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# Exploring the perception of nationalism in the United States and Saudi Arabia

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EXPLORING THE PERCEPTION OF NATIONALISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND  
SAUDI ARABIA

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A Thesis

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For the Degree

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By

Reem Mohammed Alhethail

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## MASTER'S THESIS

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

### Statement of the Problem

Patriotism and nationalism are parameters that define the levels of loyalty, pride, and attractiveness of an individual to his or her country. Various events, occurrences, and institutions have continued to foster patriotic and nationalistic views all over the world. All nations have symbols that their citizens consider patriotic, which may take the form of buildings, flags, institutions, individuals, songs, events, or action. The behavior of citizens in the United States and Saudi Arabia in relation to their patriotic and nationalistic views of their respective countries and towards each other is of distinct interest to this study. In the US, symbols like flag, events like Independence Day and Thanksgiving Day, and songs like the national anthem foster feelings of nationalism and patriotism among many of the country's citizens. For the UK, the symbols are the Union Jack and the Queen, events like St. Patrick's Day and Orangeman's Day, and songs like *God Save the Queen* and *There will Always Be an England*.<sup>1</sup> For Saudi Arabia, the kingdom evokes patriotism with the flag, the national dress and the king, events like the National Day, and songs like the Saudi national anthem. In many cases, songs, chants, and waving of flags will accompany those feeling, as citizens of these countries display to fellow citizens and the outside world how much they adore and respect their countries.<sup>2</sup>

Americans, like most national communities, are not particularly appreciative of expressions of nationalism by others. This mainly involves not appreciating the nationalism as well as history of countries deemed as 'minor' powers. At best, communities are apathetic of nationalism of other communities, and this is to be expected. At worst, communities are skeptical

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1. Emmanuel Yewah, "The Nation as a Contested Construct." *Research in African Literatures* (Fall 2001), 45.

2. Benedict Anderson, "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism." (Verso, 2006), 239.

or denigrating towards such expressions of nationalism, which is rooted in the enculturation of ethnocentrism that most communities subject their members to. In the past, Americans understood the importance of patriotic songs, symbols, actions, and objects. They went out of their way to underscore their respect. In many instances, Americans would join citizens of the foreign state to celebrate their national holidays even when they did not understand what it meant.<sup>3</sup> They believed that such positive reaction was an indication that they respected and tolerated the foreign country's public display of patriotism. Even in situations where a foreign country was celebrating its national holidays, Americans exhibited a great deal of respect and tolerance.<sup>4</sup> They expressed solidarity by either joining in on the celebrations or allocating their embassies public facilities like halls and community centers.<sup>5</sup>

After the incidents of 9/11, for the first time since the Second World War, Americans as a whole felt under attack. The country perceived this as a blatant attack on civilians rather than military targets.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, even those Americans who identified with liberal policies felt that the attack was unjust and aggressive in the extreme. The reaction after 9/11 is contrasting with that during the Vietnam War, in which a majority of the American public reacted differently. In the Vietnam War, there was a significant wellspring of opposition within American society. Americans, especially people who identify as liberals, progressives, or left of center have been skeptical of expansionist foreign policy and militarism. Suspicions towards the military and conventional patriotic narratives are also relatively high within this group.<sup>7</sup> This group forms

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3. A. Falk, G. (2005). *Youth Culture and the Generation Gap*. Pittsburgh: Algora Publishing.

4. A. Frank, (2008). *American Revolution: People and Perspectives*. Philadelphia: ABC-CLIO.

5. Ibid.

6. L. Munday, (2012). *American Militarism and Anti-Militarism in Popular Media, 1945-1970*. Buffalo: McFarland Publishers.

7. Richard Spilsbury, *Who Protested Against the Vietnam War?* (Washington DC: Raintree, 2014).

significant segments of the population among white-collar young adults in the largest cities and among university students. However, this segment itself felt under attack when the Twin Towers fell. New York City has always been one of the most liberal, progressive, and anti-militaristic city in the country. Consequently, the terrorists acted as attacking the very identity and values of New York City. Traditionally, anti-patriotic segments of American society rallied around patriotism. This was a reaction similar to when the imperialistic Japan attacked Pearl Harbor or when America declared war against both Japan and Nazi Germany. Even leftists would support a War against Nazis and imperialists. Similarly, leftists and liberals felt very little identification with Islamists or the Taliban since they were anti-progressive. Hence, it was relatively easy for post-9/11 American society to quickly coalesce around a broad-based support network for patriotism and a military reaction against Al-Qaida and Taliban. The scenario is directly in contrast with the Vietnam War, where young people, students, liberals, and progressives felt some sympathy for the Vietnamese communists and the progressive leaders of the third world in general.<sup>8</sup>

Americans and other Western citizens are increasingly showing discontent against display of patriotism in foreign states like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, and the UAE. Whenever citizens in these countries celebrate their national holidays or engage in actions that they consider patriotic, there is always a show of disdain and resentment from some Americans. Similarly, people from the Middle East do not display the same level of tolerance and respect when they witness cases of patriotism and nationalism in Western countries like the United States and the UK. When they witness Western countries singing their anthems, celebrating their national

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8. John Hutcheson, John, Domke, David, Billeaudeau, Andre, and Garland, Phillip "US National Identity, Political Elites, and a Patriotic Press Following September 11." *Political Communication* (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Inc, 2004) 36.

holidays, and engaging in other actions that they consider patriotic, they show discontent. They interpret the public display of patriotism as an affront to their patriotism.<sup>9</sup>

This has mostly resulted from ‘competing nationalisms’ between Arabs and Americans that goes back a long time. Most Arabs in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States perceived the Arab-Israeli wars negatively, in which America supported Israel. This was only exacerbated post-9/11 after the US’ military activity increased in the Gulf. Well until 2006-07, when the first signs of American discontent with war became visible, the public opinion in Arab countries was that American patriotism was inherently hostile to Arab countries. The public opinion shift was a result of perception that America’s international military campaigns always ended up targeting Arab states. Although America attacked Iraq in 1991 after invitation from the Arab League, the move was unpopular among a wide section of ordinary Arab citizens in Saudi Arabia, particularly among the youth. One of the reasons definitely was that many Saudi Arabian patriots saw the Iranian regime as a greater threat to their values and identity than the Iraqi one of Saddam. The act of America attacking Iraq continuously since 1991, throughout the 1990s, and culminating in the 2003 invasion portrayed Iraq as weakening. The scenario directly linked to decreasing influence of Saudi Arabia since both countries were opposed to Iran’s ambitions. Therefore, in the eyes of many patriotic Saudi Arabians, American nationalism in the form of support for US invasions in Afghanistan and Iraq was a threat to the interests of the Saudi Arabian Nation-State.<sup>10</sup>

In fact, the situation has become so bad that Americans and Saudi Arabians have orchestrated protests in which they have burnt, destroyed, and defaced important national

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9. David Pollock. *The Arab Street? Public Opinion in the Arab World. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, (1992) 32.

10. Neil Partrick, “Nationalism in the Gulf States.” *The Centre for the Study of Global Governance*, (London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 2009), 18.



symbols belonging to the two countries. Saudi Arabians have engaged in demonstrations in which they burn American flags and other symbols that Americans consider important. In the same vein, Americans have held protests, an example of which is the Terry Jones' Quran burning in his church—an important holy book in Saudi Arabia—and argued that their actions have been protected under the constitution as free speech.

