

Attitudes towards Foreign Affairs

as a Function of Personality * Bjorn Christiansen

The Channelization Hypothesis: A Preliminary Analysis

The Channelization Hypothesis contends that various psychological conditions are of decisive importance for the degree to which deeper personality layers will influence a person's attitudes towards foreign affairs. We have previously discussed three such conditions: nationalism, international knowledge,

and manifest reaction tendencies in everyday situations.

In what follows we shall take as our point of departure our previous demonstration of a positive correlation between psychodynamic conflicts and aggressive attitudes towards foreign affairs. We shall consider this correlation as supporting the fact that latent, character-conditioned aggression has a tendency to become displaced on to the sphere

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of foreign affairs, and investigate the degrees to which such displacement is related to nationalism (patriotism), international knowledge, and aggressive everyday ways of reacting.

Next we shall start out with our earlier demonstration of a positive correlation between aggressive everyday and international reaction patterns, and investigate the degree to which this correlation is related to psychodynamic conflicts (latent aggression), nationalism (patriotism), and international knowledge respectively.

The latter proposition perhaps falls outside what should strictly be described as the Channelization Hypothesis. However, it can at any rate be said to complement it, since it often seems to be assumed that a lack of displacement of aggression implies an independent and rational stand in foreign affairs. In our opinion a lack of displacement will provide a basis for increased generalization of aggression unless tendencies in this direction are counterbalanced by other psychological conditions.

A. Procedure

SUBJECTS

Applicants to and students of the Military Academy and the Naval Academy in Oslo were used as subjects. The empirical data were collected in two stages: in August and the beginning of September 1952, and at the end of January 1954. In the first session which lasted approximately three hours for each subject, various attitude-scales and questionnaires as well as projective methods were administered. In the second session, which lasted approximately one hour for each subject, two projective techniques and a sociometric scale were given.

In the first stage a total of 103 applicants to the Military Academy and 64 students at the Naval Academy were used. The subjects were divided into groups, with 15-20 persons in each group. The students of the Naval Academy worked under completely

anonymous conditions. The applicants to the Military Academy were given repeated assurances that all answers would be strictly confidential, that no names would be mentioned, and that their responses would have no bearing on their admission to the Academy—which they had the opportunity to verify through their own representatives.

The samples of Military Academy applicants had an average age of 23 years. The majority, 84 or 82%, were between 21 and 24 years of age, and the total ranged from 20 to 30 years. We have no complete specification of the age-distribution for the students of the Naval Academy. However there are many indications that there is no great difference between them and the Military Academy applicants.

The second stage of our data collection occurred exactly a year and a half after the first. This time we used 70 students of the Military Academy in Oslo as subjects. The sample represented a part of our original sample of subjects, specifically, those of the previous applicants who had been accepted by the Academy. The sample included practically all of the students in the second year of training, and the investigation was again based on groups. We worked with three groups in all—three classes—consisting of 21, 24, and 25 students respectively. These three classes were studied successively, and we have every reason to assume that none of the subjects had any prior knowledge of the tests and instruments applied.

In other words, our sample of subjects consists exclusively of men in their twenties. They come from all over the country. They have a similar educational background, all having completed gymnasium.¹ Unquestionably the most striking characteristic is the subjects' specific occupational position.

The fact that they all wanted military training and had roughly the same previous educational background undoubtedly limits considerably the possible variation in group

¹ Secondary school to university entrance standard.

membership. Our subjects represent a very homogeneous sample in many ways; but at the same time—psychologically speaking—a less homogeneous sample than one might be inclined to assume. In informal interviews with some of the subjects, for example, it was clearly evident that their occupational motivations were highly varied. In certain cases distinct signs of “authoritarian” traits could be discerned, the wish to defend King and Fatherland, conventionalism, authoritarian submission and identification with strong leaders. In other cases these motives did not seem to occur at all. The desire for a relatively well-paid and diversified occupation, one offering unique opportunities for exercise and outdoor living, was usually in evidence.

