected that his nation--attitudes would resemble his attitudes toward other peoples within his nation.

The other kind of support for Propositions 2A2, 2A2.1, and 2A2.2 comes from research on such related variables as authoritarianism, ethnocentrism, isolationism, and world-mindedness.

A detailed summary of the history and methodology of the research by Adorno et al. (1950) and others is beyond the scope of the present study. The result of the research is a considerable body of data demonstrating the covariance of a variety of variables in what has been called "the authoritarian personality" (Adorno et al., 1950), "closed-mindedness" or "dogmatism" (Rokeach, 1960), or "a superordinate conceptual dimension" of "concreteness-abstractness" (Harvey, 1967). Some of the variables which tend to covary in this syndrome are: (1) childhood training emphasizing harsh discipline and authority, with parental love contingent on "good" behavior; (2) power-orientation in personal relationships, and a tendency to see the world divided into the weak and the strong; (3)

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Proposition 2A3 - Individuals who are relatively high in authoritarianism (or closed-mindedness or concreteness) are likely to have relatively unfavorable attitudes toward foreign nations.

There is a lot of support for this general proposition, although most of it comes from studies of prejudice toward domestic ethnic groups rather than toward peoples of other nations. In fact, the most frequently used measure of authoritarianism, the F-scale, evolved out of earlier

²This list is derived from Harvey (1967, p. 206) and from the summaries of authoritarian personality findings in Allport (1951) and Bem (1970, p. 22). See also Berelson and Steiner (1964, Chapter 12, generalization C6). Values for aggressiveness, etc., were reported by Saenger and Flowerman (1954). Self-dislike was reported by Brodbeck and Perlmutter (1954). It should be emphasized that we are talking about continuous variables even though our listing names the relatively authoritarian poles of these variables. The research in this area has been properly criticized for talking in terms of differences between the extremes rather than emphasizing the covariance across the full range of the variables.

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scales designed to measure anti-semitism and ethnocentrism.³ Some of the relevant research is summarized in the following paragraphs.

Authoritarianism has been found to be negatively related to scales designed to measure "world-mindedness" (Sampson and Smith, 1957; Smith and Rosen, 1958). and "internationalism" (Levinson, 1957; Fensterwald, 1958). Fensterwald's scale of isolationism-internationalism was made up of two components, westward expansionism and eastward isolationism (for the United States) which correlated with each other $+ .71$. The whole scale correlated $+ .64$ with authoritarianism, $+ .65$ with patriotism, $+ .61$ with ethnocentrism, and $+ .44$ with political and economic conservatism. Farris (1960), studying adult whites in Alabama, found that anomie and authoritarianism were correlated positively with jingoism and with expectations of war. MacKinnon and Centers (1956), in a survey of Los Angeles County, found that a scale of authoritarianism (vs. equalitarianism) correlated negatively with favorable attitudes toward trade with Russia and toward teaching about Russia in the schools, and found that when relatively authoritarian individuals did favor these actions it was likely to be because they thought they would be advantageous for the United States. Terhune (1964, 1965) found that dogmatism correlated with nationalism $+ .48$ for foreign students and $+ .13$

³ Much of the research on authoritarianism has been done by social scientists with a strong dislike of prejudice (and a high value for cognitive complexity). It is interesting to speculate about what would have happened if researchers on authoritarianism had been free of this commendable bias. Perhaps extreme open-mindedness would also be seen as a "syndrome" and perhaps the terms used to describe the correlates of authoritarianism would not bear such consistently negative connotations.

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for American students at Michigan State University. Bay et al. (cited in Katz, 1965), found that "power-oriented nationalism is related to the authoritarianism syndrome, whereas a people-oriented nationalism is not." Sherman (1973) found a moderate positive relationship between authoritarianism and hawkish (as opposed to dovish) views on United States involvement in Vietnam held by United States college students. And Basu and Ames (1970), studying Indian students in Los Angeles, found a correlation of $-.75$ between the F-scale and a scale of favorability of attitudes toward the United States.⁴

The pattern is not, however, a simple one of authoritarians having good feelings toward their own country and bad feelings toward outsiders. Saenger and Flowerman (1954), for instance, had United States college students assign adjectives to different groups and found that "not only in describing Jews, but also in describing Americans, authoritarian respondents markedly prefer words with a decidedly negative hostile connotation. . . ." This finding may reflect the fact that authoritarianism involves a generalized hostility toward others. Such hostility is implied by these two subpropositions:

⁴In summarizing most of these findings it has been necessary to simply use the authors' names for the variables involved, trusting them to have used names that accurately describe the scales which were used. Where generally known conceptualizations and measures exist, as is the case for "authoritarianism," the problem is minimized, but where a variety of contradictory conceptualizations are competing for attention, as is the case with "internationalism," it would be preferable to have descriptions of the scales used. (An "internationalism" representing a positive attitude toward transcending and de-emphasizing national identity, for instance, is very different from an "internationalism" representing a desire for increased interaction between sovereign nations.)

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Proposition 2A3.1 - Individuals who tend to dislike themselves will tend to have relatively unfavorable attitudes to foreign nations.

Proposition 2A3.2 - Individuals who tend not to trust other people and who are pessimistic about human nature will tend to have relatively unfavorable attitudes to foreign nations.

Scott (1965) summarizes studies showing that a "sense of personal security" is related to positive images of other countries. Positive attitudes have been found related to the individual's satisfaction with aspects of his own life, his optimism about personal and national events, and his anxiety and fear of dangers. Thus Kosa (1957) found attitudes to the British of Hungarian immigrants in Canada were positively related to their satisfaction with their life in Canada. Spilka and Struening (1956) found negative correlations between ethnocentrism and sense of personal worth and total self-adjustment. Srole (1956) and Roberts and Rokeach (1956) found positive correlations between anomie and ethnocentrism. And Farber (1951) found that students advocating an immediate showdown war with Russia were relatively unlikely to report a satisfactory outlook for their personal lives.

Bettelheim and Janowitz (1950), in interviews with World War II veterans, found that those who felt they had had bad breaks (but not necessarily those who had actually had bad breaks) were relatively likely to direct prejudice toward Jews and Negroes, also suggesting that frustration and insecurity are related to aggression and hostility.

McClosky (1967), in data from three surveys taken in the United States during the 1950's, found isolationism related to paranoia, misanthropy, aggressiveness, anxiety and guilt, to relatively little faith

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in democracy, and rejection of one's own institutions, as well as to psychological inflexibility, extreme beliefs, dichotomous brother-other thinking, ethnocentrism, antisemitism, and segregationism. Free and Cantril (1968, pp. 68-69) report data showing that internationalists, as opposed to isolationists, have relatively more trust in human beings and are relatively likely to believe that human nature is basically good.

Presumably pessimistic views are threatening to the individual. Gladstone and Taylor (1958) found that a tendency to feel threatened correlated positively with belligerence in general and belligerence under threat and negatively with pacification in general and pacification under threat. Christiansen (1959, p. 56) states as the "insecurity hypothesis" the idea that personal insecurity may lead to aggressiveness and a desire for a showdown. It would seem likely that such attitudes would manifest themselves in unfavorable evaluations of other nations.⁵

In the light of Proposition 2A3 it may seem surprising that Perlmutter (1954b) found a positive correlation between authoritarianism and xenophilia, a term which would normally refer to love of foreigners. An explanation is offered by Frank (1968), who suggests that the opposites of xenophobia and xenophilia are alike in that both represent hostility to authority, with the xenophobe displacing his aggression toward a foreign group and the xenophile hostile to his own leaders. Thus when Perlmutter measures xenophilia with items like "Most European girls make better wives than American girls," the subject hostile to Americans, as

⁵Willis (1968) found that isolationists tended to respond less favorably on all evaluative concepts toward a group of nations.

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well as the subject who likes Europeans, is classified as a xenophile. Thus although xenophilia is associated with a willingness to live abroad (in Europe, at least), it is also associated with hostility to typical Americans, self-dislike (a higher correlation than with authoritarianism), and a tendency to stereotype Americans and Europeans (Perlmutter, 1956; Brodbeck and Perlmutter, 1954).⁶

Gardner, Wonnacott, and Taylor (1968) factor-analyzed the responses of English-Canadians to the concept "French-Canadians." They found that acceptance of a set of widely shared descriptive terms--the stereotype of French-Canadians--was not related to the ascription of evaluative traits to the concept.⁷ A measure of ethnocentrism had its highest loading on the factor with the evaluative traits, but the F-scale had its highest loading (+.29) on the stereotype factor, suggesting that authoritarianism is related to acceptance of a prevailing stereotype rather than related directly to unfavorable evaluation of other groups. (Many stereotypes do include negative traits, and thus authoritarianism

⁶Because of the correlation between authoritarianism and xenophilia, these findings describe the majority of United States xenophiles who are relatively high in authoritarianism. Perlmutter (1957) suggests that there are also xenophiles low in authoritarianism, perhaps relatively common in developing countries, whose interest in other countries reflects an alienation from their own culture and a search for self rather than a reaction against domestic authority figures.

Perlmutter (1954a) found that United States students who gave themselves no negative traits in self-descriptions were less likely to express a desire to travel to Europe than those who assigned at least one negative trait to themselves.

⁷This discussion refers to the two factors which accounted for the largest amount of variance. Other factors were found involving traits which were both evaluative and consensual.

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would in many situations indirectly relate to acceptance of unfavorable attitudes.) These findings suggest that the relationship between authoritarianism and attitudes toward other nations will vary, as norms and stereotypes vary, from situation to situation.

Variables of cognitive style and cognitive structure associated with other aspects of the authoritarian personality are simple and undifferentiated cognitive structure, categorical thinking, need for consistency, intolerance of ambiguity, a tendency to see things in terms of good and bad, rigidity of thinking, inability to change mental set, insensitivity to subtle cues, and stereotypy. These variables may be expected to describe the way an individual organizes his thoughts about foreign nations, and the way an individual organizes his thoughts about foreign nations may be expected to relate to his attitudes toward them;

Proposition 2A3.3 - Individuals who are relatively low in authoritarianism (or closed-mindedness or concreteness) are likely to have a relatively differentiated image and evaluation of the concept "foreign nations and peoples."

Proposition 2A3.4 - Individuals who are relatively low in authoritarianism (or closed-mindedness or concreteness) are likely to have a relatively differentiated image of a given foreign nation.

Proposition 2A4 - Individuals with a relatively differentiated image of a given foreign nation are likely to have a relatively moderate, rather than a wholly favorable or unfavorable, evaluation of that nation.

Differentiation is defined broadly as (a) the tendency to make distinctions in terms of a variety of relatively independent attributes, as opposed to the tendency to judge only in terms of a few attributes all of which correlate with evaluation, (b) the tendency to make distinctions in terms of a variety of degrees of a given attribute, as

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opposed to the tendency to treat each attribute as a dichotomous variable, and (c) the tendency to respond to novel stimuli by modifying the cognitive structure, as opposed to the tendency to maintain cognitive balance and simple structure by assimilating novel stimuli into existing concepts. Though distinctions can be made between these variables, they tend to covary (Scott, 1969). Proposition 2A3.3 thus implies that high authoritarians will tend to have few cognitive categories to describe foreigners (an extreme view would be "All foreigners are bad").

Proposition 2A3.4 implies that they will tend to categorize a given country as good or bad, rather than as a combination of good, bad, and evaluatively neutral qualities.

These propositions would seem to follow deductively from the fact that low differentiation is considered a characteristic of the authoritarian personality. Much of the research supporting this, however, has looked at images of nations and of similar stimuli, and it may be that it is only in such peripheral areas that the authoritarian individual is cognitively simple (Scott, 1963).

Some support for these propositions comes from Bjerstedt (1962) and Brigham (1971). Bjerstedt presented Swedish university students with descriptions of people in which the data were either inadequate or contradictory. He found that students who tended to have negative stereotypes of other nationalities were relatively likely to give more definite descriptions on the basis of insufficient data and to make unqualified negative statements on the basis of contradictory data. Thus prejudiced, and presumably more authoritarian, individuals were more ready to fit ambiguous stimuli into their existing cognitive structure.

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Brigham (1971), surveying findings on ethnic stereotypes, cites Secord, Bevan, and Katz (1956) as finding that prejudiced subjects were more likely than others to see persons of various degrees of Negroidness as "Negroes." Secord (1959) found that prejudiced subjects were more likely than nonprejudiced subjects to apply both favorable and unfavorable stereotype traits to "Negroes" without regard to the degree of Negroidness.

Abell and Jenkins (1967), however, failed to support Proposition 2A3.3. They asked subjects to rate pairs of nations as hostile or friendly. They predicted that subjects high in closed-mindedness would be more likely than others to see the nations they rated as divided into two internally friendly and mutually hostile groups. The trend of the data was in the predicted direction, but the results were not statistically significant.

Proposition 2A4 is not contingent on Propositions 2A3.3 and 2A3.4. It assumes that a differentiated image allows an individual to hold some favorable and unfavorable beliefs about a given nation simultaneously, and that the resultant over-all evaluation (insofar as there can be one in such a case) will therefore be more moderate (closer to a neutral point) than if the attributes ascribed to the nation were all perceived either as good or bad. Indirect support for this proposition comes from studies indicating that prejudice (and therefore, if the preceding propositions apply, low differentiation) is related to the tendency to ascribe either all good or all bad attributes to a nation and to rate the nation either as very good or as very bad. Studies of ethnic groups supporting this proposition, according to Cauthen, Robinson, and Krauss (1971), are Saenger and Flowerman

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(1954) and Secord (1959).

The relationship between differentiation and ~~moderation~~ of attitudes toward nations depends on the information attended to by the individual, since differentiation is seen as related to attitudes indirectly through its relationship with the handling of new information about other nations. If the individual attends only to information which has been mediated by others so that it will reinforce the existing image, the ability of the cognitively differentiated person to utilize novel and dissonant information may not explain much of the variance in the resulting attitudes.

It should also be noted that Proposition 2A4 refers to evaluations rather than attitudes. It may be that cognitive structure of nation-images is also related to moderation in liking or disliking other nations on an emotional level, but that is not hypothesized here.

Another cognitive structure variable is salience, in this case the salience of nationality in the individual's self-identity. The salience of a concept is the subjective importance of the concept to the individual. Fensterwald (1958) refers to the "law of inverse loyalties," the idea that the stronger the ingroup loyalty, the stronger the prejudice toward outsiders. This is similar to the following proposition.

Proposition 2A5 - The favorability of an individual's attitude toward a given foreign nation will be negatively related to the salience of nationality in his self-identity.

Insofar as salience of nationality is associated with positive attitudes towards one's own nation, this proposition is consistent with Propositions 2A1.1 and 2A1.2. Some support for this proposition comes

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from two studies of foreign students. McClintock and Davis (1958) found that foreign students at the University of Michigan who gave their nationality less importance in their self-descriptions after five months in the United States had more favorable attitudes toward the United States than those who gave their nationality more importance after five months. Singh (1963, p. 175) found that a scale of identity with India given to Indian students in Britain correlated $-.52$ with a scale of favorableness to Britain and $-.17$ with the favorability of the traits they ascribed to the British.

Studies of foreign students also give some support to a proposition which is similar to the previous one but which represents an exception to Proposition 2A1.

Proposition 2A6(A) - The favorability of an individual's attitude toward a given foreign nation is negatively related to the favorability of his attitude toward his own nation.

At best this proposition would seem to be predictive only under a limited set of circumstances. Becker (1968) found that changes in attitudes toward the United States and toward the homeland tended to covary inversely across time (as inferred from responses of subjects who had been studying in the United States for varying lengths of time). For European students' attitudes toward the United States followed a U-curve and attitudes toward the homeland followed an inverted U-curve; for Indian students the opposite was true. Coelho (1958, p. 39), on the other hand, found that Indian students' attitudes toward the United States and toward India, as inferred from favorable and unfavorable comments in essays they wrote on Indian-American relations, made roughly parallel changes in favorability over time. Singh (1963, p. 175)

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found a correlation of $+ .18$ between the number of favorable traits assigned to India and the number assigned to Britain by Indian students in Britain. Morris (1960, pp. 81-85) found that subjective national status (an attitude measure in which foreign students were asked to compare their nation with others in terms of economic, political, and cultural standards) was inversely related to favorability of the students' attitudes toward the United States.

Two of the studies summarized above lend support to Proposition 2A6(A) and two lend support to the opposite prediction. And even if these studies agreed, they would not say much about when Proposition 2A6(A) will be accurate. They apply only to individuals in contact situations, and only to attitudes toward the country with which they have contact. To present a balanced view, then, it is necessary to state the inverse of Proposition 2A6(A) as Proposition 2A6(B) and to note the need for research on the conditions under which one or the other may predict nation-attitudes.

Proposition 2A6(B) - The favorability of an individual's attitude toward a given foreign nation is positively related to the favorability of his attitude toward his own nation.

B. Beliefs Associated with Attitudes toward Particular Nations and Peoples

Proposition 2A1 is not meant to imply that most individuals respond to all foreign nations in the same way. Even young children express preferences for some foreign peoples over others (Piaget and Weil, 1951; Jahoda, 1962; Lambert and Klineberg, 1967, pp. 120-125).

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The following pages present a number of propositions about the beliefs about other nations which are associated with preferences for some nations over others. It is useful to begin by considering the criteria by which people categorize foreign nations.

Proposition 2B1 - An individual's judgment of the over-all similarity of two nations will be a function of his judgments of how similar they are in terms of a small number of attributes.

The word small in this proposition is imprecise because the actual number of attributes on which judgments of over-all similarity are based will vary from individual to individual. What the proposition means is that for most people the concept "foreign nations" is not highly differentiated. A factor analysis of judgments of similarity of nations by a group of people not especially involved in international affairs will typically manage to explain more than half the variance in responses in terms of no more than three independent factors. The significance of this proposition is that it indicates that the three subpropositions which follow, taken together, should explain most of the variance in most people's categorization of foreign nations.

Proposition 2B1.1 - An individual's judgment of the over-all similarity of two nations will be in part a function of his judgment of how similar they are in political alignment.

Proposition 2B1.2 - An individual's judgment of the over-all similarity of two nations will be in part a function of his judgment of how similar they are in economic development.

Proposition 2B1.3 - An individual's judgment of the over-all similarity of two nations will be in part a function of his judgment of how similar they are culturally.

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Though the research related to the above responses has involved groups of individuals judging groups of nations, the emphasis has always been on accounting for differences in nation-images by looking at the dimensions on which nations vary rather than at the dimensions on which people perceiving nations vary. Thus, although the propositions refer to individuals' judgments, the data have not been analyzed to show individual differences. Where subsample differences in dimensionality of nations have been considered, they have been significant enough to suggest that individuals may vary widely within the context of the findings reported here.⁸

Robinson and Hefner (1967, 1968) contrasted two samples, a general sample of the public in the Detroit area and a sample of faculty and graduate students at the University of Michigan. For the general sample, the main factors determining judgments of similarity appeared to be, in order of influence, (1) communist-anticommunist, (2) developed-underdeveloped, and (3) degree of Spanish cultural influence. On the first two of these factors the twenty-one nations studied tended to fall into three clusters: (1) underdeveloped and neutral on communism, (2) communist and neutral on development, and (3) developed and anticommunist. The third cluster was subdivided by the third factor into those with and without Spanish cultural influence. Japan was seen as similar to the United States by the more educated and as similar to the communist

⁸An exception to this neglect is Stephenson (1967, pp. 128-135, 160-167). His Q-sort indicated, among other things, that males and females respond to other nations differently. However his sample was too small (n=9) to do much more than suggest directions for additional research.

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For the academic sample, Robinson and Hefner found similar factors explained judgments of similarity; however, the communist-anticommunist factor was third in importance, following economic development and Spanish influence, and there was some evidence for an additional factor distinguishing African and Asian culture. For this sample the four clusters of the earlier sample became six as more distinctions were made between the underdeveloped nations ("Red China" did not fall into any of the clusters). Where 60 percent of the academic sample listed Russia as one of the three nations most similar to the United States, only ten percent of the public sample did so. (Robinson, 1967a, reports that U.S.-Philippines similarity was reported four times, and U.S.S.R.-Cuba similarity six times, as often as U.S.-U.S.S.R. similarity in the public sample.)

Similarity judgments of nations by United States college students are contrasted with those of foreign students (seventy-five students representing eight countries) in the studies reported by Wish (1970, 1971) and Wish, Deutsch, and Biener (1970). The United States students were asked to rate the similarity of pairs of twelve nations on a nine-point scale. The factors which appeared to describe the resulting data--were (1) political alignment and ideology, (2) economic development, and--less important--(3) geography and culture (generally Western versus Eastern). The students who expressed relatively hawkish views on the Vietnam conflict were relatively likely to judge similarity more by political alignment than economic development, and the students with relatively dovish views were relatively likely to emphasize

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The similarity judgments of foreign students in the United States were measured in three ways, through the same rating of pair similarity that the United States students used (similarity rating), through a nation-sorting task (similarity sorting), and through analysis of differences in the traits they ascribed to pairs of nations on semantic differential scales (derived similarity). The factors found in the similarity rating data were political alignment, economic development, and two factors of "culture, geography, and race" which together distinguished nations with European, Spanish, African, and Oriental influences. The results for the similarity sortings were similar, except that the second dimension was better described as combining development and power. For the derived similarities there were three factors: political alignment, development and internal satisfaction, and power. In all cases the political alignment and economic development factors were the most predictive of ratings of over-all similarity. The development dimension tended to be more salient to Vietnam doves than hawks, more salient to males than females, more salient for subjects from developed countries than for subjects from underdeveloped countries.

United States undergraduates also rated similarity of pairs of nations in a study by Sherman (1973). His analysis resulted in a seven-dimensional solution that correlated .73 with the subject's original responses. The seven dimensions were: (1) political stability, (2) cultural stability, (3) Middle East political alignment, (4) African vs. Asian, (5) Vietnam political alignment, (6) quality of

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economic relations with United States, and (7) African vs. South American. Sherman found that political stability and cultural stability were correlated (+.88 and +.61) with the development dimension of Robinson and Hefner and that Middle East and Vietnam political alignment and quality of economic relations with the United States were correlated (-.89, +.70, and +.70) with their communism dimension. He also found close relationships between his solution and that of Wish et al., although his solution was more differentiated than theirs.

In one other study of this type, Jones and Ashmore (1971) had United States undergraduates sort a list of nationalities and ethnic groups by similarity. The dimensions of similarity they report are Christian-nonChristian, dark skinned-light skinned, dominant-subordinate, economically advanced-economically underdeveloped, and Western culture-nonWestern culture. In part, differences between the results of this study and the preceding ones may be due to the fact that the concepts in the other studies were nations but those in this investigation were peoples.⁹

In dealing with lists of real nations, it is difficult to find out just what characteristics are influencing judgments of similarity because many of the characteristics covary among the nations of the

⁹Some of the differences between the solutions of Robinson and Hefner, Wish et al., Sherman, and Jones and Ashmore, may be due to the lists of nations used and the methods of analysis as well as to subject differences and differences in the rating methods. In Sherman's solution for instance, the seven dimensions are correlated with each other in varying degrees. Differences also reflect arbitrary choices made in naming the dimensions, although the three more recent studies used ratings by separate samples to validate these choices.

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world. The economically advanced peoples of the world tend to be European rather than African, light-skinned rather than dark-skinned, and so on. The findings reported above might be put into perspective by asking subjects what makes them consider two nations similar or by asking them to rate similarity of fictitious nations on the basis of controlled descriptions.

Though at first glance several of the dimensions on which nations are judged to be similar or different seem to have clearly favorable and unfavorable poles, additional evidence is needed to establish their relationship, if any, with differences in attitudes toward other nations. If such a relationship exists, there must be correspondence between attitudes and perceived favorability of traits and between perceived favorability and these dimensions. The first of these two relationships will be examined first:

Proposition 2B2 - The favorability of an individual's attitude toward a given nation will be positively related to his perception of the favorability of the traits he sees that nation as having.

A number of studies have provided general support for this proposition by showing a positive correlation across subjects (across nation-dyads in the case of Buchanan and Cantril, 1953) between attitude scales or ratings of liking and scores representing the relative number of favorable and unfavorable traits ascribed to the stimulus nations or groups. Examples are Abate, 1969; Buchanan and Cantril, 1953, pp. 53-57; Bastide and Van Den Berghe, 1957; Selltiz, Edrich, and Cook, 1965; and Sinha and Karna, 1967. A possible exception is the finding of Riegel,

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1953, that the feelings of warm friendliness toward the United States of Belgians who had studied here were not related to favorable perceptions of United States culture and foreign policy. Gardner, Wonnacott, and Taylor (1968) and Gardner, Wonnacott, and Feenstra (1970) supported the proposition generally and demonstrated that it may not apply equally to all evaluative traits by showing that most but not all evaluative traits loaded highly on the same factor as a scale of attitudes toward French-Canadians.

In studies using bi-polar scales, the mean favorability of traits seems to be related to favorable attitudes. In adjective checklist studies, on the other hand, there is evidence that the covariance of overall favorability with attitude is an artifact of the effect of evaluative trait ascriptions. Hartsnough and Fontana (1970), in a replication of Katz and Braly, found that ascription of negative evaluative traits related negatively to preference for association with ethnic group members, but that ascription of positive traits did not relate to preferences.

A weakness of most of the studies supporting Proposition 2B2 is that they have failed to validate the evaluative meaning of particular traits for particular subjects rating particular stimuli under particular conditions. They have instead relied on a priori assumptions and have taken mean favorableness ratings for the traits from the same sample as from a different sample.

Yet we know that individuals differ in the evaluative meaning they have for a given trait, and that a given individual may see a trait differently in different contexts. Veroff (1963) found that

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African students differed in their opinions of whether traits they all ascribed to the United States were good or bad. Morris (1960) found that foreign students agreed that the United States is materialistic but did not agree on their evaluation of this characteristic. Tanaka (1972a) reports data demonstrating that individuals from different cultures will vary widely in the evaluative meaning they have for given traits. Saenger and Flowerman (1954) found that (1) anti-semitic persons tend to have higher values for "aggressiveness," "ambitiousness," and "conservatism" than do non-antisemitic persons, (2) traits like "aggressive" and "mercenary" were rated more negatively if the trait ratings were done after rating "Jews" on an adjective checklist than if they were done first, (3) when subjects applied a trait to "Americans" they tended to rate the trait more positively than if they did not. And Child and Doob (1943), looking at the relationships between attitudes and traits applied to the respondent as well as to peoples of other countries, concluded:

When all the traits are considered together, it is found (a) that approved traits tend to be attributed to the citizens of preferred countries, regardless of whether these traits are attributed by the subjects to themselves; (b) that disapproved traits which the subjects do not believe to characterize themselves tend to be attributed to the people of non-preferred countries; (c) that disapproved traits which the subjects believe to characterize themselves show a slight tendency to be attributed to the people of preferred countries.

A review of the studies above leads to the conclusion expressed by Authen, Robinson, and Krauss (1971) that there is at least some evidence that different direction in stereotypes relates to different evaluative content. But this conclusion is clearly not adequate.

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the problems of varying trait value expressed above require more systematic research. The competing theories about how separate trait evaluations combine to form an over-all evaluation, which have emerged from studies of impressions of people, need to be tested with nations and peoples as stimuli.¹⁰

In addition, research is needed to see what traits or characteristics are seen as good when applied to nations. This is a matter of identifying the "certain attributes" in Proposition 2B3:

Proposition 2B3 - An individual's attitude toward a given foreign nation will be a function of his perception of the degree to which that nation is characterized by certain attributes.

This proposition encompasses Proposition 2B2 and goes beyond by specifying, in the subpropositions which follow, the attributes most strongly related to attitudes toward other nations:

Proposition 2B3.1 - An individual's attitude toward a given foreign nation will be in part a function of his perception of the degree to which that nation is characterized by a relatively high level of economic and technological development and a relatively high standard of living.

Except for political alignment, which will be discussed in addition to Proposition 2B4, this attribute appears more frequently

¹⁰It has been hypothesized that traits may relate to a relatively predictable Gestalt impression (Asch, 1946), or that evaluative characteristics may combine in a more or less linear way (Fishbein, 1965). Studies surveyed relating to Proposition 2B2 have all assumed the former, although combined trait favorability has been measured through diverse measures as the ratio of favorable to unfavorable remarks, difference in the number of favorable and unfavorable adjectives used, and the average favorability of traits.

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than others in studies of why subjects like one nation they have never visited and not another. Three general methods have been used to discover what attributes relate most closely to favorable attitudes: (1) attitudes toward different nations are compared, and researchers infer posteriori the reasons for the choices; (2) subjects are simply asked why they prefer the countries they do; and (3) correlations between a series of attribute ratings and attitudes are compared.

Using the first of these methods, Buchanan and Cantril (1953, pp. 32, 38-44) found that when people were asked what country they would prefer to live in, those who did not name their own country (they included people in Europe and North America in 1948-1949, and 37-48 percent of the responses from the countries where fighting occurred in World War II named nations other than their own) usually named the United States. They interpret the choices of the United States (and Switzerland, Canada, and Argentina) as reflecting a perception of these countries' relatively high standards of living. In contrast with this, the answers of the same sample to a question calling for them to name the countries they felt most and least friendly toward did not clearly relate to economic standards, except in that underdeveloped nations were consistently not named as friends or as enemies. (It should be noted that inferences from responses that name nations are limited. Many conceptually distinct attributes--like race and technology--are interrelated in the real world, and alternative explanations of nation choices are often possible.)

Lambert and Klineberg (1967, pp. 120-125) asked children why they chose particular nations as their most and least favorites. Bantu,

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Japanese, and Brazilian children were likely to mention wealth as a favorable trait; however, the respondents from other nations tended not to do so. Respondents in all countries studied, on the other hand, mentioned poverty as a reason for choosing a particular nation as least favored.

Schwartzman and Mora y Araujo (1966) asked subjects from three South American nations and from Norway to rank twenty Latin American nations on prestige, then asked them to rate the importance that various criteria had had in their ranking. For all four subject nationalities, the four most important criteria were "industrialization," "high average education," "literacy," and "scientific development," all of which relate closely to economic and technological development.¹¹ Former used a similar method with United States college students and found that "living conditions" was considered less important than three other variables. The variable considered most important, "world leadership," might also involve economic development.¹²

¹¹The traits rated, with the average rating for the four subject nationalities (possible range 0-4), were industrialization (3.39), high average education (3.07), literacy (3.04), scientific development (2.95), per capita income (2.73), standard of living (2.62), political stability (2.51), economic stability (2.48), independent foreign policy (2.38), industrialization (2.24), strongly organized working class (2.21), representative political system (2.18), extensive middle class (2.00), size of population (1.97), white population (0.41), and leadership in sports (0.26).

¹²The main criteria most frequently reported were "world leadership" (26 percent), "government system" (16 percent), "ethico-moral" (13 percent), and "living conditions" (8 percent).

