A Compilation of Documents Used to Develop the National Identity III Questionnaire for the International Social Survey Program in 2014

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Documents and Descriptions

The following documents represent the process of creation for the National Identity III Module, fielded in 2013. The documents begin with a memo from January 2010, updating the ISSP on previous instances of the National Identity module. This document also discusses what new topics are priorities for addition to the module. The appendices include a brief on replication of questions across the 1995 and 2003 modules, a breakdown of questions by topic type, and a list of researchers who supported the 2013 National Identity module.

The second document, from May 2010, reports a summary of the discussion around the current state of the module. It provides a list of potential new topics for the module, as well as their sponsors. Additionally, it provides a list of potential deletions from the module. Finally, there is a discussion of the logistics of adding new questions, and a potential limit on the number of new questions that it is feasible to add. The drafting group consists of the United States (convener), Argentina, Croatia, Ireland, Korea, and Portugal.

The third and fourth documents, from late 2010 and early 2011, show the final discussions of the drafting group between preliminary testing and the final release of the National Identity III module. These two memos confirm the replicated items, and offer a window into proposed new items. The discussion in these memos is continued with responses in the next document.

The fifth document, from April 2011, is a memo detailing preliminary discussion of changes for National Identity. Please note that in this, as in all memos until the pretest questionnaire, the question numbers refer to a past version of the National Identity questionnaire, and are not reflective of location in the current questionnaire.

The sixth document, from June 2011, reflects the results of the ISSP plenary meeting in Mexico City in May. It begins with a timeline for the second year of work on the National Identity Module. From there, the results of voting on topics from the plenary meeting are reported. Afterwards, potential new topics are discussed again, with examples of what questions might look like.

The seventh and eighth documents both present a version of the formal pretest questionnaire. The former shows it in a mostly complete form, providing an overview of topics and questions. This version also shows choices between alternate wordings or questions which need to be resolved. The latter document is the final pretest questionnaire. They are dated from July and August 2011, respectively. In the official pretest, several different questions have alternate wordings to be tested.

The ninth document is the official National Identity questionnaire. This module was finalized in 2012 at the ISSP plenary meeting, and fielded over the course of 2013. All questions are marked in one of three colors, indicating if they were asked in both previous modules, one of the two previous modules, or new for this module.

The final document shows a list of reported uses of the National Identity Module. There are currently 512 entries in the bibliography, an increase of 107 since the compilation of the bibliography at the start of the evaluation process. This is an increase of 26% over the three years that the module took to develop. Given interest in this topic, and the number of nations participating, ISSP usage should continue to grow after the final release of the 2013 data.
The 1995 National Identity study was fielded in 23 countries and the 2003 National Identity study was carried out in 34 countries. 2013 will be ten years since the second round and this has become the standard interval for the re-administering of ISSP topics.

The first two rounds of National Identity have focused on the following topics:

1. National Pride
2. Globalization
3. Immigrants/Immigration
4. Being Truly [NATIONALITY]
5. Ethnic Assimilation/Sub-groups
6. Citizenship
7. Geographic Area Closest to

Also covered as compulsory items in one, but not both, rounds are the following:

Actual and preferred geographic mobility, language use, regional succession, and social identity.

Covered as optional items have been the following:

Closeness to ethnic groups, sub-national identification, and regional associations such as the EU and NAFTA.

Table 1 presents an outline of the content of National Identity I and II and the full questionnaires are in accompanying documents.

National Identity has been widely used by scholars. The accompanying bibliography lists 487 references. All topics covered by National Identity I and II have been frequently examined.

Based on analysis of 405 of the known uses, Table 2 lists what topics were the main foci of research. The leading topic, accounting for 31% of uses, was general analysis of national identity using the “truly” NATIONALITY battery, the social identity scale (after National Identity II was out), and other measures. This was followed by research on immigration and immigrants (including refugees) 23%, globalization 16% (half dealing with trade/protectionism and the other half with cultural and political issues), national pride 15% (with both general and domain-specific pride widely utilized), regional associations 9% (mostly the EU with a few on NAFTA), citizenship 2% (often also appearing as a sub-section under general national identity research, ethnic assimilation 2%, geographic attachment to areas 1.5%, and other/Misc. 1%. Of course many uses examined more than one topic from National Identity.

When the National Identity references were compiled researchers were asked, if they would be supportive of a 2013 ISSP replication of National Identity and interested in advising on its content. 32 researchers from 13 countries endorsed a replication and offered their assistance (Table 3).
Table 1: National Identity Studies, 1995 and 2003, Items Outline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td>&amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2003</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Compulsory</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographic Area Closest to</td>
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<tr>
<td>Willingness to Move</td>
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<tr>
<td>Succession</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being Truly [NATIONALITY]</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General National Pride</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domain Specific National Pride</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>Global National Pride</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Globalization</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>Ethnic Assimilation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Immigration/Citizenship</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past Geographic Mobility</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Use</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizenship</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race/Ethnicity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Identity</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Optional</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Close to Ethnic Groups</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU/Other Regional Associations</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Languages Spoken at Home</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-National Identification</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*One optional item in 1995 made compulsory in 2003.
**Slight revision of two 1995 compulsory items to optional items in 2003.
***This item switched from compulsory in 1995 to optional in 2003.
Table 2: National Identity References by Major Topic Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic Area</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Identity in General (Including “Truly” Nationality items)</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Identity (2003)</td>
<td>2.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Immigration/Immigrants</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalization</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade/Protectionism</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Pride</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Associations (e.g. EU/NAFTA)</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizenship</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Assimilation</td>
<td>1.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geographic Area Closest to</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100.1
Table 3: Researchers Supporting the Selection of National Identity as the ISSP topic for 2013