While leading historians and political scientists have written extensively about nationalism, patriotism, and its effects on citizens, they are yet to focus on the link between nationalism, patriotism, and citizens' negative reaction towards the national symbols of foreign countries.<sup>11</sup> Most of their focus has been on the link between nationalism, patriotism, and citizens' intolerance of actions and statements that seem to contradict patriotic statements, songs, and symbols. For example, Wilfred discusses the idea of patriotism through looking at Americanism and how the country propagates hate through intolerant action.<sup>12</sup>

Nationalism and patriotism are inherently related. People use both to reflect on the love of an individual's country. Nationalism offers more importance to the unity of a country through cultural background, heritage, and language. Contrariwise, patriotism concerns the love for a nation, with a lot of emphasis on beliefs and values.<sup>13</sup> While the intent of this thesis is to examine nationalism, it is appropriate to look at all issues that surround the phenomenon. As such, there will be an analysis of the concept of nationalism and its resemblance to patriotism as well as its definition and controversies surrounding it. In particular, the study will use the analysis of nationalism to expound on related matter like patriotism, in an effort to substantiate the claim

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11. Michael Yellow Bird, "What Is the Highest Form of Patriotism? I Say Acknowledging Our Addiction to Patriotism." *Canadian Review of American Studies* (2009), 343.

12. Wilfred M. McClay, "America--Idea or Nation?." *Public Interest* (2001), 44.

13. Benedict Anderson, "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism." (Verso, 2006), 239.

that patriotic nationals in countries like Saudi Arabia, America, North Korea, China, and other active nations react negatively to foreign countries' display of nationalism. In line with this goal, the study sought to conduct a comparative analysis of thoughts, holidays, activities, and practices that American and Saudi citizens consider patriotic. This comparative analysis would go a long way in accounting for the factors that lead some American citizens to react negatively to Saudi citizens' patriotic acts when they come from two countries that have similar goals and aspirations.

To make a conclusion on nationalism, the paper will look at the actions of the citizens involved in these celebrations or significant events, and the definition of patriotism, whose discussion will follow later. This will help in determining how the actions of other nations trigger patriotic and nationalistic reactions, internally and externally. Irrespective of one's opinion, the people participating in these events or activities are, in some fashion, outwardly expressing patriotic feelings through their conduct, activities, or belief.

Every individual, regardless of the nation of origin, has felt the impact of events that rekindled the feelings of patriotism such as September 11, and the great wars fought in the name of peace. Patriotic expressions and nationalistic events such as those discussed have led to the conclusion, which is the misinterpretations and disconnections between the receiver and the sender as well as between the action and the intended meaning of these patriotic deeds. The differences have often been attributed both to someone foreign to the country receiving the act and to the culture of the one who is exhibiting the act. Could people attribute these misinterpretations and disconnections to a direct reaction to a citizens' expression of patriotism?

## Research Questions

To address the objectives of the thesis, the author will address the following research questions:

1. Are the Americans acculturated to nationalism at an early age?
2. Is the culture of the Saudi Arabians and their style of leadership decisive of the loyalty of the citizens?
3. What are the effects of national symbols and moral values to patriots in the United States or the Saudi Arabia?
4. Are the objects considered national treasure in America and Saudi Arabia responsible for fueling chaos relating to patriotism and nationalism?
5. What is the bond between nationalism and patriotism in Saudi Arabia?

## **Chapter 2: Theories of Nationalism and Patriotism**

The chapter will critically analyze the prevailing theories that explain how nationalism and patriotism function within societies. It will commence with a subsection on the definition of the two conceptions of nationalism and patriotism. Thereafter, it will analyze the theories put forth by scholars to explain and understand the phenomenon of nationalism and patriotism. Recent nationalism efforts between countries have led to heightened national patriotism and consequent push for other agendas between countries. For instance, ethnic nationalism has become insurgent and has shown the capacity to push for war and chaos between nations. Therefore, there is a dire need to increase the understanding and learning of how to manage the conditions that may promote such extreme loyalty to a country. From a historical point of view,

nationalism and increased patriotism as well as loyalty to a country largely fueled World War I and World War II. Today, nationalism as well as cosmopolitanism continues to raise major debate in different spheres like politics, education, and other intellectual circles. The extents to which versions of nationalism are morally justified are yet to be agreed upon. Nationalism defines a group of people living in the same country. It dictates their sense of patriotism and sets a path of the extent to which these people are ready to go in defense of a nation's agenda, which explains why there are different levels of nationalism in different countries. For instance, the level of nationalism in the United States of America and that in Switzerland is significantly different. Likewise, Saudi Arabia enjoys patriotism generated from nationalism more than Kenya for instance. The second section will look into the issues and perceptions of nationalism in the context of the United States and Saudi Arabia. While the study will compare these two countries in terms of nationalism and the perceptions therein, it is not within the scope of the paper to look at the structural differences. As such, the effects of nationalism in the U.S. and Saudi Arabia will be discussed.

### Definitions

Leading historians and political scientists have come up with many definitions of patriotism, but the overriding theme in all those definitions is the individual's love for his or her country.<sup>14</sup> Smith defines nationalism as sociopolitical movement that assists citizens of a certain nation to attain autonomy, maintain their independence, enhance their unity, and develop their identity.<sup>15</sup> The last definition outlines the role of the core elements of unity, autonomy, and identity in aiding citizens to achieve the overall aim of loving their country. The term ideology in

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14. Benedict Anderson, "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism." (Verso, 2006), 239.

15. Anthony Smith, *Nationalism* (New York: Wiley, 2013) 29.

the definition underscores the goal-oriented aspects of the concept of nationalism. In essence, each country's nationalistic ideologies will prescribe certain actions and statements and regard them as illustrations of nationalism. Smith argues that reference to the concept of autonomy does not imply that independence is the sole objective of nationalism. According to Smith, use of the phrase "maintaining nationalism" implies that the definition takes into consideration instances in which citizens engage in nationalistic actions as a way of reaffirming their commitment to a newly established state.

Haas proposes a definition of nationalism that differs markedly from that of Smith. It links the concept of nationalism to people's desire to establish a state. According to Haas, nationalism is a doctrine of social solidarity that underscores the belief of a group that belongs to a given nation or the one that wants to constitute a nation.<sup>16</sup> Despite the difference, Haas' definition contains the defining element of love for the nation. In this instance, the definition ties the citizens' love for their nation to their desire to belong to it or their desire to establish it. The definition captures instances in which citizens make pronouncements that underline their desire to form a nation. Farnen's book outlines several definitions of nationalism that fall within the ambit of love for the nation. In the book, Kohn defines nationalism as a state of mind in which a person expresses supreme loyalty towards a given nation-state.<sup>17</sup> Within the book, Brinton defines nationalism as the single most important factor in a list of ideas, sentiments, and interests that bind people into political groupings based on defined territories.<sup>18</sup> Again, the thread that cuts across these definitions of nationalism is people's love for their nation.

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16. Ernst Haas, *Nationalism, Liberalism, and Progress: The Rise and Decline of Nationalism* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 23.

17. Russell Farnen, *Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Identity: Cross National and Comparative Perspectives* (London: Transaction Publishers, 2004), 48.

18. Ibid.

Many other scholars have propounded theories to account for the impressions of nationalism and patriotism. The general view from some of the scholars is that although the two notions emanate from the concept of national identity, they are markedly different in their definition, scope, and application. During his experimental study on the expressions of nationalism and patriotism in 35 countries, Davidov analyzed the theories behind the models of nationalism and patriotism. In the study, Davidov argues that the concepts of nationalism and patriotism emanate from the national identity concept.<sup>19</sup> He states that national identity denotes the intensity with which a person expresses closeness towards his country.<sup>20</sup> Davidov proves that although past studies claimed that the concept of national identity is a one-dimensional construct, recent studies are linking it to the concepts of nationalism and patriotism.<sup>21</sup> He demonstrates that these studies regard the concept of nationalism as people's irrational, obedient, ignorant, militaristic, or blind reverence to symbols and actions representing their country while they regard patriotism as people's disobedient, reasonable, civic, critical, constructive, and genuine respect for symbols and actions representing their country.<sup>22</sup> Davidov, therefore, delves deep into these two concepts by analyzing how various scholars have represented them in their respective treatises. In particular, he argues that the use of concepts like reasonableness, civility, and constructiveness to refer to patriotism implies that it is essential to refer to the concept of patriotism as constructive patriotism to distinguish it from the concept of nationalism that advocates for citizens' blind adherence or respect for symbols and actions that represent their national identity.