Ratings of nations by the groups reporting each of these as main criterion correlated with each other between +.66 and +.81. Similarly, the differences in dominant factors of stratification between the different national groups studied by Schwartzman and Mora y Araujo (1966) had relatively little influence on the prestige ratings.

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The most useful studies for evaluating the proposition are those which relationships of various perceived attributes with attitudes measured. The dimensions of perceived similarity found by Wish (1971) were correlated with ratings of nations as "good," with subjects' evaluations of the nations they liked, and with ratings of how similar they were to the subjects' ideal countries. These three variables were correlated +.56, +.61, and +.50 respectively with the economic development dimension.

It might also be possible to summarize the data on this proposition by saying that modern nations are looked upon more favorably than traditional nations. Indeed one study (Brouwer and van Bergen, 1969, cited in Hawkins, 1969) found that movies showing modernity in India made attitudes toward India more favorable whereas movies showing traditional India led toward unfavorable attitudes. But this is increasing the level of abstraction, and what is needed is data on whether or not particular aspects of modernity and economic development affect most of the attitude variance associated with these general variables.

Before perception of a given attribute can be said to relate consistently to favorable nation-attitudes, it must be shown that the relationship exists for subjects who ascribe and who do not ascribe the attribute to their homeland. If this criterion is not met, one cannot conclude that perceiving a particular attribute relates to attitudes when in reality it is perceived similarity with the homeland on the attribute that relates to attitudes. Data from subjects of a single nationality are useful in distinguishing these two kinds of relationship

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ly if both perceptions of attributes and perceptions of attribute similarity have been measured; otherwise perceptions of subjects from countries differing on the attribute must be analyzed. Since this is not always done, distinctions between these two types of variable are not always clear. Economic development appears not to relate to similarity; it is valued by citizens of developed and underdeveloped countries alike. Political attributes, on the other hand, though a few may be universally valued, are of the second type: it is similarity with the homeland that predicts attitudes toward foreign nations.

Beyond the similarity variables (see Proposition 2B4) and economic development variables, there is no clear pattern of attribute perceptions related to nation attitudes. There is, however, some evidence for the following subpropositions:

Proposition 2B3.2 - An individual's attitude toward a given foreign nation will be in part a function of his perception of the nation as peaceful.

Proposition 2B3.3 - An individual's attitude toward a given foreign nation will be in part a function of his perception of the nation as independent of other nations.

Proposition 2B3.4 - An individual's attitude toward a given foreign nation will be in part a function of his perception of the nation as democratic.

Proposition 2B3.5 - An individual's attitude toward a given foreign nation will be in part a function of his perception of the people of that nation as white.

Buchanan and Cantril (1953) attributed choices of Switzerland, Sweden, and Argentina as countries where respondents would like to live as reflecting a preference for neutral nations. They also found that their respondents more often felt friendly than unfriendly toward

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the nations that had been neutral in the war. Respondents were more likely to feel friendly toward neighboring countries if they were smaller than the respondents' own countries, and this may also reflect preference for unthreatening nations. Similar values were expressed by children in several nations (Lambert and Klineberg, 1967). Respondents in all the countries studied used aggressiveness as a term to describe disliked nations and used peaceful to describe liked nations. Mott and Blancard (1955) found that French villagers tended to have a favorable image of peoples--like Belgians and Swiss--they considered peaceful. These studies seem to support Proposition 2B3.2.

The children studied by Lambert and Klineberg (1967) also tended to say they disliked certain nations because they were "dominated." Latin Americans studied by Schwartzman and Mora y Araujo (1966) rated "independent foreign policy" as a moderately important criterion for judging the prestige of nations; the Norwegian sample saw it as less important. Other evidence for Proposition 2B3.3 is less direct. Wish's (1969) subjects saw "world leadership" as important for judging the prestige of nations, and leadership may be expected to imply independence from others. Sherman (1973) found that "cultural stability" correlated positively with ratings of attitudes toward nations, and cultural stability (which was also correlated with economic development), may represent a kind of independence of external influence. And finally, the third factor in the analysis of Wish's (1971) derived variables data, correlated positively with two of three attitude measures.

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Selltiz et al. (1963, p. 23) found that the most approved traits ascribed to the United States by foreign students (and the traits whose approval was least related to the students' perceptions of their homeland sharing the same traits) described democratic social practices such as equal opportunity, freedom of speech, and care of the unfortunate. This is consistent with the finding of Tanaka (1972b) that democracy and freedom are evaluated positively in cultures throughout the world. Different peoples may disagree on whether a given country is democratic, but if they do perceive it to be democratic, they will have a more favorable attitude toward it. Schwartzman and Mora y Araujo (1966) found that perceived representative government was one of the criteria Latin American students considered useful in rating the prestige of Latin American nations.

Within the United States, race plays an important part in evaluations of people. Triandis and Triandis (1960) found that 77 percent of the variance in social distance scores to stimulus persons varied on race, religion, nationality, and social class was predicted by race. (Nationality predicted only one percent.) Consistently in the United States, non-white ethnic groups are evaluated less favorably than whites. Social distance measures toward various nationalities at various times (Bogardus, 1947, 1959) have shown great consistency in ranking north European groups most favorably, non-white groups next favorably, and southern and eastern European groups between the extremes. A similar pattern, but less consistent (especially in the case of Japan), emerges from adjective checklist data in 1933, 1947, and 1967 (Karlins, Coffman, and Walters, 1969). Jones and

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Shmone (1971) found color, and dimensions correlated with color, as a factor accounting for perceptions of some ethnic groups as similar to each other.

There is some reason to suppose that color operates as a similarity variable, with whites liking "white" nations and non-whites liking "non-white" nations. But within the United States, at least until recently, Negroes have tended to agree with whites in assigning negatively evaluated traits to "Negroes," and the concept "Negroes" has tended to be associated with unfavorable traits in data from quite a few other nations (Brigham, 1971). Tanaka (1972b) found that Americans, Indians, Koreans, and Japanese hold a negative evaluation toward BLACK RACE, while Germans, Italians, Finns, and Indians tend to value YELLOW RACE negatively. WHITE RACE is negatively valued only by Koreans and Hong-Kong Chinese. Generally, non-white Asians tend to evaluate the white race more highly than their own. . . . There is evidence of white supremacy as conceived by both whites and non-whites. In Sweden, Yugoslavia, and Mexico, evaluation of BLACK RACE is uniquely negative, though no immediate explanation is possible for this unique phenomenon." Some of the data showing preferences for lighter-skinned nationalities may reflect a value for race-similarity; some of the data may reflect correlations between skin color and such variables as development and independence; and some of the data may reflect a bias on the part of most people toward those with European ancestry.

It might be added that the apparent concern of many nations to be seen as peaceful (blaming conflict on aggression of others), democratic (controlled elections, constitutional guarantees, etc.),

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and independent (emphasis on distinctive culture, military power, etc.), and the racial pressures within many nations, suggests that the variables listed in Propositions 2B3.2, 2B3.3, and 2B3.4 are widely seen as related to favorable nation-images.

Proposition 2B4 - The favorability of an individual's attitude toward a given nation will be positively related to the degree of similarity he perceives between that nation and his own nation.

Research on person perception has frequently demonstrated the existence of a similar relationship between affect and perceived similarity at the interpersonal level. Fensterheim and Tresselt (1953) found people perceived as having values like those of the perceiver tended also to be seen as potential friends. Byrne (1961) found that people perceived as having similar attitudes to the perceiver tended to be seen as having favorable traits such as intelligence, morality, and adjustment. Mann (1958) found that Negro and White members of all groups tended to see group members of their own race as desirable future friends. Triandis, Vassiliou, and Thomanek (1966) found that Czech subjects preferred to be friends with people similar to themselves in social status. Newcomb (1966) found that university students tended to like other students whom they saw as sharing their values, attitudes, and perceptions.

Isaacs (1958, p. 6) comments that differences between India and China and the United States elicited favorable responses in some Americans (they found Asia romantic and exotic), negative ones in others (they found differences fearful and distasteful). Inconsistencies of this kind appear throughout the data relevant to Proposition 2B4.

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Albert and Klineberg (1967), comparing fourteen year-olds from eleven nations, found a general positive relationship between the nationalities rated and those perceived as similar. But there were exceptions to this pattern. Japanese children tended to dislike both dissimilar and similar nationalities, and American children, though they were especially likely to say they liked people because they were similar, tended to like both dissimilar (Chinese, Indians, Africans) and similar nationalities. Jahoda (1962) found that elementary school children in Scotland tended to express liking for the countries they perceived as similar to Scotland, but the younger children in his sample often said they liked India and Africa because there are lions and tigers there.

The discussion of Proposition 2B3 brought out the difficulty of determining whether it is possession of a given attribute or similarity to a given attribute that best explains variance in attitudes. Selltiz et al. (1963, pp. 227-230) made the most systematic attempt to distinguish the two types of influence. They studied the ascription of variables to the homeland and the host country by foreign students in the United States. Correlations between similarity of ratings and approval of the United States position on the traits ranged from $+0.56$ to -0.13 , with 27 of the relationships positive. Part correlations, controlling the effect of the rating of the United States on approval, ranged from $+0.30$ to -0.13 , with 28 of the relationships positive. About one-third of the coefficients were reduced by the part correlation technique. The highest part correlations were between approval and "activities centered within home," "importance of financial resources in life," and "strength of friendship ties." Correlations of

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beliefs about the United States and approval of the United States ranged from .07 to .77. Corresponding partial correlations--eliminating the effect of perceived similarity on the traits--ranged from .2 to .76 with about a third of the coefficients lower on the partial correlations.¹³

Examination of these correlation coefficients revealed that on about half of the items the students' approval of the United States was strongly influenced by their beliefs as to the position of the United States on these characteristics, with perceived discrepancy between the United States and the home country having little or no influence. . . . These items included all those referring to social practices that might be thought of as coming under the heading of democracy. . . . On most of the remaining items, approval of the United States was influenced to some extent both by beliefs about the United States and by the amount of discrepancy perceived between the home country and the United States, but neither of these exerted a very strong influence. These items included all of those dealing with friendship and family patterns, several dealing with behavior and goals of the people of the country, items dealing with economic patterns, and one referring to foreign policy.

attempt to compare the two kinds of variable should be repeated with other kinds of variables and other samples of respondents.

There may be cultural differences in the emphasis subjects place on similarity. Reusch and Bateson (1968, p. 106) have suggested that

¹³Partial correlation is a statistical technique for estimating the correlation between two variables (in this case similarity and liking on various traits) with the influence of a third variable removed from one of them (in this case the influence of perceptions of the United States removed from the similarity scores). Partial correlation is a statistical technique for estimating the correlation between two variables (in this case perceptions and liking on various traits) with the influence of a third variable (in this case similarity to the United States) removed from both. See McNemar (1962, pp. 165-168).

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the American value for equality leads Americans to want to resemble others. Perceived difference makes Americans uneasy and, at least in reacting to Negroes, "the premise of equality is upset, and therefore a number of precautions have to be taken to rationalize the difference; prejudice and discrimination are the end results." A cultural difference in the relationship of perceived similarity and affect was reported by Berrien (1969), who studied perceptions of characteristic behavior styles and concluded that "the less friendly the Japanese are toward a target country, the less contrasting is the stereotype they hold. The American data are not as clear in the last respect, though they tend to support the opposite inference."

The data of Buchanan and Cantril (1953) lead to a proposition about the effects of perceived similarity on political attributes:

Proposition 2B4.1 - The favorability of an individual's attitude toward a given nation is positively related to the degree of similarity he perceives between that nation and his own nation in terms of political alignment.

Similarity of political alignment can refer to past or present alliances or apparent friendships, or to shared ideologies and common goals. Buchanan and Cantril (1953, pp. 38-44) found that the nations mentioned as most- and least-liked nations in their study went to the United States and the Soviet Union. "'Likes' and 'dislikes' in this category are about evenly balanced; i.e., the 'Bi-Polar World' tends to influence about as many respondents to like one people as to dislike another." Respondents in this survey also tended to like World War II allies and to dislike their World War II enemies. There is a tendency to select an impending rather than a concluded conflict

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In other relevant studies, Gundlach (1944) found that college students during World War II "tended to rate our allies high, our enemies low, and our nationality minority groups intermediate with regard to most virtues or traits. And, more recently, Willis (1968) found that American students assigned less favorable traits to communist than to noncommunist nations and peoples.

The political alignment dimensions found for United States and foreign students by Sherman (1973) and Wish (1971) probably represent similarity variables. Middle East political alignment correlated .61 with "good" and .46 with "I like"; Vietnam political alignment correlated .55 with "good" and .61 with "I like" (Sherman, 1973). Political alignment correlated .56 with "good," .61 with "I like," and .50 with "similarity to ideal" (Wish, 1971).

Proposition 2B4.1 may also relate to the mirror-image phenomenon, the tendency of peoples in conflict to see each other's nation as the reverse of their own (and thus the tendency for peoples in conflict to have similar views of "the enemy").

There is some evidence that similarity on many other attributes such as race, religion, social class, etc.--may relate to nation attitudes. Rather than try to list all such variables, it has sometimes seemed preferable to look for a common element in all of them. Newcomb (1966) recognized this problem and suggested a common element:

There is a common notion about interpersonal attraction, to the effect that it varies with similarity, as such: Birds of a feather flock

together. It is not a very useful notion, however, because it is indiscriminate. We have neither good reason nor good evidence for believing that persons of similar blood types, for example . . . are especially attracted to each other. The answer to the questions, Similarity with respect to what?, is enormously complex . . . I shall therefore content myself with the guess (for which fairly good evidence exists) that the possession of similar characteristics predisposes individuals to be attracted to each other to the degree that those characteristics are both observable and valued by those who observe them--in short, insofar as they provide a basis for similarity of attitudes.

Carrying Newcomb's proposition to the international level, it

becomes:

Proposition 2B4.2 - The favorability of an individual's attitude toward a given nation is positively related to the degree of similarity of attitudes and beliefs he perceives between the people of that nation and the people of his own nation.

Rokeach (1968, p. 80) argued that perceived similarity of attitudes has more influence on liking than similarity of race in situations where both race and attitudes are known. Support for this comes from studies in which both race and attitude similarity are varied, with the latter being found the better predictor of affect (Byrne and Wong, 1961; Hendrick, Bixenstein, and Hawkins, 1971). Byrne (1969) summarized studies in this area and concluded that the general relationship between perceived similarity of attitudes and attraction exists, and that "both belief and race affect attraction, and that the abstract question of the relative power of the two variables is a meaningless one" since the choice of measures will shape results of studies comparing their influence. Also Byrne et al.

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(1969) demonstrated that "a linear relationship between the proportion of similar attitudes and attraction is a phenomenon generalizable beyond the college student" to different occupations and social classes.

Byrne does not, however, report any evidence of generalization beyond Western culture. Though the support comes from studies of ethnic groups rather than nations, Proposition 2B4.2 can be expected to apply to the nation-attitudes of Americans, but research is needed to see if it applies to the images held by foreigners as well.

It may be that in experimental situations perceptions of attitudes and attitude similarity explain most of the variance in nation-attitudes associated with characteristics like race and culture. The more visible variables, however, remain influential outside the laboratory, where attitudes and overt characteristics do not vary independently.

The research on person perception does not imply that the reference point for similarity need be the individual's own nation. It is also possible that the individual will compare the foreign nation to himself personally. An alternative form of Proposition 2B4 might therefore be:

Proposition 2B4.3 - The favorability of an individual's attitude toward a given nation is positively related to the degree of similarity he perceives between that nation and himself.

Perlmutter (1954a), for instance, found that the desire of United States students to travel in European countries was positively related with the similarity of the characteristics they perceived

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the typical people in those nations as having and those they ascribed to themselves. It also correlated positively to a degree with the similarity of the traits ascribed to the foreigners and to the subjects' "ideal selves." The conclusions of Child and Doob (1943), discussed earlier in this chapter, also give some support to Proposition 2B4.3, since subjects tended to apply, not only approved traits, but traits they used to describe themselves, to preferred nations.

Perhaps Propositions 2B4.1, 2B4.2, and 2B4.3 would all be more predictive if they referred to similarity to self rather than similarity to homeland. More research is needed to determine when the self is the reference point and when the nation is the reference point for similarity correlated with affect.

Merritt (1972) suggests that "The more favorable the student perceives the attitudes of nationals of host country I to be to his home country J, the more positive will be his attitudes toward country J." This point is comparable to the interpersonal finding of Newcomb (1966) that students' liking of others was positively related to their estimate of the others' liking for them. We might expect that such a relationship would generally apply to nation attitudes:

Proposition 2B5 - The favorability of an individual's attitude toward a given nation is positively related to his estimate of the favorability of the attitudes of the people of that nation toward his own nation.

Several alternate propositions could also be offered, suggesting that an individual's attitude toward another nation is relatively likely to be favorable if he perceives that the people of that nation (a) have an attitude toward his homeland similar to his own (a derivative of

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Proposition 2B4.2), (b) have a favorable attitude toward him personally (as might be the case with a foreign student), (c) have a favorable attitude toward people like him in his homeland (e.g., an American Negro might like Nigeria if he thought Nigerians liked American Negroes), or (d) have an attitude toward people like him in his homeland which is similar to his own attitude toward such people. Though there is evidence that perceived attitudes of others are influential in determining nation-attitudes, there is little or no research which clearly supports one of these propositions over the others. Attitude and attitude-similarity are usually confounded by the tendency (at least experienced by the most commonly studied group, foreign students in the United States) for similarity and favorability of others' attitudes toward the homeland to covary. And most studies do not look at perceptions of others' attitudes toward subgroups within the homeland.

Some support for the importance of the similarity variables comes from the interpersonal findings of Newcomb (1966). The students in his study tended to like those whose descriptions of them coincided with their self-descriptions, even if those descriptions were unfavorable: "All persons, at all times, are liked according as they are judged to agree with oneself about oneself."¹⁴

In research on foreign students, Morris (1956, 1960) and Selltiz et al. (1963, pp. 236-238) measured perceptions of "status loss," the degree to which the students perceive the host country as ascribing

¹⁴According to Watzlawick, Beavin, and Jackson (1967, p. 86), "Each individual has a need to discover, through communication, that other people see him as he sees himself."

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less prestige to their homeland than they ascribe to it. Morris found that--especially for students highly "involved" with their homeland--perceptions of status loss correlated negatively with attitudes toward the United States.¹⁵ Selltiz tested three different samples of foreign students, and found the same negative relationship between status loss and attitudes for two of the three samples.

Perlmutter and Shapiro (1957) asked American students for their impressions of typical Americans and typical Europeans making no statements, making pro-European statements, making pro-American statements, or making statements that America and Europe are in some respect similar. The European making a pro-American statement was ascribed a more favorable stereotype than the European making no statement, and the European making a pro-European statement was seen even less favorably, giving some support to Proposition 2B5 (although the proposition did not seem to apply to Americans' impressions of Americans who praised America). The most favorable stereotypes, however, were ascribed to Americans and Europeans who made statements that Europe and America are similar, suggesting still another variation on Proposition 2B5: (e) an individual's attitude toward another nation is more likely to be favorable if he believes the people of that nation see their nation as similar to their own.

Proposition 2A4 suggests that a differentiated nation-image is likely to be associated with a moderate attitude. There is evidence

¹⁵ Perceived status loss was also correlated negatively with perceived status of the homeland, so this relationship may in part be due to the relationship postulated in Proposition 2A6(A).

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Chapter III that images based on more information are likely to be differentiated. Since salience of a nation to an individual tends to relate to the amount of information he has about the nation, it seems that salience would be associated with relatively moderate opinion-attitudes. At times these relationships do support that conclusion. The kind of information associated with salience, however, is often simplistic and evaluative, and so most of the data support the site:

Proposition 2B6 - Insofar as an individual's image of a given nation is a relatively salient part of his belief system, his attitude toward that nation is likely to be very favorable or very unfavorable, rather than moderate.

Because a nation tends to be salient to an individual at the same time as it is salient to his society and to his sources of information about other nations. This kind of influence on attitudes will be discussed in Chapter IV. But it also exists in part because of the cognitive dynamics of the individual.

For most people at most times, most foreign nations are not initially salient attitude objects. In the United States, for instance, when seeing himself as an American rather than a foreigner may be important to an individual's identity, his opinion of Norway or Burma is not likely to involve his ego, and such opinions are not likely to be sharply defined. When other nations are perceived as enemies of the homeland, or as allies against the homeland's enemies, this apathy toward other nations tends to be reduced, and relatively definite attitudes develop:

Since Americans tend to exhaust their emotional and intellectual energies in private pursuits, the typical approach to problems of public policy is perfunctory. . . . On questions of a . . . remote nature, such as foreign policy, they tend to react in more undifferentiated ways, with formless and plastic moods which undergo frequent alteration in response to changes in events. The characteristic response to questions of foreign policy is one of indifference. A foreign policy crisis, short of the immediate threat of war, may transform indifference to vague apprehension, to fatalism, to anger; but the reaction is still a mood, a superficial and fluctuating response. . . . However, when threats from abroad become grave and immediate, Americans tend to break out of their private orbits, and tremendous energies become available for foreign policy (Almond, 1960, pp. 53-54).

iver (1972, cited in Sherman, 1973), in a simulation of inter-relations, found that the number of salient dimensions of n decreased under conditions of stress (simulated war). This tent with the hypothesis of Sherif, Sherif, and Nebergall at involvement of one's identity with an attitude object n more definite attitude and in a greater latitude of rejection. Conflict is likely to increase an assimilation-contrast such that perceived differences with friends are minimized. ved differences with enemies are exaggerated (Avigdor, cited s, 1971, pp. 110-111; Sherif and Hovland, 1961).

artley (1967) cites a study in which Loveleen Bhatia asked d Pakistanis (presumably ego-involved) and Americans (pres ego-involved) to use their own categories to sort state-t Indians and Pakistanis. Contrary to the prediction of erif, and Nebergall, Americans did not differ in the number ies they used, and the Americans actually had larger latitudes of rejection and noncommitment and similar latitudes of acceptance.

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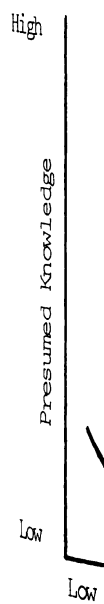


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Assuming that subjects' perceptions of how much they know about nations are at least in part indicators of the relative salience of different nations, studies of presumed knowledge lend some support to this proposition. Grace and Neuhaus (1952) found that presumed knowledge about nations correlated positively with liking and negatively with hostility across most nations but that it correlated negatively with liking and positively with hostility for the least known nations. Cooper and Michiels (1952) found a similar curvilinear relationship, also for United States college students (see Figure 2).¹⁷

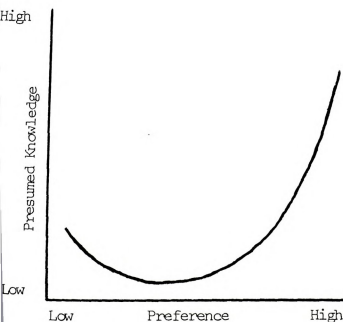


Figure 2. Curvilinear Relationship of Preference for Nations and Presumed Knowledge of Nations Found by Cooper and Michiels (1952).

There was also in these studies a general tendency to report knowledge about liked nations, with the reverse of this tendency only at one extreme of the distribution. Cooper and Michiels investigated the relationship between preference for and presumed

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Chanahan and Cantril (1953) found that neighboring nations, about whom more may be known, and with whom relations are likely to be friendly or hostile rather than indifferent, are relatively likely to be among the most liked and least liked nations, and that underdeveloped countries in Asia and Africa, which presumably were less salient to their European and American respondents than their neighbors, were not mentioned either as liked or disliked. Bernot and Blancard (1955) reported similar findings from their study of French villagers.

C. Causes of Relationships between Perceptions and Attitudes

This chapter evaluated a number of propositions about relationships between a person's attitudes and his other beliefs, emotions, and orientations to foreign nations and peoples. It seems clear that beliefs about particular nations do correspond in a number of ways with opinion-attitudes. It is also apparent that beliefs and attitudes about foreign nations are not unrelated to the rest of the individual's cognitive system. His personality and his attitudes toward his homeland, for instance, under some circumstances seem to be better predictors of attitudes toward foreign nations than his beliefs about these countries.

The general predisposition to respond favorably or unfavorably toward foreign nations is related to personality variables, to behavior

knowledge of sports, and found it not to be curvilinear. For nation-attitudes, they found that actual knowledge was not closely related to preference ($r_s = +.33$) or to presumed knowledge ($r_s = +.47$), but that the correlation of presumed knowledge with preference was $+.78$.

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interpersonal contexts, and to attitudes toward the homeland. We would expect that, for most people, these characteristics would take their basic shape before the individual had formed attitudes toward any but the most salient nations, and that for most people these characteristics would be more central, more salient, and more stable than images of foreign nations. Insofar as we can say that one aspect of a person's affective and cognitive system determines another part, it would seem that it is usually differences in these variables that shape images of nations, rather than the other way around.

Since the general orientation toward other nations tends to precede the development of distinctions between other nations in the growth of the child, and since that general orientation is essentially evaluative, the general tendency would seem to be for beliefs congruent with attitudes to develop. Buchanan and Cantril (1953, pp. 55-56) conclude that "Stereotypes are less likely to govern the likes and dislikes between nations than to adapt themselves to the positive or negative relationship based on matters unrelated to images of the people concerned."

Yet an individual is likely to make distinctions between foreign nations, to see some as relatively similar to each other, to see some relatively similar to his own country, and to prefer them to each other in varying degrees, and he is likely to do this in terms of several attributes which may vary relatively independently of each other. Such distinctions do not seem to be explained by such variables as authoritarianism, aggressiveness, and patriotism. The following chapters look at variables external to the individual in an attempt to see how they relate to beliefs and attitudes toward other nations. In so doing,

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CHAPTER III

ACCEPTANCE OF INFORMATION ABOUT FOREIGN NATIONS

The present examination of relationships between the information a person has about other nations and his preferences for them is based on a conceptualization of three different levels of information that covary with attitudes. Chapter II examined relationships involving information that might be called internalized or accepted, subjective information (i.e., beliefs) and attitudes. It showed that there are some regular relationships between the information a person accepts as true about a nation and his liking of that nation. The present chapter is concerned with the information to which the individual is exposed. It considers possible relationships between exposure to information about other nations and attitudes toward them, and it also considers possible relationships between exposure to information and the various variables that, according to the propositions in Chapter II, may relate to national preferences.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the sources of information about other countries which may influence attitudes and with a review of research dealing with the effects of these particular sources. The latter part of the chapter discusses the ways in which various factors, like prior attitudes of the individual, may determine the

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A. Sources of Information about Foreign Nations
and the Effects of Exposure to Them

1. Reports on Influential Sources. A direct approach to discerning the effects on attitudes of exposure to particular sources is to ask individuals what sources are influential in shaping their beliefs about other countries. The usefulness of this method is severely limited unless depth interview techniques are used to elicit careful responses; most of the research reported here has not used this method. An exception, which demonstrates the need for the more careful approach, is the study by Isaacs (1958) of a sample of Americans with professional involvement in foreign affairs. He found that these men at first could tell little about their images of Asia and the sources of those images. Only in extended interviews did it become apparent that

. . . there are in fact all sorts of scratches on American minds about Asia--associations, images, notions, ideas, information, attitudes gleaned and acquired in fragments over time from childhood or under the more recent pressures of contemporary events. To our appreciations of these events we bring, many of us, the wispy products of the classroom, church, Sunday school, remembered bits out of storybooks and magazines, cartoons and photographs, motion pictures, newspaper headlines and columns, impressions gleaned from friends or acquaintances.

subjects (pp. 47ff) recalled influences from such sources as comic movies, radio programs, The Book of Knowledge, The National Geographic, contact with foreigners in the United States (e.g., Chinese laundrymen, foreign students) and--especially salient for many--contact

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The relatively rare mention of information learned about other
 ies in school was conspicuous in Isaacs' data, especially since
 ple was highly educated.¹ Most of Isaacs' sample completed
 schooling a number of years ago, and it may be that neglect of
 n American schools prior to World War II is a special case.
 influences are frequently mentioned in the 1959 data of Lambert
 neberg (1967). It is possible, however, that many of the school
 ces mentioned by the 10-year-olds and 14-year-olds in their
 (in interviews conducted in their schools) would also not be
 d in interviews given after they had been out of school for a
 of years.

Lambert and Klineberg (p. 37) report that

In general, television, movies, and to a lesser extent
 parents, constitute the major sources of information
 for the six-year-old American children. For the 10-
 year-olds, television and movies are still important,
 but school-connected sources such as courses and text-
 books begin to be cited while parents become negligible
 as sources. At the 14-year level, school-connected
 sources are predominant, along with books, magazines,
 and other mass media. Personal contact with other peoples
 is a minor factor. . . . Television and movies predominate
 as chief sources of information about the Negroes of Africa
 at all three age levels. . . . In contrast, for example,
 to the Indians, about whom there is a striking increase
 with age in citation of school-connected sources, informa-
 tion about the Russians and the African Negroes comes
 predominately through the mass media.

Eighty-eight percent had completed college, 40 percent had
 s. Isaacs also cited Church (1939) as reporting that only 13
 of West Coast high school seniors in 1923 mentioned school as
 of information about the Japanese.

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Other nationalities sampled showed a similar pattern of sources, with some variations representing differences in availability of television or in opportunity for contact and some representing particular relationships between nations. In general, for the 14-year-old children, information about other nations came from impersonal sources--television, movies, books and magazines, and school textbooks--and not from personal sources like parents, friends, and teachers:

Apparently, parents, schoolteachers, and friends do not often communicate about foreign nations to children over 10 years of age, or if they do their comments are not well remembered (p. 160).

Other studies also have found that mass media and other impersonal sources are most influential. Kerr (1943) found that British subjects attributed their stereotypes of the United States and Russia to books, movies, and newspapers (and, in the case of the United States, to conversations with American servicemen). MacKinnon and Centers (1958) report that newspapers were most influential in shaping the beliefs of people in the Los Angeles area about Russia; less than ten percent of the subjects reported being influenced by conversations about Russia. And (1956, pp. 96-97) surveyed United States college seniors and found that they rated impersonal sources more frequently than personal sources as influencing their outlook on world affairs.²

The sources chosen by at least five percent of the sample as their five most important were newspapers, 62 percent; college courses, 61 percent; magazines, 53 percent; newscasts, 48 percent; conversations with friends, 47 percent; ideas of parents, 35 percent; lectures, 28 percent; contacts with foreign students, 21 percent; travel abroad, 17 percent; military service, 15 percent; contacts with foreign visitors, 14 percent; contacts with foreign visitors, 13 percent;

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Other data on sources which are thought to shape nation images from studies of foreign students. Loomis and Schuler (1948) Latin American students in the United States about where they got information about the United States when they were at home, and they noted especially the influence of both American and Latin American sources. Maslog (1971) asked Filipino and Indian students in the United States about their sources of information about Asia and the United States before coming to the United States. Generally the print media, local and foreign, were rated as most influential, though contact with people from abroad (foreigners and returned nationals) and radio, television, and movies were also important sources.³

There is, therefore, some evidence that information about other nations comes mainly from impersonal sources, and especially from print media. This kind of a generalization must, however, be approached with caution. The studies reported dealt mainly with relatively educated students and looked mainly at their images of nations especially salient to them; and the questions used may not have always elicited full information.