Thomas K. Bauer, RWI-Essen
Alin Mihai Ceobanu, University of Florida
Jack Citrin, UC-Berkeley
Joseph P. Daniels, Marquette University
Rory Domm, European University Institute
Kathleen Dowley, SUNY, New Paltz
Sophie Duchesne, Oxford University
Giovanni Facchini, University of Essex
Mitja Hafner-Fink, University of Ljubljana
Robert Ford, Manchester University
Frank Jones, Australian National University
Anthony Heath, Oxford University
Mikael Hjerm, University of Umea
Jibum Kim, University of Chicago
Joseph L. Klesner, Kenyon University
Robert Kunovich, University of Texas
Rui Costa Lopes, University of Lisbon
Anna Maria Mayda, Georgetown University
David McCrone, University of Edinburgh
Lauren McLaren, University of Nottingham
W. Lawrence Neuman, University of Wisconsin
Mahn Geun Ohn, Korean Military Academy
Antal Orkeny, Lorand University
Samuel Pherson, St. Andrews University
David M. Rankin, Fredonia University
Tim Reeskens, Catholic University Leuven
Frank Rusciano, Rider University
Peter Schmidt, University of Giessen
Richard Sinnott, University College, Dublin
Tan Ern-ser, National University of Singapore
James Tilley, Oxford University
Marc Von der Ruhr, St. Norbert College
Thank you all for your comments on National Identity III. Below I summarize what has been agreed upon and the various proposals that have been advanced. I also attach the specific proposals that each country has submitted.

1. There is consensus that we’ll carry out the development via email and not met in person until Sunday in Mexico.
2. There is agreement to include the 43 items asked both in 1995 and 2003. Under ISSP rules that means exact replication of the items.
3. Repeating the 43 items means that the following topics/themes are included with the number of items listed in parentheses:

   National Pride (16)
   Attributes of being “truly” NATIONAL – place of birth, place of residence, citizenship, language, 
   religion, respect laws/institutions, feelings (7)
   Globalization – political, economic, cultural (5)
   Immigration/Immigrants – impact of immigrants, number of immigrants (5)
   Geographic Area Closest to (4)
   Ethnic Assimilation/Pluralism - (3)
   Citizenship – of self; parents (2)
   Racial/ethnic Identity (1)

4. The 17 items to be added can either augment these topics or cover new topics.
5. Below are topics that have been mentioned. The countries proposing are listed in parentheses. Explicit references to past items that are NOT among the 43 slated for retention are indicated by reference to their question number in previous rounds. I have also indicated with an asterisk (*) those that at least in part may be seen as supplementing existing topics. Often it is difficult to determine if what is being proposed adds to an existing topic or represents a new topic.

   Multiculturalism (K) (I) *
   Geographic Mobility (K) (Qs. 13-15 in 1995)
   International Migration/Attitudes toward intl. mobility of capital, labor, culture (K)
   Effects of Migration on Society (K) *
   Legal Immigration and Equality Access to State Services (C)
   Immigration/Immigrants (P) (U)*
   Use of Internet (K)
   General National Pride (Q16. in 2003) (A) (K) (U)*
   Right of Citizens Abroad (e.g. voting) (A)
   Social Identity (Q1. in 2003) (A) (P)
   Venn Social Distance Measures (P)
   Language Use (I)
National, Sub-state, and Regional Identity (I)*
Ethnic vs. Civic Bases of National Identity (I) (P)
Identity vs. Interests vs. Inequality as Determinants of Nationalist Responses (I)
Attitudes to Supranational/international Integration (I)
Identity and the Impact of Cultural and Economic Globalization (I)(K)*
Emotions Related to National Identity (P)

6. A few items/topics have been nominated for deletion. The countries proposing are listed in parentheses:

   Social Identity (Q1. in 2003) (K)
   Truly NATIONAL – NATIONALITY ancestry (Q3h. in 2003) (K)
   Less Proud (Q4.g) (K)
   Internet (Q.7f in 2003) (C)

7. With only 17 additional items to add and a number of those to be allocated to expanding existing themes, there is space only for perhaps 3-4 new topics (e.g. 4 new topics with 3 items per topic would use up 12 of the 17 items).

8. There is both some support for and opposition to having a social identity measure (Q1. In 2003). Even among the supporters there is a desire to reformat the measure so that it would not be a replication. In its present (2003) format, the top three items are ranked and thus the measure counts as three variables. Some proposals reformat it as a series of ratings. For example, Portugal proposes 10 dimensions and since each is rated separately it would count as 10 items.

9. I see the next step as identifying topics to be added to and new topics to be added. I see some definite support for adding more on 1) immigrants/immigration, 2) globalization, 3) general national pride (Q.16), and 4) multiculturalism (which I think relates to both immigration and ethnic assimilation and pluralism in the existing items). Do you support some augmenting of these existing topics? Please express your position for/against each of these four topics. Are there other existing topics that you’d like to add to? If so, please make a case for those topics.

10. Of the long list of new or quasi-new topics presented above, which four would you most favor being covered? Please present reasons for and some indication of the content of the new topics you wish to see covered.

11. Please send me your responses by October 18th. I’ll collate the responses and then we’ll have a new round of deliberations
National Identity III Memo II – November 2010

Tom W. Smith

This memo summarizes your responses in October/November to the most recent around of deliberations over National Identity III.
First, I repeat a few crucial decisions that we have already agreed upon:

1. We will include the 43 items that have been asked in both 1995 and 2003. Under ISSP rules replication means that items are asked exactly as originally.

2. The 43 items that will be repeated are summarized below with the number of variables in each topic listed in parentheses:

   National Pride (16)
   Attributes of being “truly” NATIONAL – place of birth, place of residence, citizenship, language, religion, respect laws/institutions, feelings (7)
   Globalization – political, economic, cultural (5)
   Immigration/Immigrants – impact of immigrants, number of immigrants (5)
   Geographic Area Closest to (4)
   Ethnic Assimilation/Pluralism - (3)
   Citizenship – of self; parents (2)
   Racial/ethnic Identity (1)

3. The 17 items to be added can either augment these topics or cover new topics.

Second, based on your ratings of existing and new topics, the following topics received at least two votes. Countries favoring a topic are listed after the topic. It is proposed that we henceforth restrict consideration to supplementing existing topics (listed in point 2 above) and/or adopting some of the new topics listed below and that new topics not be advanced. Items listed below with a plus (+) are existing topics for which additional items are being proposed:

   Multiculturalism/Ethnic Assimilation/Pluralism (+): C, I, K
   Immigration/Immigrants (+): C, I, U
   Social Identity (Revised): A, C, P
   Ethnic vs. Civic Bases of National Identity: C, I, P
   Globalization (+): I, K, U
   Legal Immigration and Equal Access to State Services: C, I
   Language Use: A, I
   National Stereotypes: P, U

4. A few notes on specific proposals:
a. While three countries propose doing something with social identity, there is considerable difference in what countries have in mind. One proposal suggests taking elements of the 2003 general social identity measure (Q1) and adding them to the item on closeness to geographic units (Q2). Under ISSP rules we can’t change the wording of replicating items. So if this approach was favored, the way to do it would be to drop Q1 and have a new item following Q2 that used the same response options as Q2 and added new dimensions (e.g., religion and race/ethnicity) in the added item.

b. Portugal has included a memo using Venn-like diagrams to illustrate self/group overlap.