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19. Eldad Davidov, "Measurement Equivalence of National and Constructive Patriotism in the ISSP: 34 Countries in a Comparative Perspective." *Political Analysis* (2009), 64-82.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

Behrens is also of the view that nationalism and patriotism emanate from the concept of national identity. The essence of Behrens' argument is that people's expression of national identity will manifest either as nationalism or as constructive patriotism.<sup>23</sup> It will manifest as nationalism when the expression underscores the citizens' irrational, obedient, ignorant, militaristic, and blind reverence for their symbols of national identity.<sup>24</sup> It will manifest as constructive patriotism when the expression underlines the citizens' disobedient, constructive, reasonable, critical, civic, and genuine respect for their symbols of national identity<sup>25</sup>.

The distinction between how citizens of given countries express their national identity seems like the source of the factors that aid Lewin in determining whether an act or several acts are an expression of nationalism or patriotism. Indeed, this is the conclusion that one makes when one evaluates Lewin's analysis of leading scholars' interpretation of the theories of nationalism and patriotism. In the analysis, Lewin commences with a study analyzing the difference between constructive patriotism and blind patriotism. The study argues that constructive patriotism denotes a show of affection towards one's country that consists primarily of critical loyalty, while blind patriotism denotes a show of affection towards one's country that consists primarily of an unquestioning, arrogant, and stubborn positive evaluation.<sup>26</sup>

The definitions above demonstrate that constructive and blind patriotism are similar in the sense that they all evoke a positive identification with one's country. However, they are dissimilar in the way citizens evoke the positive identification. In constructive patriotism, the citizens can question and even disagree with certain aspects of their national identity. They can even understand and respect other citizens' expression of positive identification with their

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23. Roman Behren, *Nationalism and National Identity*(New York: GRIN Verlag, 2009),52.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Eyal Lewin, *Patriotism: Insights from Israel* (New York: Cambria Press, 2010), 34.

respective countries' symbols of national identity. In blind patriotism, the positive evaluation is akin to some kind of groupthink in which citizens hold such a high reverence of their symbols of national identity that they develop intolerance for individuals who question their symbols of national identity. It is also a positive evaluation that encourages citizens to impose their expressions of national identity on foreigners and to disrespect or shun the expressions of foreigners' national identity that are not consistent with their national identity expressions.

An analysis of leading scholars' view on the concept of nationalism suggests that there is some consensus on its definition. In many instances, people have equated the concept of nationalism with chauvinism, blind loyalty, and unquestioning national pride. However, leading scholars seem to equate it with a liberal affection towards a country's identity and ideals. Indeed, Herb and Kaplan define nationalism as a national identity expression that advocates for the idealization of a country and its history.<sup>27</sup> They argue that it differs from constructive patriotism because constructive patriotism calls for a show of affection towards a country's democratic and humanistic values.<sup>28</sup> In essence, constructive patriotism advocates for citizens' show of pride in their advanced social welfare program, democratic principles, and humanistic government. The definition suggests that nationalism is something that relates closely to the citizens' show of pride towards their country's historical achievements and development. In other words, citizens expressing patriotism will argue that they love their country because of the achievements it has made and its rich history.

However, other scholars have analyzed the concepts of nationalism and patriotism and arrived at different conclusions regarding their precise definitions. Wagner et al. agree that the

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27. Guntram Herb and David Kaplan, *Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview* (New York: ABC-CLIO, 2008) 251.

28. Ibid.



concepts of nationalism and patriotism emanate from citizens' expression of national identity, but they disagree with the contention that nationalism is merely an expression of an individual's expression of loyalty and affection towards his country and its history.<sup>29</sup> They equate the concept of nationalism with Davidov's concept of blind patriotism<sup>30</sup>. According to Wagner et al., nationalism is not only an expression of citizens' affection towards their country and its history, but also an expression of citizens' perception of their nation's superiority and dominance over other nations.<sup>31</sup> Wagner et al. argue that nationalism is usually accompanied by a display of unquestioning loyalty towards a country's rulers. The display of unquestioning loyalty manifests during periods when the citizens are comparing their national identity against other people's national identity.<sup>32</sup> When one compares Wagner et al.'s definition of the concept of nationalism to Davidov's definition of blind patriotism, it becomes clear that Wagner views the two concepts as comparable. Indeed, Wagner et al. acknowledge this fact when they analyze other scholars' definition of nationalism and argues that the definition of blind patriotism bears close resemblance to his definition of nationalism. This connection between nationalism and blind patriotism explains that there is no significant divergence between the concepts. Therefore, instead of identifying a third concept of blind nationalism, it would be advisable to attribute all expressions associated with blind patriotism to nationalism.

When it comes to the theory of nationalism, Wagner et al. propose a definition that completely distinguishes it from other concepts like blind patriotism, constructive patriotism, and nationalism. Wagner et al. argue that patriotism is denotes citizens' decision to tap into their

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29. Ulrich Wagner et al. "A Longitudinal Test of the Relation between German Nationalism, Patriotism, and Outgroup Derogation." *European Sociological Review* 28 (3) (2012): 320.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Ulrich Wagner et al. "A Longitudinal Test of the Relation between German Nationalism, Patriotism, and Outgroup Derogation." *European Sociological Review* (2012), 320.

affection for their country by highlighting their pride and level of love towards their country. In essence, Wagner et al. prove that the concept of patriotism underscores the extent of citizens' attachment towards their country. This definition is similar to Davidov's definition of constructive patriotism in the sense that it defines patriotism as a positive evaluation of one's country that accommodates criticism and does not evoke feelings of national dominance. Wagner et al. confirm this when they argue that patriotism is the type of affection that allows citizens to question actions and policies that betray the country's basic values in a manner that is accommodative of divergent views.

A review of Parker shows that he has pursued the same line of reasoning in their definition of the concepts of nationalism and patriotism.<sup>33</sup> Parker contends that the concept of patriotism has a significant impact on people's attitudes towards civil liberties and social tolerance because it drives people to love their country, its values, its policies, and its institutions.<sup>34</sup> Parker argues that when a country professes positive values and policies, patriotic citizens will exhibit similar values.<sup>35</sup> However, he notes that nationalistic tendencies can severely undermine the development of these positive feelings and create blind patriotism. Parker underscores the negative influence of nationalistic tendencies in his analysis of the development of imperialistic feelings of the society.<sup>36</sup> He argues that one can trace back America's blind patriotism to the sunset years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when there was a dilution of the sectional division between the South and the North.<sup>37</sup> He states that this dilution marked the end of patriotism and the beginning of nationalism. According to Parker, the emergence of nationalism

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33. Christopher Parker, "Symbolic Versus Blind Patriotism: Distinction Without Difference?" *Political Research Quarterly* (2009) 1.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century led many Americans to link their love for their country with domination of neighboring states and the display of America's dominance.<sup>38</sup> This led to a rise in anti-immigration sentiments as Americans targeted Germans because of the role that their country played in the First World War.<sup>39</sup> Americans soon extended their harassments to Asian immigrants, Southern European immigrants, and Eastern European immigrants because they wanted to Americanize their society.<sup>40</sup>

Through this analysis, one can clearly see that Parker attempts to equate the concept of nationalism with the concept of blind patriotism. Like Parker, Kimmelmeier and Winter argue that patriotism often turns into nationalism, when nationalistic tendencies lead people to perceive their country as superior and dominant over other countries.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, Americans began to develop patriotism in the aftermath of the dilution of the south-north divisions that emerged after the American Civil War.<sup>42</sup> Dilution of these division led Americans to develop affection towards their country, its history, and its values. At this point, all the feelings that Americans were exhibiting were primarily feelings related to patriotism. However, the patriotism was transformed into blind patriotism, when nationalistic tendencies began to emerge towards the sunset years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The emergence of these tendencies led Americans to not only love their country and its history, but also to believe that their country, its history, and its values were superior over the values and history of other nations and their citizens. Therefore, Germans, Southern Europeans, Eastern Europeans, and Asians became victims of harassment because of Americans' belief that individuals from these countries evoked an inferior band of nationalism.