It somehow seems more respectable to say you learned about a nation from books rather than from movies, and it's easy to forget that early what your parents told you as a child.

Other sources of information were rated as important: high school, 8 percent; newspaper, 13 percent; movies, 11 percent; high school, 8 percent; and church, 7 percent.

Other studies involving sources of world affairs and national news include Lambert and Klineberg (1959) and Gordon (1962).

³ Foreign radio broadcasts were rated as important by only 42 percent of those surveyed, and local movies by only 39 percent. Television was not accessible to most areas in India. Seventy percent of those surveyed rated contact with foreigners as important, and 77 percent rated contact with returned nationals as important.

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2. Effects of Education. Whether or not people think that education has influenced their attitudes toward other nations, the level of education a person has does tend to predict a number of variables associated with nation-attitudes. Two such variables are included in the following propositions:

Proposition 3A1 - The more education a person has, the more he will tend to be interested in foreign nations and peoples.

Proposition 3A1.1 - The more education a person has, the more he will tend to expose himself to information about foreign nations and peoples.

Proposition 3A2 - The more education a person has, the more knowledge he will have about foreign nations and peoples.

The word education in these propositions refers to the number of years of formal schooling the individual has had. These propositions are included together because they tend to support each other and to be supported by the same evidence. The possession of knowledge about other nations may be taken as an indicator of interest and of exposure to information, and exposure to information may be taken as an indicator of knowledge and (assuming information has been sought) of interest. Cantril (1967, pp. 182-183) cites a 1943 survey in which people were asked if they were more interested in domestic affairs or in international affairs. Domestic affairs were named more often for all education levels, but the number answering international affairs increased with level of education completed: grade school, 36 percent; high school, 41 percent; college, 42 percent. Proposition 3A1 does not, however, say that interest in foreign nations and peoples increases with education compared to other interests. This may be the case, but more of the

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riance in interest in foreign affairs increases together with interest in domestic affairs.

Several surveys of the United States public have found that education is clearly the best predictor of knowledge of other countries (Riesberg, 1949; Free and Cantril, 1968, pp. 60-61; Robinson, 1967a).⁴ Robinson found a correlation of $+0.45$ between education and a world affairs information score.

Presumably the higher world information scores of more educated people represent in part memory of facts learned in school. More educated people, however, also tend to do better on questions about recent events that they could not have learned about in school, indicating that schooling relates to knowledge indirectly through interest and media exposure as well as directly. Thus Robinson (1967a, 1967b) found that more educated people tend to pay more attention to world affairs (education was positively correlated $+0.31$ and $+0.34$ with self-exposure to world news in the newspaper and with face-to-face discussion of world news with friends and work associates, both predictors of world affairs knowledge) and to draw world affairs information from relatively sophisticated sources.⁵

⁴These studies, of course, do not measure knowledge in general, but rather knowledge of a particular kind of information which is both easily known and easily tested. Typical items would ask for the name of the Prime Minister of India, for the continent where Brazil is located, or whether or not Poland has a communist government.

⁵Robinson (1967a, p. 28) used a configurational analysis to identify predictors of world affairs knowledge. The resulting groups, in order of increasing knowledge, were (I) less than high school graduate, earning less than \$7500 per year, non-white; (II) same as (I) except white; (III) less than high school graduate, earning more than \$7500 per year; (IV) high school graduate or more, earning less than \$7500 per year; (V) high school graduate or more, earning more than \$7500 per year.

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Similarly, Hero (1959b, p. 13) notes that ". . . years and level of education seem to be the most important demographic variables in determining the probability of attention to international affairs in the mass media. The greater the number of media to which one looks for world affairs, the greater the likelihood that one went to college." He notes that education is especially predictive of exposure to relatively sophisticated sources of world affairs information. Also, individuals who attended better quality colleges, individuals who majored in the social sciences or humanities, and individuals who did well in college are especially likely to expose themselves to information about world affairs. Again, this seems to be largely a part of a broader relationship between education and exposure to information about many current affairs issues.

If relatively educated people differ from the rest of the population in their interests, media habits, and knowledge, it is not surprising to find that they also differ in their general attitude toward foreign nations. The most frequently documented difference is expressed in Proposition 3A3.

Proposition 3A3 - The more education a person has, the more favorable will be his attitude toward foreign nations in general.

year or high school graduate earning less than \$4000 per year; (IV) high school graduate earning more than \$4000 per year; (V) some college, college graduate with blue-collar job; and (VI) college graduate with white collar job. Groups I, II, and III said they got most of their world affairs knowledge from television, followed by radio, newspapers, and magazines. Groups IV and V got most from newspapers, then television, radio, and magazines. Group VI got most from newspapers, then television, magazines, radio.

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Three kinds of inference give support to this proposition.

First, Lambert and Klineberg (1967, pp. 185-190) found some evidence that older (and thus more educated) children had more affection for foreign peoples. For American children the trend was linear; the more education the pattern was an increase from age 6 to 10, then a leveling off and even a partial drop in affection to age 14.

Second, a number of surveys have demonstrated that education is associated positively with internationalism and world-mindedness and negatively with isolationism (Fensterwald, 1958; Free and Cantril, 1968; Johnson, 1959). College seniors are more likely than college freshmen to be internationalistic; and majors in the social sciences and humanities are more likely than majors in other fields to be internationalistic (Queener, 1949; Garrison, 1961; Singer, 1965a). The scales used in these studies do not specifically ask about affect toward other groups, but they do measure variables such as willingness to associate with foreign peoples which would be expected to relate to favorable affect; they relate negatively to variables like authoritarianism and ethnocentrism of nationality which in turn relate negatively (Propositions 1A5 and 2A5) to attitudes.

Third, studies of attitudes toward particular groups, usually racial minorities within the United States, have tended to show positive relationships between education and favorable attitudes, although the findings are not wholly consistent. Purdue (1959) found white upperclassmen less likely than freshmen to stereotype Negroes. Bayton and Bayton (1947) found Negro college students had a more positive stereotype of whites (and a less positive stereotype of Negroes) than Negro

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school students. Harding et al. (1969) after reviewing research on ethnic groups in the United States concludes that education relates to reduced prejudice (i.e., more favorable attitudes) but not necessarily to reduced stereotyping and discrimination. Murphy and Likert (1938, in Hartley, 1946, p. 119) found that grades in college were positively related to generalized tolerance of other groups. Reigrotski and Anderson (1959) found for Belgian, French, German, and Dutch subjects that education was a predictor of relatively favorable ratios of positive to negative traits ascribed to Germans and Italians. On the other hand, Jahoda in Ghana (Jahoda, 1959) found no relationship between education (illiterate, elementary school, elementary school plus) and stereotypes and attitudes: "Many illiterates knew precious little about whites, but what they did know and feel did not differ substantially from the attitudes of their educated fellows."

Additional support of rather doubtful worth, since there is no evidence of lasting change, comes from pretest-posttest studies of the effects of particular courses dealing with subjects like international relations, race relations, and anthropology (e.g., Brooks, 1936; Bardis, 1963; Singer, 1965).⁶ Scott (1969) found that a course in comparative government resulted in increased differentiation of

⁶Curiously, Singer (1965a) found some indications that instructors who were relatively high in world-mindedness produced less change in students' world-mindedness scores than did instructors who were low on the index.

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Support for Propositions 3A2 and 3A3 is not necessarily evidence of the influence of information on attitudes. To some extent the changes associated with education may represent maturation, as suggested by a study in which the members of a college freshman class were found to be less dogmatic and less stereotypic after four years, whether or not they had stayed in college (Lehmann, Sinha, and Hartnett, 1966). To some extent it may be the social interaction in college rather than instruction and study which has the most influence on attitudes. Blau (1953) found that students at Cornell shifted their foreign country opinions in the direction of consistency with their general political orientation, apparently because of selective personal associations. (Those who had few social contacts in college tended to change during college.)⁷

It would seem reasonable to offer another proposition about the effects of education, to the effect that the more educated a person is, the more likely he is to rank nations accurately in terms of variables such as economic development and political alignment, and thus the more likely he is to have nation-attitudes based on the reality of other nations. There is, however, little evidence for such a proposition.

⁷The variety of activities in college which might be influential is shown in data from Wilson (1965, p. 102) on the campus activities which students at Pennsylvania State University thought influenced their world outlook: books, magazines, newspapers, 52 percent; personal contacts with foreign students, 48 percent; foreign travel, 46 percent; courses, 38 percent; radio and television, 37 percent; speeches and forums, 32 percent; contributions to relief drives, 20 percent; exhibits and bulletin boards, 20 percent; clubs and organizations, 6 percent; athletic events with foreign teams, 6 percent; and participation in special events like United Nations Week, 5 percent.

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one relevant study, Richman (1972) used survey data to compare attitudes toward Russia for the period from 1942 to 1945. He found little difference in the pattern of opinion change for college-educated and non-college-educated Americans and concluded that world events which change public attitudes toward Russia apparently do so through a system of governmental, media, and interpersonal mediation that has similar effects on all people's opinions, regardless of education (it is true that college-educated respondents were less likely to give a 'no opinion' answer). Richman also noticed one conspicuous difference: college-educated Americans remained favorable toward Russia a month longer in the period immediately after World War II than other Americans, leading him to suggest that other influences may actually have made the educated group less responsive to a real change in relations between the two governments. Richman draws a tentative conclusion from Hero (1959a):

The differences between educational groups are greatest for analytical, reality-testing behavior, somewhat less for information, still less for interest, and least of all for general feelings or attitudes on foreign issues.

Most of the preceding discussion of educational effects has been based on the data on the difference between college-educated and non-college-educated Americans, and it therefore needs to be qualified in several ways. First, education may have somewhat different effects in different countries where it plays a different role, or where other means of communicating national and international information are less developed. Developing countries, in particular, might differ in these respects. Second, the effect may not be linear across the whole system of education. College may represent a point of special articulation in the

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tern of change, and increasing specialization may result in divergent effects, as suggested by the studies cited in which students majoring in different fields responded differently.

Finally, these studies fail to show that there is, within the college educated group, a small subgroup that tends to be highly interested in and informed about foreign affairs. This group, including college professors, journalists, government officials, and business-people, makes up a small proportion of the population, but it differs in beliefs, attitudes, and differentiation from the general college-educated population more than the college-educated differ from the less educated (Robinson and Hefner, 1967a; Rogers, Stuhler, and Koenig, 1967).

3. Effects of Exposure to Mass Communications Media.

Proposition 3A4 - An individual who is relatively interested in foreign nations will tend to be exposed to more information about foreign nations in the mass media than one who is not.

In part the relationship expressed in Proposition 3A4 may be an artifact of the relationship between education and interest expressed in Proposition 3A1. Relatively educated people, for reasons that do not necessarily relate to interest in foreign affairs, are relatively likely to attend to channels that carry more foreign affairs information such as television newscasts, news magazines, and educational broadcasting (Hero, 1959b; Robinson, 1967a).

That the relationship between interest and exposure goes beyond artifact is suggested by the fact that relatively educated people are more likely than others to report that they read all the foreign news in the newspaper (Robinson, 1967a). Interest leads to exposure

d, as demonstrated by McNelly (1961), exposure leads to expression of increased interest and of willingness to be exposed to even more information on the topic.

In reviewing literature on selective exposure to supportive information, Freedman and Sears (1965; Sears and Freedman, 1967) conclude that de facto selectivity occurs frequently, but that it often can be explained without reference to avoidance of dissonant information. Freedman (1969-70) mentions a finding of Lazarsfeld that a series of programs about minority groups were most likely to be watched each week by the members of the group covered that week. This can be interpreted as showing selectivity in accordance with interest, but it may also involve the seeking of consonant information. It might tentatively be suggested that the effect of the relationship in Proposition 3A4 is selective, with those who generally think other nations are important to them getting confirming information, and those who have a more ethnocentric or isolationist point of view failing to be exposed to potentially disconfirming messages.

If interest and exposure are both related to education, and education is related to internationalism (Proposition 3A3), we may expect at least a statistical relationship between media exposure and internationalism:

Proposition 3A4.1 - Individuals relatively high in exposure to information about foreign nations in the mass media will be relatively likely to have favorable attitudes toward foreign nations in general.

Again, the data supporting these relationships are largely drawn from the United States and Western Europe. Especially where national governments exercise more control over foreign news in the media, Proposition 3A4.1 might not be supported; in fact, the inverse relationship might occur.

In one study in which it was possible to isolate influence of media exposure, Himmelweit, Oppenheim, and Vince (1958) compared British children who were and who were not able to watch television (the BBC). They found several differences that relate to this proposition. Television children were a little more likely to name a country other than their homeland when asked where they would like to have been born, they were more likely to disagree with "My country is always right," and they tended to make more objective and fewer evaluative statements about other peoples. Knowledge, measured by questions of world geography, was related to access to television, especially for the younger and less intelligent children. However, especially for the younger children, access to television related to acceptance of stereotypes common in the media, of the gay and witty French, of the arrogant and vicious Germans.

Exposure to a message does not imply its acceptance, and thus the effects of mass media on attitudes toward other nations depend on their credibility to the individuals who are exposed to them:

Proposition 3A5 - An individual's beliefs about a given foreign nation will be a function of his exposure to specific information in the mass media about that nation and of the credibility to him of that information.

By itself, this proposition doesn't help much in the prediction of attitudes toward other nations. Chapter II demonstrated that the relationship between beliefs and attitudes is not a simple one. Part B of the present chapter will look in more detail at the way existing attitudes and beliefs influence credibility and interact with new information. About all that can be said at this stage is that, depending on such factors as prior beliefs and attitudes, credibility cues in the messages, and social situations in which messages are received, messages from the mass media are often but not always seen as credible, and that when perceived as credible they may produce changes in beliefs and attitudes about foreign peoples.

Credibility and acceptance are sometimes found even if the media involved are themselves foreign to the receiver. Thus a survey in Brazil (Brazil Institute of Public Opinion, reported in Klineberg, 1950, pp. 102-103) asked, "Do you think American people really live as shown in the movies?" Thirty-seven percent answered 'yes' and 50 percent answered 'no.' Klineberg also reports a study showing that British school children believed American movies gave a true picture of American life (Heindel, 1937). The Indians and Filipinos studied by Maslog (1951) generally felt even after coming to the United States, that all mass media they used, both domestic and foreign, gave reliable information about other nations. On the other hand, Latin American students (Loomis and Schuler, 1948) thought before coming to this country that U.S. movies gave a distorted picture of American life, and after their stay in this country they felt this even more strongly. Maslog (1968) found that American television shows were thought by

viewers in South America, Western Europe, and Japan to give a favorable impression of the United States. Across the six countries sampled, an average of 40 percent thought American life was as it is presented on television. Twelve percent thought it was probably better than it appears on television; 23 percent thought it was probably worse. And Bourne (1960) found that U.S. films were seen as reflecting favorably on the United States in England, West Germany, and Italy, but not in France.

In an early study of mass media influence, Peterson and Thurstone (1933) found that images of Germans produced by a movie lasted as much as six months, possibly sustained by interpersonal communication about the movie. Likewise 60 percent of the initial attitude change produced by a movie about the Chinese still showed up on a post-test 19 months later. The type of change, of course, depends on the specific content. Thus Brouwer and Van Bergen found that movies about India produced favorable or unfavorable attitudes in children, depending on whether modern or traditional aspects of India were emphasized. McNelly (1961) found that exposure to news stories about previously unfamiliar foreign topics resulted in increased polarization of semantic differential responses, suggesting that regardless of content, mass media exposure may function to increase the number and strength of beliefs individuals have about other nations.

The conditions under which messages about other nations are likely to be believed are discussed in Section B of this chapter; however, special mention may be made of two studies concerned particularly with the credibility of mass media messages about other nations. Seward and Silvers (1943) presented United States college students with simulated newspaper articles about either a United States victory or a

United States defeat in fighting with Japan, attributed either to United States or Japanese military sources. They concluded that three effects influenced subjects' ratings of belief: "(a) a tendency to believe one's own government rather than the enemy's; (b) a tendency to believe good news rather than bad; (c) a tendency to believe news adverse to its source rather than favorable to its source." In another study, Gladstone and Taylor (1958) found that threatening messages attributed to Khrushchev and Malenkov were believed more by subjects with lower scores on belligerence and on tendency to feel threatened.

Information about foreign nations and peoples in the mass media consists both of explicit, purportedly factual, statements (like the statements of a newscaster) and of more or less incidental information that may be drawn by the receiver from such sources as pictures of other countries and fiction. The preceding paragraphs indicate that, as might be expected, the latter type, unless it contradicts what is considered known, is often received uncritically, that receivers do not give much consideration to the safety, qualification, and dynamism of the source (the dimensions of source credibility identified by Berlo, Mermert, and Mertz, 1969-70). Cronen (1973) found that beliefs about the American Indian attributed to the traditional stereotyped media portrayal tended to be salient (i.e., mentioned early in an association test), yet weakly held, suggesting that beliefs accepted uncritically in this way may be held only as long as they are not contradicted by messages evaluated as more factual. Explicit statements, on the other hand, may be evaluated more critically, as in the Seward and Silvers

udy. In some cases resistance to mass media messages may be fairly complete (cf. Allport and Simpson, 1946).

General studies of the effects of mass communications on beliefs and attitudes (e.g., Klapper, 1960; Weiss, 1969) will not be reviewed here. In general, research on mass media and nation-attitudes is consistent with these surveys. What people learn about other countries from the mass media is influenced by their trust and confidence in the source, their personal frames of reference, and the reactions of others in their society (Robinson, 1967, p. 4). Thus mass media are likely to play a major role in teaching people the views of distant peoples that prevail in their society, and they may reinforce existing political orientations toward other nations, but--except in the case where there is extensive exposure to messages originating in another nation--they are less likely to play an independent role in changing attitudes toward other nations.

Insofar as an individual's beliefs are influenced by the mass media, a number of subpropositions for Proposition 3A5 might be derived from Propositions 2B2, 2B3, 2B4, and 2B5 to the effect that individuals are relatively likely to have a favorable attitude toward a given nation insofar as they are exposed to information in the mass media indicating that that nation is economically developed, aligned with the homeland, etc.

Another limitation on the effects of mass media on images of other peoples is stated by Cherry (1971, pp. 8-10):

For though this fast-expanding network increases our 'knowledge-by-reporting,' it adds little or nothing to our 'knowledge-by-encounter.' And there are worlds of differences between sharing experiences with others

. . . and reading about them in the newspapers. . . .

He says the mounting volume of international news makes us have personal attitudes toward Biafrans and Chinese, but only as classes, types, abstracts, or as "things." The following proposition is drawn from Cherry's statement as one deserving of investigation:

Proposition 3A6 - Insofar as an individual's image of the people of a given nation is drawn exclusively from mass communication media, he will tend to see them impersonally and as conforming to a single (or a few) types.

It has sometimes been suggested that intensely negative attitudes toward other people are only possible if the others are seen from a distance.

. . . A naive person can feel quite genuine hatred for an anonymous group, against 'the' Germans . . . etc., and may rail against them in public, but he will never dream of being so impolite when he comes face to face with an individual member. . . . It is not surprising that real friendships between individuals of different nationality . . . are even more beneficial. No one is able to hate, whole-heartedly, a nation among whose numbers he has several friends (Lorenz, 1967, pp. 273-274).

indeed this is the case, it is especially important to test Proposition 3A6 by comparing the effects on nation-images of long-range communication and communication that is more likely to emphasize the personal characteristics, and the universal humanness, of other peoples.

4. Social Influences. Proposition 3A3 described the relationship between education and internationalism or world-mindedness. In United States individuals high in internationalism tend to differ from those low in internationalism in a number of other ways as well.

they are more likely to be young, to be female, to have foreign born parents, to be Jewish or not affiliated with any church, to be Democrats, to be higher in income, to be professional, and to be from the Northeast or the West Coast.⁸

Except insofar as these characteristics relate to education (and knowledge),⁹ they do not appear to represent effects of information attitudes toward other nations. All of these variables, however, are related to interaction patterns and, presumably, to opinion leadership and reference to groups. Thus indirectly these variables, by affecting the direction of the social pressures which will influence the individual, may determine the messages about other nations to which he will be exposed and the ways in which he will respond to them.

⁸Levinson (1957) studying students at Harvard University, found that internationalists were more likely to be Democrats than Republicans, more likely to be Jews than Protestants, more likely to be Protestants than Catholics, and that they tended to go to church less frequently. Cantril (1968) in public opinion data, found that internationalists were likely to be younger, to have higher incomes, to have professional and business occupations, or at least white collar employment. Singer (1965) studying college undergraduates, found that internationalists were relatively likely to have no religious affiliation, to either be Democrats or to have no political affiliation, to be male, and to have foreign born parents. Queener (1949) found internationalists more likely to have internationalist parents, to have foreign-born parents, to be Jewish or Protestant, to be young, to earn a living as a professional or a laborer, to be female, and not to be from the South. (1968), in the best survey of data on the correlates of internationalism, reports that internationalists at present are relatively likely to be young (even controlling on education), to be female (insofar as internationalism is related to dislike of war), to be Jewish, to be male, and to be from outside the south. Fensterwald (1958) found internationalism lowest in the mountain and plains states, and suggests this may be due to the presence of immigrants rejecting Europe, to the lack of geographic isolation, and to economic self-sufficiency. (1959, p. 41) found that southerners generally had greater loyalty to all national and ethnic groups except Negroes.

⁹Demographic correlates of knowledge of other nations are

Proposition 3A7 - A given individual's attitudes toward other nations and peoples will be positively related to the most common attitudes among the people of his own nationality with whom he interacts.

This proposition can be taken in several ways, since the attitudes of an individual and a group may covary across nations, across time, and across perceptions of particular traits. It may imply, for instance, that the degree of consensus among a given group of people about other peoples will be directly related to the amount of interaction between members of the group. The actual data available do not include direct measures of interaction and tend instead to support, as we have seen, the view that consensus is highest in groups defined by particular configurations of demographic variables.

Proposition 3A7 is close to what Christiansen (1959, pp. 76-78) states as "the reference group hypothesis," the idea that the individual's nation-attitudes, like his other attitudes, will tend to conform to those of his group: "As a rule attitudes toward outgroups seem to be more determined by contact with prevalent attitudes in a person's social milieu than by contact with the outgroups." People normally tend to

Similar to the correlates of internationalism. Robinson (1967a) in a survey of the Detroit area public found those with more world affairs knowledge tended to be white-collar rather than blue-collar workers, white, higher in income, and non-southern. In contrast with the internationalism results, however, younger people and women were below average in knowledge. Free and Cantril (1968) report that those with more internationalism were likely to be young, male, urban, relatively high in income, and veterans. In a study of British school children (Robinson, Middleton, and Tajfel, 1970), those with more knowledge of other countries were relatively likely to be boys rather than girls, middle class rather than working class. Kriesberg (1949) reports that in the United States men tended to know more about foreign affairs, as did those with relatively high incomes, those living in urban areas, and those living on the east and west coasts.

test the validity of their categorizations of others in three ways: by recourse to an ultimate criterion of reality, by consistency, and by social consensus (Bruner, Goodnow, and Austin, 1962). Festinger (1954) hypothesizes that objective means will be preferred, but that if they are not available, social consensus will be influential (and that opinions based neither on objective means or social consensus will be weakly held). Thus it would be expected that, in the usual case where there is little "objective" information about another nation available, individuals would be likely to conform with their own groups or with other reference groups insofar as the opinions in question are salient to such groups. Potentially this social pressure may be strong enough to prevent the acceptance of new information from other sources:

Where each person believes as he does about a given country because 'everybody else' shares the same beliefs, the communication may run counter to a social reality that leaves no ground for legitimate differences of opinion (Janis and Smith, 1965).

Janis and Smith note that resistance to messages about another country may be due to (a) the strength of group sanctions, (b) the amount of group consensus, (c) the degree to which the subject has internalized the group norms, and (d) the salience of the group.

There is some evidence that pressures to conform do influence opinion-attitudes. Gordon (1952, cited in Lane and Sears, 1964) had subjects state their opinions on Russia privately, then publicly. Eighty-seven percent expressed a different opinion in the public situation. Fifty-four percent expressed an opinion closer to the group norm, and 33 percent shifted away from it. Gardner and Taylor (1968) and English-Canadian subjects listen to messages either supporting or

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contradicting the prevalent stereotype of French-Canadians under conditions of group pressure (manipulated through confederates) either supporting or contradicting the stereotype. Both variables influenced the subsequent stereotype ratings, demonstrating that social pressure may potentially either reinforce or reduce messages and existing stereotypes.

Outside the laboratory, however, reference group influences are not always apparent because most foreign nations are not particularly salient attitude objects to the reference groups to which most individuals belong. It is well then to qualify Proposition 3A7 with the following subpropositions:

Proposition 3A7.1 - The more salient attitudes toward a given nation or people are to an individual's reference groups, the more his attitudes toward that nation or people will be like those of his reference groups.

Proposition 3A7.2 - The more salient a reference group is to a given individual, the more his attitudes toward other nations and peoples will be like those prevalent in the reference group.

Combining these subpropositions with the preceding discussion, one could say that social influence on an individual's nation-attitudes will be strongest when he is without objective information about other nations but is strongly attached to a group that, as a group, does have strong opinions on other nations.

In lieu of actual data allowing comparison of individuals' reference group attachments, interaction behavior, and nation-attitudes, it could be helpful if groups relatively high in consensus on attitudes toward particular peoples could be identified. The difficulty is that

the group for which consensus is measured may not be the group with which social pressure is associated. High consensus may occur when there is little group mediation to counteract a prevalent media message, or it may occur as a result of conformity; low consensus for a sample may occur when members of the sample are strongly influenced by different reference groups.

Scott (1965) notes that possible groups providing norms for international attitudes, in addition to schools and communication media, include families, political parties, and religious institutions.¹⁰ Boulding (1959) suggests that in developed countries traditional images of other countries exist and are passed on through the family group in childhood. In developing countries, on the other hand, such traditional images may not exist and images of other countries may come from elites. It would be expected, then, that people in less developed countries would show more consensus in their images of distant peoples. Two replications of the Katz and Braly research provide apparently contradictory evidence on this point. Berreman (1958) found that college students in the Philippines showed more consensus than the American students studied by Katz and Braly, presumably because the educational system was their main source of information about foreigners. On the other hand, Prothro and Melikian (1954) found less agreement among Arab students in Lebanon than among the American students.¹¹

¹⁰He notes that "it is generally in the interest of such agents to develop fairly simplified, undifferentiated image structures." Thus reference group influences typically lead to simplicity as well as to conformity.

¹¹The latter study was at the relatively cosmopolitan American University of Beirut, and so the Arab subjects might be expected to have

Consensus may also be an indication that a given foreign nation is salient to the group sharing common beliefs and attitudes. If this is the case, more consensus would be expected for attitudes toward familiar nations. Most of the available evidence supports this expectation. Taft (1959) found a positive relationship between familiarity and consensus across groups rated by Australian subjects. Vinacke (1956) found that consensus on traits ascribed to various national and racial groups related positively to estimates of the probability of direct contact with the groups. Katz and Braly (1947) found less consensus in traits ascribed by Americans to Chinese and Turks than to more familiar groups. Cobb (1949) found consensus in California students' stereotypes of Japanese-Americans related positively to their familiarity with members of the group judged.

Group influences may act in the direction of favorable images of foreign peoples, or they may act in the direction of unfavorable images. As there is no consistent relationship between conformity (or consensus) and attitudes. On one hand authoritarianism, which involves a demand of conformity, is related to prejudice for middle-class subjects. On the other hand, after World War II working-class veterans who were affiliated with social groups displayed less prejudice than those presumably exposed to less social control (Bettelheim and Janowitz, 1950). Reviews of research (Taft, 1959; Brigham, 1971) have indicated that consensus is not clearly related to preference for other nations.

more contact with the peoples judged, but there is no obvious relationship between their agreement on traits and the likelihood of their contact with the particular peoples judged.

Positive relationships between consensus and preference tend to disappear when the effects of familiarity are controlled.

There is, however, some evidence that ascription of favorable traits is related positively to consensus (Karlins, Coffman, and Walters, 1969). This, together with the factor-analytic distinction between attitudes and stereotypes (Gardner, Wonnacott, and Taylor, 1968; Gardner, Taylor, and Feenstra, 1970), seems to indicate that social influences will have more influence on some aspects of an image than on others. Whether this is because particular aspects of the image are salient to particular reference groups or because individuals tend to accept only certain kinds of information on other nations from such groups is not clear.¹² Likewise, social influence appears to influence the nation-images of some people more than those of others (Gardner *et al.*, 1972).

Two studies have looked specifically at the effects of interaction dealing with foreign nations. Deutsch and Merritt (1965) hypothesized that the stability of images in the face of changing events must be due to a "two-step flow" of influence. They predicted and found that stability of pro-Soviet sympathy would correlate across nations with the strength of their internal pro-Soviet communications networks. They suggest, however, that attitudes toward less salient nations will be the subject of much interpersonal communication, and will

¹² Lambert and Klineberg (1967, pp. 162-176), found that children--especially ten-year-olds--of a given nationality were likely to show more consensus in evaluative terms and less consensus in descriptive terms in describing nations they liked than in describing those they didn't like. The reason for this is unclear, but it also suggests that such different kinds of consensus need to be distinguished in future research.

therefore tend to be unstable.

In most of the preceding discussion, it has been impossible to distinguish the effects of differences between groups in education, media exposure, and familiarity with other nations from the effects of interpersonal interaction and social influence. The difficulty is illustrated by the other study which looked at relevant interaction. Robinson (1967a) found correlations of from +.30 to +.45 between education, exposure to world news in newspapers, world affairs knowledge, and reported face-to-face discussions with friends of world news.

5. International Travel. Information received through schools, mass media, and interaction with compatriots is generally indirect or mediated information. It tends to be transmitted verbally, and it tends to simplify the reality of the nation-object. In contrast with mediated information is the information which is attained through direct contact with foreigners, either through travel to a foreign country or through contact with foreign travelers in one's own country. Much of the information attained in this way is non-verbal and concrete, and much of it is likely to be of immediate import to the receiver.

There has been a great deal of research on the effects of direct contact on nation-attitudes, and some of that research is summarized in the pages which follow. Unfortunately, most of this literature deals with only one of the many kinds of contact, the experience of foreign students, in particular the experience of foreign students in the United States.

The most important distinction between types of travel, as far as its influence on nation-attitudes is concerned, is expressed in the

following proposition:

Proposition 3A8 - Contact between individuals of different nationalities will be related to their attitudes toward each other's nations only insofar as the contact involves shared experiences.