5. Portugal has listed a number of optional items. While we need to focus first on the compulsory items, we will probably eventually recommend some optional items. Items relating to the EU and other regional associations have been optional items in both previous rounds and might well be equally appropriate for the third round.

6. We need to come up with a short list of those topics that should be expanded and new topics that think should be covered. (We are not supposed to identify the final 60 items to be included. That will come in 2012 after the themes are selected by the 2011 plenary, we conduct pretests in late 2011, and then further committee deliberations in early 2012.) Please review the list of existing and new topics and tell the DG which you think most merit inclusion and why those topics are most important. Please send me you suggestions by January 10th. I will then circulate the results and I’ll lead us in a back and forth exchange of ideas until we settle on the topics by January 26th.

7. Then in early February I’ll submit our draft plan to the ISSP. That plan will list the 43 items to be replicated, describe the topics that are covered by the replicating items, and discuss the topics to be considered for expansion and new topics to be covered. We are NOT to advance a complete list of new items, but it is often useful to include some possible items to illustrate what we intend various topics to include.
This memo summarizes your responses in January to the most recent round of deliberations over National Identity III. First, since we have agreed to repeat the items previously asked in 1995 and 2003 that means we are adopting the following topics:

- National Pride (16)
- Attributes of being “truly” NATIONAL – place of birth, place of residence, citizenship, language, religion, respect laws/institutions, feelings (7)
- Globalization – political, economic, cultural (5)
- Immigration/Immigrants – impact of immigrants, number of immigrants (5)
- Geographic Area Closest to (4)
- Ethnic Assimilation/Pluralism - (3)
- Citizenship – of self; parents (2)
- Racial/ethnic Identity (1)

Second, based on the latest round of comments. There is substantial support for adding items to several of these topics:

- National Pride (the one general pride item asked in 2003)
- Immigration/immigrants
- Multiculturalism/Ethnic Assimilation/Pluralism

Third, there is moderate support for adding items to

- Globalization

Finally, I don’t see enough support for the following mentioned topics:

- Legal Immigration and Equal Access to State Services
- Ethnic vs. Civic Basis of National Identity
- Social Identity (options rather divided on this topic)
- Actual and Preferred Geographic Mobility/Plans to Emigrate
- Home Ownership

Please review these topics and let me know what, if any, changes in the priority listings you would favor by **January 31**. I will be out of the country until I return on the 31st. I will then prepare a memo for the ISSP that sums our recommendations once I return and consider your additional comments.
Q1 – If social Identity was to be re-asked, Finland proposes adding hobbies/spare time activities.
Q2F&H – Germany suggests dropping F and adding H. Following our decision to repeat all items asked in both previous rounds, F should be retained. I am supportive of also including H (on ancestry).
Q6E – Germany suggests replacing TV with radio. Both because on our decision to retain repeated items and because I think TV is more important than radio, I don’t support this.
Q7 – Austria wants to add items on behavioral globalism. We plan on expanding the globalism section. Items in Q7 are good candidates and I think we might also consider pretesting items on behavioral globalism. Unfortunately their second item on “global issues” would not work in the US.

Belgium questions whether item F on the internet should be repeated. Clearly the use of the Internet is of growing importance and the events in North Africa suggest an important political role. But how important is such an items for our modules?

Q8b&9 – Germany says these are highly correlated and perhaps one could be dropped. I think rather that they form a good scale and both should be retained.
Q10d – Germany would like to keep retain this item. This item was revised in 2003 because the original item “Immigrants make COUNTRY more open to new ideas and cultures” was not clearly seen as a positive impact by many respondents. We dealt with this by indicating in 2003 that “Immigrants improve COUNTRY NATIONALITY society by bringing in new ideas and cultures.” I think this still may have problems since people might disagree because they don’t think it improves things, because they aren’t bringing in their culture/ideas, or because their culture/ideas aren’t “new”. We’d have to be sure this item was consistently understood across countries and respondents before retaining it.

Q11 – Belgium questions the placement of this item. ISSP rules indicate that we should try to maintain past orders when possible. If there is a context effect, it would be best not to disturb the order.
Q16 – Germany agrees with our proposal to retain the general pride item.

Belgium is correct that the tick instruction is in error, so we’ll fix it.
Q18 (optional) – If this item was retained, we’d need a translation note for Finland
Pretest Memo, June, 2011

Tom W. Smith

1. We need to settle on what items to pretest before the start of August according to the schedule that the ISSP adopted:

- June 15th - questions for pretest sent to DG convener
- August 1st - DG circulates items to be pretested
- December 1st - all pretest results due to DG convener.
- January 15th - DG convener circulates coordinated pretest results to DG
- February 15th – DG decides on final recommendations
- March 1st – DG circulates final decisions to ISSP

2. All DG members are encouraged to conduct a pretest. Size, mode, and target population can be decided by the individual countries. The US will do a nationally-representative, postal survey with about 200 cases.

3. The full memos from each country accompany this synthesizing memo.

4. The priorities set for us to follow are indicated below from the plenary meeting:

   The topic priority that was voted is this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>National Pride/shame – General and Specific</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Being Truly [NATIONALITY]</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Globalization</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Immigration and immigrants</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Geographic Area</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ethnic Assimilation/Pluralism</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Citizenship</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Political Effects of Nationalism</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   I believe we can give some consideration to the top six topics. Obviously, we have to give the highest priority to the top-ranked choices, Immigrant & Immigration and National Pride/Shame. I discuss topics with the highest ranked topics first.