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38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Markus Kimmelmeier and David Winter, "Sowing Patriotism, but Reaping Nationalism? Consequences of Exposure to the American Flag." *Political Psychology* (2008), 859-879.

42. Ibid.

From the reviewed definitions, it is clear that there is confusion among leading scholars about the concept of nationalism and patriotism. Some scholars seem to equate nationalism with the love for one's country and its values, while others equate it with the perception that one's country is dominant over another country. In the same vein, some scholars believe that there are two types of patriotism: blind patriotism and constructive patriotism. They argue that constructive patriotism denotes the expression of affection towards one country in a manner that is constructive, critical, and objective. In contrast, they claim that blind patriotism denotes citizens' desire to express affection towards their country in an unquestioning and arrogant manner. However, this study will use Wagner et al.'s conception of the concepts of nationalism and patriotism. As noted earlier, Wagner et al. argued that nationalism is not only an expression of love towards a country's history and its value, but also an expression of a country's dominance over other countries and cultures. Parker expounded on this concept further when he argued that nationalism corrupts feelings of patriotism by forcing people to develop a belief that their culture, national symbols, and values are superior and dominant over other nations' culture, national symbols, and values. Additionally, the study will adopt Wagner et al.'s view of the concept of patriotism, who stated that patriotism denotes citizens' desire to tap into their affection for their country by highlighting their pride and love towards their country. Parker expounded on this concept further when he argued that patriotism influences citizens' attitude towards civil liberties and social tolerance by driving them to love their countries, its policies, and its institutions in an objective and constructive manner.

#### Nationalism and Patriotism Theories

Political and social scientists have presented the social identity theory and the self-categorization theory to explain the concepts of nationalism and patriotism. Hubby and Khatib argue that social identity theory is very important to the study of nationalism and patriotism because it affords a rich body of findings and thoughts on human beings social identity to political scientists.<sup>43</sup> Proponents of the social identity theory define social identity as people's awareness of the psychological forces behind their attachment towards a given group.<sup>44</sup> The social identity theory posits that people's self-conception emanate from their group identifications. According to the theory, human beings' innate ethnocentric tendencies lead them to favor members of their group more than outsiders.<sup>45</sup> However, proponents argue that favoritism towards one's own group members does not always lead to conflict between members of one group against outsiders. The conflict emanates from differences in identity between competing groups. Thus, differences in the way members of different groups relate can lead members of one group to develop prejudices against members from another group. Political scientists have used the central claim in social identity theory to account for the prejudices that people exhibit against foreigners. For instance, White American citizens will express favoritism towards other White Americans, because they perceive them as members of their group. However, their expression of favoritism towards fellow Whites will not lead them to engage in conflict with African American and Hispanics.<sup>46</sup> What cause the conflict is the differences in-

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43. Leonie Hubby and Nadia Khatib, "American Patriotism, National Identity, and Political Involvement." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1)(2007): 65.

44. Ibid.

45. Liesbet Hoogheand Gary Marks, "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus." *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (2008): 12.

46. Frances Kendall. *Understanding White Privilege: Creating Pathways to Authentic Relationships Across Race*. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).

group identities between the White Americans and Hispanics. These differences will influence the manner in which they relate to each other and will adversely affect their long-term relationship. When one relates this to the concept of nationalism and patriotism, it becomes clear that members of certain groups will express favoritism towards individuals who are within their group. However, that will not lead to conflict with foreigners who do not share in their expressions of nationalism and patriotism. Conflicts and prejudices will only arise when the foreigners belong to groups whose identities conflict with that of the natives. In such situations, the natives will express negative attitudes towards the actions or statements that contradict their patriotic and nationalistic values.

Social character hypothesis predicts that national personality will be less impacted by political belief system than different types of patriotism. Social personality hypothesis additionally predicts more noteworthy adherence to gathering standards among solid gathering identifiers, which interprets into more prominent municipal association among solid national identifiers on account of American character. This forecast got great backing in our information. Americans with an in number national character gave careful consideration to governmental issues, knew more about current occasions, and will probably vote. Additionally, some other type of patriotism does not anticipate the association between national connection and urban engagement. In any case, discoveries from the ebb and flow examination clarify that national personality is the main type of national connection to decidedly foresee political association. In general, social personality hypothesis gives direction on the estimation of national connections, delivers a non-ideological measure that avoids dispute over the importance of American patriotism, and produces testable and observationally substantiated forecasts that underscore its commitment to scrutinize on patriotism. It basically ensures that certain social groups are

identified for potential to become patriotic, and more often than not these groups are also identified as politically conservative.

The positive association between national character and political contribution reflects the past political impacts of valuable patriotism. In any case, our exploration exhibits that the impacts of national character are significantly stronger. Without a doubt, we revealed a progression of issues with the helpful patriotism scale. Firstly, it was generally inconsequential to national personality and different measures of patriotism, proposing that it is not some portion of the same wide idea. Also, it didn't anticipate political intrigue notwithstanding when national character was expelled from the investigation, bringing up issues about its prescient force. Thirdly, it was more unequivocally embraced by liberals than moderates, showing ideological predisposition and debilitating its case as a wide measure of patriotism. It did prove that there is a light correlation between what ideology one espouses and one's feelings towards nationalism. However that does not mean that it provided a definite guideline as to the similarities between people of a certain political inclination and their national self-identification. If anything, it showed that national identity is not necessarily dependent on social identity.

Additionally, political scientists have often used the definition of social identity to account for their decision to define national identity as an individual's subjective attachment towards his nation.<sup>47</sup> They have also used it to define the consequences that arise from people's loyalty towards their respective states.<sup>48</sup> Hubby and Khatib have used the social identity theory in their study to analyze how Americans' non-ideological perceptions about their national identity positively affect their understanding of the American identity.<sup>49</sup> This argument suggests

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47. Leonie Hubby and Nadia Khatib, "American Patriotism, National Identity, and Political Involvement." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1) (2007): 65.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

that the social identity theory affords the conceptual framework that assists political scientists to analyze the consequences of patriotism and nationalism. The social identity theory acknowledges the existence of group influence by defining social identity as an individual's awareness of the psychological influences behind his attachment towards a given group. Political scientists expand the definition further by arguing that national identity constitutes an individual's subjective attachment towards the nation. They break the concept of national identity into patriotism and nationalism by distinguishing between the attachments that are unquestioning and those that are critical. Such an assessment demonstrates that the social identity theory is instrumental in the development of the concepts of nationalism and patriotism.

Apart from the social identity theory, the self-categorization theory has been of principal significance to the development of the concepts of nationalism and patriotism. This theory posits that individuals' behavior within a group and their attitude towards outsiders hinges on their attachment towards the group and their adherence to group norms. The theory posits that individuals with a strong attachment towards their group will always engage in behaviors that are consistent with group norms.<sup>50</sup> Proponents of the theory argue that strong group members' desire to display healthy behavior hinges on whether the healthy behaviors are consistent with the group norms.<sup>51</sup> Further, proponents of the self-categorization theory have conducted empirical studies in which they have manipulated group norms to analyze group members' reaction and discovered that individuals who hold themselves in high regard within the group will exhibit a higher desire to adhere to the group norms.<sup>52</sup> In fact, these individuals will exhibit a greater desire to abide by prescriptive or ideal norms (all patriots should respect the confederate flag)

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50. Comaroff Stern, *Perspectives on Nationalism and War*. London: Routledge, (2013) 60.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.



instead of descriptive norms (some patriots show respect towards the confederate flag) defined within the group. The individuals will also exhibit higher levels of satisfaction whenever they adhere to the prescriptive norms.<sup>53</sup> Political scientists have expanded the theory of self-categorization further by tying it to expressions of national identity.<sup>54</sup> They have conducted empirical studies on various groups within the US to identify the group norms and high-ranking members' attitudes towards those norms. They have analyzed how group norms influence conservatives' views about what it means to be a patriot. The results suggest that high-ranking members draw greater satisfaction whenever they support an initiative that is consistent with their group's definition of patriotism.