This proposition says, in effect, that travel changes attitudes only if it leads people of different nations to get to know each other either through working with each other or through developing friendships. This is the basic assumption of Angell (1969, pp. 22-23) that travel is influential only if it involves "transnational participation," with travelers taking roles in institutions of the host country, combined with the idea that close friendships seem to significantly affect attitudes. Support for this proposition comes from evidence that the foreign affairs attitudes of United States students returning from study in France, but not those of United States students who just traveled in France, differed from those who did not travel (Pace, 1959; cited in Angell, 1969, pp. 40-41). Adinarian (1957) found that Indians who knew Europeans casually did not differ much in social distance toward Europeans from Indians who knew no Europeans at all, but that those with close friendships with Europeans showed less than half as much social distance to them.

Mere travel, as opposed to "transnational participation" is not tourism. In 1967-1968 78 percent of all United States passport applicants indicated personal reasons and pleasure as their main reasons for traveling (Brein and David, 1971). Though, as the proposition states, such travel does not have the same effects as other kinds of

contact, there has not been enough research to indicate whether it has other kinds of effects. Boorstin (1961) laments the fact that travel has become a commodity, where "a well-planned tour saves the tourist from negotiating with the natives when he gets there." Cherry (1971, p. 170ff) suggests that such travel is likely to emphasize differences between people, and to conform to tourists' expectations. It may be that travel without extensive contact has its own kind of influence on nation-images. At least the matter deserves more attention than it has received.

In the paragraphs which follow, contact refers to direct contact, involving shared experience, between people from different nations. Unless specified, the effects of contact discussed are those on the travelers rather than those on the nationals of the host nation.

Such contact occurs for various official reasons--foreign study, Peace Corps, religious missions, business travel, military service abroad, diplomatic missions, participation in international organizations, (see Angell, 1969, pp. 23-26)--and for a variety of conscious and unconscious personal reasons which may also influence the kind of information they receive and their acceptance of it.¹³

¹³ Byrnes (1965) developed a typology of motivations for United States technical assistance personnel abroad: (1) professionally oriented, (2) oriented to interpersonal and social approaches within the role, (3) interested in the administrative process of technical assistance, (4) mainly concerned with a job and security, and (5) chiefly concerned with adventure. Pool (1965) grouped participants in Experiment in International Living by their motivations: (1) chance, (2) chance to test ability to cope, (3) status enhancement, and (4) chance to satisfy instinctual impulses. Merritt (1972) summarizes indicating that the decisions of foreign students to study abroad (their choices of country and institution to study in) are based on a variety of factors: "Students interested in studying abroad seek to

poses and motivations for contact presumably influence the individual's exposure to particular kinds of information about the host country and his interpretation and acceptance of such information.

* Within the contact experience different sources of information are available, as three studies of foreign students demonstrate. Basu and Ames (1970) found that Indian students in Los Angeles felt they learned most about the United States "through the friends that they met, and especially through the mass media: television, radio, and movies." Most of them reported attending movies regularly. They had very little contact with American families. Mowlana and McLaughlin (1969) also found mass media to be influential. Foreign students in the United States listed sources that had significantly influenced their attitudes toward this country while they were here. Sixty-six percent mentioned contact with Americans, 51 percent mentioned news-
papers, 49 percent television, 46 percent magazines, 25 percent instructors, 20 percent foreign publications, 19 percent other foreign students, 15 percent foreign newspapers.¹⁴ Eide (1960b) reported on Egyptian,

to utilize any or several of a variety of values, some of them perhaps not perceived." An example of this is the study of Indian students by Lambert and Bressler (1956). Each of them indicated in some way that he felt impelled to extend himself in playing three active roles in the United States: the student, the tourist, and the unofficial ambassador." Such varying motivations obviously create differences in the ways in which travelers will respond to information to which they are exposed.

¹⁴ Though contact was rated most important in influencing attitudes, mass media sources were rated more important in terms of general use. Differences in exposure to various media were associated with nationality (European and Latin American students used print media more), time in the United States, and field of study.

Indian, and Iranian students who were asked what sources influenced their knowledge about the aspects of the host country they knew best. The most common answers were personal experience and observation (63 percent), social contacts, leisure activities, and informal conversation (62 percent), private traveling (41 percent), special studies and books (71 percent), and mass media (40 percent).

The implication of these studies is simply that contact is not just exposure to a particular kind of information. It is instead exposure to a new set of sources. The individual traveler must choose the sources to which he wants to be exposed, and he must integrate in his own mind sometimes contradictory messages from different sources. Different individuals do this in different ways, and so it is necessary to look at how they adjust to their whole contact experience in order to begin to understand the beliefs and attitudes which result from it.¹⁵

The study of foreign students' (and other travelers') experiences within the host country has typically dealt with the variables of adjustment, satisfaction, and interaction behavior. The paragraphs which follow deal with the predictors of these variables and with the relationships between these variables and attitudes toward the host country. Unfortunately clear distinctions between those variables have always been maintained, either in measurement or in theory. The

¹⁵ Most studies of the experience of travelers focus on interpersonal contacts. It would be useful if some researchers would look how travelers interpret and respond to particular content in the host country media. Schild (1962) studied the means by which foreign students learned about the host culture and concluded that for scope of learning, personal observation was best, that for effectiveness of learning, participation was best, and that for ease of learning, explicit communication was best.

and adjustment, for instance, seems to imply a dynamic process whereby the traveler changes in response to characteristics of the host society, and adjustment is frequently measured by asking the traveler about his satisfaction. Satisfaction does not imply change. The most satisfied traveler may be one who feels no pressure to change, either because he is in a situation that has been arranged to give him little difficulty or because he is confident enough of his own culture that he sees no reason to modify it. Likewise interaction with host nationals is sometimes assumed to be an indicator of adjustment, and favorable attitudes toward the host country are sometimes taken to be indicators of satisfaction.¹⁶

For most transnational participants there are changes in satisfaction during the contact period, and there seem to be parallel changes in behavior. Some researchers have suggested that there is a regular pattern of stages in the adjustment of the visitor to his travel experience: (1) an initial "spectator" period in which the traveler observes the host society without really attempting to participate in it, (2) a stage of trying to adapt to the problems of living in the host society, which is a fairly difficult and unpleasant process, (3) a stage in which the traveler has "come-to-terms" with the host society and found a pattern of life within it, and (4) a pre-return stage in which he is concerned with the problems of readjustment to his home society (Scott, pp. 50ff; M. B. Smith, 1955).

¹⁶For a discussion of a variety of studies relating to adjustment, see Rein and David (1971).

The changes in satisfaction and related variables as the individual passes through these stages have often been found to suggest the form of a U-shaped curve, representing relatively high satisfaction early and late in the period of contact with somewhat less satisfaction between (cf. Merritt, 1972, Generalizations 3.1 and 3.2; see Figure 3 for an illustration of the general form of such a curve). Coelho (1968, p. 39) found that Indian students who had been in the United States from 3 to 36 months were more likely than those in the United States for more or less time to make unfavorable comments about the United States. Byrnes (1963) found that the frustrations of United States employees overseas tended to peak near the midpoint of their tour. Schuch and Won (1963) found that AID participants were more likely to express satisfaction with their training program and their social experiences in the United States just before departing for their homeland than

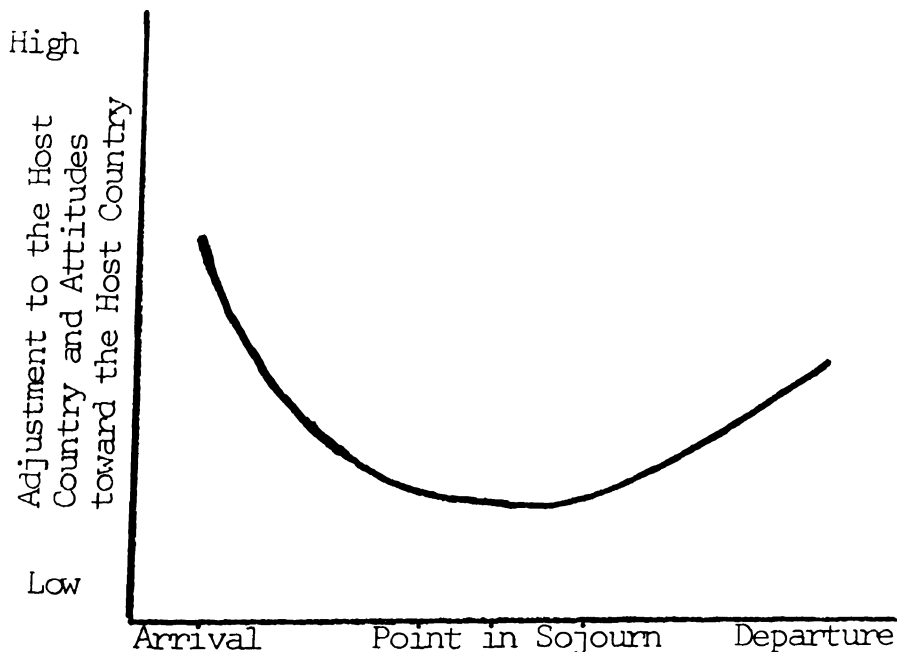


Figure 3. The General Form of the U-Curve of Foreign Student Adjustment Over Time.

earlier in their tours. Lysgaard (1965) interviewed returned Norwegian Fulbright exchangees and found that they expressed more satisfaction if their United States stay was under six months or over 18 months than if it was of an intermediate duration. Singh (1963, pp. 114-115) found that satisfaction of Indian students in Britain tended to follow a U-shaped curve which reached its highest level (and a corresponding low level of "emotional strain") for students who had been in Britain two to three years (for those away from home longer satisfaction began to decline again). Morris (1960, p. 105) found a U-curve of favorableness toward the United States for foreign students in the United States for various lengths of time, and it also began to decline a second time for those in the United States over four years. Becker (1968), however, found a U-curve for attitudes of European students and an inverted U-curve for attitudes of Indian and Israeli students in the United States toward the United States.

As Brein and David (1971) point out in their summary of research on adjustment, though the general tendency is for satisfaction to follow a U-curve, specific factors lead to variance between individuals in their overseas experiences. Among these factors are the culture of the traveler, the differences between his culture and that of the host country, his knowledge of the culture and language of the host country, interaction with host nationals, his personal goals, and the particular situation in which he finds himself.

Eide (1970a) reported that in a study of students going from one country to each of three other countries, more variance in adjustment was associated with the country of origin (United Arab

Republic, Iran, or India) than with the host country (United States, United Kingdom, and West Germany). Most conspicuously, Indian students reported fewer problems and less need of assistance in coping with adjustment problems. They changed less than the other students during their sojourn, and expressed less desire to import the culture of their host country to India. Eide speculates that this national difference may be due to differences in experience at home with cultural pluralism, ideologies regulating acculturation, and in status in the host country of the homeland and its culture. Morris (1960, pp. 78-97), however, found no significant relationships between satisfaction variables and foreign students' perceptions of the status accorded their nation by the host country. Subjects who were relatively involved with their own nation also reported less satisfaction and less contact with host nationals. Gezi (1965) found better adjustment in the United States for Middle Eastern students if they perceived that Americans viewed their homelands favorably.

In particular travelers who are visibly "foreign" tend to report less satisfaction. This may be because of racial discrimination, real or imagined, as well as because of cultural difference. Thus Tajfel and Turner (1965; cited in Kelly and Szalay, 1972) found for foreign students that "generally, the darker the color of the student, the more complimentary he was about Great Britain (and the United States) in his experience with his host country." Morris (1960) found that subjects with a foreign (or nonwhite) appearance tended to report less satisfaction and less contact with host nationals. According to the Institute of International Education (1961) 77 percent of African

ents in the United States report experiencing racial discrimination.

Assuming India to be relatively unlike these host countries naturally, Eide's results appear to cast doubt on the generally accepted position that "the greater the cultural differences the greater is the likelihood that barriers to communication will arise and that misunderstandings will occur" (Mishler, 1965). Apparently both characteristics of the home culture and differences between the home and host cultures play roles in determining satisfaction. American Fulbrighters in the Middle and Far East are less likely than those in Europe to report satisfaction with their experiences (Jacobson, Kumata, and Mahorn, 1960). Forstat (1951) found that foreign students from Canada, Norway, India, China, Turkey, and Venezuela ranked in that order from least to greatest number of problems reported by them while studying at Purdue University. Selltiz et al. (1963, p. 156) found little difference in adjustment associated with country of origin, but did find that non-European students in the United States were more likely to become homesick.

Foreign students report a variety of problems during their sojourn, and Forstat (1951) found the problems most frequently mentioned were finding suitable dates, being permitted to work by immigration, and speaking in English. A survey of African students in the United States (Institute of International Education, 1961) found that they initially reported problems with communication, food, and adjustment to the host country's life. Later in the stay the most common problems were financial difficulties, discrimination, homesickness, and academic problems. Selltiz (1965) found that the greatest difficulties of American ICA

ees abroad were in adjusting to the United States organizational and to the work behavior styles of host nationals.

As might be expected, previous foreign travel, prior knowledge of host country, and fluency in the language of the host country seem to reduce the severity of problems and simplify adjustment. These factors do compensate for cultural distance. Deutsch and Wonacott (1970) found that AID participants who said they were fluent in English were relatively likely to express satisfaction with their training experiences and their social experiences in the United States. Basu and Peterson (1970) refer to a study by Peterson and Neumeyer in which prior knowledge of the United States was found (with financial situation) to be especially useful in predicting adjustment. Morris (1960) found that foreign students who had had previous foreign travel were likely to have higher satisfaction, more contact with host nationals, and to have more favorable attitudes toward the host country. On the other hand, Byrnes (1965), in his study of U.S. I.C.A. employees, found high satisfaction fulfillment and high satisfaction tended to characterize them in their first tours abroad. For his sample language fluency was not a factor in satisfaction only for those who went to French or Spanish speaking nations.

Although some of the variance in satisfaction with travel experience is associated with the nationality of the traveler, there are individual differences in satisfaction between travelers of the same nationality. Singh (1963) found that upper-class more than middle-class Indian students in Britain were relatively unlikely to experience discrimination and to have trouble making friends with the British.

general, the middle-class students had more adjustment problems
 this may have been because they were older, etc.).

Kelman and Bailyn (1962) studied differences between students
 went up and who went down during their stay in the United States
 their rating of the opportunity for living a good life in their home-

The "up-raters" tended to have made plans for their return home
 to traveling. They seemed to fear being attracted to the United
 States, to resist new experiences, and to look for the negative side of
 host country. More than the "down-raters," they were likely to say

it was easy to adjust to life in the United States. Up-raters
 down-raters did not differ in terms of sex, age, nationality, or

previous travel. McClintock and Davis (1958) in a somewhat parallel

report that "the direction of change in the importance of
 nationality in the self-percepts of foreign students tends to reflect
 amount of interaction in and the general attitudes held towards the

Those who tended to place less emphasis on nationality after
 living in the United States generally expressed more satisfaction with
 sojourn.

Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1966), in a study of American students

found that younger students tended to express general satis-
 in response to favorable social experiences and perceptions of

personal growth. Lysgaard (1965) found moderate positive correlations

between measures of personal-social satisfaction and professional-

personal adjustment for Norwegian Fulbrighters.

The particular situation in which the traveler finds himself

may influence his adjustment and satisfaction. In general greater

satisfaction is reported by sojourners in situations where there is a higher probability of interaction with host nationals. Singh (1963), for instance, found that students living on their own, as opposed to living in dormitories or with British families, experienced relatively less emotional strain.

Many of the factors just discussed relate not only to satisfaction but to amount and type of interaction with the people of the host country. Interaction with host nationals is the best single predictor of adjustment to the host culture. Thus Gezi (1965) found that, among Middle Eastern students in the United States, the best single predictor of adjustment is the "meaningfulness" of their interaction with Americans. Jacobson, Kumata, and Gullahorn (1960) found that the satisfaction of Fulbright grantees related positively to the number of personal contacts they had abroad.

The most extensive studies of relations between social interaction and adjustment are those of Morris (1960) and Selltiz et al.

¹⁷ Morris (p. 38) used three measures: volume of contact with Americans (reported proportion of free time spent with them), range of contacts (the variety of Americans they interacted with), and depth of contacts (close friendships reported with Americans). Volume of contact was positively correlated with range and depth, but range and depth were not significantly correlated with each other. Range, depth, and volume of contact were correlated with general satisfaction with the sojourn.

¹⁷For summaries of other research on this subject, see Brein and Seligman (1971) and Selltiz et al. (pp. 149-155).

9, +.40, and +.30 respectively. Selltiz et al. (pp. 150-159) found, in a few inconsistencies for certain groups of students, a generally positive relationship between adjustment--academic, social, and emotional--and "each of two measures of social relations--one an interaction score, based on the student's report of participation with Americans in various situations and activities, the other his report close friendships with Americans."¹⁸

Selltiz et al. note, however, that

It is not certain that . . . more extensive or more intimate social relations lead to easier adjustment or more enjoyment. . . . In all probability, social relations and adjustment reinforce each other, with social relations easing adjustment, and greater adjustment freeing the student to enter more fully into social relations.

¹⁸ If attitudes are related to adjustment, and adjustment is related to interaction, it is possible to go back another step and look at predictors of interaction. Selltiz et al. (1963, pp. 60-122) found that the predictor was the student's national-cultural background. Europeans interacted more than other foreign students with Americans, perhaps in part because Europeans tended to be younger, etc. Other personal characteristics, including facility with English, were of relatively little value in predicting interaction. The particular situation in which the foreign student found himself did predict interaction. Life at small colleges tended to involve more potential for interaction, and led to more interaction (see also Selltiz, Hopson, and Cook, 1956). Students living in dormitories with American students, or sharing rooms with Americans, surprisingly, reported more interaction (but not necessarily more friendships). Singh (1963) found that the social class of Indians also influenced their interaction, with upper-class students finding it easier to make friends, while middle-class students interacted more with other Indians. He suggests that the students with the greatest difficulties in adjustment were those with high social need and low social skills. Morris (1960, pp. 72-77) found that foreign students in the United States were more likely to report contact with Americans if they had prior travel, if they didn't look foreign, if they were low on "involvement" with their own nation, if they reported little difficulty with adjustment, and if they reported little academic difficulty. Basu and Ames found for Indian students that their scores on the F-scale of authoritarianism predicted their contact with Americans before (-.42) and after coming to the United States.

Regardless of the direction of influence, satisfaction with the sojourn seems to be associated with the amount of interaction with host nationals. Interaction may be assumed to provide the traveler with a particular kind of information about the country. Though there is little detailed information on what is learned through interaction, it would probably involve more understanding of the personal values, problems, activities, and interpersonal relationships of the people of the host country than would be attained from mass media, detached observation, or other sources.¹⁹

In varying degrees foreign students and other sojourners tend to develop attachments to host country individuals, groups, and organizations. At the same time they may maintain, or even increase (as in the group studied by Lambert and Bressler, 1956) attachments to groups at home, to fellow travelers from their own country, and to other "foreign students" in general.²⁰ Often (as suggested by Beals, 1957)

¹⁹Chances are that the traveler will interact most with people who are somewhat similar to himself in interests, education, and personality and social status. Foreign students would tend to interact, for instance, with students and faculty in their own field of study.

²⁰H. P. Smith (1955) studied United States participants in the experiment in International Living. He found that those who changed in the direction of increased world-mindedness and decreased ethnocentrism differed only in that their prior attitudes were more conservative, suggesting that the effect of the experience was to move toward the group norm. Ibrahim (1972) found that students from Saudi Arabia (where the government is pro-American) were more pro-American and less pro-Russian than other Arab students in the United States, but that the longer they stayed in the United States, the more their attitudes resembled those of other Arabs. Useem and Useem (1954) found that less than one-fourth of returned Indians had been discriminated against but more than three-fourths had heard of their friends discriminated against. Antler (1970) found that foreign medical students in the United States who were relatively high in interaction

sojourner will experience conflict between his attachments to home-country and host-country reference groups. The effect of contact on attitudes will certainly vary with the way in which the individual reconciles the sometimes-conflicting influences of these two kinds of groups.

The discussion in the preceding pages should serve to indicate that contact is a complex variable, involving a variety of sources and influences on the traveler. It is not surprising that different travelers respond differently, in terms of attitudes toward the host country. Selltitz et al. (1963, p. 162) note that on almost every occasion some foreign students change in one direction, some do not, and some change in the opposite direction. Despite this variation it is possible to offer a number of propositions about the general effect of contact on nation-attitudes. A discussion of variables which account for differences in attitude change associated with the contact experience follows the discussion of these general propositions.

Proposition 3A9 - Contact through travel with another nation will result in increased knowledge about that nation.

It is obvious that the traveler cannot avoid learning something about the nation he visits. The question is, what kind of knowledge is acquired, and this issue has not been studied systematically. Schuler (1948) found improvement over one year in Latin

their countrymen and relatively low in interaction with Americans to be more nationalistic. All four of these findings are relevant as to the possible importance of contact with compatriots.

American students' scores on a test of information about American culture. Selltitz et al. (1963, p. 188) found gains by foreign students in information on social and economic matters in the United States and increased understanding of United States thinking on various social issues. Gruen (1959) noted that German students in a year in the United States learned about more "intimate" subjects like discrimination and treatment of the aged in the United States, subjects that they had not learned about at a distance. It may also be that travel provides more intimate knowledge in another sense. It provides relatively detailed stories of particular (and ordinary) sights, individuals, and events, a kind of information that is not always available through other channels.

Beyond this it is difficult to generalize, because data tends to deal with changes in beliefs rather than changes in information. In such changes it is never entirely possible to separate what has been learned about the host country from changes in attitude toward the host country. Some examples: Gruen (1959) found that most of German students' perceptions of America did not change during a year in the United States. Veroff found that African students after one and a half years in the United States saw Americans as more insincere and materialistic, but did not change their perceptions of Americans as intolerant and industrious. Selltitz et al. (1963, p. 186) found that foreign students in the United States were likely to come to see Americans as energetic, friendly, and equalitarian, and more practical and standardized. Isaacs (1961; cited in Angell, 1969, pp. 78-79) found that Americans who went to Africa on the Crossroads Africa program were

more likely to see Africans as intelligent, industrious, honest, expressive, uncomplicated, warm, submissive, uncivilized, and extravagant, and less likely to see them as hostile, anti-white, militant, savage, violent, and immoral.²¹

It might be expected that the travelers' beliefs about the host country will come to approximate those of host nationals, especially controlling for the evaluative component in these beliefs. Assuming that host nationals have relatively accurate knowledge of their country, such agreement would lend support to Proposition 3A9, but it is more accurate to describe this phenomenon differently:

Proposition 3A9.1 - Contact through travel with other nations will result in increased agreement with the non-evaluative beliefs about the host country held by host nationals.

Although this might be expected to result from an eventual partial acculturation to the host country, there is not much evidence that it occurs during a relatively short sojourn. Travelers are more often compared with their non-traveling compatriots than with host nationals, and the evaluative element is not always separated out. Kelly and Lay (1972) compared the associations to such concepts as communism, democracy, equality, progress, and United States of roughly comparable samples of Koreans in the United States, non-traveling Koreans, and non-traveling Americans. They found little similarity in the associations of the three groups for United States. Across all the terms

²¹ He summarizes these changes by saying the subjects were more likely to characterize Africans with adjectives that were "modernizing," "non-modern-admiring," and "non-modern paternalistic," and less likely to characterize them with terms that were "modern-threatening" and "non-modern-threatening."

There was no simple main effect--in some cases the non-traveling Americans and non-traveling Koreans were most similar--and they hypothesized that the complex changes they found may represent the development of a subculture of Koreans (or foreigners) in America.

Proposition 3A10 - Contact through foreign travel, when the traveler has a favorable attitude toward the host country, is positively related to perceiving the host country as similar to the traveler's own; contact through foreign travel, when the traveler has an unfavorable attitude toward the host country, is negatively related to perceiving the host country as similar to the traveler's own.

This proposition is drawn from Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963):

Given similar attitudes, proximity and frequent interaction tend to increase the degree of positive sentiment. With slight dissimilarity of attitudes a mutual assimilation seems to be produced, converting originally disparate values into common values, resulting in an increase in positive feelings. With strong dissimilarities, however, proximity and frequent interaction are likely to result in a greater clarification of the divergences and in a conflictful sequence of interaction--followed, perhaps, by mutual antipathy and dissociation.

More generally, however, it would seem that changes in attitudes perceived similarity during the contact experience tend to influence each other and, presumably, to influence each other. Thus and Schuler (1948) found that Latin American students coming to the United States expected to find a culture basically different from their own. During a year in the United States their attitudes became more positive, and they ended up perceiving even greater differences than they had expected. H. P. Smith (1955) found that Americans who spent a year in England with the Experiment in International Living became more favorable to England and perceived it as more like the United

es, while those who went to France and Germany became less favorable perceived less similarity. And Cobb (1949) found that students in California who knew Japanese-Americans were relatively likely to ascribe to them which were both favorable and similar to those they ascribed to other Americans.

As the discussion of Propositions 3A9 and 3A10 indicates, contact tends to change in beliefs, but not always in the same way. Not surprisingly, attitudes toward the host country also change in different ways, and it is difficult to isolate a general effect of contact from the various changes.²² Some studies have found a positive relationship between contact and favorable attitudes (Bjerstedt, 1962; Reigrotski and Anderson, 1959), others a negative relationship (Loomis and Schuler, 1960; Herman, 1970). Some studies have found little significant change in attitudes (Gruen, 1959; Watson and Lippitt, 1955), or have found that the relationship varied with the country visited (H. P. Smith, 1955), the characteristics of the traveler (e.g., Singh, 1963, pp. 88-91), or the measure of attitudes used (Selltiz et al., 1953, p. 188). Frequently no general proposition about contact and the favorability of attitudes toward the host country is offered here. Under specific conditions contact seems to relate positively to favorable attitudes, and some of these conditions are specified in Propositions 3A13, 3A14,

²² Additionally, Amir (1969) notes that investigators have often created situations in which they expected (and hoped) to find positive results. "Therefore, if most studies appear to prove that contact with ethnic groups reduces prejudice, it does not necessarily follow that these results are typical for real social situations."

3A15.

Mishler (1965), summarizing several studies, says that for change scholars the pattern of attitude change is not so much toward favorable attitudes as toward a more complex and differentiated image of the host country.

Proposition 3A11 - Contact through foreign travel is positively related to having relatively differentiated attitudes toward the host country.

There is a fair amount of evidence for this proposition. Since Proposition 2A4 relates differentiation to moderate evaluation, it may in part account for the lack of consistent findings on direction of change.) Apparently the detailed information which is received in the contact situation is in part information about variance--between individuals, between traits, and between different situations. The corresponding differentiation in attitudes (and beliefs) may become apparent in several ways, including subjects' own self-perceptions (e.g. Smith, 1963, pp. 88-91: "In general the students felt that by coming to Britain their attitudes had become more balanced, more realistic, more clearly differentiated . . ."), a reluctance to make generalizations, and a tendency not to have extremely favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward the country.

Selltiz et al. (1963, p. 188) found that foreign students after living in the United States were more likely to qualify statements of opinion about the United States. On the other hand, H. P. Smith (1963) failed to find the same tendency in Americans who were in the

Experiment in International Living.²³ Rose studied attitudes of French subjects before and after eight weeks in the United States and found no general change in attitudes. His subjects tended to ascribe fewer positive and fewer negative adjectives to Americans.²⁴

The process of differentiation is illustrated by a study in which subjects rated concepts like English-Canadian, French-Canadian, student and teacher singly and in group-role pairs (Aboud and Taylor, 1971). Predictably ethnic group was most influential in ratings of those outside of the subject's own group, while role was more influential in rating members of the subject's own group. Subjects with contact with the other group were more likely to use role stereotypes in rating its members, suggesting that contact leads to a recognition of differences between members of another group.

In other studies, Kelman (1965a; Kelman and Ezekiel, 1970) looked at broadcasting specialists from sixteen countries who studied and traveled in the United States on a four month program. Images of the United States became more differentiated for 17, less differentiated for five, and about the same for five.²⁵ Triandis (1971, pp. 104 ff)

²³ There is a possible conflict between Proposition 3A11 and the common feeling that returned travelers act as if they were experts on countries they visited, but it may also be that in some cases the subject with a differentiated image is led by confidence in that image by a particular social situation to make generalizations.

²⁴ Angell (1969, pp. 78-79) sees the fact that Isaacs' (1961) subjects checked 23 percent more adjectives after their trip than before as evidence of increased differentiation, but this could as easily represent an increased willingness to generalize about Africans.

²⁵ Kelman and Ezekiel (pp. 185ff), compared those who had high

ports that Triandis and Vassiliou (1967) and Triandis et al. (1968) and that Americans' images of Greeks, with increased contact, tended to become "more differentiated and more ambivalent." Herman (1970) found that American Jewish students in Israel increasingly distinguished between Israel (to which they were favorable) and Israelis (to whom they were less favorable). Isaacs (1958) found that those in his sample with extensive experience in India were likely to report mixed or differentiated attitudes while those without such contact were likely to be clearly favorable or unfavorable; those with brief experience were intermediate in differentiation (p. 329). He also asked about Asia as a potential danger to Americans, and found in general that

Individuals with minimal or no contact with Asia or Asians distribute themselves over the entire range, occupying all of the ultrapessimistic ground and a small corner of the optimists . . . Individuals with Asian experience are wholly absent from the ultrapessimistic extreme, but only people with India or Southeast Asia experience appear among the optimists. . . Individuals with China background are absent from both extremes (pp. 54ff).

Proposition 3A12 - Contact through foreign travel is positively related to the average favorableness of the individual's attitudes toward other nations.

Though contact does not consistently produce favorable attitudes toward the host country, there is some evidence that it may change the traveler's general orientation toward his nation and the world. The proposition is perhaps overstated, because the expected changes would probably be relatively moderate. The assumption is that attitudes

low change scores toward differentiation. High and low differentials do not seem to have differed on differentiation prior to arrival.

toward foreign nations in general are in part a function of the individual's orientation to his own nation and culture (see Proposition 5). Exposure to another culture is likely to reduce ethnocentrism, and reduced ethnocentrism is likely to affect the way in which all foreign nations are perceived.

Useem and Useem (1955) note that most returned Indian students become somewhat able to transcend their cultural biases, and that they show a tendency to see "one human family." Watson and Lippitt (1955, pp. 51-52) found that Germans studying in the United States became less nationalistic, more internationalistic. Coelho (1958) found that Indian students who had spent at least a year in the United States were relatively likely to give a two-sided presentation of international issues. And Iisager (1949) found that of the students who attended an international folk high school in Denmark, 49 percent became more internationalistic, 6 percent less internationalistic, and 45 percent did not change over a period of about four months. All these studies indirectly support the proposition. In one contrary study, H. P. Smith (1955, 1957) found no influence on world-mindedness of ethnocentrism associated with participation in the Experiment in International Living.