5. We only have slots for about 19 more mandatory items. These can be additional replications or entirely new items. I suggest we identify no more than 50 items to pretest for these 19 slots. That would be about 8 items per topic. Of course we do not need to have the same number of items per topic.
6. Immigration and Immigrants:

Korea suggests replicating several items (Q10 d&e and 15a-d) from the 2003 ISSP. They also suggest a 7-item Bogardus social distance scale and a behavioral item on contact with immigrants. Croatia suggests 4 items on immigrants having equal access to jobs and various social services. Argentina suggests 2 items on equal access to services. Argentina also proposes 2 items on jobs/the economy, 4 items on the desirability of immigrants from certain countries, races, ethnic groups vs. others, and 2 items on the cultural pluses/minuses of immigrants. Portugal proposes 4 items on emotions towards immigrants. These suggestions cover a lot of different ground, but there is some overlap. Repeat items 10e suggested by Korea, the 4 Croatian items, and 2 Argentinian items deal with government assistance to immigrants. Repeat item 15c suggested by Korea also deals with immigrants and citizens having equal rights (but what “rights” are not indicated). The old item 10d suggested by Korea and the ESS item (B39) deal with cultural impact. One Croatian item deals with jobs, and so do 2 items from Argentina. To help whittle down these suggested items, please indicate your preference for the following topics. **Which THREE topics would you favor the most:**

- Bogardus Social Distance (Korea)
- Emotions towards immigrants (Portugal)
- Government assistance to; Immigrant equal access to benefits (Argentina; Croatia; Korea)
- Jobs and the economy (Argentina, Croatia)
- Country/race/ethnicity of immigrants (Argentina)
- Cultural impact of immigrants (Argentina; Korea)
- Contact with immigrants (Korea)
- Restricting immigrants from country (Korea)
- Immigrants becoming citizens (Korea)

7. National Pride/Shame

Several countries favor old Q16 about general national pride, so I consider it in the pretest. There is also general sentiment to cover being ashamed of one’s country. One possibility is having 4g from 2003 about being less proud than desired. Portugal favors having items parallel to Q16 on uneasy/uncomfortable, ashamed, and happy. Croatia endorses ashamed, but not the other 2. Korea favors items on shamefulness, comfortable, and uncomfortable. The US suggests testing a general ashamed item to parallel Q16 and also having repeat item 4g on the pretest. It is also suggests that a single additional “negative” oriented item be designed for Q4 to be used along with Q4b to strengthen the negative pole. Some suggestions are… Too many COUNTRY NATIONALITY uncritically support COUNTRY over other nations. The world would be a better place if COUNTRY NATIONALITY acknowledged COUNTRY’s faults/shortcomings. COUNTRY used to be a better country than it is now. The goal is to test items to find only one item to add. The US is concerned that people responding to a “happiness” item would focus too much on personal happiness (a standard concept) and not happiness with one’s nationality (an unusual
formulation). “Comfortable/uncomfortable” just doesn’t work in American English and it is unclear what other term would capture what is intended by the proposers. Besides a general “ashamed” item, please indicate what you want pretested: the 3 Portuguese items, the US “negative” pride items, or both.

8. Ethnic Assimilation/Pluralism

Portugal proposes 3 items about “ethnic groups” and Croatia supports them. Korea is also supportive, but notes the need for new items not to duplicate too closely Qs. 8&9. The US supports expansion, but is concerned about the formulation. First, we doubt that “ethnic groups” will be understood consistently across countries. In Q8b the wording “ethnic minorities” is used. Q 9 uses “racial and ethnic groups,” but indicates that these are minority groups in contrast to “the larger society.” Q2 strongly implies that the “ethnic group” are immigrants. That should be avoided. A possible alternative would be “Ethnic minorities should give up their separate/distinctive culture and adapt to COUNTRY’s main/majority culture.”

Please suggest any changes to the Portuguese items to be pretested.

9. Political Effects of Nationalism

Denmark promised some items, but hasn’t proposed them. I have contacted them once again. Please send any suggestions on this.

10. Being truly...

Korea suggests the repeat item 3h “to have COUNTRY NATIONALITY ancestry” and a new item on supporting national sports teams. Portugal favors an item about being “of COUNTRY NATIONALITY ethnicity.” Croatia favors an item on paying taxes. The US favors repeating 3h and believes it will largely cover what Portugal is proposing, but are too similar to ask both.

Which of the 4 proposed items do you want to pretest?

11. Globalization

Korea proposes repeating items Q7a,b,c,e. Croatia favors repeat items Q7 a-d. Portugal proposes 2 new items on being a “citizen of the world” and “people around the world” being “more similar than different.” Croatia endorses the “citizen of the world,” but not the other item.

I propose pretesting the 5 repeat items (Q71-e) and 2 Portuguese items. Agree?

Ireland proposes a large number of items that mostly can be seen as under globalization. They have circulated a general memo, the copy of a ASES survey, and a brief, second memo. These are included with this emailing.

Which of the Irish items would you favor for pretesting?
12. Options items

The optional items of course do not count within the ISSP cap of 60. We have proposed to the group the repeating of “regional” items on the EU, NAFTA, etc. as asked in previous rounds. Portugal proposes 2 4-item scales. Croatia supports more regional (e.g. EU) on positive and negative evaluations. However, no specifics are proposed. **What additional regional items do you favor? Do you support option 1 or option 2 from Portugal? What other evaluations might be added?**

13. Other

A number of other items were proposed that do not seem to fall into any of the top six priorities. For example, Argentine’s items about groups discriminated against and social identity. If you think something I’ve omitted does fit in under one of the priority themes and want to make a strong case for pretesting it, do so in your response.

14. **Please send your responses to all of the highlighted items to me by June 30th. Please be sure to respond to ALL points.**
Items below are grouped by topic and this does NOT necessarily indicate the order of items that will be proposed once final decisions on content are made. Nor have I listed the items from the two previous rounds of the ISSP that we have already agreed to include. Some of those twice repeated items will be inserted into the final pretest questionnaire so they can be analyzed along with these items to be pretested. I have marked with a double asterisk (**) those proposed pretest items which are repeat items from one previous round of the ISSP. If we elected to recommend any of these items for inclusion in the final instrument, there will be strong reason for their exact replication.