Further, political scientists have presented several empirical studies to account for the influence of nationalism and patriotism. The general argument among political and social scientists is that there is a strong link between the concepts of nationalism and patriotism and outgroup derogation. In other words, they argue that nationalism and patriotism leads people to express various prejudices against individuals who do not share their nationality and individuals who do not ascribe to a country's symbols of national pride. Wagner et al. argues that many political scientists have presented empirical evidence suggesting that there is a positive link between the level of citizens' pride towards their country and their show of prejudice towards people from other countries.<sup>55</sup> According to Wagner et al., various empirical studies suggest that such a link is present among Americans, Britons, Germans, Hungarians, Italians, and Belgians

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53. Christopher Dundeker, *Nationalism and Violence*. New York: Transaction Publishers, (2013) 99.

54. Ireneusz Karolewski and Andrzej Suszyci, *The Nation and Nationalism in Europe: An Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, (2011) 36.

55. Ulrich Wagner et al., "A Longitudinal Test of the Relation Between German Nationalism, Patriotism, and Outgroup Derogation." *European Sociological Review*(2012),321.

who exhibit high levels of pride towards their respective nationalities.<sup>56</sup> Wagner et al.'s argument indicates that nationalism and patriotism have the same impact on citizens' attitude towards foreigners. The studies reviewed did not seem to establish the differences between patriotism and nationalism that would lead to negative or positive sentiments towards foreign nationals. This indicates that people who have a high degree of affection towards their country will exhibit high levels of prejudice against foreigners irrespective of the objective nature of their affection towards their country. Even when they are patriotic and express their affection in an objective and critical manner, they will still demonstrate negative attitude towards individuals who do not share their pride because they owe their allegiance to a different state. This would indicate that a significant portion of nationalist sentiment is by its very nature exclusionist. It is exclusionist because it is defined more by what it excludes – the so-called 'outsiders', 'aliens' or 'foreigners' who do not belong to the homogenous society. Especially if the nation is defined by narrow geographic and ethnic terms, it means that anyone who does not belong to that region or ethnicity is likely to be perceived negatively by nationalists of that country. Such nationalists are also likely to harbor negative attitudes towards immigration in the country.

Nonetheless, some political and social scientists are of the view that feelings of nationalism will not arise in all situations. Some political scientists believe that their patriotic and nationalistic settings will have a higher likelihood of generating out-group derogation than others. Wagner et al. contends that not all strong positive attachments towards a nation will lead citizens to exhibit negative attitudes towards individuals who do not share their national identity.<sup>57</sup> According to Wagner et al., situations where a citizen's expression of nationalist

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56. Ibid.

57. Ulrich Wagner et al., "A Longitudinal Test of the Relation Between German Nationalism, Patriotism, and Outgroup Derogation." *European Sociological Review* (2012), 321.

sentiments is equivalent to that of a foreign citizen will generate greater nationalism than settings where the foreigner is not as affectionate towards his country as the locals are.<sup>58</sup> This line of thinking argues that citizens will be concerned about the nationalism of another country when they perceive it to be hostile. Thus, American will exhibit higher levels of prejudice against citizens of countries like Germany, Italy, and Saudi Arabia, because such citizens express higher levels of zeal towards their country. This argument suggests that the show of derogation against foreign nationals is some kind of a reaction against their show of nationalism and patriotism, which will only arise when the foreigners' expression of affection towards their country is equivalent to that of the locals.

Political and social scientists have also identified *identity content* as another factor that enhances out-group derogation. These scientists argue that the strength of patriotism and nationalism is not the only moderator of out-group derogation. They state that out-group derogation can emanate directly from identity content—that is, the manner in which the citizens perceive their country. Kimmelmeier and Winter note that citizens' perception of their country is important in influencing their prejudice towards individuals from other countries.<sup>59</sup> According to Kimmelmeier and Winter, when citizens are so affectionate towards their country that they define it in an essentialist manner, they will express prejudice towards foreign nationals.<sup>60</sup> Kimmelmeier and Winter prove that essentialist nationalism definitions are the ones that project the attributes within a country that are unchangeable.<sup>61</sup>

Some of the unchangeable attributes are the dominant ethnic, religious, and racial groups. Therefore, foreign nationals in countries that define themselves in an essentialist manner will

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58. Ibid.

59. Kimmelmeier and Winter "Sowing Patriotism, but Reaping Nationalism?" 859-879.

60. Kimmelmeier and Winter "Sowing Patriotism, but Reaping Nationalism?" 859.

61. Ibid.

experience greater levels of outgroup derogation whenever they express their nationalism and patriotism. Countries like Israel, Iran, Britain, and the US will exhibit higher levels of outgroup prejudice, because citizens in these countries define their states in an essentialist manner. Israeli citizens will define their nationalism based on Jewish ideals, Iranians will define their nationalism based on Shiite ideals, Britons will define their nationalism based on Christianity, and a significant subculture within the US will define their nationalism based on the White race and the Evangelical Christian ideals. Therefore, foreigners expressing nationalist and patriotic actions that are not consistent with the dominant essentialist definition within these countries will experience higher levels of prejudice than their counterparts in countries where citizens' definition of their state is not essentialist.

The scholars also argue that the self-categorization theory and the social identity theory are moderators of feelings of nationalism and patriotism that lead to prejudice against foreigners. Political scientists who support the view that these two theories moderate nationalism also express the view that feelings of nationalism and patriotism generate different outcomes in issues related to outgroup prejudice. Wagner et al. argue that the self-categorization theory and the social identification theory posit that groups are instrumental in defining the in-group rules and norms that will inform in-group interaction and interactions between members of the group and outsiders.<sup>62</sup> In the process of defining the in-group norms and rules, group members can propose rules that evoke positive attitudes towards outsiders. For instance, groups consisting primarily of patriots will encourage members to relate positively with individuals from other countries because patriotism encourages objective, critical, and inquisitive attitude towards symbols and expressions of national identity.<sup>63</sup> However, a group consisting primarily of nationalists will

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62. Kemmelmeier and Winter "Sowing Patriotism, but Reaping Nationalism?" 859-879.

63. Ulrich Wagner et al., "A Longitudinal Test": 321.

encourage members to exhibit prejudices towards foreigners because nationalism encourages intolerant and unquestioning expressions of national identity.<sup>64</sup> Further, the nationalist rules and norms will encourage prejudice against foreign nationals because they encourage citizens to perceive their national symbols as superior.<sup>65</sup> The argument accepts that there is a significant difference between nationalism and patriotism. It recognizes the unique impact of feelings of nationalism and patriotism on citizens' likelihood to exhibit negative attitudes towards foreign nationals.

Based on the political and social scientists studies, one can argue that the concept of nationalism emanated from the social identity theory and the self-categorization theory. The social identity theory provided the early groundwork by acting as the conceptual framework for political scientists' definitions of national identity and the consequences of people's attachment towards their nations. In particular, the argument in social identity theory that social identity denotes people's awareness of the psychological influences behind their attachment towards a given group played an instrumental role in the development of the concept of national identity. This is the concept that political and social scientists later on categorized into patriotism and nationalism. The self-categorization theory was also instrumental in the development of the theories of patriotism and nationalism because it provided a framework for the analysis of the consequences of people's adherence to group norms.

### **Chapter 3: Nationalism in the United States**

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64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

The main aim of this chapter is to explore the issue of nationalism in the United States. The chapter will look at how the country views nationalism and, later, relate these views to those of other nations. In this section, the outline will show that in the face of calamity, the United States has stood strong due to nationalism and unquestionable patriotism. Past events in the US that have pushed for a stronger country like the 1812 War, the different domestic, foreign and the September 9/11 attacks, natural disasters, and the recent shootings within the US will be cited. The events will bring forth a conclusion that calamities stir nationalism in the United States strongly. Ultimately, the level of nationalism in the US is among the highest in the world to a point where the country has continually disregarded patriotic and nationalistic views of people from other nations.