The following paragraphs deal with ways in which the pre-sojourn characteristics of the sojourner, the particular characteristics of the sojourn experience, and the experience of returning home all influence the effect of contact on his attitudes toward the host country. Pre-sojourn factors which may influence the traveler's favorableness to the host country have been discussed by several authors.

ck (1971) suggests that

. . . We could predict that attitude changes in the direction of international accomodation will be greatest when: Participants undertake the transnational inter-actions on their own initiative; they are highly attracted to the countries of their fellow participants; they are adolescents or young adults (roughly between the ages of 14 and 25); they perceive the transnational experience will not create political, economic, or social problems on their return; and they enter the transnational situation with adequate communication skills.

s (1956; cited in Basu and Ames, 1970),

. . . found that some of the important factors in the formulation of attitudes of foreign students about the United States were: a) the person's self-esteem, b) how firmly his pre-existing attitudes were anchored, c) the cultural distance between his country of origin and his host country, d) the status of the international relations of his country of origin and other countries of the world.

(1969, pp. 44-47) found that attitude change was often influenced by attitudes prior to travel, the sophistication of the traveler, and political alignment of the nations involved. And Merritt (1972) summarizes that "the greater the similarity between countries I and J, the greater is the likelihood that a student from country J, studying in country I will have a positive attitude toward country I's political system." Such factors are summarized in the following proposition:

Proposition 3A13 - Contact through foreign travel will be positively related to attitudes toward the host country, insofar as the individual who travels (a) has initially favorable attitudes toward the host country, (b) is prepared to interact with nationals of the host country, and (c) is not rigid in his attitudes toward the host country.

Initially favorable attitudes, according to Proposition 3A10, are related to a tendency to see the host country as similar to

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meland, and this, according to Proposition 2B4 will be related to positive attitudes. In addition, favorable attitudes and a perception of similarity may make the traveler more favorably predisposed to interact with host nationals (see Proposition 3A15). Insofar as initially favorable attitudes may represent reduced ethnocentrism and ethnocentrism (see Propositions 2A5, 2A6(A)), they may also represent an openness to favorable interpretation of information about the host country; in DuBois' terms, conflicting attitudes may be less firmly held.

Initially favorable attitudes do not always relate to continued increased appreciation of the host country. Loomis and Schuler, for instance, found that Latin American students who changed within a year in the direction of disliking the United States tended to have been more favorable on arrival than those who changed in the direction of liking the United States. Such contrary findings (if they are due to ceiling effects in measurement) may relate to the findings of some persuasion researchers that more attitude change is observed, under conditions of high credibility, when the discrepancy between the views of the subject and those advocated by the source are small.²⁶ Information through direct observation might be comparable to information from a high credibility communicator in particular situations. Another factor which might be involved in negative effects of positive pre-arrival attitudes might be the extent to which

²⁶ Results of research on discrepancy effects are not entirely consistent. See for instance Karlins and Abelson (1970, pp. 126-127) and Hovland (1951).

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attitudes are based on unrealistic assumptions. One reason for the initial decline in mood represented by the first part of the U-curve is that travelers often have unrealistically high expectations which are quickly confounded by the contact experience. It may be that the travelers with the most unrealistic prior attitudes sometimes "over-react" and respond to disconfirming experiences by changing their attitudes dramatically to the other extreme. African students in the United States, for instance, tend to find discrimination worse than they expect (Institute of International Education, 1961) and they may respond to this discovery by changing their attitudes.

The second part of the proposition suggests that travelers who are prepared to interact are most likely to develop favorable attitudes. A traveler can be prepared for interaction in the sense that he wants to interact with the people of the host country, in the sense that he has the social and linguistic skills necessary for smooth interaction, or in the sense that either he has had experience in contact with other cultures before or the cultural difference between the host country and his own society is relatively small. Preparation for interaction does not directly relate to favorable attitudes; instead it seems to facilitate interaction, adjustment, and satisfaction during the early part of the interaction experience. Morris (1960, pp. 98ff) found that prior foreign travel related negatively to favorable attitudes but positively to measures of satisfaction and of interaction with host nationals.

The third part of Proposition 3A13 is consistent with Proposition 3A12 which states that authoritarianism is negatively related to

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rable attitudes toward other countries. The authoritarian is less likely to accept information favorable to groups to which he does not belong. The relationship of self-esteem with openness is not as easy to specify. On one hand there is the occasional finding in persuasion research that persons with relatively low self-esteem tend to change their attitudes more readily than those with more self-esteem. This might suggest that the traveler low in self-esteem, especially if he is in close contact during the sojourn with others from his own country, might be more open to information leading to a favorable image of the host country. On the other hand, nationality is likely to be a salient part of his identity while he is abroad, and national status is likely to play a part in determining his self-esteem. If he is confident of his national status and self-esteem he may be less threatened by unfavorable information about the host country, and he may find it easier to develop good relationships with host nationals. Warwick's (1971) suggestion that younger travelers are especially likely to develop positive attitudes may also be consistent with this proposition since, all things being equal, younger persons may be relatively open to new ideas and to influences toward attitude change.

The pre-arrival characteristics of the traveler interact with characteristics of the experience itself to determine his attitudes toward the host country. In this process the two general variables, adjustment (or satisfaction) and interaction behavior seem to be especially significant.

Proposition 3A14 - The sojourner's satisfaction with his experience in the host country will be positively related to the favorability of his attitudes toward the host country.

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This proposition is consistent with two of the generalizations

Merritt (1972):

3.2 The foreign student displaces his general mood in the form of attitudes toward host country I and its population.

4.4 The better the student from country J adjusts to the social system of host country I, the greater will be the degree of improvement in his attitudes over his predispositions toward country I.

Considering the amount of research that has been done on the variables adjustment and on attitudes toward the host country, it is surprising that more is not known about how these variables are related to each other. Studying foreign students in the United States, Morris (1960, 1972-77) found favorableness to the United States correlated $+ .34$ with general satisfaction with the United States stay and $+ .48$ with satisfaction with the academic experience.

There is no necessary relationship between adjustment or satisfaction and the absolute amount of information gained by the traveler. Greater satisfaction would seem to indicate that the traveler has received the information that he needs. The proposition, therefore, can be thought of as indicating that the traveler who has attained the information he needs to function comfortably in another culture will have relatively favorable attitudes toward that culture.

Proposition 3A14 also receives support from the fact, presented earlier, that both adjustment and favorable attitudes tend to follow an inverted U-shaped curve during the sojourn.

Proposition 3A14.1 - The favorability of the sojourner's attitude toward the host country will be in part a function of the stage of the sojourn he is in; his attitude will tend to be more favorable if he has been in the host country from two to four years.

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Two to four years is only an approximate range. The actual
 tion points of the U-curve depend on the absolute duration of the
 n, on the duration of the sojourn relative to the anticipated
 a date, and on factors which make acculturation more or less
 cult. The greatest significance of this proposition is method-
 cal. Most of the available data on the effects of contact on
 udes represent changes between two measurements made at different
 during the sojourn. Unless these measurements represent identi-
 e points on the U-curve--the beginning and the end of the sojourn--
 do not justify comparison with other studies nor conclusions about
 effects of contact in general on attitudes.²⁷ From the point of
 of the theoretician, this problem makes many of the existing
 alizations suspect, but it also yields the hope that studies
 ring attitudes at more points in time might resolve some of the
 adictions in results between existing studies. From the point of
 of the practitioner, this proposition suggests that such studies
 d not be used to infer what attitudes will be at a third point in
 In particular (as will be discussed a few pages hence), practi-
 rs concerned with post-return attitudes should make post-return
 rements.

²⁷ The difficulty is illustrated by an unpublished study in which
 resent author measured the attitudes of Fulbright scholars toward
 nited States after they had been in the country one week (attitudes
 already changed at this point) and again after one year. Generally
 udes went from highly positive to moderately positive, a change
 ould be consistent (1) with the U-curve hypothesis (complicated
 e fact that after one year some subjects were at the end of their
 and others were in the middle of a longer sojourn), (2) with an
 esis that contact leads to moderate attitudes, or (3) with an
 esis that contact leads to dislike of the host country.

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Proposition 3A15 - The amount of interaction the sojourner has with host country nationals will be positively related to the favorability of his attitudes toward the host country.

Merritt (1972) distinguishes between amount of interaction and friendship and between different aspects of the host characteristics in his generalizations about the effects of interaction:

4.5 The greater the amount of interaction between the student from country J and nationals of host country I, the greater will be his knowledge of the social system of country I.

4.6 The greater the amount of interaction between the student from country J and nationals of host country I, the more likely it is that he will have a positive attitude toward lower level characteristics of country I's social system.

4.7 Interaction between the student from country J and nationals from host country I is unrelated to his attitudes toward higher-level characteristics of country I's social system.

4.8 The greater the likelihood that the student from country J has a close friend among the nationals of host country I, the greater will be the likelihood that he has a positive attitude toward country I's social system.

In research relevant to these generalizations, Selltiz et al. (pp. 200-208) found that foreign students who interacted most with host nationals tended to have more information about and understanding of the host country, to think about it in less stereotyped ways and to feel more favorable toward it. Foreign students who had close friendships with host nationals were also likely to have more information about the host country. Morris (1960, p. 73) did not find significant relationships between attitudes and interaction with host nationals, even though interaction was positively related to satisfaction with the sojourn and satisfaction with the sojourn was positively

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to favorable attitudes.²⁸ Hofman and Zak (1969) found that
 n at a summer camp in Israel who interacted most with other
 (including Israelis) tended to have more favorable attitudes
 Israel. Stouffer et al. (1949; cited in Allport, 1958, p. 255)
 that the attitudes toward Germans of American soldiers in Germany
 positively related to the soldiers' frequency of interaction with
 . Rabushka (1970) found that subjects in Malaysia who mixed
 ethnic groups other than their own were relatively low in social
 e to other groups. And Basu and Ames (1970) found a correlation
 between the amount of interaction of Indian students with
 ns and the students' attitudes toward the United States.²⁹

Proposition 3A15.1 - The amount of equal-status interaction
 the sojourner has with host country nationals will be
 positively related to the favorability of his attitudes
 toward the host country.

Amir (1969) suggests that contact is most likely to lead to
 le attitudes when it takes place between individuals or groups of

²⁸ The effects of interaction for foreign students would depend
 t on the attitudes of those they interact with. Goldsen, Suchman,
 liams (1956) found that American students at Cornell University
 eracted with foreign students were likely to be in the mainstream
 us life and to be generally content with American society.

²⁹ Studies of interaction between ethnic groups within a society
 consistently result in favorable attitudes. For instance, Saenger
 werman (1954) found for United States college students that slight
 tion with Jews reduced stereotyping but not hostility. Friendship
 with Jews reduced hostility. Contact with Italians increased
 yping. Moderate contact with Italians reduced hostility, but high
 increased it. Amir (1969) reviewed studies of interaction between
 groups and concluded that the relationship of interaction and
 es was contingent on a variety of intervening factors.

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able status and when it takes place between groups cooperating in the pursuit of superordinate goals. Similarly, Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1960) note that interaction is likely to produce favorable attitudes when the participants are similar in status, when they interact in a non-competitive situation, when they share common values, and when their interaction is task-oriented.

Equal status may be taken as referring to mutual respect for the status of the other's nation or it may be taken as referring to the status of the individual. In the first place the proposition is consistent with the finding of Morris (1960, p. 90) that foreign students perceived Americans as seeing their country as lower in status than they did were relatively unlikely to be favorable to the United States and with the "sensitive area complex" of Indian students described by Lambert and Bressler (1956, pp. 72-79).³⁰ Status on an individual level is apparent in Isaacs' (1958, pp. 75, 109) finding that contact with Chinese in China was associated with positive images of the Chinese whereas contact with the Chinese in America (at a time when the status of Chinese in America were relatively low) was associated with negative images of the Chinese as an inferior people. This proposition relates to Merritt's (1972) generalization that "Positive attitudes toward country I vary inversely with the intensity of racial, ethnic, or other prejudice perceived by the foreign student to be directed toward him by residents of country I."

³⁰ Indian students were sensitive to and defensive about the negative or presumed beliefs of Americans that India was basically backward and superficially Westernized, that India was an undesirable country in which to live, with an undemocratic social structure, and a weak political base for nationhood.

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Berelson and Steiner (1964) suggest that contact or experience with another group leads to a fairly strong and important image of that group for the individual. If this is the case, it would be expected that information and attitudes developed through contact with that group would be maintained in the face of conflicting information from other sources. The returned traveler thus would be likely to maintain the image of the host country acquired through contact.

There are a number of reasons why attitudes toward the host country change following the traveler's return. There may be readjustment difficulties; Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) suggest that the U-curve of adjustment tends to become a W-curve with a decline in morale following the return to the homeland (see also Brein and David, 1971). Eide (1965) found that at least half of the ICA employees he studied experienced a letdown on returning home. Travelers who change most during their sojourn are likely to experience the greatest difficulties in readjustment (Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1963; Eide, 1970a; Watson and Lippitt, 1955). Watson and Lippitt (1955) found that Germans who spent one year in the United States, as opposed to those who spent six months, had more positive attitude change (this is consistent with the U-curve hypothesis), greater difficulty in readjustment on return, and more of a tendency to regress after returning to their pre-contact attitudes. Riegel (1953) similarly found that the attitudes toward the United States of Belgians who had sojourned there tended over time to be like the attitudes of other Belgians.

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Gruen (1959) found that German students in America expected that they would find it difficult to express favorable attitudes toward the United States on returning to Germany. They felt other Germans would criticize them and think they had been "taken in." Bennett, Passin, and Wright (1958, p. 43) note that returned Japanese students tended to express different opinions about the United States to different audiences. If the returnee is in a social climate that makes it difficult for him to voice honestly his new attitudes, his attitudes will change in the direction of the contrary opinions he does voice. Riegel suggests that the attitudes of returned sojourners may change because they are cut off from communication with the people of their country where they sojourned. His Belgian subjects maintained communication with America. Useem and Useem (1955) also note that interpersonal communication of returned Indians with the West broke off rapidly, although they continue to read more Western periodicals than associates who have not traveled. In some cases, however, a breakdown in communication does not occur. Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1955) found that returned American Fulbright professors were likely to maintain extensive contact with their foreign colleagues. And H. P. Gullahorn (1955) found that Americans who went to Europe on the Experiment in International Living increased their correspondence with Europeans 200 percent (and those who went as tourists increased theirs 200 percent) on their return. He found (1957) that some of this correspondence was maintained five years after it began. Gullahorn, Gullahorn, and Belltitz and Cook (1962) suggest that the image of the host country can improve after return as the minor irritations of everyday life are forgotten.

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be forgotten. Similarly Useem and Useem (1955) suggest that for Indian students the effect of being devalued by their hosts is offset, leading to a drop in ethnocentrism after their return to

Tentatively, the following proposition is offered as a hypothesis on the duration of contact effects after return to the homeland:

Proposition 3A16 - The effects of contact on the direction of attitudes toward the host country will tend to disappear over time following the traveler's return to his homeland; while the effects of contact on knowledge of the host country and on differentiation of attitudes toward the host country will tend to persist.

This proposition is consistent with the conclusion of Useem and (1955, pp. 134-135):

. . . We find that there is no intrinsic connection between knowledge of foreign ways and endorsement of them; that is, how well the foreign-returned are informed about the West has little cause-and-effect relationship with how much they approve of Western patterns and vice versa. . . . Although being informed in itself does not assure good will or friendly feelings, it does dissolve prejudices derived from half-truths and provides a social context within which the individual events can be judged. . . .

Our premise is that from a long-range point of view understanding in the form of some comprehension of the reasons is more significant than factual knowledge and that, in turn, realistic knowledge is more important than approval.

and that the foreign-returned in India had gained in knowledge, understanding, and sympathy for the West.

Contact occurs between travelers and host country nationals, and may be expected to affect the images each holds of the other.

Useem's (1958) finding on images of the Chinese suggests,

rences between those who travel and those who stay at home may be the effects of contact on the traveler and host quite different. Prothro and Melikian (1955) notes that host nationals tend to code the behavior of foreigners in terms of nationality, even though travelers are not usually representative of their own nationality and though individuals may act differently when traveling than they do at home (because of a loss of reference group control). Prothro and Melikian (1955) studied changes in the Lebanese image of Americans resulting from contact with Americans. These changes differend somewhat from changes which result from contact with Americans in the United States.

Effects of contact on the non-traveler, like the effects of contact on the traveler, can be expected to relate to the amount of interaction and to status differences. Except when the contact was produced by military occupation or large scale immigration, there would generally be no adjustment problem for the non-traveler, and this might leave him open to acceptance of favorable information about the traveler's nation. At the same time, the non-traveler's prior attitudes, especially toward dominant nationalities, will remain anchored in on-going reference group relationships and in continued exposure to his nation's media. In general, therefore, information attained through contact by the non-traveler will not be related to a favorable change in attitudes.

B. Acceptance of Information: Predictors and Consequences

1. Functions of Nation-Attitudes. Exposure to an information source--to schools, mass media, interpersonal networks, or to direct contact with the people of another nation--is actually exposure to a

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of messages. These messages will vary in what they say and in how they say it. And they will have varying effects on the image. Some will be rejected and have no apparent impact, some will reinforce existing beliefs, some will make simple additive changes in the image, some will change the image, or introduce doubt, and some will lead to a major reorganization of the image (Deutsch and Merritt, 1965; Boulding, 1956, 1960). The discussion which follows is concerned with the conditions under which one or another of these responses will be most likely. It is a review of research on the acceptance or rejection of messages (and the processing of information) about foreign nations and their people.

Implicit in the preceding paragraph is the idea that the individual does not simply accept all the information to which he is exposed. He consciously or unconsciously, functionally or dysfunctionally, selects, rejects, and modifies the ideas he receives. In this process of selection and modification, his existing beliefs, attitudes, values, and emotions play a central role. Even if he has never heard of a particular nation, his general orientation toward other nations will influence his interpretation of information about that nation.

To understand the selectivity process as it influences input about other nations, it is necessary to understand the functions which images have for the individual. This was the approach of Smith, White, and White (1956) in their study of ten men's opinions about foreign nations. They assume (pp. 39-44, 259-275) that "at the most general level . . . one's opinion or attitudes serve as mediators between the demands of the person and the outer environment--the material, social, and, most immediately, the informational environment of the

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on." In this mediation process, opinions have three functions: object appraisal, social adjustment, and externalization. In the following paragraphs these functions are described and compared with the attitude functions postulated by Katz (1960; cf. Janis and Smith, 1965).

Object appraisal is seen as the process by which the individual assesses reality for its relevance to his motives, values, and interests. It tends to involve on one hand maintenance of an image congruent with his needs, goals, and actions, and on the other hand an image close enough to reality to minimize surprise. Thus it relates to both the knowledge function ("need for understanding, for meaningful cognitive organization, for consistency and clarity") and the adjustment function ("maximizing external rewards and minimizing punishments") of Katz. Asch, Bruner, and White found that object appraisal needs related to selective attention to information on Russia and to the ways in which the subjects related information about Russia to their beliefs and to their own lives. Among the characteristics of the individual which predicted these patterns were:

- (1) the pattern of his personal goals, (2) the locus of his important frustrations, (3) the directions of his success, (4) the vested interests he may have acquired in particularly satisfying modes of activity, (5) the extended interests he may have in other people and groups, and (6) the moral values and ethical principles for which he stands (p. 262).

The relationship of information and attitudes is most direct and most evident in the object appraisal function. "Having an opinion about Russia is more than being 'for' or 'against' Russia: it is a process of 'perceiving' or 'knowing' Russia by inference from available information, and with reference to personal values, interests, and social concerns." But even in this function it is evident that

e, attention, and interpretation vary greatly from individual
vidual in accordance with their predispositions.³¹ The process

"rational" in the broadest sense:

We are not proposing that the process is a kind of calculus of interest, wherein the person accurately appraises the relation of the world to his goals and decides his best line accordingly. . . . It is apparent, when one looks closely at a life, that the formation of an opinion does reflect a drive toward rational decision in terms of one's interest. We are rational according to our lights, but the lights may be dim indeed (p. 265).

lity is limited by the need for opinions which serve the other
ns as well.

Smith, Bruner, and White found a variety of ways in which opinions

a function of social adjustment, either to the individuals'

hip groups or to the other reference groups.³²

Sometimes they were used in the interests of conformity or identification, serving to facilitate or maintain relationships with a group in which the person valued his membership. In other cases they were used to differentiate oneself from a group, even to disrupt a group, or to establish a relationship of competitive dominance or of superiority to a group (pp. 267-268).

¹Russia in 1947 was a nation-object of particular salience and
rsy to Americans. Analysis of attitudes toward most other
might have shown less variation between individuals and less
n to relevant information.

²They suggest that adjustment to membership groups will depend
the opinions that are expressed than on the opinions that are
ereas adjustment to nonmembership reference groups will depend
pinions which are actually held.

function overlaps the value-expressive attitude function ("main-
 ing self-identity . . . self-expression and self-determination")
 z. It can also involve a relationship between information and
 ades, since the individual may attend to information which he can
 with the group and since (as in the case of the individual to whom
 was least salient) the group may provide most of the individual's
 ation about the attitude object (cf. Proposition 3A7).

The third function, externalization, refers to the situation
 a person has responded to an external event in a way that is
 d by unresolved inner problems." This is comparable to what
 alls the ego-defensive function ("protecting against internal
 cts and external dangers"). Smith, Bruner, and White found that
 subjects' images of Russia tended to reflect their internal
 t strivings," that they tended to condemn in Russians the
 or that they saw as similar to their covert strivings, and that
 attitudes toward relations with Russia tended to reflect their
 red adjustive strategies (cf. Proposition 2A2). Eysenck (1950)
 es an example of externalization:

A militaristic or aggressive attitude seldom exists
in vacuo; it is likely to be related closely to some
 object or class of objects. In thus becoming attached
 to a nation . . . our . . . reactions tend to become
 rationalized into consistent and meaningful systems
 of ideas regarding the object in question . . .

Scott (1958b) suggests that attitudes can be thought of as
 ing rational and nonrational components in varying degrees.
 tion about the attitude object and needs for cognitive con-
 y tend to lead to rational attitudes, consciously related to

values, and expectations. Lack of information, and unimportance of relevant values--factors often present for nation-attitudes--lead to irrational attitudes based on social pressures and unconscious influences. This is consistent with the discussion above, and it suggests that opinions about more salient nations (e.g., the host country for a traveler) might be more rational and more directed toward object appraisal while those toward less salient nations than Russia show less rational object appraisal.

This discussion of the functions of nation-attitudes leads to the following propositions:

Proposition 3B1 - An individual will tend to hold attitudes toward other nations which simultaneously maximize the functions of object appraisal, social adjustment, and externalization.

Proposition 3B1.1 - An individual will tend to accept information supportive of attitudes toward other nations which simultaneously maximize the functions of object appraisal, social adjustment, and externalization.³³

Scott's article would also seem to justify a proposition to the effect that conflict between the three functions is likely to be resolved in favor of object appraisal to the extent that the nation-

³³In a way this proposition says that stereotypes, like attitudes, have these three functions. The relationship between the two, according to Vinacke (1949, cited in Brigham, 1971) is "that stereotypes may serve as verbal expression of prejudice, or the rationalization or projection of it, or they may express a prejudice partly, or the stereotype may not be an expression of prejudice at all. Usually, a prejudice may be apparent in a stereotype, may help to form it, or may make use of the convenient labels, or may function in itself differently, or be present without stereotyping."

is salient and information about it is available. Certainly absence of information, attitudes will not be based on information, and it is probably true that stereotypes of little known groups are relatively projective (Campbell, 1967). But salience is likely positively related to the need for all three functions. American attitudes toward Russia, for instance, probably reflect more information, more social pressure, and more projection than American attitudes toward Rumania.

2. Events and Changes in Nation-Attitudes. Propositions 3B1.1 imply that an individual's beliefs and attitudes toward nations will change (a) as the characteristics of these nations change, (b) as his social attachments change, and (c) as his unconscious needs to externalize change. For a given population, though particular individuals may change in personality and social attachments, changes in the nation-attitudes of a whole population might be thought to reflect the strength of the object appraisal function in response to such events. More generally, if information about foreign nations plays a role in determining beliefs and attitudes toward foreign nations, it can be expected that changes in the information about these nations available to a given population would be reflected in central tendency changes in the nation-images held by that population.

Some changes of this kind occur, especially during periods in which relations between nations change dramatically. For instance, Americans saw Russians as more conceited and cruel and less brave in 1942 (Buchanan and Cantril, 1953, pp. 55-56).

an attitudes toward Japanese became less favorable between 1935
42, more favorable between 1945 and 1955 (Albright et al.,

³⁴ After the Six Day War of 1967, Arab students in the United
were somewhat more likely to be anti-American and pro-Russian
(M, 1972), perhaps because of a change in salience of inter-
national orientation.

These examples must be related as exceptional cases, in which
national events have resulted in a complete change in the mass
content about other nations (see Chapter IV) and a complete
change in the socially accepted opinions of other countries. These
are conspicuous because they deviate from the more general
trend that

Images and events often persist with little or
no substantial change despite spectacular
changes in the real world, or messages about
such events. . . . Almost nothing in the world
seems to be able to shift the images of 40 per-
cent of the population in most countries, even
within one or two decades (Deutsch and Merritt,
1965).

may temporarily change the salience of foreign policy and
attitudes. Sometimes in response to spectacular events (like
the Hungarian revolt) attitudes may change 10 to 20

³⁴ Similar changes associated with the Cold War and World War
noted by Frank (1968) and Seago (1947).

Albright et al., found that their subjects, Purdue University
students, did not change as much during this period in their attitude
toward "Germans" but did change in their attitude toward "Nazis."
Robinson, and Krauss (1971) suggest that the changes in traits
mentioned may represent changes on the evaluative dimension only.
The "intelligent" Japanese before World War II and the "sly"
Japanese during the war were accorded similar characteristics with dif-
ferent evaluations.

t, but they tend to return to their previous level after other take the focus of attention. Deutsch and Merritt describe the response to events with a quotation from Lane's (1962) study of gland voters.

Asked about historical events happening in their lifetimes . . . which had an impact on their thinking, their response is a kind of . . . fumbling unresponsiveness. History is a flow of events . . . that erodes a predisposition or strengthens it, or offers a rationale for it, but does not offer, without special assistance and more effort than most men can make, memorable changes in orientation. As they talk about school and favored teachers, one sees that education, too, has this same characteristic. Influence is glacial, not climatic.

It should be noted that Smith, Bruner, and White (1956) found that different individuals appraised Russia in terms of different goals and motivations. It may be that events produce more changes in nations than are apparent in central tendency shifts.

3. Selective Processes Influencing Acceptance of Information from Other Nations.

Proposition 3B2 - Out of the information about a given foreign country that is available at a particular time, an individual will be more likely to accept that information which is consonant with his prior image of the nation than that which is not.³⁵

Acceptance of information, in this proposition, means that information is believed, remembered, and related to other beliefs.

³⁵ Consonance is usually defined as agreement with or compatibility with prior beliefs or attitudes. Smith (1973) found that Moscow broadcasts produced the most change in attitudes of Americans who saw them as better than expected. This is interpreted as showing that the selectivity processes may sometimes admit dissenting messages if they are consonant with the receivers' hopes.

ther words, information is said to be accepted to the extent that
s integrated into the individual's belief system.

Where the informational environment regarding a foreign nation
changing, stability in nation-images may simply reflect acceptance
available information. The paragraphs above, however, suggest that
es may be stable when the supply of available information is not.
could occur if attitudes were not at all related to information,
the first part of this chapter indicated that there are relation-
s between information and attitudes. Thus it appears that the
vidual must respond selectively to the available information,
ing to accept information consonant with his predispositions and
reject information which might be dissonant.

Out of all the information on a foreign nation that is available
individual, he will become aware of only some, and he will
ve and retain even less. Selectivity, thus, is largely a filtering
ss, which functions in part to simplify perceptions and make them
manageable.³⁶ In addition, selectivity may involve distortion of
mation or even the creation of new "information." This process
ltering and modification of information takes place on the

³⁶ This falls within the definition of object appraisal. The
stereotype usually has a negative connotation, suggesting dogmatic
simplification, but a certain degree of simplification makes it easier
ink about peoples (Duijker and Frijda, 1960, p. 125); indeed some
simplification is inevitably a part of thinking about other groups
ill 1969).

ent levels discussed in the following paragraphs.³⁷

Proposition 3B2.1 - Out of the information about a given foreign country that is available at a particular time, an individual will tend to expose himself more to that information which is consonant with his existing nation-image than to that which is not.

First, the individual may expose himself to information selectively, avoiding sources which might provide disturbing information or picking out information to bolster his attitudes. Even if an individual does not deliberately select information sources for consumption, he is likely to find that the information he receives tends to be congenial to his existing attitudes (Freedman and Sears, 1965).

Bruner, and White (1956, pp. 248-250) report that "sources of information on which our men relied . . . indicate that they did indeed choose, and it was equally apparent that their selectivity was systematic in reflecting preference for one kind of information over another . . ."

In some of our cases, a distinction can be made between line and filler sources: Lanlin, for example, took his line on Russia from Catholic publications, but drew detail in a rather inattentive way from the popular media. Several others . . . had their individual line so well internalized that all they sought from their purposeful reading and talk was filler detail--or challenge. Still others seemed to wander aimlessly among congenial sources without retaining very much.

³⁷These aspects of selectivity are drawn largely from Janis (1965), Smith, Bruner, and White (1956), Jervis (1972), (1966, 1967), Holsti (1967), Klineberg (1964, pp. 90-94), and Jahoda (1947). In general these concepts have been derived from analysis of case studies.

travel, according to Cherry (1971, p. 3) does little to change images because we tend to travel to "'see for ourselves' what already been taught to look for."

Proposition 3B2.2 - Out of the information about a given foreign country to which he is exposed, an individual will be more likely to become aware of that information which is consonant with his existing nation-image than that which is not.

Proposition 3B2.3 - Out of the information about a given foreign country to which he is exposed, an individual will be more likely to learn and remember that information which is consonant with his existing nation-image than that which is not.

As Freedman and Sears (1965) point out, selective exposure does always seem to be employed as a defense against dissonant informa-

The individual is likely to be exposed to various views of peoples. But he may never become conscious of the dissonant to which he is exposed, because his perceptual and memory processes tend to screen out unfamiliar or unwelcome information. This of selective perception and selective retention has been noted in various ways. Bagby (1957; cited in Cook and Selltitz, 1964) showed subjects differing in cultural content (e.g., a baseball player and a fighter) to American and Mexican subjects under conditions of bicultural rivalry. Each nationality tended to be aware only of the familiar content. Bhatia (cited in Hartley, 1967, pp. 99ff) found that when Indian and Pakistani subjects were presented with Indian and Pakistani propaganda under conditions of binaural rivalry, the Indian group tended to recall the material favorable to their own group. Asch and Murphy (1943; cited in Eysenck, 1950) asked students to

passages about Russia and found that they were relatively likely
 to remember material consonant with their previous
 attitudes.