Please note that highlighted in yellow are some explicit choices that need to be made between alternative versions.

After a choice is made between the highlighted alternatives, there are 48 proposed items for pretesting. That’s close to the upper target limit of 50 items for pretesting suggested in the early June pretest memo.

Please suggest both alternative items to either supplement or replace the items listed below. Of course these items need to fit within the agreed upon categories. Also, indicate if you favor a revised wording of any of the proposed items (except replication items). Finally, if there are any items that you think should NOT be pretested, please so indicate.

Please be very specific about suggested changes. General comments should only accompany specific proposals regarding full, proposed wordings for added or revised items.

Please send your comments no later than July 22nd. Be aware that I will be travelling from July 18th until July 22nd with very limited email connection. Based on those responses, I’ll prepare the final pretest questionnaire which we need to circulate to the ISSP by August 1st.

Immigration and Immigrants

Jobs and the Economy

1. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:

   The employment conditions for [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] citizens would improve a lot if we raised barriers to stop immigrants from taking jobs in our country.

2. Immigrants expand the population and lead to economic growth in [COUNTRY].

3. In case of two equally qualified applicants, [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] citizens should have priority over legal immigrants in being hired.

   Agree Strongly
   Agree
   Neither agree nor disagree
   Disagree
   Disagree Strongly
   Can’t choose
4. Would you say it is generally bad or good for [COUNTRY’s] economy that people come to live here from other countries?

   11-point scale running form 0=Bad for the economy to 10=Good for the Economy

**Government Assistance; Immigrants Equal Access to Benefits**

1. **How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?**
   Legal immigrants to [COUNTRY] who are not citizens should have the same rights as [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] citizens.
2. **Government spends too much money assisting immigrants.**
3. Legal immigrants should have equal access to public health services as [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] citizens.
4. Legal immigrants should have equal access to public education as [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] citizens.
5. Legal immigrants should have equal access to welfare funds as [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] citizens.
   - Agree Strongly
   - Agree
   - Neither agree nor disagree
   - Disagree
   - Disagree Strongly
   - Can’t choose

**Contact with Immigrants**

Do you have personal contact with immigrants daily, several times a week, several times a month, several times a year, or less than once a year?
OR
How frequently do you have contact with immigrants in [COUNTRY] – very often, fairly often, sometimes, rarely, or never?

**Restricting Immigrants into Country**

1. **How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?**
   [COUNTRY] should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants.
2. Stronger measures should be taken to reduce the number of immigrants in [COUNTRY]
   - Agree Strongly
   - Agree
   - Neither agree nor disagree
   - Disagree
   - Disagree Strongly
   - Can’t choose
**National Pride/Shame**

1. **How proud are you of being [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]? (Please tick one box on each line.)
   - Very proud
   - Somewhat proud
   - Not very proud
   - Not proud at all
   - Can’t Choose

2. How ashamed are you being [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]?
   - Very ashamed
   - Somewhat ashamed
   - Not very ashamed
   - Not ashamed at all
   - Can’t Choose

3. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
   a. **I am less proud of [COUNTRY] than I would like to be**
   b. Too many [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] uncritically support COUNTRY over other nations.
   c. The world would be a better place if [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] acknowledged COUNTRY’s shortcomings.
   d. [COUNTRY] used to be a better country than it is now.

   - Agree Strongly
   - Agree
   - Neither agree nor disagree
   - Disagree
   - Disagree Strongly
   - Can’t choose

**Ethnic Assimilation/Pluralism - We need to choose between Qs. 1 and 2 below**

1. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
   a. Immigrants should maintain their culture of origin and not mix with [COUNTRY’s] culture.
   b. Immigrants should give up their culture of origin and adopt [COUNTRY’s] culture.
   c. Immigrants should maintain their own culture and also adopt [COUNTRY’s] culture.

   - Agree Strongly
   - Agree
   - Neither agree nor disagree
   - Disagree
   - Disagree Strongly
   - Can’t choose
2. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

a. Ethnic minorities should maintain their distinctive culture and not mix with [COUNTRY’s] main culture.

b. Ethnic minorities should give up their distinctive culture and adopt [COUNTRY’s] main culture.

c. Ethnic minorities should maintain their distinctive culture and also adopt [COUNTRY’s] main culture.

Agree Strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree Strongly
Can’t choose

Political Effects of Nationalism
Countries shared the US distinction between nationalism/patriotism, but there was no clear consensus as to which direction to go in. So I propose testing several items using both formulations to empirically assess the different impacts. A full, split-version experiment with alternative wordings would be best, but I am not proposing that.

1. Strong patriotic feelings tend to lead to aggressive actions towards other countries.

2. Nationalism strengthens a country’s place in the world.

3. Strong patriotic feelings are needed for a country to remain united.

4. Nationalistic feelings often lead to intolerance.

5. Nationalistic feelings lead to negative attitudes towards immigrants in [COUNTRY].

6. Political parties should emphasize nationalistic feelings in their campaigns.

7. Governments often try to conceal economic problems with appeals to nationalism.

Agree Strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree Strongly
Can’t choose
Being Truly…

1. ** Some people say that the following things are important for being truly [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each is the following is…
   h. to have [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] ancestry.

2. i. to support [COUNTRY’s] sports teams in international competitions/matches.
   Very important
   Fairly important
   Not very important
   Not important at all
   Can’t Choose

Globalization

1. **How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

   a. Large international companies are doing more and more damage to local businesses in [COUNTRY].
   b. Free trade leads to better products becoming available in [COUNTRY].
   c. In general, [COUNTRY] should follow the decisions of international organizations to which it belongs, even if the government does not agree with them.
   d. International organizations are taking away too much power from the [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] government.
   e. Increased exposure to foreign films, music, and books is damaging our national and local cultures.

2. New items

   f. I’d rather be a citizen of the world than of any one country.
   g. I feel that people around the world are more similar than different.