Historically, the 1812 War was a landmark event in the American calendar. Waves of nationalist feelings spread throughout the United States.<sup>66</sup> In this context, nationalism refers to the feeling of pride, protectiveness, and loyalty towards a country. Recent nationalism efforts between countries have led to heightened national patriotism and consequent push for other agendas between countries.<sup>67</sup> In the past, Henry Clay was among the first nationalists in America. He began a congress-led plan to strengthen the country and unify all regions. In the same way, the September 9/11 attacks and the 1998 bombing of the US embassy in Nairobi brought the people of America together. Likewise, natural disasters like hurricanes, tropical storms, and earthquakes have brought about patriotism, which closely relates to nationalism.

However, in the short term between the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and 9/11, US did get involved in several Wars. However, each engrossment was marked by a different level of popular patriotism.

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66. Jasper Trautsch. The origins and nature of American nationalism. *German Historical Institute Issue 6*, (2015), 84

67. Ibid.

The Second World War saw a huge outpouring of patriotism in the American society, especially after the Pearl Harbor attacks and the German atrocities against the Jews and the people of Poland. Hitherto social groups that were skeptical of patriotism and overseas US military operations such as the Italian, Jewish, and Irish immigrants became supporters of the US Army involvement in the Second World War. The Pearl Harbor attacks brought a sense of ‘collective siege’ in all sections of the American society because of the bare brutality and unprovoked nature of the attack. Secondly, immigrant groups, racial and ethnic minorities, and citizens identifying with left of center politics felt that the actions of Nazi Germany were enraging them. As people saw Nazi Germany’s racist, homophobic, anti-Semitic entity, tens of thousands of Blacks, Jews, and other marginalized minorities felt identification in the War. Many young men from these groups signed up in huge numbers to join the US Military despite the risks involved. The scenario created a uniform American patriotism in large sections of the society that persisted throughout the 1940s. The US intervention in the Korean War also enjoyed a high level of patriotic support from society, mainly because people, including many leftists and liberals, perceived Stalin and USSR as lacking in credibility and as dictatorial. However, the Vietnam campaign did not enjoy any such large-scale patriotism. Even conventionally, conservative and patriotic Americans became skeptical towards the end of the war. The shift may be attributed both to the lack of actual progress by the Military in the War and sympathy for the Vietcong, which was seen as a progressive third-world movement by some of the left of center in the United States.<sup>68</sup>

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68. Foley Connor, “An Analysis of American Propaganda in World War II and the Vietnam War,” *BSU Honors Program Theses and Projects* (Bridgewater: Bridgewater State University 2015), 28.

Nearly fifteen years after the terrorist attacks on the US, the international opinion has shifted greatly from a sense of emotional sympathy for the American people and their nation to unconcealed antipathy.<sup>69</sup> The shift is associated with the hardline policies the United States took in countries in the East like Iraq and Afghanistan. Conversely, the American people are more nationalistic than ever. The events in their country glued their spirits together to increase nationalistic views. In the US, nationalism is a negative word related to the Old World of imagined supremacy and parochialism. However, those discounting the notion of nationalism in America may as well admit that Americans are among the most patriotic nationals in the whole world. When further pushed to differentiate between a nationalistic approach from a patriotic system, one readily admits that the difference is subtle. Indeed, there is a distinction, but there are no real differences.

Essentially, the US has an issue with nationalism. It does not support nationalistic opinions and feelings of other countries. The irony here is that the US is quite unaware of its own enthusiastic flag-waving nationalism as compared to other countries in the world. With the exception of a significant number of people to the Left of Center who tend to be skeptical, Americans, like most national communities, are not particularly appreciative of expressions of nationalism by others. Additionally, it fails to calculate the force of nationalistic views abroad. Currently, nationalism is most likely the most prevalent ideology in political realms all over the world. Being deaf to this phenomenon is ironical for the US in its interactions with other representatives. It is also a serious weak-point and presents vulnerability in the formulation of foreign policies by the United States.

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69. Yale Ferguson. *Globalization: The Return of Borders to a Borderless World?* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 256.



Unlike most national identities, the American nationality is more of a culture. It is a culturally meaningful term but a structurally empty concept, which makes its positive expression quite difficult yet contradictory. Due to various issues facing the nation, the definition of the term American has become hard to describe. However, this does not mean that Americanism and the American people are less nationalistic. As a matter of fact, this serves to show just how patriotic and nationalistic the American people are.

People essentially make nations. They are not born naturally. A nation is a group of individuals who believe that they are ancestrally connected or are without a doubt distinguished by logic, sense, or feelings of consanguinity<sup>70</sup>. The accepted visualization of nationality, nonetheless, does not work effortlessly in huge, multi-sectional, multilingual, and multicultural states like the United States of America. The view of nationalism as a political and social movement to attain the objectives of a nation and achieve its political agenda gets nearer to the constructed qualities in the US. Nevertheless, such movements must become every day plebiscite, secured to the unremitting exercise of elite and popular will through continuous consent and dissent on a daily basis. To attain this, special places and symbols like the flag, war memorials, and symbols of national unity are essential to combine accepted and influential wills every day as mutual consent. There is a literary normalization of ostentatious practices such as battles and the culture of erecting war memorials, which helps in the sustenance of the political movements that foster American nationalism.

### **System Justification**

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70. Paul James. *Globalism, Nationalism, Tribalism: Bringing Theory Back In*. (London: Sage Publications, 2006). 187.

Theories posit that since individuals are usually motivated to validate the being of a system, they react to system threats through increasing support for it in a number of ways. America's sustained existence, similar to those of other national systems, needs the support of its general public, particularly when under threat. While much work has looked at explicit types of nationalism and the way they assist to instill a sense of responsible conduct in the system, comparatively little investigation has assessed how they operate implicitly. Following the September 11, 2001, attacks on the US, the American people showed immense support for their country in a number of ways. As such, one of the most visible means to support their country was the omnipresent display of the American flag, hung in house and office windows, car antennae, duplicated on clothing like hats and shirts, and constantly waved in the American streets. Foreign terrorists had only recently attacked America. In response, Americans affirmed their national attachment, both straightforwardly and representatively. However, the reaction was not restricted to triumphant display of national accord. There were also considerable backlashes against cultural and ethnic groups considered as Anti-American. The most notable groups of people were those of a Middle-Eastern descent. Additionally, there were considerable hatred against European countries that openly failed to support the resulting American armed response in Iraq and Afghanistan. The increased patriotism, governmental support, out-group derogation as well as the aspiration for an armed response are precisely what the system justification theories would forecast to happen after significant threats to a system.

#### **Chapter 4: Nationalism in Saudi Arabia**

The main aim of this chapter is to explore the issue of nationalism in Saudi Arabia. The chapter will look at how Saudi citizens view nationalism, and later relate these views to those of other nationals like the United States. In this section, Saudi Arabia will come out as strong in its region due to nationalism and unquestionable patriotism. The country is founded on a strong religious background that dictates the way of life through strict Sharia laws. The citizens of this country are loyal and proud of their cultures, immense wealth, and nation. Patriotism is very high in Saudi Arabia and thus nationalistic opinions are bound to abide.

Presently, many Arabs and Arab countries are on the edge of suspending their beliefs in the Arab nation and union. Contrary to popular opinion, they are now openly uncertain of whether there is a combined Arab mission. Individuals in recent times swept up by agendas of Islamic activism and terror groups prefer to view themselves first as Muslims before thinking about being Arabs. In the wake of recent activities, unity of purpose in regions has changed significantly. Every individual, regardless of the national of origin, has felt the impact of events that rekindled the feelings of patriotism. Saudi Arabia is a nationalistic country that individuals view with high regard and patriotism.