Proposition 3B2.4 - Out of the information about a given
 foreign nation of which he becomes aware, an individual
 will tend to treat that information which is consonant
 with his existing nation-image as more salient than that
 which is not.

Selective perception and memory is also apparent in the well-
 known study by Allport and Postman (cited in Klineberg, 1951) in which
 subjects viewed a picture showing a white man holding a straight razor,
 standing near a Negro, then passed the message to others, with the
 information typically being distorted to indicate that the Negro held
 the razor.

A third process tending to preserve existing attitudes is selec-
 tive attention. Even if the individual is exposed to dissonant infor-
 mation, he may treat it as nonsalient and give it minimal attention.
 He may say he doesn't understand the new information and refuse to
 think about it (a common response in the Mr. Biggott studies, according
 to Turner and Jahoda, 1947). He may minimize dissonance through dif-
 ferentiation, perceiving the new information as exceptional and thus
 contradictory to the relatively more general prior attitudes. Or
 he may minimize the importance of the dissonance by according less
 importance to the attitude object; if his opinions about Russia are in-
 important, he may decide that his opinions about Russia don't matter
 anyway. To the extent that international relations are regarded
 as nonsalient, individuals will feel little pressure to resolve

gruities.

Proposition 3B2.5 - Out of the information about a given foreign nation of which he becomes aware, an individual will tend to perceive that information which is consonant with his existing nation-image as more credible than that which is not.

Another defense against dissonant information is doubt. When information comes in the form of communication rather than through direct exposure its veracity can be questioned. In other words, it may be considered less credible or less believable. Bronfenbrenner (1961) suggests that one reason for the mirror-image in Soviet-American relations may be the tendency of people to discount information contrary to their expectations. Such discounting of information may occur in various ways. Evidence may be questioned, or seen as inadequate. The individual is more likely to set high standards for proof when the new information threatens his existing image. If the new information is in a message attributed to a high credible source, it may be doubted that it really comes from that source. If it is not attributed to a high credible source, the individual may doubt the knowledgeability or the veracity of the source.

Proposition 3B2.6 - An individual will tend to interpret the information he accepts about a given foreign nation in such a way that it is maximally consonant with his existing image of the nation.

This proposition can also be turned around: an individual will not accept information to the extent that he can interpret it as consonant with his image. Thus if messages cannot be avoided or denied, they still be selectively interpreted (or--the distinction is not

sharp one--misinterpreted), and if messages admit a range of interpretation, they are more likely to be acceptable to the individual.

Selective interpretation involves a variety of kinds of mechanism for creating and resolving ambiguity, for distorting information, for assigning particular significance to it. Some of these are present in Lambert and Bressler's (1955; 1956, pp. 80-81) discussion of responses made by Indian students to their experiences in the United States: (1) students tended to be sceptical of their impressions of America only when they were favorable; (2) experiences were sometimes pictured so the student could contrive to be a victim of American practice; (3) American practice was contrasted with Indian creed; (4) American foreign policy was judged as if the United States had limited options, and contrasted with Indian policy judged in the light of the assumption that India's alternatives were restricted.

Research on person perception (see Cook, 1971, pp. 49ff; Taguiri, 1971) indicates a general tendency, in the absence of contrary information, to assume that others are similar to oneself. In responses to information about other nations, this shows up as a tendency to judge the overt characteristics of foreigners--which may clearly not be similar to the judge--in terms of the evaluative standards and rules of inference of the judge's culture. Klineberg calls this ethnocentric perception, "the tendency to see and judge external occurrences in terms of one's particular ethnic or national identification, that is, in terms of the values, wishes, and expectations acquired as a member of a particular community." By such a criterion differences are to be impropriety or inferiority. Interpreted in light of an

ocentric frame of reference, objectively non-evaluative information
take on a consonant meaning.³⁸

This discussion of selectivity should not be taken as suggesting
perception of other nations is a wholly autistic process in which
information is just a nuisance to be coped with. The discussion of
facts and attitude change indicated that there is covariance of avail-
information and belief, and research looking at available informa-
and beliefs across a variety of nation-objects would presumably
to a similar conclusion. Information sometimes gets through the
selectivity process; the question is when it is most likely to do so
relatively little distortion.

A great deal of research has been done on the factors which
determine the success of persuasive communications,³⁹ and even more

³⁸ The various selectivity processes affect persons involved in
transmitting information as well as the eventual consumer. White (1966)
shows how these processes can combine to create very different images in
different persons. He lists, for instance, the following sources of mis-
perception of the Vietnam situation by American hawks: (1) selective
contact of Vietnamese and Americans, (2) slanted interpretation of what
was told to Americans by Vietnamese, (3) distortion by the minds of
Americans in Vietnam, (4) deliberate screening by Vietnamese and
Americans, (5) pressures toward conformity and patriotism in the
American media, (6) pressures toward conformity and patriotism among the
American people, (7) conflicting territorial self-images, (8) different
meanings of the word aggression, (9) the assumption of Communist aggres-
sion, (10) the assumption of American nonaggression, (11) an image of the
enemy as diabolical, (12) an image of the homeland as moral, (13) a
positive self-image, (14) military overconfidence, (15) lack of empathy,
(16) selective inattention. Of these numbers 7 to 15 are related to
egocentric perception.

³⁹ For a concise summary, see Zimbardo and Ebbesen (1969, pp.
1-3). For more details, see McGuire (1969). For suggestions about
some of these results might be applied to changing nation-attitudes,
Janis and Smith (1965), Kelman (1962), and Klineberg (1950).

ch has been done on the factors which influence learning. A
 ed consideration of this literature is beyond the scope of this

In general, both types of research suggest that change in the
 and/or in behavior will be influenced by the nature and intensity
 stimuli (or messages) to which the individual is exposed, by the
 of discrepancy between the potential new image or behavior and
 individual's prior image or behavior, by the motivations (or
) of the individual, by his intelligence and personality, by the
 and emotional context, and by the feedback (or reinforcement)
 the individual receives.

Some of these factors have been considered elsewhere in this
 The discussion of authoritarianism in Chapter II shows one way
 ch a personality characteristic may relate to a predisposition
 pt certain kinds of information and to reject others. The high
 itarian individual would also be expected, more than others, to
 igh credibility to messages about other countries from his own
 s. The discussion of attitude functions in this section relates
 influence of motivation on attitude change. The discussion of
 ivity leads to the conclusion that the greater the discrepancy
 n the new information and the old attitude, the less likely the
 nce of the new information, although cognitive structure vari-
 ould also become involved in this relationship. Others of these
 s are discussed in the paragraphs which follow.

Proposition 3B3 - An individual will be relatively likely
 to accept new information about a given foreign nation to
 the extent that the new information is relatively unam-
 biguous and uncontroversial.

This proposition means that the more intense a stimulus, the likely it is to survive the selectivity process. If the information environment is homogeneous, selective exposure and selective attention will have little effect, and it will be difficult to question the validity of the information. If the available information is unambiguous, there will be relatively little room for misinterpretation.

Information is likely to be unambiguous and noncontroversial under two conditions. The first is the condition where the communication media--mass and interpersonal--all tend to promote a given viewpoint (this could be the case in a totalitarian state or in a nation under emergency conditions). The second is where the information is presented as objective "fact."

. . . If some degree of exposure can be achieved. . . even a despised communicator may exert an influence in the limited sphere of inducing acceptance of allegedly factual statements. . . . When the topic of a communication is unfamiliar to the audience--as will often be the case in communications about remote foreign nations and newly emerging leaders--studies have shown that factual material can produce major changes in political and social images (Janis and Smith, 1965).

The acceptance of a single fact may arouse little resistance and result in no immediate attitude change, but as more and more facts are presented, the existing image may become more differentiated, held with less certainty, and eventually attitude change may occur.

Proposition 3B4 - To the extent that the international affairs climate is one of perceived threat, an individual's perception of a given foreign nation will tend to be polarized and undifferentiated.

This proposition deals with the effect of the social and

nal contexts on an individual's response to international infor-

The concept of an international affairs climate as collective

s drawn from Lasswell (1965). Though there is ample evidence

ne climate influences thought about foreign nations, this par-

r proposition must be thought of as an hypothesis to be tested.

Pruitt (1965) suggests that people see another nation as

ening if they see it as capable of harming them and/or as

ing to harm them. He suggests that perception of a nation as

ening might result in a tendency to make a one-dimensional

se to the nation. It may be that a foreign nation is seen as

t to the extent that it is threatening (or to the extent that it

potential ally against a threatening nation) and that the indi-

will display a greater tendency to achieve cognitive consistency

egard to relatively salient concepts. To the extent that cog-

consistency relates to one-dimensional judgments, threat will

differentiation and increase the likelihood of a nation being

either as all good or all bad.⁴⁰ Threat also operates to increase

res toward social conformity and toward media patriotism.

It has been noted that individuals in nations which are in

ct with each other often reciprocate each other's images

⁴⁰ The individual who feels personally mistreated or frustrated is relatively likely to express prejudice (Christiansen, 1959, pp. Bettelheim and Janowitz, 1950). This may be seen as a similar tendency to polarize and stereotype in response to threat.

, 1965; Streufert and Sandler, 1971). Russians see Americans, st on some attributes, much as Americans see Russians.⁴¹

If Proposition 3B4 accurately predicts the effects of threat, l also predict that in a climate of threat the selectivity es will be relatively influential, increasing the chance of ance of consonant information and decreasing the chance of ance of dissonant information. In general differentiated images slowly, reacting to each new piece of credible information, undifferentiated images tend to resist change (and to change ically when they do change).

Sears (1969) summarizes findings on information and political de change by saying that (a) the relatively informed person, e his predispositions are better thought out and because of to selectivity, is most likely to use new information only to rce his predispositions; (b) the slightly informed person is to be influenced most by information, since he has some re to information but relatively weak involvement in the issues;) the uninvolved person will not be influenced by information e he will not become exposed to it.⁴²

⁴¹This has been referred to as the "mirror-image" phenomenon, appropriate metaphor only if it is remembered that the image a person n a mirror is the reverse of the way he appears to others.

⁴²Sears makes the process of forming attitudes seem very rational. trast, Staats and Staats (1958; cited in Bem, 1970, pp. 44-45) that when names of nations were flashed on a screen in sequence ther words, subjects began to evaluate these nations positively atively, depending on the connotations of the other words in the ce.

CHAPTER IV

AVAILABILITY OF INFORMATION ABOUT FOREIGN NATIONS

A. Biases in Sources of Information about Other Countries

Information has been conceptualized on three levels in this thesis. Chapter II dealt with accepted, internalized, or subjective information--beliefs. Clearly the information an individual has received does predict his attitudes and it may play a role in shaping Chapter III dealt with the information to which an individual is exposed. It showed that, despite various selectivity processes, available information or information environment does influence beliefs and attitudes. The third way in which information may be conceptualized, as factual information, is the subject of the present chapter.

Factual information, in the present study, refers to the actual characteristics of the nation (or people) in question. Factual information about a nation as a whole, of course, cannot be accurately obtained. Nations are complex and changing phenomena; and individuals of given nationality may have little in common with each other. No person and no measure can apprehend the nation as a whole, and so no completely objective knowledge of the reality of a nation is possible (Berg, 1964). Nevertheless there are, about particular aspects

tions, statements which are based on data which makes them relatively objective. Such statements can be used as rough indices of actual information, making possible rough estimates of the discrepancy between subjective and available information about and the true characteristics of a nation-object.

Available information, like subjective information, bears no necessary resemblance to objective, factual information about the nation-object. Galtung and Holmboe Ruge (1965) refer to the "chain of communication" as the process by which world events are perceived by the news media and transformed into a media image which is in turn received by individuals and transformed into their personal images. They point out that similar processes of selectivity, distortion, and synthesis occur on both the media level and the personal level of the process. If one is ultimately concerned with whether attitudes toward nations are related to the amount of accurate knowledge he has about those nations, it is necessary to ask whether the information to which an individual may become exposed accurately reflects the actual characteristics of those nations.

The previous chapter dealt with the sources of information about foreign nations to which most people have access. These sources included mass media (including electronic and print media, and including fictional and non-fictional media content), schools and other learning programs (including teachers, texts, films, and activities), contact with people of other countries (through casual travel, through participation in another society, and through contact with travelers in one's own country), and interpersonal communication with one's friends

relatives. The pages which follow provide a brief review of ways which such sources combine to provide for the individual an information environment which only partially reflects the reality of other nations. As such, they may be viewed as a caveat on the research already discussed: an individual may have a great deal of information which he and others around him consider to be knowledge of a foreign nation and yet have very little information which corresponds with the actual characteristics of the nation.¹

Information source bias has received the greatest attention from students of the mass media. To some extent the effect of the mass media on nation-images must depend on the amount as well as the kind of information about one country to appear in the media of another.

Throughout the world the news media devote most of their attention to events within their own nation.² Between nations the flow of information deals largely with information about the most powerful,

¹This discussion is comparatively brief because it is not central to a concern with what information does to the individual. Because this issue is somewhat tangential and because it is covered in some depth, no propositions are offered in this chapter. The brevity of this discussion also reflects the comparative lack of research and synthesis on available information on foreign nations. Methods of describing content are discussed by McGranahan (1951), but the real problem is a lack of theoretical work on the predictors of such content (J. Rosengren, 1970).

²Schramm (1964, p. 59) says that 60 to 90 percent is typical. One exception Angus (1938, pp. 251ff) studied front pages of Montreal newspapers for the 1920's and found that only 40 percent of the news was Canadian. Twenty-six percent was from Britain, 25 percent from the United States, and 9 percent from other nations. Cohen (1967) reports that foreign affairs takes from five to eight percent of the total news space in the average United States newspaper.

lthy, and technological nations. Schramm (1964, pp. 59-63) cites a 1961 study of major newspapers in 13 diverse countries. In each country the bulk of the foreign news dealt with France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union (countries which, along with other likenesses, controlled the world's nuclear weapons and the world's major news agencies).³ In the United States, for instance, news from the other three countries accounted for two-thirds of the total foreign news. In Brazil these countries accounted for 84 percent of foreign news, but nearby Argentina accounted for only 6 percent. In general there is very little flow of news from most of the world's poorer, less powerful nations except in times of special crisis or catastrophe.

The tendency of information to flow from a few major nations can be attributed to a variety of factors. It may represent a rational select-appraisal function: these nations do appear to have disproportionate influence on events throughout the world (Galtung and Holmboe, 1965). Attention to the United States and Soviet Union would seem to reflect their current importance, whereas some of the attention to Britain and France may be a continued response to their influence during the colonial era. It is also the case that information on the more developed nations is easier to gather (Schramm, 1964, p. 63) and more expensive to transmit (Ostgaard, 1965).

³For a discussion of the extent to which certain elites within the major nations control the flow of information between countries, see Haller (1971, 1972).

Elsewhere in this study it has been suggested that the way an individual handles information about a nation depends on its salience. It appears that the chance of a given item of information becoming available to the individual also depends on the salience of the nation. Possession of a given amount of information about Thailand reflects a different orientation toward the nation-object than possession of the same amount of information about Russia, and it should not be expected that information will relate to the attitudes in the same way in both cases. Most of the more detailed studies of nation-attitudes have been based on attitudes toward the elite nations--this is especially true of research on contact effects--and this conclusion suggests that generalizations from these studies to attitudes toward less powerful countries should not be taken for granted.

Within nations there are also discontinuities in the flow of information about other countries. In general, (a) information about other countries will be diffused less widely in less modern countries and will be more likely to reach individuals through conversations with friends and relatives), and (b) information about other countries will be diffused less widely in rural than in urban areas (Schramm, 1954, p. 69; Fagen, 1966, pp. 82-83).⁴

⁴The unevenness of the flow of information also involves a number of factors, some of which have been discussed elsewhere in this study, that predict which individuals within a country are likely to have easy access to foreign affairs information. Such factors are discussed in more detail in Hero (1959b). Various demographic variables--social class, religion, education, age, etc.--relate to preferences for particular media, to time available for media consumption, to skills necessary for using particular media, and to the ability to understand such media as newsmagazines.

Hero also notes that the total amount of actual attention to

The unevenness of the flow of information about other nations relate to Propositions 3A4 and 3A4.1, which state that within a given exposure to foreign affairs information in the mass media will be related to interest in and favorable attitudes toward other nations. Alternatively it might be suggested that these generalizations apply to all nations, and that therefore, other things being equal, people in all countries will tend to show more liking for the few elite nations than for non-elite nations. This is a possible explanation of Proposition 2B3.1 which states that liking will be, in part, a function of the perceived level of economic and technical development of a nation-object.

Whether it is reasonable to expect better quality of foreign reporting in the mass media is a subject of debate; the difficulties of getting information are great, and it can be argued that in giving minimal attention to most foreign affairs the media are responding to the wishes of the public. But it is generally conceded that the best of the media in most countries give haphazard and over-simplified coverage to what happens in other countries.⁵

Foreign affairs news is much less than might be inferred from analyses that are cited by Schramm of media content. One survey indicated that the average reader spent 35 minutes per day reading the newspaper, only four minutes reading public affairs news of any kind. Like- although there are a variety of news programs on television, an estimated 97 percent of audience man-hours are devoted to entertainment commercials.

⁵ Exceptions might be some serious books on foreign affairs and public broadcasting, but these reach only a very small percentage of the population in most countries. (Hero, 1959b, reports that the percentage of Americans who read serious books on foreign affairs tend to have attitudes toward other countries which are best described as internationalistic, cautious, and realistic.)

Information about a foreign nation reaches the public through mass media only after passing through the hands of a variety of individuals who may be thought of as gatekeepers since, in various ways, both deliberate and inadvertent, they influence and shape the flow of information.⁶

First, reporters must learn about events. It is expensive to maintain fulltime correspondents abroad, and so reporters (and camera crews) tend to be available only in the most important foreign capitals and in areas where there are especially dramatic events in progress. There therefore tends to be more reporting, especially from non-elite nations, on crises than on their backgrounds and consequences. This tends to result in a comparatively limited flow of news from areas which are hard to reach and/or unpleasant for reporters to live in.

Many of the nations which are relatively non-salient to the Western news media (the relationship of salience and news-flow is, of course, circular) are also non-Western in culture, and cultural distance seriously increases the difficulty of gathering news. Bogart (1968), for instance, studied members of the Overseas Press Club of New York. Only 18 percent of those working in Asia, as opposed to 60 percent of those working in Europe, could effectively speak the

⁶Gatekeeping in the mass media is viewed by Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien (1972, p. 43) "as including all forms of information control that may arise in decisions about message encoding, such as selection, timing, display, withholding, or repetition of entire messages or components."

For a more complete list of factors shaping the international information which reaches the public, see Ostgaard (1965). See also Wamm (1964, pp. 81-87).

language.⁷ In other ways as well cultural distance may increase difficulty of gathering news, especially in the less modern nations of Europe and Africa. Both costs and cultural difficulties increase tendency of news-gatherers in such nations to rely on government releases and on contacts with members of the elite, and thus to develop a one-sided and possibly incorrect view of the local situation (e.g., Welch, 1972; Hauser, 1938; White, 1966). The personal biases of the reporters, in accordance with Proposition 3B2, will also have influence on the kind of information which is transmitted.

A second source of bias occurs in the transmission of news from reporter to publisher. Ostgaard (1965) says that since the major news agencies are run by Westerners the news they transmit takes on a Western cultural bias. Reports of events in non-elite nations, no matter where they are published, are likely to emphasize the relevance of the events to the elite nations.

A third source of bias is the decision-making--by editor and publisher--about what to publish (or broadcast) and how much emphasis to give it. Decisions at this stage may intentionally bias the news to accord with the views of the publishers and/or in response to outside pressures (especially in nations where the press is government-controlled):

Both government and mass media can shift their attention to or withhold it from events . . . they can lend an impression of more or less

⁷In most Asian countries ignorance of the local language would restrict the reporter to contact with the relatively affluent, educated, Westernized segments of the population.

salience to an event . . . or they can change the valuation that they place upon events, objects, and processes . . .

Governments and communication elites are the managers of public messages about events, selecting out of the mass of competing messages those that they will transmit, those to which they will give special attention, and those that they will suppress . . .

To the extent that governments and mass media influence the flow and content of messages about events, they also play a role in determining the character of private messages about these events (Deutsch and Merritt, 1965).

Previous studies have demonstrated that the information about foreign relations in the newspapers of a given country will tend to reflect the political relations between the countries involved (see, for example, Granahan, 1951; Pool, 1951). Kriesberg (1946) found, in an analysis of New York Times coverage of Russia from 1917 to 1946, that until World War II that newspaper encouraged an unfavorable attitude toward Russia through such techniques as paying more attention to unfavorable news, using unwarranted headlines, publishing information from questionable sources, and using loaded words (cf. the criticism of New York Times foreign affairs coverage by Lichtheim, 1955).

Decisions about what to publish also reflect a concern with audience appeal, especially for media concerned with making a profit. Audiences seem to prefer news that is simplified, sensationalized, and personified, and the media tend to respond to these preferences (Stgaard, 1965). Bronfenbrenner (1961) suggests that one explanation for the mirror-image in Soviet-American relations may be the tendency of the media to publish what their audiences want to hear. Also, newspeople, like other people, are subject to ethnocentric perception, unconscious selectivity, and externalization processes, and these too might

them tend to present a mirror-image view of an enemy.

The way in which the biases of the media combine with the personal and cognitive processes of their audience to influence international attitudes is not entirely clear. Bertrand Russell (1962, p.) has taken a pessimistic view:

. . . Now, with the diffusion of newspapers and radio, important events anywhere quickly come to be known to most people in most civilized countries. The result, however, is not so good as the devotees of enlightenment a century ago would have expected. The news that is most quickly and widely diffused is the news which is exciting, and the excitements most quickly diffused are hatred and fear. Consequently, what we learn about potential enemies is not the common humanity which they share with us, but rather their manifold sins and wickedness. Hatred and fear toward possible enemies are feelings natural to man and having a very long history. If they are not to dominate the relations between different communities, the different communities must either be ignorant of each other . . . or, since this is now impossible, the information that is given about the distant communities must not be biased in the direction of causing horror and alarm. But there is at present little hope of such a mitigation of incitement to hatred.

viewpoint is not inconsistent with the generalizations drawn by (1965) from a review of research on the flow of international information:

1. The news media tend to reinforce the 'status quo' and to exaggerate the importance of individual actions by big power leaders.
2. The news media tend to present the world as being more conflict-laden than it really is, to emphasize the use of force rather than more peaceful means in solving such conflicts, and thus also, more indirectly, to give the impression that conflicts can be averted more easily by preparing for the use of force, rather than reducing tensions by undramatic means.

3. The news media tend to reinforce or at least to uphold the divisions of the world between high status nations and low status nations.

Specific predictions about foreign news information that will be picked up and transmitted by the mass media have been listed by Altung and Holmboe Ruge (1965). They argue that a foreign event is relatively likely to become news to the extent that: (a) it takes place in a time span of a few days; (b) it is an event of major importance; (c) it is clear and unambiguous; (d) it is relevant and understandable; (e) it is consonant with expectations and prior images; (f) it is unexpected; (g) it is related to events already in the news; (h) it contrasts with other events in the news; (i) it concerns elite nations; (j) it concerns elite groups within a nation; (k) it can be seen in personal terms as due to the action of specific individuals; and (l) it is negative in its consequences. In their model these factors combine additively to determine what will be treated as news, and so presence of one factor tends to compensate for absence of another.⁸

Comparatively little systematic attention has been given to non-news media content related to other nations, yet in many cases this content is probably more influential than the news content since; (1) many individuals give most of their attention to the non-news content;

⁸From this general hypothesis they derived hypotheses about relationships between pairs of these variables. Using content analysis of news on various events in Norwegian newspapers they were able to provide support for the following hypotheses: (1) "The more distant the nation, the higher the tendency to report elite action," and (2) "The more culturally distant the theater, the more relevant the event is most likely to appear to be." (Their methods of testing these hypotheses are criticized by Rosengren, 1970.)

(2) fiction may not be subjected to the same considerations of credibility as non-fiction; (3) non-news content is usually entertaining, and persuasive messages tend to be more effective if the receivers are distracted by pleasant stimuli; and (4) non-news content may deal with members of national groups which are excluded from the news because their nations are not politically salient.

Usually non-news content is consistent with the following generalization (Berelson and Steiner, 1964): "The common stereotypes of the society tend to be copied unconsciously in the mass media of communication." Support for this generalization is found in a study of short stories in popular magazines in the United States (Berelson and Salter, 1946). The characters in these stories, especially the major characters, were likely to be Americans. Even in the five percent of the stories which took place abroad the main characters were Americans. Representatives of minority groups (in some cases ethnic group membership was only implied by their names) "were usually tailored to the stereotypic dimensions of their respective groups" (e.g., Poles were backward, Irish were emotional). Americans were higher in status (if other characters were high in status an explanation was usually included in the story). And Americans more than others pursued "heart" (idealistic or emotional) rather than "head" goals. Smythe (cited in Wright, 1959, p. 81) found similar results in a study of dramas on American television in 1953.

If the common stereotypes in a society are related to realities, then their appearance in media entertainment might be thought of as a relatively unbiased source of information about foreigners. This is

the case for three reasons. First, it should be obvious that enough stereotypes may include "kernels of truth" of various sizes, they are shaped by many forces other than the nature of the nation-ect. Second, appearance in the mass media may reinforce a real but unfortunate reality. This is an aspect of what Lazarsfeld and Merton (ed in Wright, 1959, p. 19) call the status conferral function of mass media. Third, insofar as realities are changing (as they really are), media images based on popular stereotypes will tend to be obsolete information about foreign peoples (Cherry, 1971, p. 3; human, 1966). The circular relationship between media images and popular stereotypes may account for some of the unresponsiveness of images to events that was described in Chapter III.

Vaughn (1961) described the "preoccupation with the false exotic" in films about Africa like Tarzan and King Solomon's Mines. In recent, non-fictional films on Africa tend to focus on old customs and on wildlife (an aspect of the old in Africa), and to perpetuate the old theme that Africans need white guidance.

The tendency of media fiction to perpetuate old popular stereotypes is in part unintended. Authors and producers are likely to share the biases of their countrymen, and they are under less pressure than newsmen to try to check on their ideas. But there is also an unwillingness to upset the audience. Wiebe (1969-70) notes that mass media suffer from a natural reluctance to cope with the other," and Kracauer (1949) notes how Hollywood has avoided making films about controversial nations (such as Russia or Germany prior to World War II).

Thus for individuals who do not attend to media non-fiction at other nations and/or for nations which do not receive much news coverage, the mass media will tend to reinforce popular stereotypes of foreigners. But this assumes that the media audience is from the same society as the authors and producers of the media messages. This is not always the case. Television shows produced in the United States, for instance, are shown in many nations (see Browne, 1968). It is interesting to speculate about what American stories about Africa, for instance, do to African attitudes toward America.

There seems to be less research on the amount of information on other countries taught in school, but it is reasonable to assume that there are biases similar to those in mass communications. The gatekeepers--in this case textbook authors, teachers, curriculum committees, etc.--will be subject to the same sorts of ethnocentric perception, political pressures, pressures to simplify and make interesting, conformity with popular stereotypes, and difficulty of getting information, so that the flow of information will still be from elite to non-elite nations rather than vice versa.

Some research has focussed on school textbooks, and it appears to support this generalization. Hsu (1970) notes examples of unconscious bias in textbooks (e.g., World War II is said to have begun in Europe).⁹ And McGranahan (1951) cites several earlier studies in which

⁹ He also comments on the exaggerated impression of differences between the United States and China given by the choice of illustrations in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. The plates on China show poverty and ugliness, whereas those on the United States show scenery and famous buildings, although both countries have both poverty and scenery.

textbooks were found to give ethnocentric and stereotypic descriptions of other countries and peoples. In general American textbooks have ignored non-Western nations (Isaacs, 1958, pp. 47ff) and, to a lesser degree, most foreign nations. This is consistent with the flow of information from relatively powerful countries, as is the fact that Canadian textbooks give more space to the United States than United States textbooks give to Canada (Angus, 1938; Burkhardt, 1947-1948). Burkhardt found that American school textbooks gave little space to the Soviet Union and that the information which was included tended to ignore and distort a number of important topics.

Cherry (1971, p. 8) emphasized the differences between "knowledge-by-reporting" and "knowledge-by-encounter," but part of the significance of the preceding paragraphs is that this distinction is often forgotten.

It is hard for us to realize how little of our information comes from direct experience with the physical environment, and how much of it comes only indirectly, from other people and the mass media. Our complex communication systems enable us to overcome the time and space limitations that confined our ancestors, but they leave us with a greater dependence on others for shaping our ideas about how things are in the world. . . . We have given up much of our capacity to confirm what we think we know.

. . . It appears that much of the information obtained from others is given the status of reality. . . This tendency . . . is reinforced by the fact that a large proportion of unverified information is shared by others around us (McLeod and Chaffee, 1972).

The individual who knows what his schoolteacher and local newspaper say about India is likely to assume that he is well-informed, and this assumption may influence his receptiveness to new ideas about India.

"Knowledge-by-encounter," however, also has its limitations, because the travelers the host nationals see are not representative of the people of their homeland and because the travelers tend to see only particular aspects of the country they visit. Thus tourists are still the relatively affluent, and in many countries the main source of information about particular countries is observation of the behavior of affluent people on vacation. Simultaneously, the tourist is likely to spend his time abroad staring at sights and events which have been designed with his wishes and preconceptions in mind and which may be very atypical of the host country (Cherry, 1971). Other travelers--students, businessmen, military personnel--also are atypical of their countrymen¹⁰ and are also likely to spend their time in environments atypical of the host country.

And for contact as well as for "knowledge-by-reporting," the flow of information is still largely from elite nations to other elite nations and to non-elite nations. The richer countries receive more tourists (The United Kingdom received 23 times as many tourists per capita as Uganda in 1961), and most foreign study took place in the richer nations (Schramm, 1964, p. 65; Angell, 1969, p. 37).

The preceding discussion indicates that for most individuals looking at most countries, there is relatively little information

¹⁰The individual who is fairly typical of his countrymen at home may become very unrepresentative abroad. A thrifty, hard-worker may become a spendthrift pleasure-seeker on his vacation. A normally tolerant young man may become contemptuous of the natives he meets near his military base. And missionaries are noted for acting more religious abroad than at home.

readily available. When this is combined with the evidence in Chapter III that he will tend only to accept part of the information which is available to him, it is possible to ask whether the average person ends up with any accurate knowledge about most foreign nations. ✓ In the United States, at least, the general level of knowledge has tended to be quite low. In 1942 60 percent of Americans could not locate China or India on a world map (Isaacs, 1958, p. 37). In 1964 8 percent of the public did not know of a communist government in China (Robinson, 1967a). Hero (1968) concluded that "on most . . . questions . . . a third to as much as two-thirds may be typed as ignorant, apathetic, or both," and Kriesberg (1949) came to a similar conclusion.