   Agree Strongly
   Agree
   Neither agree nor disagree
   Disagree
   Disagree Strongly
   Can’t choose
Optional – Regional Associations

1. Some people feel that the [European Union/NAFTA, etc.] has a negative impact on this country. I am going to read a number of things which people say are negatively affected by the [European Union/NAFTA, etc.] For each tell me if you - personally – agree or disagree with it:

A. Our country being more and more told what to do by the [EU/NAFTA/etc.]
B. Our country paying more and more to the [European Union/NAFTA/etc.]
C. The undermining of the [COUNTRY’S NATIONALITY] way of life
D. The loss of our national identity and culture
E. A loss of power in the world for [COUNTRY]

   Agree Strongly
   Agree
   Neither agree nor disagree
   Disagree
   Disagree Strongly
   Can’t choose

2. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

A. One problem with [Europe/North America/etc.] is that our country is being more and more told what to do by the [EU/NAFTA/etc.].
B. All in all, we are receiving more than we are paying by being part of the [European Union/NAFTA/etc.].
C. Being part of the [EU/NAFTA/etc.] may end up undermining the [COUNTRY’S NATIONALITY] way of life.
D. Being part of the [EU/NAFTA/etc.] does not endanger our distinct national identity and culture.
E. One good thing about the [EU/NAFTA/etc.] is that it gives us a stronger voice in the world.

   Agree Strongly
   Agree
   Neither agree nor disagree
   Disagree
   Disagree Strongly
   Can’t choose
3. Generally speaking, do you think that [COUNTRY] membership in the [European Union/NAFTA/etc.] has been:

   A very bad thing
   A bad thing
   Neither good nor bad
   A good thing
   A very good thing
   Can't Choose

4. Taking everything into account, would you say that [COUNTRY] has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the [European Union/NAFTA/etc.]?

   Not benefited at all
   Not benefited
   No change
   Benefited
   Benefited substantially
   Can't Choose
Pretest for 2013 ISSP National Identity Study
July, 2011

Immigration and Immigrants
Jobs and the Economy
5. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:

The employment conditions for [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] citizens would improve a lot if we stopped immigrants from taking jobs in our country.

6. Immigrants increase the population and lead to economic growth in [COUNTRY].

7. In case of two equally qualified applicants, [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] citizens should have priority over legal immigrants in being hired.

Agree Strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree Strongly
Can’t choose

8. Would you say it is generally bad or good for [COUNTRY”s] economy that people come to live here from other countries?

11-point scale running form 0=Bad for the economy to 10=Good for the Economy

Government Assistance; Immigrants Equal Access to Benefits
1. ** How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
Legal immigrants to [COUNTRY] who are not citizens should have the same rights as [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] citizens.
2. ** Government spends too much money assisting immigrants.
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4. Legal immigrants should have equal access to public education as [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] citizens.
5. Legal immigrants should have equal access to welfare funds as [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] citizens.

   Agree Strongly
   Agree
   Neither agree nor disagree
   Disagree
   Disagree Strongly
   Can’t choose

Contact with Immigrants
1. How frequently do you have contact with immigrants in [COUNTRY] – very often, fairly often, sometimes, rarely, or never?
Restricting Immigrants into Country
1.** How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [COUNTRY] should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants.
2. Stronger measures should be taken to reduce the number of immigrants in [COUNTRY]
   - Agree Strongly
   - Agree
   - Neither agree nor disagree
   - Disagree
   - Disagree Strongly
   - Can’t choose

National Pride/Shame
1.** How proud are you of being [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]? (Please tick one box on each line.)
   - Very proud
   - Somewhat proud
   - Not very proud
   - Not proud at all
   - Can’t Choose
2. How ashamed are you being [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]?
   - Very ashamed
   - Somewhat ashamed
   - Not very ashamed
   - Not ashamed at all
   - Can’t Choose
3. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
   a.** I am less proud of [COUNTRY] than I would like to be
   b. Too many [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] uncritically support COUNTRY over other nations.
   c. The world would be a better place if [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] acknowledged COUNTRY’s shortcomings.
   e. [COUNTRY] used to be a better country than it is now.

   - Agree Strongly
   - Agree
   - Neither agree nor disagree
   - Disagree
   - Disagree Strongly
   - Can’t choose

Ethnic Assimilation/Pluralism
3. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
d. Immigrants should maintain their culture of origin and not mix with [COUNTRY’s] culture.
e. Immigrants should give up their culture of origin and adopt [COUNTRY’s] culture.
f. Immigrants should maintain their own culture and also adopt [COUNTRY’s] culture.

Agree Strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree Strongly
Can’t choose

Political Effects of Nationalism
Countries shared the US distinction between nationalism/patriotism, but there was no clear consensus as to which direction to go in. So I propose testing several items using both formulations to empirically assess the different impacts. A full, split-version experiment with alternative wordings would be best, but I am not proposing that.

8. Strong patriotic feelings tend to lead to aggressive actions towards other countries.
9. Nationalism strengthens a country’s place in the world.
10. Strong patriotic feelings are needed for a country to remain united.
11. Nationalistic feelings often lead to intolerance.
12. Nationalistic feelings lead to negative attitudes towards immigrants in [COUNTRY].
13. Political parties should emphasize nationalistic feelings in their campaigns.
14. Governments often try to conceal economic problems with appeals to nationalism.

Agree Strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree Strongly
Can’t choose

Being Truly…
1.** Some people say that the following things are important for being truly [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each is the following is…
   h. to have [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] ancestry.
2. i. to support [COUNTRY’s] sports teams in international competitions/matches.
   Very important
   Fairly important
   Not very important
   Not important at all
   Can’t Choose

Globalization
3. **How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?**

f. Large international companies are doing more and more damage to local businesses in [COUNTRY].
g. Free trade leads to better products becoming available in [COUNTRY].
h. In general, [COUNTRY] should follow the decisions of international organizations to which it belongs, even if the government does not agree with them.
i. International organizations are taking away too much power from the [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] government.
j. Increased exposure to foreign films, music, and books is damaging our national and local cultures.

4. **New items**

f. I’d rather be a citizen of the world than of any one country.
g. I feel that people around the world are more similar than different.