The picture of the country of Saudi Arabia exhibited by different state legacy ventures subsequent to the 1980s has yet to be superseded by a civil argument that has appropriately tended to the histories of those groups whose character is not some portion of the 'envisioned custom' of the state. The Saudi Arabian State has historically identified with particular conservative Sunni Muslim social groups, who formed the bedrock of support for the Al Saudi family. However, there have always been present small minority groups on Saudi Arabian soil, who were citizens of the Saudi state, but found it hard to integrate in the Saudi Nation. These were primarily the Shi'ites or Shi'a Muslims living in the Eastern province, as well as small

groups of African people and immigrant workers. The Saudi Arabian National Dialog dispatched by King Abdullah in 2003 remarkably endeavored to "rethink" convention by anticipating another picture of the kingdom as comprehensive of its diverse groups and minorities.

Leading historians and political scientists have written extensively about nationalism, patriotism, and its effects on citizens. From the actions of the Saudi King, it is apparent that national pride has begun to push for development and prosperity agendas. It meant that it included Shia leaders and liberal reformers as well as the conservative establishment, and discussed a number of practical and political challenges including employment and the position of women. Just like other nations in the world, Saudi Arabia has begun by recognizing individuals in the country that are different from the majority of the people. The way that individuals dispatched such a dialog reflected mindfulness, to the point that opposing interior weights were debilitating national union, particularly in the wake of uplifted inner and local partisan pressures taking after the US-drove attack of Iraq. These awareness issues are a true definition of patriotism and nationalism in a country. The 'Saudi national' debate, however, has since reached the limits of both political symbolism and the actual basis of power in the country. Despite these factors, development is underway. However, they present too profound a challenge for the internal al-Saud partnership with the religious establishment.

A deep sense of being Arab still persists to date from past events of war and freedom. These feelings have been subject to negotiations by all generations for almost a millennium or more. In the current generation, the sense of being Arab must come to terms with other issues like the growth of loyalty to divide Arab states, the international triumph of open-minded democracy, a rapidly increasing Islam, the superiority of market capitalism, as well as the prospects of peace with other countries like Israel. All these are anathema to nationalism in

Arabic states like Saudi Arabia as it evolved over most of the century. Arab nationalism can doubtless contain new challenges, since it has always persevered. Arab nationalism, particularly patriotism in Saudi Arabia and a modern formation of the century might well fade away on the whole under this impact.

Nonetheless, whatever the prospect of nationalism in Saudi Arabia, its history up to now represents one of the most extraordinary instances of the speedy birth, notable rise, and decline of a modern nationalism. The history deserves a fresh telling because people have not invoked it in a broader debate over the rising unsteadiness of individuality that signifies the end of a century. There was a period when nationalism in the Arab nations and in Saudi Arabia in particular enjoyed a place of prominence in the relative study of patriotism and nationalism. However, much later, it became the sphere of influence for specialists, which was maybe just as well. The case of nationalism in the Arab nations like Saudi Arabia remains a dauntingly multifaceted one by standards of other nations like in Europe or America. Today, the Arabic speakers number more than two hundred million people, typically in an area stretching from the Atlantic shore in Morocco to the Arabian Sea. Generally, this is an area extending parallel to every European corner from the seaboard of the Atlantic of Iberia all the way to the Urals. None of the European nationalists has claimed a possible population as large, and as far-flung as well as fragmented. It is never easy to report on the historical evolution and growth of political awareness across this area, and thinness persists in study attempts.

In Saudi Arabia, nationalism in the form of Arabism has been in existence for a long time. Arabism first emerged in the nineteenth century. However, it was a critique of the state of the Ottoman Empire, not a direct reaction to the Western rule. The Ottoman Empire's reach had grown over most of the Arabic-speaking people since the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. For almost four

centuries, the Arabic speaking nations had been fully reconciled to the role assigned to them within the Empire. The headquarters of the Empire was in Istanbul, and the vast domains had their administration in Ottoman Turkish. However, the Ottomans were Islamic by faith, as did the vast majority of the colonized Arab countries that were a part of the Ottoman Empires. The state evolved and grew as a partnership in Islam, embracing all of the Ottoman sultan's Muslim subjects, whatever language they spoke.

In this region, the Muslims who were Arabic speakers retained a pride in the language since God revealed the holy Qur'an in this language. Therefore, people perceived Arabic speakers in the seventh century as individuals closer to God. They additionally celebrated the record of the early Arab conquest that carried Islam to the Pyrenees from the Oxus. In the same spirit, Arabic speakers took immense pride in their genealogies that connected them to Saudi Arabia at the first light of Islam. However, that fidelity and loyalty to Islam bound these individuals to other Muslims who spoke different languages and prided on other genealogies. Additionally, they brought new strength to the security and development of Islam. Arabism therefore arose from a rising unease on the direction and pace of change. Nevertheless, while the Ottoman Empire existed, this form of patriotism through Arabism did not grow into full-fledged nationalism for Saudi Arabia. The supporters pleaded for some form of administrative decentralization without Arab independence without any vision for post-Ottoman order.

However, as time passed by, nationalism in Saudi Arabia took a different turn. It became associated with Islam and prosperity. National pride was now going hand in hand with the prosperity of citizens and development of the small nation to become a global sensation. With useful resources like oil and powerful economic allies, the country's nationalism and patriotic levels have continued to shoot upwards owing to great governance and economic prosperity.

Unlike the United States, nationalism in Saudi Arabia does not have its foundation on military might or calamities that dictate the path for a nation. In the complete opposite of issues, Saudi Arabia bases nationalism and patriotism on other realms like economic prosperity and smooth governance. Additionally, having close allies in the gulf region increases pride for the small Islamic states in the continuation of Islam and the development of the country in general. Today, Saudi Arabians, just like the Americans have continued to show high levels of patriotism and nationalism. With different regime styles, both countries believe that their country is better than the other in a number of ways.

### **Chapter 5: Comparison Between Saudi Arabia and the United States**

In looking at the marvel of patriotism identifying with the primary issue of patriotism, this postulation has examined how this principal system of national aggregate character and attachment can and is regularly changed from a positive structure inside social solidarity into a more dubious and divisive instrument of social enmity at the local and multinational level. Specifically, the proposal considered how outside gatherings of people, whether individual or group, see articulations of patriotism as negative. In request to exhibit this, there will be differentiations and correlations of various contemporary signs of patriotism in the U.S. also, Saudi Arabia. Despite the presence of lots of shared traits between the execution of patriotism in the U.S. as well as in Saudi Arabia, the theory has concentrated on the more negative and demonizing parts of contemporary patriotism in these two nations. In fact, it is these angles that can and do stir the proceeding with clashes between social, political and religious gatherings in the U.S. what's more, Saudi Arabia.

From these discussions, it becomes apparent that there is a sort of competitive patriotism between American nationalism and Arab nationalism. This is mainly because of the level of hostility centered on issues of terrorism, policy towards the Israel-Palestine conflict, as well as American intervention in the region. In the same way, there is hostility among Americans towards Arab nationalism in the Gulf mainly because such a display is seen to be at odds with US National interests. The Arab world, in general, and the Gulf region, in particular, is perceived as a region hostile to interests of many patriotic Americans.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, there is a high level of hostility among Middle Eastern people regarding the overt display of American or Western patriotism. The scenario is mostly related to the deep controversies surrounding the American and British intervention in Iraq and the Western support for Israel. The situation leads many Arab nationalists being skeptical of the patriotism displayed by citizens in the US and the UK.<sup>72</sup> Every individual, regardless of the nation or origin, has felt the impact of events that rekindled the feelings of patriotism such as September 11, and the great wars fought in the name of peace. Patriotic expressions and nationalistic events such as those discussed have led to the conclusion stated here. The conclusion is the misinterpretations and disconnections between the receiver and the sender, between the action, and the intended meaning of these patriotic actions. The differences have often been attributed both to someone foreign to the country receiving the act and to the culture of the one(s) exhibiting the act. Saudi Arabia, is founded on a strong religious background that dictates the way of life through strict Sharia laws. The citizens of this country are loyal and proud of their cultures, immense wealth, and nation. Patriotism is very high in

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71. Mansour Moaddel, “*Modalities of National Sovereignty: Territorial Nationalism versus Islamic Fundamentalism in Muslim-majority countries*”, Research Report. (Detroit: Population Studies Center, University of Michigan, 2014), 67

72. Neil Partrick, “Nationalism in the Gulf States.” *The Centre for the Study of Global Governance*, (2009), 19



Saudi Arabia and thus nationalistic opinions are bound to abide. The United States is similar in the structure of strict laws based on the Christian doctrine. Therefore, there is a need to compare these two states in a bid to show how nationalism affects a nation.