Such measures may not fully describe what the average American knows about other nations. He may not be able to say who Mao is, but he will say that the Chinese are "tradition-loving" and "loyal to family ties." To know whether this represents knowledge of China requires consideration of whether such stereotypes may be assumed to contain a kernel of truth."

It is not necessary for an image of another people to be somewhat related to their actual characteristics. This was demonstrated by de la Piere (1936; cited in Brigham, 1971), who found that the popular stereotype of Armenian immigrants in California was demonstrably false. Or is there any reason why stereotypes cannot have a basis in reality.

In the absence of sampling and measurement techniques which could make it convenient to find out if, for instance, the Irish are belligerent, studies demonstrating that different groups hold similar

tereotypes of a particular nationality provide a partial test of the likelihood of a kernel of truth. Such agreement often occurs, and there even may be similarity between a group's image of itself and the images held of it by others. According to Triandis and Vassiliou (1967; cited in Brigham, 1971), "The present data suggest that there is a 'kernel of truth' in most stereotypes when they are elicited from people who have firsthand knowledge of the group being stereotyped."¹¹ Although kernels of truth can and presumably do exist, consensus in ascribing a particular trait to the people of a foreign nation cannot be taken as an indicator of knowledge about that nation.

It might be expected that individuals in non-elite nations would have more knowledge of the people of the elite nations like the United States than vice versa, both because of the relative availability of information on the elite nations and because of the relative salience of the elite nations. Lindgren and Tebcherani (1971) gave some support

¹¹This conclusion is hardly surprising; but the data are subject to other interpretations. If Chinese and Filipinos in the Philippines agree in their descriptions of each other (Peabody, 1968; descriptions of a given group were denotatively similar but connotative mirror-images), it may be because members of each group are aware of and persuaded somewhat by the stereotype held by the other group. If similar stereotypes of the Soviet Union are held in various countries in Western Europe and North America (Buchanan and Cantril, 1953, p. 57), it may be because elites in these nations are trying to justify an alliance against the U.S.S.R. If the attitudes of people in Ghana toward various nations are similar to those of the British (Jahoda, 1959), it is more likely due to related educational systems than to independently developed nation-images. And if Negroes and Whites in the United States agree that Negroes are "musical" and Whites are "industrious" (Bayton and Youne, 1947), it may be because both are exposed to the same white-dominated system of mass communications as easily as it may be that this agreement reflects kernels of truth.

to this by finding that Arab students were more able to predict the responses of American students to a set of questions than American students were able to predict the Arab responses.¹²

B. Relations Between Knowledge of and Images of Other Countries

Chapter II indicated that the particular beliefs an individual has about another nation are likely to relate to his attitude toward that nation. But this is not a simple additive relationship. Some beliefs are associated with favorable attitudes and some with negative attitudes, and it is impossible to infer from the number of beliefs an individual has toward a given nation whether he is favorable or unfavorable toward it. Likewise, Chapter III makes it clear that the favorability of an individual's attitude toward another nation is not a simple function of his exposure to information about that nation. Under some conditions exposure to detailed information will lead to more favorable attitudes, and under other conditions it will lead to less favorable attitudes. There is little reason therefore to predict that the amount of accurate knowledge an individual has about another nation will be linearly related to their attitudes.

Nevertheless, some researchers have compared scores on tests of knowledge about given nations with subjects' attitudes toward those

¹² Abate and Berrien (1967) found that both Americans and Japanese subjects were more able to predict American than Japanese responses to a series of behavior orientations.

nations.¹³ Early studies relating knowledge to attitudes toward ethnic and national groups were reviewed by Nettler (1946). Correlations ranged from 0 to +.82. Nettler found moderate positive correlations between knowledge of and favorable attitudes toward Japanese-Americans. Cooper and Michiels (1952) found a rank-difference correlation of +.33 between college students' knowledge of different countries and their preference rankings of those countries. On the other hand Goertzel (1972) found that the change in American attitudes toward the Vietnam conflict between 1965 and 1971 was not accompanied by an increase in American knowledge of Vietnam.

Nettler suggested that some of the low correlations between knowledge and attitudes might conceal curvilinear relationships. This possibility is given some support by the finding of Johnson, Middleton, and Tajfel (1970) that there was a curvilinear relationship between the preferences of British schoolchildren for different nations and their knowledge about such characteristics of these nations as their location,

¹³ These studies have measured knowledge of other countries through "objective" tests (tests where the researchers thought they knew what answer accurately described the nation in question). If these studies had also employed measures of the acceptance of subjectively comparable but objectively false statements, it might be found that it is not whether the individual is right but whether he is confident in his answer that predicts his attitudes. In this case the relationship of knowledge and attitudes would appear to exist within the cognitive system; this would appear to be consistent with the finding of Cooper and Michiels (1952) that attitudes relate more closely to perceived than to actual knowledgeability. If, on the other hand, only the objective measure relates to attitudes, the relationship will apparently be due to a third variable, such as education or salience, that relates to both knowledge and attitudes.

population, allies, and famous people.

Knowledge and favorability toward other nations are more consistently related across individuals than across nation-objects. That is, individuals with more knowledge of other nations in general are likely to have relatively favorable attitudes toward other nations (cf. Propositions 3A3 and 3A4.1). In general, knowledgeable individuals tend to have a relatively benign and optimistic image of the world, perhaps because knowledge is related to differentiation (Scott, 1965). Thus Shimberg (1949) found that poorly informed college students were more likely than other college students to expect the United States to be at war within five years.¹⁴ Smith (1948) found that knowledge of world affairs was related--in the United States in 1946--to willingness to be friendly with Russia and to let the United Nations control the atomic bomb. Smith (1947) found that knowledgeability about Russia was positively related to optimism about future relations between the United States and Russia.

There also is some evidence that the amount of knowledge an individual has about another country is positively related to the differentiation of his attitude toward that country. In a statement consistent with Proposition 2A4, Scott (1965) suggests that

Minimal information about the world will yield a simple, unidimensional cognitive structure, which is most conducive to an ethnocentric attitude of maximum distance from things foreign. . . . To the extent that additional information increases the complexity of the cognitive structure for viewing nations, it will counteract

¹⁴Such a war did occur, so perhaps it is unfair to call those with lower scores on the knowledge test "poorly-informed."

the simple, ethnocentric dislike of the foreign, and affect will come to be differentially associated with more specific attributes of particular nations.

Scott (1962a, 1969) repeatedly found positive correlations between knowledge measures and dimensional complexity.

In studies related to this relationship, Robinson and Hefner (1967, 1968) found that their presumably more knowledgeable academic sample had a more differentiated view of nation similarities than a sample of the general public. Schwartzman and Mora y Araujo (1966) found that subjects with more knowledge of Latin America showed relatively little variance across nations in their ranking of Latin American countries, indicating that, although they liked and disliked the same nations as other subjects, their images were more moderate and presumably more differentiated.

Differentiated, knowledge-based images tend to be flexible and stable. McCrosky (1967, 1969) found that attitudes created by the use of evidence in persuasion are more likely to be retained than attitudes based on other appeals. Lewan and Stotland (1961) found that the amount of prior information individuals had about a country (neutral information on little-known Andorra was introduced in an earlier message) related positively to the stability of their attitudes when exposed to a message designed to change them.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

A. Summary

1. Detailed Summary. This study is an exploration of relationships between information about foreign nations and attitudes toward them. The discussion in the preceding chapters provides a summary of existing research, and the propositions in those chapters constitute general hypotheses for future research on such relationships.

Nation-attitudes are an aspect of images of foreign nations and peoples. A nation-image is the organized representation of a given nation in an individual's cognitive system, including beliefs, evaluations, feelings, memories, and action-orientations. A nation-attitude is the affective-evaluative component of a nation-image.

Three kinds of information are dealt with in the present study:

(1) Factual information refers to the actual or real characteristics of the nation (or people). (2) Available information refers to the set of statements about the nation-object to which the individual is exposed, or to which he could easily expose himself. (3) Subjective information refers to the set of beliefs about the nation which the individual has accepted as true. On the level of subjective information, a person might say that he believes, for example, that the

Chinese are communists, that the Irish are pugnacious, and that the Wallonians are unpleasant. On the level of available information, it may be that there are messages to which the individual may become exposed--in schools, in the mass media, in interpersonal communication, or through direct observation--which either directly or indirectly refer to communism in China, to quick-tempered Irishmen, and to particular behaviors of the Wallonians. And on the level of factual information, there will be proportions of the Chinese, Irish, and Wallonian peoples who are in some degree communist, pugnacious, or unpleasant.

A simple model of information effects is that factual information about a foreign nation is observed and then transmitted as available information to the individual who then accepts it into his belief system where it forms the basis of his attitudes toward that nation (see Figure 1, p. 37).

In fact, things are not so simple. The information that becomes available to an individual will not correspond perfectly with the actual characteristics of the nation it claims to describe. The image of the nation which an individual derives from the information available to him may show little objective correspondence with the messages in the media. And an individual may have a nation-attitude for which he can offer little or no informational support. The present exploration has been an attempt to specify the conditions which determine the amount and kind of correspondence, for the individual, of evaluation-affect toward other nations and the three information variables.

Chapter I concentrated on the dependent variable, the images individuals have of foreign nations and peoples. Such images vary--across individuals, across nation-objects, and across time--in terms of their content and in terms of their structure. The contents of nation-images are beliefs about the extent to which particular attributes describe the nation-objects. They may include both beliefs the individual has about "foreign nations" in general and beliefs about how particular nations differ from others. Structural variables are attempts to explain the relationships of beliefs about other nations to each other and to the rest of the individual's belief system. Differences in structural variables--including salience, differentiation, and tolerance for ambiguity--are an important part of nation-images in that they influence the way in which available information will be processed by the individual.

Most research on nation-images has focussed on their evaluative-affective dimension, that is, on nation-attitudes. Across subjects of different ages and cultures, and across different nation-objects, evaluation of nations seems to be the most universal aspect of nation-images, although the factors which make up this dimension may vary. Evaluation is both an aspect of the content of images and an important predictor of the structure of the image.

A review of methods used to measure nation-images revealed a number of difficulties. There is a tendency to rely on verbal responses as indicators of attitudes. Since the salience of the attitude to the individual or the intensity with which he holds it is rarely measured, it is possible that some of the responses represent "attitudes" that

would never have existed were it not for the researcher's question.

In addition, different measures have produced different results, suggesting that what appear to be conflicting data on given relationships may differ only because the different measures represent different dependent variables.

Chapter II looks first at predictors of attitudes toward foreign nations in general. Different individuals within a society will see foreign nations differently. One person will tend to dislike foreigners while another will tend to like them. One person will distinguish sharply between good nations and enemies while another will say that foreigners and non-foreigners both include both good and bad individuals and good and bad traits. Such variation does not seem to result from differences in available information; rather it seems to play a role in determining how the individual will respond to the information that is available. If a particular foreign nation is salient to an individual, he is likely to form a specific attitude toward it which differs from his attitudes toward other foreign nations. For most individuals, however, most foreign nations are not especially salient, and they are likely to respond similarly to them (Propositions 2A1, 2A1.1, 2A1.2).

A person develops habitual ways of responding to other individuals in interpersonal situations long before he develops ways of responding to other nations. He learns to make distinctions between "we" and "they," and he learns to respond differently to "we" and "they." Some research suggests that there will be correspondence between the responses an individual makes to friends and enemies in his interpersonal environment and those he makes to friends and enemies in the international

environment (Propositions 2A2, 2A2.1, 2A2.2). This may represent a generalization of the interpersonal responses, or it may represent effects of general personality and cognitive structure characteristics which influence both domains.

Research related to the general concept of the authoritarian personality has consistently found that generally negative attitudes toward foreigners and minority group members are part of a general tendency to see people in terms of relatively few categories. This may even involve a generally negative and undifferentiated response to the concept "foreigners" (Propositions 2A3.3, 2A3.4). Typically the authoritarian individual is insecure; he feels threatened by others, and he projects blame onto them--and thus he becomes ethnocentric and dislikes out-groups (Propositions 2A3, 2A3.1, 2A3.2).

In addition to being predisposed to negative attitudes, the relatively authoritarian individual is likely to look to authority figures for leadership, and thus his international attitudes may be based on uncritical acceptance of the viewpoints expressed by his nation's leaders. Authoritarianism is related to acceptance of prevailing stereotypes and to having a relatively undifferentiated image of foreign nations (Propositions 2A3.3, 2A3.4).

Differentiation is clearly an important structural characteristic of nation-images, though its exact influence on attitudes is unclear. Insofar as an individual's nation-images have a differentiated structure, he may accept new information without distorting it to fit his own prior attitudes and he may hold both favorable and unfavorable beliefs about the nation-object. Thus the person with a differentiated nation-image

will be relatively unlikely to have a wholly positive or wholly negative evaluation of a nation (Proposition 2A4).

Usually the most important nation for an individual is his own country. If he takes pride in his national identity and sees his own country as superior, he is in effect seeing other nations in relatively unfavorable terms (Propositions 2A5, 2A6(A)). In some cases, however, he may see other countries as similar to his own, and generalize his response to his own country to others as well (Proposition 2A6(B)).

Against the individual's general attitude toward other nations, differential responses become apparent. Differences in nation-attitudes are associated with perceptions of differences between nations in possession of various attributes. People seem to judge nations largely in terms of their political alignment, their level of economic development, and the main characteristics of their culture (Propositions 2B1, 2B1.1, 2B1.2, 2B1.3). People who see a nation as characterized by attributes they consider desirable are likely to express favorable attitudes toward that nation (Proposition 2B2).

It appears that the characteristics which are most generally approved of, and which are therefore generally associated with favorable attitudes are (a) a high level of economic and technological development and a high standard of living, (b) peaceful intentions, (c) political independence in reality as well as in theory, (d) a "democratic" government, and (e) a population which is mostly of European ancestry (Propositions 2B3, 2B3.1, 2B3.2, 2B3.3, 2B3.4, 2B3.5).

Other generally favorable characteristics are defined relative to characteristics the observer perceives in his homeland. In general

people are more likely to respond favorably to nations and peoples they see as similar to their own (Proposition 2B4). This is especially true for perceptions of political alignment; people tend to like their country's allies and to dislike its enemies (Proposition 2B4.1).

An individual's attitudes toward a foreign nation are also likely to reflect his perception of the attitudes of the people of that country. He is likely to be favorable to people he sees as having attitudes similar to his own (Propositions 2B4.2, 2B4.3), and he is especially likely to be favorable to them if he sees them as sharing his favorable attitude toward his own nation (Proposition 2B5).

Generally speaking foreign nations are not especially salient attitude objects, and both attitudes toward and beliefs about foreign nations seem to be shaped by other aspects of the belief system. It is when particular nations become salient to the individual--for instance when he travels to them or when they become involved in conflict with his homeland--that he is likely to form relatively defined and polarized attitudes toward them (Proposition 2B6).

Chapter III begins with a discussion of the effects of exposure to different sources of information about foreign nations. Individuals, at least in the United States, report a wide variety of sources of information about other nations, though they are probably also influenced by sources of which they are unaware. Educated respondents are likely to mention mass media most often as a source of such information. Education, in fact, is a good predictor of interest in, exposure to, and knowledge of foreign nations (Propositions 3A1, 3A1.1, 3A2). Education appears to have the lasting effect of broadening the

individual's horizons to include the international scene.

Education also seems to be associated with a generally favorable attitude toward foreign nations (Proposition 3A3). Though instruction can produce at least short term reduction of prejudice against other groups, it is possible that it is the social interaction rather than the information presented by instructors which predicts favorable attitudes. Education tends to be a good predictor of mass media exposure in general and of exposure to relatively sophisticated foreign affairs information in the mass media in particular (Proposition 3A4). Since education relates to internationalism and to media exposure, individuals who are favorable to other nations tend to be exposed to more foreign affairs information in the media than those who are not (Proposition 3A4.1). However, the effect of mass media exposure on the individual's attitudes toward other nations is a function of the information which is available in the mass media and of factors which determine whether the individual accepts that information as true (Proposition 3A5), and these factors in turn will be shaped by a variety of influences. If an image of another nation does develop largely from exposure to indirect sources like the mass media, it is likely to have a different structure from an image based on more direct sources (Proposition 3A6).

Both because of their tendency to interact with each other and because of their common interests and background, individuals belonging to or referring to the same reference group are likely to have similar nation-attitudes (Proposition 3A7). This will be especially true if for some reason attitudes toward the nation-object are salient to the

reference group and if the reference group is especially salient to the individual (Propositions 3A7.1, 3A7.2).

International travel provides an important source of influence on nation-images for those who participate in it. It has the greatest impact on the nation-images of the traveler who takes on a participant role in the host society (Proposition 3A8). Such contact occurs for many official and unofficial reasons and involves exposure to a wide variety of sources of information about the host country.

Not surprisingly, the traveler gains in knowledge of the host country (Proposition 3A9), though much of the gain is in knowledge of detail rather than in knowledge of facts about the country as a whole. The traveler will tend to develop an image of the host country which is similar to that held by the nationals of the host country (Proposition 3A9.1). Whether he also comes to perceive the host country as having much in common with his own country is likely to depend on his prior attitudes. Favorable attitudes toward the host country tend to be associated with a perception of the host country as similar to the traveler's own country (Proposition 3A10).

Contact has no clear over-all effect on attitudes toward the host country. Some travelers become more positive, some become more negative, and others show little change in attitude. Contact does, however, lead the traveler to have a more differentiated image of the host country (Proposition 3A11). The traveler discovers variation in the host nation and is likely to see it as all good or all bad. There is also some evidence that contact is associated with a somewhat more favorable attitude toward other nations in general (Proposition 3A12).

Differences in the effects of contact on attitudes are associated with a number of variables. In general, the individual who is initially favorable toward the host country and who is more prepared to interact with nationals of the host country is relatively likely to develop favorable attitudes (Proposition 3A13). Both of these variables may contribute to the traveler's satisfaction with his sojourn and to the extent of his interaction with host nationals, and these two variables in turn tend to be associated with the development of favorable images of the host country (Propositions 3A14, 3A14.1, 3A15, 3A15.1).

In studying the effects of contact, it is difficult to isolate the relationships of information and attitudes. The traveler gains information, and develops a more differentiated image, and this learning experience is usually associated with changes in attitude--toward the homeland and the self as well as toward the host country. After the traveler's return, his attitudes toward the host country may revert to what they were prior to the sojourn even though the knowledge increase is retained (Proposition 3A16), suggesting that this kind of information gained in contact may have little relevance to post-contact attitudes.

Chapter III also looks at the factors which predict acceptance of available information about foreign nations. It is assumed that images and attitudes perform several functions for the individual and that out of the information available to him he will accept and retain that which helps in the performance of these functions. He seeks to form attitudes which function for object appraisal (assessment of

reality), social adjustment (relating to other people), and externalization of inner needs (Propositions 3B1, 3B1.1). It may not be possible to maximize all three of these functions, and thus pressures toward acceptance of relatively objective information may be offset by other pressures. This explains why, in the face of historical events which dramatically change the kind of information available about a foreign nation, most individuals' attitudes remain relatively stable.

A complicated process of filtering and distortion tends to select for the individual information which will meet his needs (Proposition 3B2). Though he will sometimes have a need for accurate information about other nations, other needs may result in his not accepting such information. Thus the individual is likely to expose himself selectively to sources that tend to give information consonant to his prior image and to pay more attention to consonant material to which he is exposed (Propositions 3B2.1, 3B2.2). Out of the information he attends to he is likely to remember that which is consonant, and to treat it as salient and credible (Propositions 3B2.3, 3B2.4, 3B2.5). Messages presenting information which conflicts with the existing image tend to be doubted, to be accepted but not related to other beliefs, or to be interpreted in a way which reduces the conflict (Proposition 3B2.6).

The information which the individual eventually accepts tends to be either that information which is consonant with his existing beliefs or that which, because of its prominence in the information environment and because it is factual and unambiguous, cannot easily

be denied (Proposition 3B3). The rigor of the selection process is a function of the individual's social and psychological needs, and these in turn may be heightened in an atmosphere of international conflict and threat (Proposition 3B4).

Chapter IV introduces a caveat. The available information to which an individual responds (or fails to respond) does not necessarily represent the actual characteristics of the nation-object. And thus, even to the degree an individual's attitudes relate to the information available to him, it is not possible to say that they relate to actual understanding of other nations.

While information reaches the individual through the news media, it has already been subjected to a variety of selective processes. The international flow of news is largely controlled by the wealthiest nations, and tends to emphasize events in these nations and to deal with other nations from the elite nations' point of view. Of the foreign information available for publication or broadcast, only some will be selected, and the selection will be biased, either by elite or government pressures or by a concern with audience appeal. Thus the information about a given nation to which an individual has access is likely to reflect a bias toward elite viewpoints, an ethnocentric bias, and a tendency to simplify and sensationalize.

Fictional material in the mass media may not be subjected to reality testing by the source or by the receiver, yet it plays a major role in shaping nation-attitudes. Generally the images of foreigners projected in media fiction tend to reflect popular stereotypes, and so they tend to be both over-simplified and obsolete, possibly but not

necessarily containing a kernel of truth.

Schools, like the mass media, tend to present a biased and simplified view of foreign nations. Both educational institutions and mass media institutions act as gatekeepers, controlling the flow of information about other countries to the individual.

Contact, because it allows for direct rather than mediated interaction with another nation, does not necessarily involve the biases which characterize the information available from other sources (although it should be noted that mass media and other mediated sources are usually an important part of the contact experience). But other distortions result from the limited experience of the traveler (he is likely to see a particular aspect of a nation and to think that he knows the nation as a whole) and from the cultural and personal biases of the traveler. The effects of contact on non-travelers who interact with the traveler, either in the host country or on his return home, will also be shaped by the non-representativeness of the people who travel.

2. Overview. The present study has been concerned with the relationship between information about foreign nations and attitudes toward them. It should be clear that these variables are related, but not in a simple, direct, or linear way. Available information is largely derived from factual information, but the limitations and motivations of mediators make the picture which becomes available a very distorted one. This potential for discrepancy between factual information and available information is suggested by Figure 4.

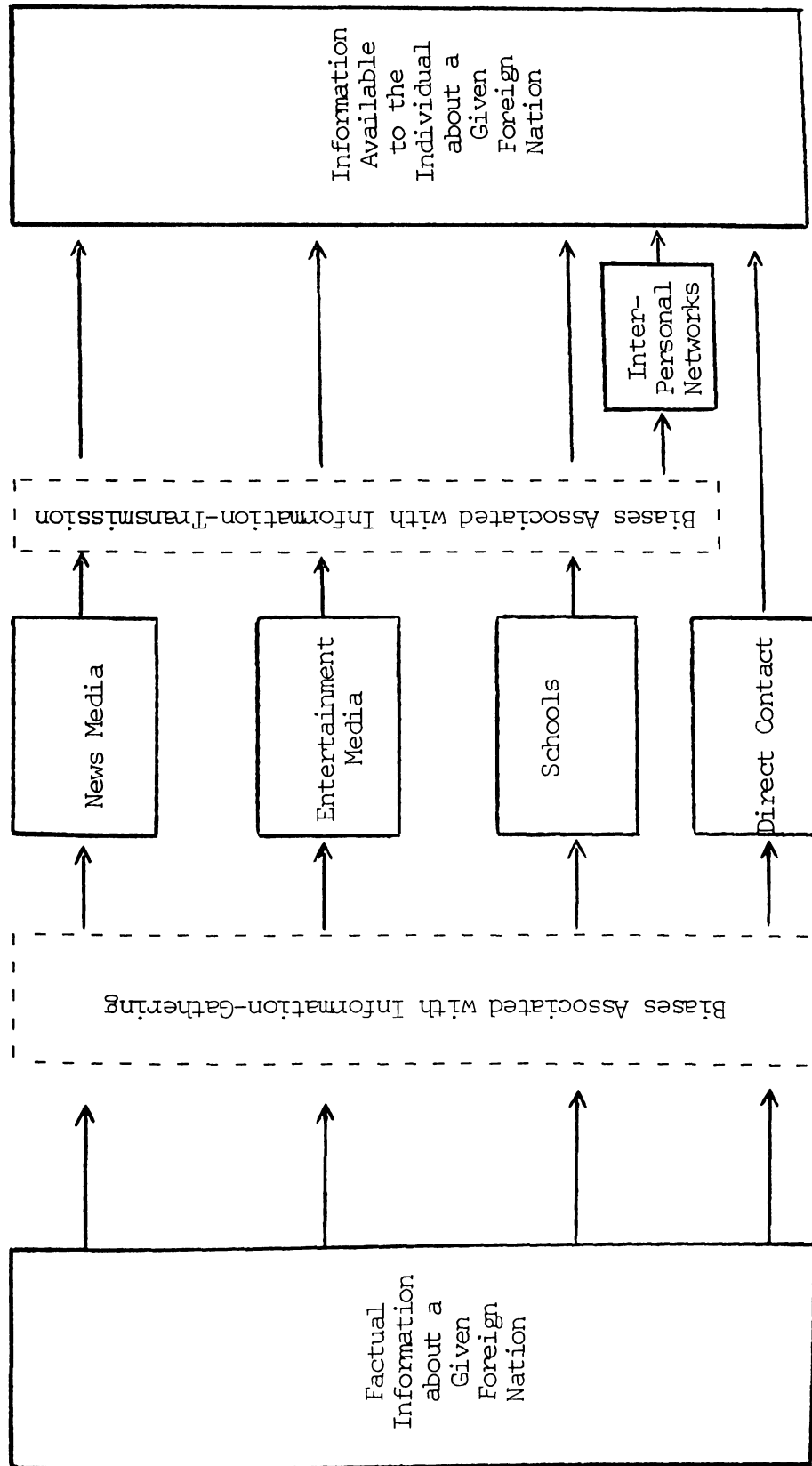


Figure 4. Potential Discrepancy between Factual Information and Available Information about a Given Foreign Nation.

Subjective information is, at least in part, derived from available information, but often other needs are more important to the individual than the need for information, and so his personal picture will differ from that of another individual in the same information environment. The selectivity processes which lead to discrepancies between available information and subjective or accepted information are illustrated by Figure 5. Similar processes would influence the nation-images of individuals involved in the information-gathering institutions illustrated in Figure 4.

An individual's attitude toward a given nation may be thought of as including two components, his general attitude toward foreign nations and the deviation of this particular attitude from that baseline. Information about foreign nations has relatively little effect on the general attitude, yet the general attitude accounts for much of the variance in nation-attitudes. The deviation of a particular nation-attitude from the baseline seems to relate to an interaction of informational (subjective beliefs, which themselves are shaped by the nation-attitude) and non-informational (such as preferences for particular traits) factors. This view of influences on nation attitudes is illustrated in Figure 6.

B. Suggestions for Future Research

1. General Shortcomings of Past Research. The review of research for the present study, as discussed in Chapter II, brought out a number of inadequacies common to much of the research on nation-attitudes:

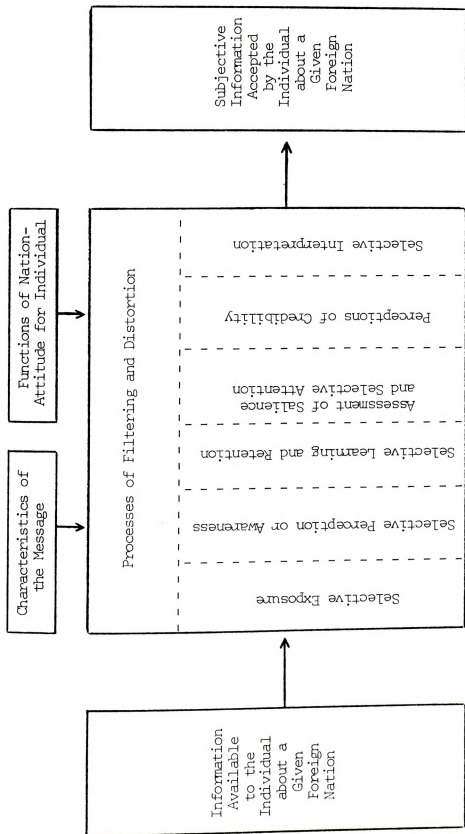


Figure 5. Potential Discrepancy between Available Information and the Subjective Information which is Accepted by a Particular Individual about a Given Foreign Nation.

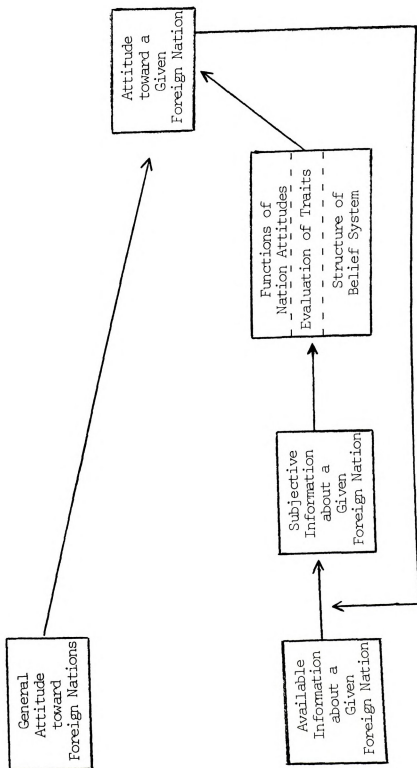


Figure 6. Factors Influencing a Particular Individual's Attitude toward a Given Foreign Nation.

(1) Experimental and longitudinal methods have not been utilized. Typically nation-attitudes are measured at one point in time, and so it is difficult to infer what factors lead to particular attitudes.

(2) Measurement of attitudes has often been inadequate, involving the use of single items rather than multiple-item scale techniques.

(3) The salience--of the nation-object and of the attitude toward it--has not been measured, even though the individuals studied are often found to have a fairly undifferentiated image of foreign nations in general.

(4) Usually only one of the three aspects of information distinguished in the present study is measured. Where available information is measured, it is generally assumed that it has been accepted by the individual; and sometimes inferences about beliefs are derived directly from factual information about nation-objects.

(5) Most research has concentrated on the relationships of only two or three variables, neglecting both multi-operational techniques of measurement and multivariate analysis techniques.¹

There is no simple relationship between information and nation-attitudes, and so there is no simple, critical experiment that would make clear the relationship that does exist. Rather, a wide variety

¹Most of these weaknesses, of course, are not peculiar to research on nation-attitudes. Instead they are common to much of the literature on attitudes and attitude change.

of research is needed to clarify ambiguities, to test the generalizability of existing data, to specify multivariate and curvilinear relationships, and to investigate causality. A general recommendation would be for the propositions in this study to be used as broad hypotheses to be tested with varying samples, varying nation-objects, and varying measures.