We will not deny the fact that a certain homogeneity exists. Our sample of respondents is by no means representative of the Norwegian population, nor of Norwegian men, nor of Norwegian men of the same age-group and the same general educational background.

VARIABLES AND MEASURING INSTRUMENTS

1. *Aggressive Reactions in Foreign Affairs (E Score of the IR Scale)*. Types of reactions to international incidents which threaten Norwegian interests were measured by the forty-item IR scale. Each item described a conflict for Norway created by either the United States or the Soviet Union or nations oriented to either side of the East-West controversy, or nations or events which were neutral to this controversy. Choosing from among six alternatives, the subject indicated his strongest preference and his next strongest preference in the action he would prefer Norway to take in the conflict. Each alternative could be classified in terms of the direction of the reaction (inward, outward, or passive) and its form (threat-oriented or problem-oriented), thereby providing six types of possible reaction patterns to international conflict. Scores

were obtained for each of these patterns based on an appropriate weighting of the subject's first and second choices from the six alternatives for each of the forty items. Of concern in the present study is the E score which measures the degree to which the subject's reactions to international conflict are threat-oriented in an outward direction, that is, they indicate aggressive reactions toward other nations. A reliability coefficient of .86 was obtained for this measure.

2. *Aggressive Reactions in Everyday Situations (E Score of the ER Scale)*. Measures of reaction patterns to conflict situations in everyday life were obtained by means of the ER scale, which, except for its item content, was identical in design and approach to the IR scale. The everyday situations involved incidents which could happen to anyone in an ordinary day's activity, e.g., splattered by dirty water by a passing car, etc. The items covered relationships between the subject and the conflict-producing object which were either impersonal, intimate, formal, or involved the subject in conflict with a child. Here again the subject made two choices from the six alternatives provided for each item, indicating what he would be most likely to do and next most likely to do in the situation. His choices reflected particular directions and forms of response as noted above for the IR scale. The E score of the ER scale therefore provided a measure of aggressive reaction tendencies in everyday situations which corresponded to the measure of aggression in international situations, i.e., the E score of the IR scale. A reliability measure of .86 was obtained for the E score of the ER scale.

3. *Latent Aggression as a Function of Psychodynamic Conflicts (Blacky Test)*. The extent of conflict in connection with psychosexual impulses was measured by means of a modified form of the Blacky Test (Blum, 1949; 1950), a projective technique in which a family of dogs consisting of a puppy *Blacky*, Blacky's parents, and a sibling

is depicted cartoon style in a variety of situations. The eleven pictures (slides) in the test were designed to detect conflict with respect to various psychosexual dimensions, e.g., oral eroticism, sibling jealousy, etc., based on the spontaneous stories told by the subject about each picture as well as his responses to a series of questions (the inquiry) presented immediately following his story about the picture. In order to adapt the test to both the Norwegian setting and the requirements of the immediate research problem, appropriate translations from English to Norwegian were made, only the four pictures focused on early psychosexual development were used, the test was group administered rather than given on an individual basis, as well as other minor changes in the details of administering the test being made. The scoring of the test was also modified with greatest emphasis placed on the spontaneous stories which were scored for the extent to which they reflected conflict-free or conflict-charged manifestations in the handling of basic psychosexual impulses. Scoring reliabilities in assessing the presence or absence of such conflict in the stories told for each of the four pictures were in the order of 86 to 99 per cent rater agreement involving two reliability studies.

4. *National Patriotism (NP Scale)*. National patriotism is defined as a general tendency to see one's own nation as superior to the rest of mankind. A prominent trait would be a superordinate loyalty to one's own nation in relation to other reference and membership groups. Loyalty to one's own nation will take priority over loyalty to (a) national sub-groups, (b) supra-national organizations, (c) national outgroups, and (d) humanity as a whole. To measure patriotism of this kind a nine-item scale was constructed reflecting the "loyalty dimensions" listed above. The subjects were asked to give their opinions about each of the statements by indicating the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with it on a five-point evaluation scale extending from "strong agreement" to "strong disagree-

ment" Each statement was numerically scored for the degree of patriotism indicated by the subject's extent of agreement or disagreement with it, and on this basis a total patriotism score for the nine-item scale was obtained.