   Agree Strongly
   Agree
   Neither agree nor disagree
   Disagree
   Disagree Strongly
   Can’t choose

**Optional – Regional Associations – Ask these questions if you have an appropriate regional association. If you have no appropriate association like the EU or NAFTA, omit these questions from your pretest.**

5. Some people feel that the [European Union/NAFTA, etc.] has a negative impact on this country. I am going to read a number of things which people say are negatively affected by the [European Union/NAFTA, etc.] For each tell me if you - personally – agree or disagree with it:

F. Our country being more and more told what to do by the [EU/NAFTA/etc.]
G. Our country paying more and more to the [European Union/NAFTA/etc.]
H. The undermining of the [COUNTRY’S NATIONALITY] way of life
I. The loss of our national identity and culture
J. A loss of power in the world for [COUNTRY]

   Agree Strongly
   Agree
   Neither agree nor disagree
   Disagree
   Disagree Strongly
   Can’t choose
6. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

A. One problem with [Europe/North America/etc.] is that our country is being more and more told what to do by the [EU/NAFTA/etc.].
B. All in all, we are receiving more than we are paying by being part of the [European Union/NAFTA/etc.].
C. Being part of the [EU/NAFTA/etc.] may end up undermining the [COUNTRY’S NATIONALITY] way of life.
D. Being part of the [EU/NAFTA/etc.] does not endanger our distinct national identity and culture.
E. One good thing about the [EU/NAFTA/etc.] is that it gives us a stronger voice in the world.
   - Agree Strongly
   - Agree
   - Neither agree nor disagree
   - Disagree
   - Disagree Strongly
   - Can’t choose

3. Generally speaking, do you think that [COUNTRY] membership in the [European Union/NAFTA/etc.] has been:
   - A very bad thing
   - A bad thing
   - Neither good nor bad
   - A good thing
   - A very good thing
   - Can’t Choose

4. Taking everything into account, would you say that [COUNTRY] has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the [European Union/NAFTA/etc.]?
   - Not benefitted at all
   - Not benefitted
   - No change
   - Benefited
   - Benefited substantially
   - Can’t Choose

Demographics

Include measures of gender, age, education, and race/ethnicity as used in the ISSP. Other demographics may be included as you wish.
Q. 1. How close do you feel to... (Please, check one box on each line)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very close</th>
<th>Close</th>
<th>Not very close</th>
<th>Not close at all</th>
<th>Can’t choose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) your town or city</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b) your [county]</td>
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<tr>
<td>c) [COUNTRY]</td>
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<td>d) [Continent; e.g. Europe]</td>
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</table>

[1. Precode: “Feel close to” is to be understood as “emotionally attached to” or “identifying with”.
1b) [county] (or province, state, etc.): to be understood as the most relevant administrative unit smaller than the entire country/nation.
1d) [Europe]: give relevant continent or subcontinent: Europe, North America, East Asia/Southeast Asia]
Q. 2. Some people say that the following things are important for being truly [NATIONALITY]. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is... (Please, check one box on each line)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Very important</th>
<th>Fairly important</th>
<th>Not very important</th>
<th>Not important at all</th>
<th>Can’t choose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. to have been born in [COUNTRY]</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. to have [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] citizenship</td>
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<td>c. to have lived in [COUNTRY] for most of one’s life</td>
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<td>d. to be able to speak [COUNTRY LANGUAGE]</td>
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<td>e. to be a [religion]</td>
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<tr>
<td>f. to respect [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] political institutions and laws</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. to feel [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]</td>
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<tr>
<td>h. to have [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] ancestry</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

[2. Precode “truly [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]” e.g. “truly British”, “a true American”.
2d) [dominant language(s)] If two or more languages are recognized nationwide both are included in the question. However, if there is one national lingua franca (Spanish, Russian) just give this language.
2e) The dominant religion or denomination in your country should be given (e.g. Christian in the US and Canada, Catholic in Ireland and Italy, Russian Orthodox in Russia)].

1 Insert nationality corresponding to COUNTRY.
Q. 3. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Please, check one box on each line)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree strongly</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree strongly</th>
<th>Can't choose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. I would rather be a citizen of [COUNTRY] than of any other country in the world</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. There are some things about [COUNTRY] today that make me feel ashamed of [COUNTRY]</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like the [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Generally speaking, [COUNTRY] is a better country than most other countries</td>
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<tr>
<td>e. People should support their country even if the country is in the wrong.</td>
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<tr>
<td>f. When my country does well in international sports, it makes me proud to be [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]</td>
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<tr>
<td>g. I am often less proud of [COUNTRY] than I would like to be.</td>
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<tr>
<td>h. The world would be a better place if [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] acknowledged [COUNTRY’S shortcomings]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Q. 4. How proud are you of [COUNTRY] in each of the following? (Please, check one box on each line)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Very proud</th>
<th>Somewhat proud</th>
<th>Not very proud</th>
<th>Not proud at all</th>
<th>Can’t choose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. the way democracy works</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. its political influence in the world</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c. [COUNTRY’s] economic achievements</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>d. its social security system</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>e. its scientific and technological achievements</td>
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<tr>
<td>f. its achievements in sports</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>g. its achievements in the arts and literature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. [COUNTRY’s] armed forces</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. its history</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>j. its fair and equal treatment of all groups in society</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Now we would like to ask a few questions about relations between [COUNTRY] and other countries.