2. Specific Suggestions. At various points in the preceding chapters weaknesses in existing research have been pointed out and directions for future research have been suggested. Some of these suggestions are drawn together in the list which follows, as possible directions for research activity:

(1) Research is needed on the salience of nations to individuals.

Such research might clear up doubts about the meaningfulness of expressions of attitudes elicited from research subjects. It might be that information and attitudes relate differently for nation-objects high and low in salience, and control of variance in salience might clarify the interaction. In particular, such measures should be used to test Propositions 2A1.1 and 2A1.2.

(2) Dimensions of salience of nation-images need to be investigated separately. Relevance of particular nation-objects to the functions of object appraisal, social adjustment, and externalization will tend to covary, but these aspects of salience are conceptually independent of each other. Separate measurements of these aspects of salience might reveal that different attitude functions play different roles in the selectivity process.

(3) Dimensions of evaluation and affect in nation-images also need to be investigated. Factor analysis of results from various measures, including social distance, liking, similarity to ideal, and prestige rankings, might continue the refinement of the evaluative dimension and allow synthesis of results from Willis (1968) and Gardner, Wonnacott, and Taylor (1968). If regular dimensions of evaluation are identified it might turn out that those differences help account for discrepancies in existing data, and that the different factors involve different responses to information on foreign nations.

(4) In general, research on nation-attitudes, like other attitude research, needs to move toward multiple-operationalism rather than usage of single measures of attitude and toward inclusion of attitude measures other than verbal responses.

(5) A method needs to be developed for measuring an individual's attitude toward foreign nations in general. Existing scales, such as those for world-mindedness and internationalism, involve other variables--such as interest in other nations, nationalism, and foreign affairs attitudes--as well as general attitude, and so they cannot be used for seeing how the general attitude relates to these other variables. A reasonable approach would be to average some of the individual's particular nation-attitudes (as measured in accord with suggestions 2 and 3 above), but it would be important to use a sample of nation-objects which would be comparable from sample to sample and from study to study. Such a technique might also make possible measures of the differentiation of the general image of "foreign nations," potentially an important variable. If a measure of general attitude toward foreign

nations is developed it will make it possible to distinguish the general and specific components of particular nation-attitudes and allow the predictors of these two components to be studied separately. The generalization hypothesis (Proposition 2A2) should be tested using this new measure and a comparable measure of interpersonal attitudes.

(6) Prejudice and stereotyping are often said to involve images which are rigidly held and which admit of little variation. In studying images of foreign nations it would be useful to use independent measures to find out whether the individual thinks his beliefs apply to all members of the object nationality or just to most of them, and to find out whether he sees these as innate, invariant characteristics or whether he sees them as learned and capable of being changed.

(7) It may be that nation-images include some traits which color the meaning of other traits and have particular importance in determining a gestalt response. Studies of nation-images similar to the well-known study by Asch (1946) of interpersonal perceptions might identify particular attributes or combinations of attributes deserving of special attention. More generally--at all levels of information discussed in this study--particular information content needs to be compared with nation-attitudes to see how much of the variance in nation-attitudes it accounts for. Factor analytic studies have suggested the types of information that may be salient, but experimental studies are needed to demonstrate which attributes are most influential.

(8) Studies of information effects especially need to focus on differences between mediated and directly acquired information.

Both on the level of subjective information and on the level of available information, it would be possible to look at messages or beliefs and analyze the differences in content, and then to see if these content differences relate to attitude differences. Potentially these two types of information have very different effects.

(9) The concept of "amount" of information also needs to be examined more carefully. It has not been measured directly. Rather subjects have been asked if they think they are knowledgeable, they have been given information tests which measure information of a particular and restricted type, their exposure to particular sources and experiences has been measured, and the volume of foreign affairs information in some of these sources has been measured. On the subjective level it may be possible to measure the number of distinct beliefs an individual has about a nation-object (this is something like differentiation, but an individual may have a variety of specific beliefs without evaluative differentiation). It also might be possible to relate the number of beliefs (and facts) the subject has to the number available to him, although specifying what is available would be difficult except in the case of isolated individuals and little-known nations.

(10) In general, studies of the predictors of nation-attitudes need to use a multivariate approach. It is a general problem of the area that most studies tend to focus on the relationship between two or three variables. If one study indicates that variables X and Y are related, and another indicates that Y relates to Z, the relationship of X and Z remains unspecified, where a single study using all

three variables might have removed the ambiguity. There is a general need for multivariate studies to help synthesize existing data. An important and complicated problem, deserving of multivariate treatment, involves the relationships between salience of nation-attitudes, the type of information (mediated or direct) available to the individual, the differentiation of nation-attitudes, the degree to which nation-attitudes are moderate or polarized, and the amount of information a person has about other nations.

(11) A given individual is, simultaneously, a member of various subnational, national, and supernational groups, and his identity and loyalty will be divided among these groups. Attitudes toward foreign nations may be seen as reflecting the salience of supernational group membership in the identity of the individual, and thus as a function of national and subnational loyalties. Research using comparable measures of identity and loyalty on the different levels might be useful to test this approach to nation-attitudes. This would help test Propositions 2A5, 2A6(A) and 2A6(B), and it might help explain the discrepancies between the two types of xenophilia described by Perlmutter (1954b). Measurement of an individual's "hierarchy of loyalties" might be done using a method similar to that of Terhune (1965).

(12) It should be determined if there are types of individuals who respond in particular ways to other nations. One method of doing this would involve replication with larger samples of Stephenson's (1967) use of Q-sort technique. Recognition of types of individuals who respond in particular ways to other nations would be useful to the

individuals involved in international communication (for instance to people planning programs for foreign students), and it would be likely to give insights, which might not be otherwise attained, into configurations of variables associated with nation-attitudes. In particular, it might be found that Proposition 2A1 applies to some types of people more than to others.

(13) The relationship between liking foreign nations and ascribing favorable attributes to them needs to be clarified. More research should measure the particular subject's evaluation of the traits he ascribes to the nation-object instead of using a group mean to rate the attributes, since this would eliminate extraneous variance caused by discrepancies between individuals and the group mean.

(14) Research is needed to clear up the ambiguity found in the results of many studies where it is not clear if the significant variable in predicting nation-attitudes is a quality perceived in the nation-object or a quality of the relationship between the nation-object and the judge or the judge's homeland. This kind of ambiguity can be reduced if more studies are done looking at the predictors of nation-attitudes for subjects from different nations. It can also be reduced if subjects are asked to indicate the extent to which they are personally characterized by the attributes in question, and by statistical methods (as in Selltiz et al., 1963). Presumably both absolute and similarity factors may operate on a given attribute.

(15) Studies of populations from various cultures are needed to determine if the positive relationship found in the United States between favorable nation-attitudes and perceptions that the people in

the other nation have similar attitudes on most topics holds cross-culturally. This, in effect, would be a test of the generalizability of Proposition 2B4.2.

(16) Studies are needed which use comparable measures of perceived similarity to homeland and perceived similarity to self (or to subgroup) to discover which of these reference points is most important in predicting nation-attitudes. Such studies would help refine Propositions 2B4.1, 2B4.2, and 2B4.3. The results of such tests might also vary with the culture of the subjects, so this research should also be done with a variety of populations.

(17) Generally, an individual will tend to have a favorable attitude toward a foreign nation if he believes that the people of that nation have a favorable attitude toward him. Research is needed to determine the specific types of perceptions of favorable attitudes by others that are most closely associated with a favorable attitude toward those others. Is it important that others be seen as liking one's nation, one's subgroup, or one's self? And is it necessary or sufficient that the individual believe that others see his nation as similar to their own? In effect, what is called for is a comparison of the predictiveness of the various forms of Proposition 2B5 suggested in Chapter II.

(18) More researchers should interview individuals at length as to the origins of their nation-images. That is, they should follow the lead of Isaacs (1958). Though interview responses are not always accurate, they provide a kind of information about effects of information on attitudes which is not otherwise available. Interviews with

relatively uneducated groups in different nations would be especially interesting, since little research of this kind has taken place.

(19) Since foreign affairs media content is controlled by the government in different ways in different nations, research is needed in different societies to see if it is cross-nationally true that people with more exposure to foreign affairs news are relatively likely to have favorable nation-attitudes. This means that Proposition 3A4.1 should be tested in societies with varying types of press systems.

(20) A comparison should be made between nation-images entirely derived from information in the mass media and nation-images derived partially or entirely from other sources. Insofar as this can be done while controlling other variables, it may be possible to see if these two sets of images do indeed, as Proposition 3A6 predicts, differ qualitatively.

(21) Generally more research is needed on variables which predict the influence of interpersonal interaction and reference group attachment on nation-images. Such research would need to measure the salience of the reference group to the individual, the general image of the nation-object held by the reference group, and the individual's image of the nation-object. It may be found that particular aspects of nation-images tend to be determined by interpersonal communication while others tend to be determined by mass communication.

(22) More research is needed on the effects of tourist travel on the nation-images and attitudes of the traveler.

(23) Studies of contact experiences should look in more detail at the way the sojourner responds to information about the host country

in the mass media of the host country. This is likely to be an important part of the contact experience.

(24) Research is needed to identify the factors which predict how much the traveler's knowledge of the foreign nation will increase as a result of his sojourn. If the effect of contact on attitudes is in part determined by increase in knowledge, more detailed information about what is learned and by whom should shed light on the relationship.

(25) The correspondence between the objective characteristics of foreign nations and the information about them which becomes available in the news media and in schools has been studied in less detail than the correspondence between available information, subjective information, and attitudes. It is clear that bias occurs in the mediation process as information is selectively eliminated and interpreted, but it is not clear how biased the resulting available information is. The difficulty is in developing an independent and objective measure of factual information with which to compare the available information. This can never be done completely, but objective measures of a variety of characteristics of the nation should be developed and compared with available information to provide a description of the bias and to give an indication of the relationship between nation-images and possession of factual information.

(26) It is generally felt that the way a nation is presented in media fiction influences the audience's image of that nation, but not much is known about when this is the case and when it is not. Studies should be done of how people respond to foreign characters and

settings in media fiction to see when they are perceived as relating to reality and when exposure to them influences nation-attitudes.

Such research should consider effects both in the normal situation where the media presentation is consistent with popular stereotypes and in the propagandistic situation where fiction is deliberately designed to change popular stereotypes (or where media fiction produced in one society is published or broadcast in another).

(27) Studies of the information about other nations which is taught in schools have focussed on textbook content. Research is needed on the attitudes of teachers and their influence on students' nation-images.

(28) Studies of the effects of direct contact on nation-attitudes should be replicated with measures of knowledge and nation-attitudes made at several points in time both during and after the sojourn. The U-curve and W-curve literature makes it clear that the results of such measurements will depend to a large extent on the time when they are made, and generalizations about the relationship of information and attitudes during the sojourn can only be made if the time variable is controlled through longitudinal measurement.

(29) There is a practical need for more studies of attitudes toward the smaller and poorer nations. The most detailed studies of nation-attitudes, like that by Smith, Bruner, and White (1956), have concentrated on relatively well-known and important nations. There is a need for comparable depth in studies of lesser known nations. Though such nations may not be clearly distinguished from each other in many minds (not much would be gained by asking an American about

differences between Thailand and Burma or between Chad and the Central African Republic), together they make up an important element in the modern world, and the individual's image of "Africa" or of "under-developed countries" may be worth studying. Since such nations are also different in their salience to the mass media, differences in attitude might show the effects of media treatment.

Some additional suggestions are included in Part C of the present chapter.

3. Variables to be Measured in an Ideal Study. Drawing on a number of the previous suggestions, it is possible to suggest the variables which would be measured and related to each other in an ideal study of relationships between information and nation-attitudes: (1) Subjects of different nationalities, including communist and non-communist, developed and underdeveloped, and European and non-European nations would be compared. (2) Generally influential variables such as education, previous foreign travel, and authoritarianism, attitudes toward the subject's homeland, and attitudes toward interpersonal relations would be measured and statistically controlled. (3) Content dimensions of attitudes toward a wide variety of nation-objects would be measured through a multiple-indicator approach. (4) Attitudes toward nation-objects would also be described in terms of differentiation and extremity/moderation. (5) Attitudes toward nations would be averaged to provide an estimate of the individual's attitude toward foreign nations in general; and this attitude would also be described in terms of different dimensions, differentiation, and extremity/moderation. (6) Beliefs about particular nations would be measured in a way that

would include both beliefs about matters of opinion and matters of fact. (7) Belief measures would be accompanied by a measure of how the individual evaluates the ascribed traits and whether he also ascribes them to himself and his homeland. (8) Measures would be made of subjects' preferences for various information sources and of their communication habits. (9) A survey would be made of the mediated and of the direct information--factual, opinionated, and fictional--available to the individual. (10) Sociometric measures would be used to identify the individuals' peer and opinion leaders, and an independent estimate of their nation-images would also be made.

Some of the data generated by simultaneous measurement of the variables listed in the preceding paragraph could be used to test hypotheses derived from the propositions discussed in this study. Much of it, however, would have to be classified as exploratory research. In effect, research on this subject is at a point where the variables which need to be considered are known, where there is some data on how individual pairs of variables relate to each other, but where the multivariate data and the theory needed to clarify the whole picture are missing.

C. Implications for Theory-Building

1. The Concept of Attitudes toward Nations and Their Peoples.

Although the present study has been arbitrarily restricted to research on attitudes toward nations and nationalities, this research does not make up a distinct area of attitude research. The frequent attention to nation-attitudes by students of attitude formation and change does

not imply that nation is a conceptually important variable in such research. Rather the frequent use of nations as attitude-objects seems to have been at times a matter of convenience, since nationalities are easily labeled and widely known groups of people, and at times a reflection of the value-orientations of the researchers and/or their sponsors.

Despite the frequency of questions about nation-attitudes in attitude research, the concept of nation-attitude has usually not been carefully explicated. As a result, the usefulness of this research in the development of a general theory of attitudes (or of attitudes toward others) has been limited.

Two problems are involved. First, it is usually not clear what referents the research subjects have for the names of nations or nationalities. If a subject is asked for his opinion of "China," for instance, will his response represent his image of China's people, of its leadership, or its climate and landforms, or what? And if he is asked to rate "the Chinese," does he think only of modern Chinese, and does he (if he is an American) include his opinion of Chinese-Americans? Generally the existing data do not answer such questions, though the way in which these concepts are defined will influence the responses which are made to them. When the name of a nation is used as a stimulus, the responses may represent attitudes toward its government, its people, or its history, or to a somewhat vague mixture of these and other ingredients. Research on the usual referents of names of nations might help clarify (or qualify) existing data on nation-attitudes, and might demonstrate the need for more precise stimuli in measuring nation-

attitudes.

Despite the confusion over the meanings which names of nations may have to individuals, it seems reasonable to treat nation-attitudes as a subset of what might be called attitudes toward others or attitudes toward out-groups. Human beings belong to hierarchies of groups--usually including the nuclear family, the extended family, the local community, the ethnic group, the nation, alliances of nations, and the human species--which play roles of varying importance in their identities. Where belonging to a given group is important to an individual, he will make a "we-they" distinction between the group he belongs to and other comparable groups. Research on attitudes toward foreign nations is research on an aspect of the way in which people respond to groups to which they do not belong, and thus it is closely related to other bodies of research such as studies of prejudice toward ethnic groups and studies of affect between individuals.

The present study has not been concerned with the similarities or differences between predictors of nation-attitudes and predictors of attitudes toward other kinds of out-groups. The predictors of attitudes toward foreign nations in general--discussed in the first part of Chapter II--are generally consistent with research on individuals' attitudes toward other individuals and out-groups. Evidence of a pattern which goes beyond nation-attitudes is included in the discussion of Propositions 2A2, 2A2.1, 2A2.2, and 2A3.2. In particular, authoritarianism seems to relate in much the same way to nation-attitudes and attitudes toward other out-groups. Additional research is needed, however, to see if individuals consistently make distinctions

between "we" and "they" in looking at nations analogous to those they make in interpersonal situations, and to specify how these distinctions will be made under particular circumstances.² Likewise, the findings on general predictors of acceptance of information about other nations, reported in the second part of Chapter III, are generally consistent with the research on other kinds of attitudes toward others. The attitude functions referred to in Propositions 3B1 and 3B1.1 and the selectivity processes described in Propositions 3B2, 3B2.1, 3B2.2, 3B2.3, 3B2.4, 3B2.5, 3B2.6, and 3B3 seem to apply to the relationship of available information and attitudes toward others of all kinds.

The propositions in the first part of Chapter III, and the general conclusions of Chapter IV, however, cannot be generalized beyond the study of nation-attitudes. The kind of information which a particular medium of communication carries about foreign nations (and related subjects) may be very different from the kind of information it carries about other sorts of out-groups. For various reasons it may diffuse information about one kind of out-group more effectively and with different consequences than it diffuses information about another. A general theory of the effects of exposure to particular sources on attitudes toward all types of out-groups will be possible

²Responses to nations may reflect both a we-they distinction between the individual's own nation and foreign nations and similar distinctions made between groups of nations, so that under given circumstances an American, for instance, may respond to the English or the South Vietnamese as part of a supranational in-group while under other circumstances he will see them largely as foreigners.

only through additional research on the predictors of information about particular kinds of out-groups in particular types of communication media.

The second problem with the concept of nation-attitude, from the point of view of a student of attitudes toward all kinds of out-groups, is that in the existing data it is usually not possible to determine what aspects of the stimulus nation (i.e., of the respondent's image of the stimulus nation) account for the elicited response. The research discussed in the second part of Chapter II, on the dimensions along which nations tend to be seen as good and bad and similar and dissimilar, represents a step toward the solution of this problem. Most of this research, however, has utilized a correlational approach, looking at the traits correlated with attitudes toward real nations. This method is limited because time order is not measured and because traits cannot be varied independently. When most nations which are underdeveloped are also non-white, for example, it is difficult to tell the extent to which one or the other of these factors influences (or is influenced by) nation-attitudes.

Several methods might be used to identify the trait attributions which best predict nation-attitudes. Longitudinal, panel surveys and quasi-experimental techniques involving manipulation of available information would be better than the usual "one-shot" surveys of opinion, but even with those methods prior attitudes may result in differential acceptance of opinion. A better solution might be to provide information varying on single attributes describing fictitious

nations about which subjects can have no preconceptions.³ Other methods similar to those used in research on person perception might also be used to help identify the most influential trait attributions in perception of nations.

For the purposes of developing a general theory of attitudes toward others or toward out-groups, it would be desirable to go beyond identifying traits which only describe nations to identifying more abstract and general traits. One set of traits which might be used for this purpose are the three main dimensions of connotative meaning drawn from the work of Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957): evaluation, activity, and potency. There is an apparent parallel between these dimensions and some of the dimensions of judgments of nations reported in Chapter II. In particular, evaluation may be somewhat similar to political alignment, and potency may be related to economic development. Research considering how nations are judged on the Osgood dimensions could be compared with research considering how other kinds of out-groups are judged on the same dimensions, testing hypotheses about general relationships between perceptions of out-groups and attitudes toward them.⁴

³Results from this method might not generalize to images of better known nations like Britain or Russia. A similar method, less controlled but more realistic, would use as stimuli a list of real nations, with supplemental information about each, carefully chosen to differ from each other, insofar as is possible, only on single attributes. A respondent might be asked, for instance, to express his preference for one of a pair of factors which he rated as differing on only one trait.

⁴Dr. Frederick Waisanen of Michigan State University suggested this general approach to the present author. He suggested, as an

2. Differentiation as a Dependent Variable. Most of the research on attitudes toward foreign nations and peoples has focussed on the predictors of favorable evaluation and affect. The concentration on favorability/unfavorability as a dependent variable reflects the frequent assumptions (a) that all peoples are basically good, and anyone who thinks otherwise must therefore have a false or incomplete image of them, and (b) that it would be desirable for all peoples to have favorable attitudes toward each other. It is equally possible to assume, however, (a) that a given nation (and its people) is a complex phenomenon including much that is good, much that is bad, and much that is neither good nor bad,⁵ and (b) that wholly favorable attitudes toward a given nation are therefore unrealistic and not necessarily desirable. These alternative assumptions suggest the possibility that a shift of attention from the predictors of favorable nation-images to the predictors of differentiated nation-images might prove valuable.

If a nation is not a homogeneous, purely good or purely bad phenomenon, then either a wholly favorable or a wholly unfavorable orientation to it can be maintained only if much of the factual

example, the hypothesis that nations (and other kinds of out-groups) would be perceived as threatening if they were judged as being negative on the evaluative dimension and positive on the potency dimension of semantic space.

⁵The extent to which it is justified to call another nation good or bad may vary somewhat depending on whether it is assumed that good and bad have meaning only relative to the values of particular cultures, but even from a completely relativistic viewpoint a judgment which fails to recognize variance within a nation-object must be considered less than accurate.

information about that nation is either ignored or distorted. Such a selectivity process may take place as the information is processed by gatekeepers, producing mediated available information which is relatively undifferentiated, and it may take place in the individual's selective exposure to communications sources and selective interpretation of their content, resulting in relatively undifferentiated, subjective information. An undifferentiated image of a given nation is an inadequate and unrealistic representation of its characteristics, and so the individual guided by such an image is likely to experience more difficulty and stress in interacting with people of the other nation and in responding to unmediated information about the other nation than is an individual with a more differentiated image. Differentiation of nation-images is therefore likely to be a useful predictor of effective communication and successful interaction between individuals of different nations.

In Chapter II a person was said to have differentiated nation-images insofar as he (a) tends to make distinctions in terms of a variety of independent attributes rather than judging nations in terms of a few attributes all of which correlate with evaluation, (b) tends to make distinctions in terms of a variety of degrees of a given attribute rather than treating each attribute as a dichotomous variable, and (c) tends to respond to novel information about other nations by modifying his cognitive structure (including his nation-image) rather than by assimilating the information into his existing image in order

to maintain cognitive balance and simple structure. This definition can be extended to apply not only to images of particular nations but to images of foreign nations in general and even to images of out-groups in general. Likewise, the definition can be extended to apply to the information available about these groups in particular communication systems (and to the images held by communication gatekeepers) as well as to the subjective information believed by various individuals. This makes it possible to study a variety of hypotheses about the predictors of differentiation in each of these contexts.

Existing data do not permit specific predictions about how differentiated a particular individual's image of a given foreign nation will be. In general, it appears that predictions of differentiation as a dependent variable would have to take into consideration three types of independent variable: the cognitive style of the individual, the information about the foreign nation to which he is exposed, and the functions his nation-image has for him. Thus the same independent variables that have figured in research on favorability of nation-attitudes seem to be relevant to predicting differentiation, though the two dependent variables may relate to these independent variables in different ways.

Individuals differ in their general cognitive styles, with some tending more than others to develop differentiated images of all kinds of objects. Thus the degree of differentiation of a nation-image will be in part a function of whether the individual generally tends to be a "differentiator." The origins of this general tendency are not entirely clear, but as Propositions 2A3.3 and 2A3.4 suggest it is

inversely related to authoritarianism and thus presumably determined largely by childhood learning experiences.

An individual's cognitive style will influence the way he responds to information about a foreign nation, and so the resulting image will also be influenced by the extent to which the available information about the nation is differentiated. Where the individual gets his information from mediated sources rather than through direct contact, where he gets his information from a relatively small and homogeneous group of sources, and where he attends largely to sources like the mass media which tend to present a fairly simplified view of the nation-object, he will tend to develop an undifferentiated nation-image, even if his general style would not discourage differentiation (cf. Propositions 3A6 and 3A11).

A third influence on the differentiation of nation-images, interacting with cognitive style and available information, involves the actual or anticipated reinforcement the individual receives for holding a particular image. This reinforcement will be related to one or more of the three attitude functions discussed in Chapter III: object appraisal, social adjustment, and externalization. Prediction of differentiation therefore must involve both information about the relative importance of these three functions in reinforcing the individual's attitude toward the nation in question and the extent of differentiation which tends to be optimal for fulfilling these functions. In general, it would be expected that social adjustment and externalization would be served most effectively by relatively undifferentiated

images of foreign nations. Object appraisal has itself different functions. It may include a "need to understand" that can combine with an intolerance of ambiguity to produce relatively undifferentiated images, or it may involve a practical need to deal with the people of another nation which leads to exposure to more information about the other country, to testing of the existing image, and thus to an increasingly differentiated nation-image (cf. Propositions 2A1.1, 2A1.2, and 2A4).

D. Implications for Action

Many people are concerned with manipulating nation-attitudes. Some are motivated with a desire to create friendship and peaceful interaction between all nations. Others seek national self-interest, trying to create a favorable impression of their own nation abroad or to give their own countrymen a feeling of superiority over other peoples.

Some of the propositions discussed in the present study may have practical applications to the work of these people. They suggest the types of people (in terms of such variables as education and authoritarianism) who are most and least open to influences in the direction of favorable attitudes toward foreign nations (an important consideration, for instance, to people awarding scholarships to foreign students), they suggest the types of message content (in terms of such variables as standard of living and attitudes of foreigners) most likely to influence nation-attitudes, and--most important--they emphasize the respects in which developing favorable attitudes toward foreign nations is a complex and difficult task, where success is not likely to come

from messages sent at a single time or through a single channel nor through appeals which are exclusively rational and informational.

The present study also has another kind of implication, which arises from the knowledge that nation-attitudes are not easily manipulated to create mutually favorable attitudes between all peoples. Cherry (1971, p. 8) expressed an opinion which might serve as a conclusion for the present study:

In the writer's opinion, one of the greatest dangers into which . . . world communication can lead us is the delusion that, as the global network expands, so the walls of our mental villages are being pushed back: the delusion that increased powers of communication will bring us all closer together into better understanding and a sense of human compassion. There is no foundation whatsoever for such an emotional belief.

There is nothing in the present study which contradicts this pessimistic opinion. Most evidence indicates that non-informational influences are the major determinants of most people's attitudes toward most other nations. The information most people have about most other nations is drawn from the mass media, and the mass media are likely to present foreign nations in a way that makes for little sympathy or understanding. The resulting beliefs and attitudes about other nations may satisfy psychological and social needs of the individuals who hold them, but they are not likely to lead to pleasant relations between peoples of different nations.

Since these conclusions tend to disconfirm the common assumption that as people of different nations come to know more about each other they will come to like each other as well, they may be thought of as an essentially negative result from the extensive research which has

focused on nation-attitudes. Rather than showing how favorable attitudes can be created, the research has tended to show why peoples often do not view each other favorably.

These findings can, however, make an important contribution to effective communication and friendly relationships between peoples of different nations. Recognition of the obstacles to international understanding can be the first step in overcoming them. When expectations are based on realistic rather than on naive assumptions about how information influences attitudes, they are less likely to be frustrated by experience. Understanding of the reasons why people do not always respond favorably to information about other nations may lead to acceptance of the responses they do make. The individual who recognizes the probability of bias in the information available to him, and who recognizes the probability of non-rational elements in his own attitudes toward foreigners, may hold and communicate his attitudes less dogmatically. In general, communication based on realistic understanding of the factors which determine nation-attitudes may be more effective and less defensive than communication based on ignorance of such factors, and thus it may contribute to favorable nation-attitudes on the part of the participants.

Research on the origins of nation-attitudes can contribute to this kind of understanding, but only if it meets three requirements. First, it must provide models which are faithful to reality. Existing research represents progress toward understanding nation-attitudes, but there is much more to be learned. Some of the needs for research have been discussed in the present study. Second, it must provide

models which can be generalized to the variety of people who participate, directly or indirectly, in international interaction. It is important to know what determines the nation-attitudes of an American congressman, a South American dictator, or a Chinese peasant as well as what determines the nation-attitudes of a college freshman. It may be that research done on one kind of subject is of general relevance, but this must be tested rather than taken for granted. Third, it must provide models which can be taught to and understood by the variety of people who participate, directly or indirectly, in international interaction. The usefulness of research on the origins of nation-attitudes is contingent on the success with which the results of that research become known, not only to sources of messages about other nations, but to the receivers of such messages as well.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

List of Propositions

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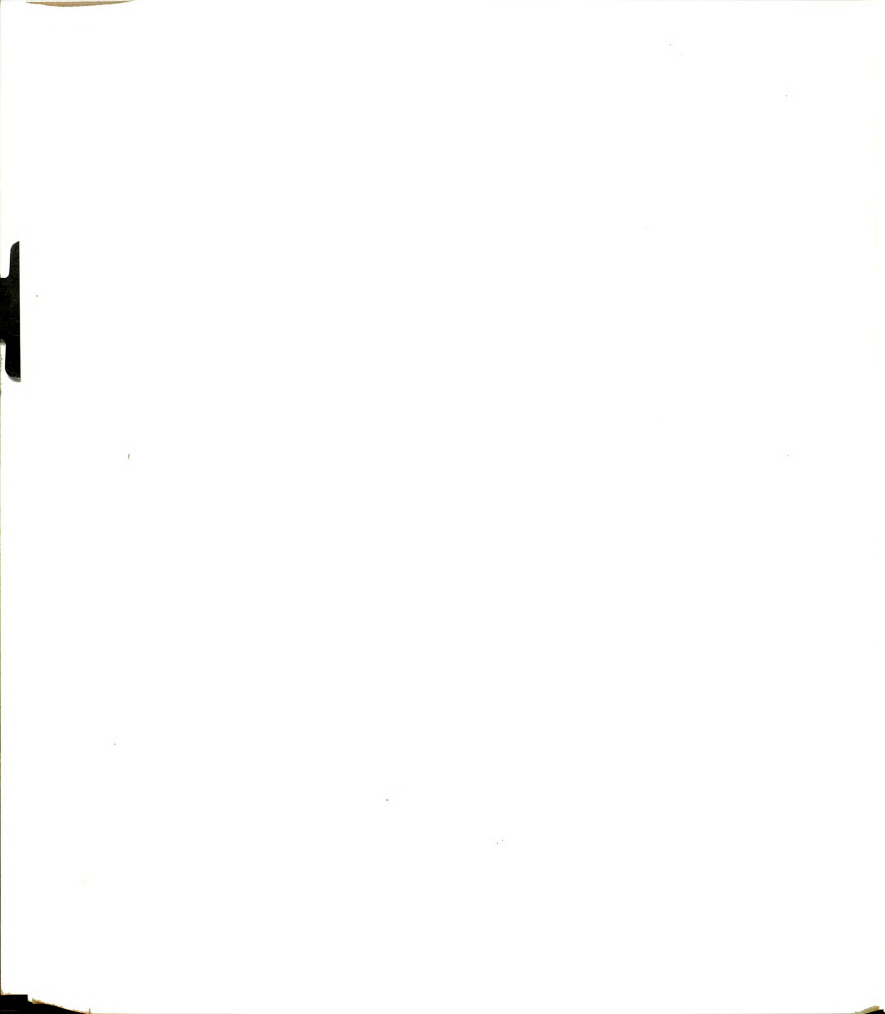
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