5. *International Knowledge (IK Scale)*. International knowledge refers to the degree of accuracy in the subject's perceptions of how Norway compares with "most other nations" with respect to a series of twenty national attributes, e.g., "General Education," "Artistic Standards," "Educational Facilities," etc. The subject judged each attribute on a five-point scale extending from the view that Norway had this trait to a considerably greater degree than other nations, to the view that it had this trait to a considerably lesser degree than these other nations. These judgements were then compared with the average corresponding judgements made by a panel of three experts. In establishing the judgements of the latter as criteria for accuracy, it was found that the judgements of the experts never involved more than one expert disagreeing with the others concerning a trait, and except for one case the deviation was never more than one scale interval in the five-point scale. The sum of the differences in intervals between the subject's judgements and the average judgements of the panel for the twenty national traits provided a total deviation score. The lower the score the less the deviation from the accuracy criteria and therefore the greater the international knowledge.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

To obtain a survey of the effect of various factors on tendencies towards generalization and displacement of aggression, we proceeded in the following manner: first we examined the score distribution on the factor whose effect we wished to study, and isolated the approximately highest, middle, and lowest third of the distribution. On the basis of this delimitation we undertook a division of the subjects into three sub-samples

and calculated the trend towards generalization (or displacement) in each of the sub-samples. Finally we compared the sub-samples and examined the differences among them.

B. Results

There follows a statistical analysis of the connection of various factors with tendencies towards displacement of aggression, after which we shall present a parallel analysis of the connection of various factors with tendencies towards generalization of aggression. In both cases the analyses will be based on a comparison of fairly small groups since our total sample included a comparatively small number of subjects. On the whole the results will serve rather as a basis for elaborating hypotheses than providing material for final conclusions.

DISPLACEMENT OF AGGRESSION IN RELATION TO NATIONALISM

For our total sample we found a significant positive correlation between "number of conflict scores" on the Blacky test and the *E* category of the IR scale ($r = .33$). We have interpreted this as indicating that there is a connection between latent aggression and aggressive international reaction patterns.

To investigate the degree to which nationalism (patriotism) influences the connection between these two factors, we isolated the subjects who had answered both the IR scale and the Blacky Pictures, and

divided the sample approximately into three groups according to the individual scores on the NP scale. We delimited three sub-samples: those who had achieved a score in the highest, middle, and west third of the score distribution on the NP scale. We then calculated for each sub-sample the correlation between "number of conflict scores" on the Blacky test and the *E* category of the IR scale.

Table 1 presents the correlation coefficients in these three cases, showing that there are respectively highest and lowest correlations in the sub-sample with the highest and lowest scores on the NP scale. A comparison between the samples with the highest and lowest scores shows a difference between correlations of .38. Because of the small samples, however, the difference does not achieve statistical significance ($p = .18$).² In spite of this fact our data suggest that displacement tendencies might be associated with the degree of nationalism in the sense of patriotism. The correlation only achieves a satisfactory statistical significance in the sub-sample with the highest scores on the NP scale ($p = .007$).³ In other words a certain degree of nationalism seems to be a prerequisite for the displacement of aggression on to the international sphere. Our data thus tend to support Durbin and Bowlby's view of nationalism as a channelizing factor (1939).

² If a one-tail criterion is applied, the difference obtains an approximate statistical significance ($p < .10$).

³ In testing the significance of an obtained correlation in sub-samples where *N* is less than 30, the *r* to *z* transformation has consistently been used.