Q. 5. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Please, check one box on each line)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree strongly</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree strongly</th>
<th>Can’t choose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>[COUNTRY] should limit the import of foreign products in order to protect its national economy.</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>For certain problems, like environment pollution, international bodies should have the right to enforce solutions.</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>[COUNTRY] should follow its own interests, even if this leads to conflicts with other nations.</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>Foreigners should not be allowed to buy land in [COUNTRY].</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>[COUNTRY’S] television should give preference to [COUNTRY] films and programs.</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q. 6. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Please, check one box on each line)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree strongly</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree strongly</th>
<th>Can’t choose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Large international companies are doing more and more damage to local businesses in [COUNTRY].</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Free trade leads to better products becoming available in [COUNTRY].</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. In general, [COUNTRY] should follow the decisions of international organizations to which it belongs, even if the government does not agree with them.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>d. International organizations are taking away too much power from the [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] government.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. I feel more like a citizen of the world than of any country.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now we would like to ask a few questions about minorities in [COUNTRY]

Q. 7. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Please, check one box on each line)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree strongly</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree strongly</th>
<th>Can’t choose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. It is impossible for people who do not share [COUNTRY’s] customs and traditions to become fully [COUNTRY’S NATIONALITY].</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Ethnic minorities should be given government assistance to preserve their customs and traditions.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q. 8. Some people say that it is better for a country if different racial and ethnic groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions. Others say that it is better if these groups adapt and blend into the larger society. Which of these views comes closer to your own?

a) It is better for society if groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions. □

b) It is better if groups adapt and blend into the larger society. □

Don’t know □

Q. 9. There are different opinions about immigrants from other countries living in [COUNTRY]. (By “immigrants” we mean people who come to settle in [COUNTRY])². How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (Please, check one box on each line.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree strongly</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree strongly</th>
<th>Can’t choose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Immigrants increase crime rates.</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Immigrants are generally good for [COUNTRY’S] economy.</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in [COUNTRY].</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Immigrants improve [COUNTRY’S NATIONALITY] society by bringing in new ideas and cultures.</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Legal immigrants to [COUNTRY] who are not citizens should have the same rights as [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] citizens.</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. [COUNTRY] should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants.</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Legal immigrants should have equal access to public education as [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] citizens.</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. [COUNTRY’s] culture is generally undermined by immigrants.</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² The preceding parenthetical comment is part of the question wording
³ “Public education” refers to compulsory, pre-college schooling. For example in Britain it would be “state schools.”
Q. 10. Do you think the number of immigrants to [COUNTRY] nowadays should be...

- increased a lot
- increased a little
- remain the same as it is
- reduced a little
- reduced a lot?
- Can’t choose

Q. 11. Which of these statements about immigrants comes closest to your view:

- Immigrants should retain their culture of origin and not adopt [COUNTRY]’s culture.
- Immigrants should retain their culture of origin and also adopt [COUNTRY]’s culture.
- Immigrants should give up their culture of origin and adopt [COUNTRY]’s culture.
- Can’t Choose

Q. 12. How proud are you of being [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]? (Please, check one box below.)

- Very proud
- Somewhat proud
- Not very proud
- Not proud at all
- I am not [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]
- Can’t choose

Note: COUNTRY NATIONALITY refers to the nation that the survey is being conducted in. If there are sub-national units, it refers to the nation as a whole, so “British” in Great Britain, not “English,” Scottish,” or “Welsh.” If the standard national terms would not be understood as including some minority groups, it might be necessary to implement a functionally equivalent term that all citizens of the country could respond to. “I am not [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]” is designed to be only for non-citizens in countries that sample both citizens and non-citizens.
Q13. How much do you agree or disagree that strong patriotic feelings in (COUNTRY)\(^4\)...  
(Please check one box on each line.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree strongly</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree strongly</th>
<th>Can’t choose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. strengthen (COUNTRY’s) place in the world.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b. lead to intolerance in (COUNTRY).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c. are needed for (COUNTRY) to remain united.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>d. lead to negative attitudes towards immigrants in (COUNTRY).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

\(^4\)“Strong patriotic feelings in [COUNTRY]” are to refer to patriotism towards the nation as a whole and not to any sub-entity. If this formulation would not convey this idea, then some functionally equivalent wording that does convey this meaning should be used.
Q. 14. Are you a citizen of [COUNTRY]?

Yes ☐
No ☐

Q. 15. At the time of your birth, were both, one, or neither of your parents citizens of [COUNTRY]? 5

Both were citizens of [COUNTRY] ☐
Only father was a citizen of [COUNTRY] ☐
Only mother was a citizen of [COUNTRY] ☐
Neither parent was a citizen of [COUNTRY] ☐

5 If your country was recently part of a larger political union (e.g. Russia, Slovenia, and the Czech and Slovak Republics), parental citizenship should refer to the preceding national state that your country devolved from.
Optional – Regional Associations – Ask these questions if you have an appropriate regional association. If you have no appropriate association like the EU or NAFTA, omit these questions.

Q. 16. How much have you heard or read about [the European Union]?

- A lot
- Quite a bit
- Not much
- Nothing at all
- Can’t choose

[16. Precode: [the European Union]: Take the appropriate association for your continent/subcontinent—EU, NAFTA, etc.]

If “Nothing at all” to Q 16, the rest of the optional items should be skipped.

Q. 17 Generally speaking, would you say that [COUNTRY] benefits or does not benefit from being a member of [the European Union]?

(Non-members “would benefit” or “would not benefit”)

- Greatly benefits
- Largely benefits
- Somewhat benefits
- Benefits only a little
- Does not benefit at all
- Don’t know
- Have never heard of [the European Union]

[17. Precode: take the appropriate association, as in Q16. Scale for non-members of whatever association is used: Would benefit/Would not benefit/Don’t know/Have never heard of [the European Union]]

Q. 18. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement? (Please, check one box.)

- Agree strongly
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Disagree strongly
- Can’t choose

[COUNTRY] should follow [European Union] decisions, even if it does not agree with them.

[18. Precode: take the appropriate association, as in Q16.]
Q. 19. Generally, do you think that [the European Union] should have... much more, more, as much, less, or much less power than the national governments of its member states?

- Much more □
- More □
- As much □
- Less □
- Much less □
- Can’t choose □

[19. Precode: take the appropriate association, as in Q16].

[For prospective EU members only]
Q. 20. If there were a referendum* today to decide whether [COUNTRY] does or does not become a member of [the European Union], would you vote in favor or would you vote against?

- Vote in favor □
- Vote against □
- Can’t choose □

[20. Precode: take the appropriate association, as in Q16].

[For current EU members only]
Q. 21. If there were a referendum† today to decide whether [COUNTRY] does or does not remain a member of [the European Union], would you vote in favor or would you vote against?

- Vote in favor □
- Vote against □
- Can’t choose □

[21. Precode: take the appropriate association, as in Q16].

* If Referenda are not possible in COUNTRY, use the word “vote”
† If Referenda are not possible in COUNTRY, use the word “vote”


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