TABLE 1
CORRELATION (*r*) BETWEEN THE *E* CATEGORY OF THE IR SCALE AND
CONFLICT SCORES ON THE BLACKY TEST IN SAMPLES WITH
DIFFERENT SCORES ON THE NP SCALE

Score Intervals on NP Scale	<i>N</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>
19-26 (Least Nationalistic)	20	.18	.45
27-29 (Moderately Nationalistic)	21	.26	.26
30-38 (Most Nationalistic)	21	.56	.01

DISPLACEMENT OF AGGRESSION IN
RELATION TO EVERYDAY AGGRESSION

To investigate the degree to which manifest aggressive reaction tendencies in everyday situations influence the connection between latent aggression and aggressive international reaction patterns, we proceeded in the same way as above and undertook a triple division of the total sample according to the scores of the individual subjects on the *E* category of the ER scale.

Table 2 surveys the correlation coefficients in these three instances.

The table shows highest correlation in the sub-sample with medium scores on the ER scale, and lowest correlation in the sub-sample with the highest scores. Only in the sub-sample with medium scores does the correlation achieve statistical significance ($p < .05$).

In spite of the fact that the difference between correlations in the sub-samples does not achieve statistical significance it is interesting to note that high scores on the ER scale's *E* category are associated with a comparatively smaller displacement tendency than low and medium scores. This is exactly what we might expect from the point of view of the "drainage theory": that aggressive tendencies in everyday situations function as a draining of latent aggression, so that less remains for international situations. An argument against such a view is the higher correlation in the sub-sample with medium scores than in the sub-sample with the lowest scores on the ER scale's *E* category. This does not necessarily mean that the "drainage theory" is untenable, but

that it must be complemented by other considerations. A view which is opposite in the present connection is that inhibitions of everyday aggression—if sufficiently strong—may be transferred or generalized to affect aggressive international tendencies. If this were the case we should in fact expect greatest displacement to occur when more moderate inhibition of aggression is present. In those cases where we are dealing with a generalized inhibition of aggression we should further expect, from a depth psychological point of view, a comparatively greater tendency towards hypochondria and somatization. No examination was undertaken on this point. Some support for such a view is found in the fact that the frequency of certain heart and circulatory diseases (and also of certain mental diseases) was considerably reduced in Norway during the occupation period from 1940-45, compared with pre- and post-war periods.⁴ An intense positive sanctioning and encouragement of aggressive social attitudes may possibly under certain circumstances be positively stimulating and "health bringing" for strongly affect-inhibited persons. Here we are faced with an extremely interesting hypothesis which invites further exploration.⁵

⁴ A personal communication from H. J. Ustvedt.

⁵ An observation relevant in the present context is that aggressive persons by and large seem to be in a much better state of physical health than people of similar age taken from the general population. E.g., in an American investigation of paranoid patients, nearly all diagnosed as dementia praecox, paranoid type, it was found that the manifestation of arteriosclerosis, including cerebral arteriosclerosis, was less frequent than in the general population. (See H. S. Alpert, et

TABLE 2
CORRELATION (r) BETWEEN THE *E* CATEGORY OF THE IR SCALE AND
CONFLICT SCORES ON THE BLACKY TEST IN SAMPLES WITH DIFFERENT
SCORES ON THE *E* CATEGORY OF THE ER SCALE

Score Intervals on the ER Scale	<i>N</i>	r	<i>p</i>
0-10 (Least Aggressive)	23	.32	.14
12-22 (Moderately Aggressive)	23	.43	.04
24-45 (Most Aggressive)	20	.22	.36

DISPLACEMENT OF AGGRESSION IN RELATION TO INTERNATIONAL KNOWLEDGE

In investigating the effect of international knowledge on the connection between latent aggression and international attitudes we proceeded in the same way as above, dividing the total sample into three sub-samples according to the individual subjects' scores on the IK scale.

Table 3 surveys the correlation coefficients in this case. The table shows that there is comparatively little difference between the sub-samples. The highest correlation turns out to be in the sub-sample with medium scores on the IK scale, the lowest correlation in the sub-sample with the highest scores. The fact that we find the least displacement of aggression to occur in the sub-sample characterized by least international knowledge is in accordance with a point of view previously referred to, that the influence of latent personality layers presupposes an orientation towards international relations. The very slight trend which exists in the direction of a lower displacement tendency in the case of most as compared to moderate knowledge, or the mere fact that here we do not find a corresponding higher displacement tendency in the case of most knowledge, fits in with the viewpoint that

al., "Central arteriosclerosis in the paranoid state," *Psychiat. Quart.*, 1947, 21, 305-313.) Since the paranoid is a personality type who continually acts out his hostilities, the data indirectly support the hypothesis that repressed hostility often is a causal factor of hypertension and somatization.

international knowledge may contribute in keeping character-conditioned aggression under control.

The differences found between the three sub-samples are much too small to verify these hypotheses. The differences achieve no statistical significance and the reason for the above comments is therefore mainly to indicate some lines for future research on more heterogeneous samples of subjects.

GENERALIZATION OF AGGRESSION IN RELATION TO LATENT AGGRESSION

As we have previously stated we found a significant positive correlation ($r = .42$) between the *E* categories of the ER and IR scales. We interpreted this as indicating that a generalization of aggressive reaction tendencies takes place from everyday to international situations.

In order to investigate the degree to which latent aggression (psychodynamic conflicts) affects tendencies towards the generalization of aggression, we delineated the subjects who had given complete responses on both the ER and IR scales, and divided the sample into approximately three groups according to the individuals' "number of conflict scores" on the Blacky test.

Table 4 surveys the correlation between the *E* categories in the sub-samples with 2 or less, 3, and 4 conflict scores on the Blacky test. The table shows that the highest and lowest correlations occur in the sub-sample having the lowest and highest "number of conflict scores" respectively on the Blacky test.

TABLE 3
CORRELATION (r) BETWEEN THE *E* CATEGORY OF THE IR SCALE AND
CONFLICT SCORES ON THE BLACKY TEST IN SAMPLES WITH
DIFFERENT SCORES ON THE IK SCALE

Score Intervals on IK Scale	<i>N</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>
14-21 (Least Knowledge)	24	.26	.22
11-13 (Moderate Knowledge)	15	.39	.15
4-10 (Most Knowledge)	26	.37	.06

TABLE 4
CORRELATION (r) BETWEEN THE E CATEGORIES OF THE IR AND ER
SCALES IN SAMPLES WITH DIFFERENT SCORES ON THE BLACKY TEST

Score Intervals on the Blacky Test	N	r	p
0-2 (Least Conflict Charged)	23	.69	.001
3 (Moderately Conflict Charged)	14	.56	.04
4 (Most Conflict Charged)	29	.29	.13

While the correlation in the sub-sample with most conflict scores achieves a very limited statistical significance ($p = .13$), the correlation in the sub-sample with least conflict scores shows a significance well below the 1% level ($p \approx .001$). The difference between correlations in these two samples is .40 and statistically significant at the 6% level.⁶ The frequency of conflicts in connection with basic impulse patterns thus seems to be approximately significantly associated with a lack of generalization of aggression. The less the amount of latent aggression the greater the generalization tendency which seems to be present.⁷

Our empirical material thus supports the view we previously put forward, that lack of repression of aggression does not necessarily lead to attitudes towards foreign affairs independent of personality factors, but to an

⁶ If a one-tail criterion is used the difference reaches a statistical significance at the 3% level.

⁷ In concluding our empirical investigation of the Generalization Hypothesis it was pointed out that the hypothesis cannot explain why aggressive reactions do not show highest generalization despite the fact that this reaction type seems to be more consistent than others both in everyday and international situations. It is not inconceivable that this discrepancy might be abolished were we to concentrate on subjects who were unburdened by latent aggression.

increased generalization, unless tendencies in this direction are counteracted by other factors.

GENERALIZATION OF AGGRESSION IN RELATION TO NATIONALISM

We proceeded in the same fashion as above in investigating the degree to which nationalism (patriotism) affects the correlation between aggressive everyday and international reaction patterns, by making a triple division of the total sample according to the individual scores on the NP scale.

Table 5 shows the correlation between the E categories in the three sub-samples.

The table shows that the highest and lowest correlations occur in the sub-sample with the highest and lowest scores respectively on the NP scale. The difference between correlations in these two sub-samples is .39 and statistically significant below the 5% level ($p = .02$). We may therefore conclude that the score values on the NP scale are significantly associated with a tendency towards generalization of aggression. The more the patriotism present, the greater appears to be the tendency towards generalization.

TABLE 5
CORRELATION (r) BETWEEN THE E CATEGORIES OF THE IR AND ER
SCALES IN SAMPLES WITH DIFFERENT SCORES ON THE NP SCALE

Score Intervals on NP Scale	N	r	p
16-25 (Least Nationalistic)	50	.23	.11
26-29 (Moderately Nationalistic)	56	.55	.001
30-40 (Most Nationalistic)	47	.62	.001

Our data indicate on the whole that nationalism (patriotism) co-varies with tendencies towards displacement as well as towards generalization; in other words, it probably facilitates the influence of various personality factors on international attitudes.

GENERALIZATION OF AGGRESSION IN RELATION TO INTERNATIONAL KNOWLEDGE

In examining the degree to which international knowledge affects the connection between aggressive everyday and international reaction patterns we proceeded in the same manner as above, dividing the total sample according to the individuals' scores on the IK scale.

Table 6 surveys the correlation between the *E* categories of the ER and IR scales in the three sub-samples. The table shows highest correlation in the sub-sample with the highest scores on the IK scale, and least correlation in the sub-sample with medium scores. The difference between correlations in these two samples is .16, but it achieves no statistical significance ($p = .36$).

Our data give no basis for any definite conclusion, but there is a certain tendency for the greatest generalization to occur in the case of most and least international knowledge. In the two latter sub-samples only we find correlation coefficients obtaining a statistical significance below the 1% level. However, the difference between correlations in these two samples and the sample with moderate scores on the IK scale does not achieve statistical significance ($p = .33$).

In spite of the obvious shortcomings of the IK scale it nevertheless may be worth while to venture some speculations concerning our results: the relatively higher correlation coefficient in the sub-sample with the lowest scores on the IK scale (those with most knowledge), than in the sub-sample with medium scores, is in accordance with the aforementioned hypothesis: that the effect of personal values (*in casu* such values as are reflected in everyday reaction patterns) on a person's attitudes towards foreign affairs will be the greater, the greater the international knowledge present. The same hypothesis is, however, weakened by our findings of a relatively higher correlation coefficient in the sub-sample with the highest scores on the IK scale, than in the sub-sample with the medium scores. The latter relationship supports the hypothesis that little international knowledge implies small ability to differentiate between everyday and international situations, and that tendencies towards generalization are greater the less a person differentiates between different situations.

On the whole our data do not weaken the hypothesis that a curvilinear correlation exists between international knowledge and tendencies towards generalization. Furthermore, a comparison between Tables 3 and 6 suggests an inverse relationship between the influence of international knowledge on tendencies towards generalization and displacement respectively. Among the subjects characterized by least knowledge, the correlation between the R scales ("generalization") is somewhat higher than the correlation between the Blacky test and the IR scale ("displacement"), while the opposite is true in the rest of the sample. Here again

TABLE 6
CORRELATION (*r*) BETWEEN THE *E* CATEGORIES OF THE IR AND ER
SCALES IN SAMPLES WITH DIFFERENT SCORES ON THE IK SCALE

Score Intervals on the IK Scale	N	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>
15-23 (Least Knowledge)	56	.46	.001
11-14 (Moderate Knowledge)	45	.30	.05
2-10 (Most Knowledge)	59	.43	.001

interesting prospects open up for later empirical research on more heterogeneous samples of subjects based upon a more adequate method for registering international knowledge.

C. Summary and Conclusion

The intention of our investigation was the clarification of the influence of various psychological factors on tendencies towards generalization and displacement of aggression. We have previously shown that both these psychological mechanisms seem to have a certain validity as regards the explanation of aggressive reaction patterns towards foreign affairs.

By *generalization* we refer to the fact that a person reacts similarly to everyday and international situations, in other words, that a person's preference with regard to his nation's ways of reacting in international conflict situations are connected with his own reaction patterns in everyday conflict situations. The greater the correlation present in this area, the greater the generalization.

For the registration of ways of reacting to everyday and international situations we made use of two parallel attitude scales, the ER and IR scales. In the present investigation we concentrated entirely on the generalization of aggressive ways of reacting, that is, on the *E* categories of these two scales.

By *displacement* we refer to the fact that reaction tendencies which are repressed in relation to certain objects or situations find an outlet towards other objects or in other situations. In the present thesis we have concentrated exclusively on displacement of latent reaction tendencies on to international matters. We have said that greater displacement occurs the higher the correlation between a person's way of reacting to international conflict situations and his latent tendencies. In this chapter we have dealt with displacement of aggression only. To register the latter factor we made use of a shortened version of Blum's Blacky Pictures, and presumed that the frequency of

conflicts in connection with basic psychosexual impulse patterns gives an approximate measure of the degree of latent aggression present.

As well as investigating how far latent aggression (or psychodynamic conflicts) influence tendencies towards generalization of aggression, and how far aggressive ways of reacting in everyday situations influence tendencies towards displacement of aggression, we concentrated on the influence of nationalism in the sense of patriotism and international knowledge respectively. For registering these last two factors we made use of two scales called the NP and IK scales.

The results of our investigation give support to the following statements:

- A certain degree of nationalism (patriotism) is generally a necessary precondition for the displacement of aggression towards foreign affairs.* In spite of the fact that our data do not give any conclusive evidence, on the whole there seems to be a closer connection between latent aggression and aggressive attitudes towards foreign affairs the more a person identifies himself with his own nation. Nationalism therefore seems to represent a mediating factor of importance for the degree to which latent personality layers are likely to colour a person's international attitudes.
- There is no direct (linear) connection between aggressive ways of reacting in everyday situations and tendencies towards the displacements of aggression.* Our data give no basis for concluding that tendencies towards aggressive ways of reacting to everyday situations represent a mediating factor of importance for the degree to which latent personality layers are likely to colour a person's attitudes towards foreign affairs; they nevertheless indicate hypothetically that extremely strong as well as extremely weak tendencies towards everyday aggression are associated with less pronounced displacement than moderate everyday aggression.
- There is no direct (linear) connection between international knowledge and tendencies towards the displacement of latent aggression.* Due to the inadequacy of our

research instrument this statement must be considered with great cautiousness. As a hypothesis for later studies we may propose that displacement of aggression increases with increased knowledge up to a certain point, after which it decreases or remains approximately constant.

There exists an inverse connection between latent aggression (psychodynamic conflicts) and generalization of everyday aggressive reaction patterns. Our data indicate that there is a closer connection between aggressive ways of reacting to everyday and international conflict situations the more basic psychosexual impulse patterns are conflict-free and assimilated. Latent aggression seems to represent a mediating factor of importance for the degree to which everyday reaction patterns are likely to colour a person's attitudes towards foreign affairs.

A direct connection exists between nationalism (patriotism) and generalization of everyday aggressive reaction patterns. Our data indicate that there is a closer connection between aggressive reaction patterns towards everyday and international conflict situations the more a person is characterized by patriotic attitudes.

Nationalism in the sense of patriotism therefore seems to represent a mediating factor of importance for the degree to which everyday aggression is likely to colour a person's attitudes towards foreign affairs.

No direct (linear) connection exists between international knowledge and generalization of everyday aggressive reaction patterns. Here too we wish to stress the shortcomings of our measurement of international knowledge. As a hypothesis for further investigations we wish to point to the possibility that extremely great as well as extremely little international knowledge may be associated with greater generalization than moderate international knowledge.

We can summarize the above conclusions by stressing that the following three factors at least should be considered in attempting a psychological explanation of aggressive reaction patterns towards foreign affairs: 1) tendencies towards everyday aggressive ways of reacting, 2) scope of latent aggression or degree of psychodynamic conflicts; and 3) degree of nationalism or patriotism.

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