Deferential patriots in the United States feel alone in standing up for the country in this time of crisis, standing up for the troops going into harm's way. Indeed, differentials most often take as their starting point this empathy with the ordinary soldier's sacrifice and life-or-death vulnerability. They feel it is right to honor the soldiers' service to country, but they also have a sense of personal connection to those serving in the military, and recognize the show of support to be important to the psychological well-being of the soldier. Closely related to this, they also believe that showing national unity and citizen support for the troops has a critical operational value and therefore, inextricably ties to the country's national security. The soldier needs to feel the support and unity of the country, to have the unity of will and purpose that will not only maximize the efficiency of the collective military operation, but, more immediately, maximize the soldier's chances of survival. The less self-doubt, the less one is likely to hesitate in crucial moments, where fractions of a second may mean the difference between life and death, the safety of self, as well as the safety and security of one's squad and platoon. Additionally, aggregating these results, the greater the health and well-being of each platoon to one's division and, ultimately, to the armed forces as a whole, to the success of the military operation.

Religion is a key player in global nationalism and patriotism. By its very nature and structure, patriotism is not a homogeneous phenomenon. Defined as love for one's Motherland, patriotism is an abstract concept, and not just because having love for one's Motherland alone, without making the necessary efforts to defend its honor and dignity, is not sufficient to ensure it. Because the phenomenon has many facets, patriotism manifests in different ways in accordance

with both external conditions and subjective factors of people's lives. Patriotism is closely related to the religion of a population. The theme of "the chosen people" has been quite apparent to us<sup>73</sup>. In the Constantinian church, in Cromwellian England, in the Swedish Lutheran experience, in the development of Afrikaner religious patriotism, and particularly in the American outlook, this concept of the nation having been elected by God appears as a given, which is the key to much of the national thinking.

When speaking of patriotism, the matter in question is the manifestation of the following traits in a person: love for the Motherland and a readiness to defend it. In consideration of current processes in the development of ethnic separatism, this refers first and foremost to the readiness to defend the interests of the United States or Saudi Arabia, which include the interests of all peoples who populate the territories of the respective countries. Additionally, patriotism includes a negative attitude towards nationalism of other nations and chauvinism. The manifestation of pride in one's people, country, and the historical past is a major catalyst of patriotism. Likewise, the respect for the traditions of one's people and a desire to work hard for the good of the country signifies patriotism. A respectful attitude toward other peoples and their cultural values is patriotic and a symbol of nationalism. In a situation of threats of various kinds (military, political, spiritual, or economic), readiness to place the interests of society and the state above one's personal interests shows nationalistic and patriotic agendas.

In America, the high level of religious identity has another aspect in terms of its influence on people's consciousness. Since Islam is not a national religion but emphasizes its international character, it cannot be the cause of intensified ethnic identity. Nevertheless, there is an inverse

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73. Graham ter Haar. & Yvonne Tsuruoka. *Religion and Society: An Agenda of 21st Century*. (Washington DC: ISRS, 2007), 89.

relation: belonging to a particular ethnicity under the conditions of a religious renaissance also fosters an individual's religious sense of identity, regardless of any belief in God. The fact that ethnic and religious group identities are crowding out the national and political self-identification conditions the continuing fragmentation of the political systems of the developed countries. It is difficult to reconcile these latter identities, and any consensus is a fragile one. Overall, this reduces the stability of democratic systems. It would seem correct to determine that in today's America, ethnic affiliation conditions the high level of religious identity. The above national identities are key aspects of nationalism and blind patriotism. While leaders continue to criticize patriotism in other nations like Saudi Arabia, religious leaders have shown a lot of similarity in terms of spreading conflict and advocating for war based on religion. In America, while the grandiose promise of the patriotism of the war effort quickly changed to disillusionment, and some backlash occurred against the pro-war preachers, the Churches of Christ did not and could not turn back the clock and revert to their sectarian isolationist ways. Congregations were flourishing in southern cities, and many church members were beginning to achieve lower middle class status in their communities. The emergent civil religion gave them respectability in their neighbors' eyes. Hence, although the millennial dreams of the pro-war preachers died, as did postmillennialism in general, the majority of Churches of Christ still thought that America was a Christian civilization which led to the nation hatred of the Muslim world.

In the US, patriotism developed from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The progression is mainly as a result of increased awareness among ordinary Americans. The American Civil War first made the people aware of the concept of US National interests and also American values, and the necessity of using force to defend these parameters. Later on, mass immigration and the development of a common but heterogeneous 'American nationality' during and after the First

World War led to the modern form of patriotism.<sup>74</sup> At this point, all the feelings that Americans were exhibiting were primarily feelings related to patriotism. However, patriotism was transformed into 'blind patriotism' when nationalistic tendencies began to emerge towards the sunset years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The emergence of these tendencies led Americans to not only love their country and its history, but also to believe that their country, its history, and its values were superior over the values and history of other nations and their citizens. Therefore, Germans, Southern Europeans, Eastern Europeans, and Asians became victims of harassment because of Americans' belief that individuals from these countries evoked an inferior band of nationalism. On the other hand, nationalism in Saudi Arabia in the form of Arabism has been in existence for a long time.

However, nationalism is not likely to arise in all sorts of situations. There are certain circumstances that act as a stimulant to the growth of mass nationalism – mainly something that is an attack on the country.<sup>75</sup> If citizens perceive that the country is under threat, they are likely to react in a nationalistic manner. This may be the result of a direct physical attack, as happened in the 9/11 occurrence, or it may be a sudden influx of foreigners and immigrants into the country.<sup>76</sup> This suggests that citizens will only exhibit prejudice towards foreigners when they perceive them show patriotism or nationalism equivalently that of theirs. Hence, Americans will exhibit higher levels of prejudice against citizens of patriotic countries like Germany or Saudi Arabia, because those citizens express their love for their country in the same way the Americans do<sup>77</sup>.

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74. Anderson, Benedict. "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism." *Verso*. 239. (2006), 64

75. Ibid.

76. Anderson, Benedict. "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism." *Verso*. 239. (2006), 64

77. Richard Nolte. *The Modern Middle East*. (New York: Atherton Publications, 1963), 79.

A key difference in the nationalism aspect is the relation of people in Saudi Arabia compared to those in the United States. Traditionally, the United States is founded from different races and cultures that have long created conflicts. Patriotism is a value that has become paramount in American society since the events of 9/11 and the subsequent U.S. military invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Many Americans embrace this value with great passion and this effect sometimes politically intimidates those who object to current U.S. policies. Cataloged several actions following 9/11 at the state and federal level that demanded greater devotion to the policies of the U.S. government: requiring the pledge of allegiance to be recited daily in schools, displaying the words “God Bless America” in the schools, teaching traditional American history in the schools, and admonishing citizens to watch what they say and do. The President's Bush regime emphatically reflected this unqualified endorsement of government actions by warning people against sympathizing with terrorists.

In contrast, Saudi Arabia is based on a culture and people who speak the same language and have similar backgrounds and culture, which therefore increases the chances of patriotism in one angle while gives Americans a better reason to unite based on their past experiences as a nation. Essentially, Saudi Arabians believe in the same religion, practice similar cultures, and have the same values. Saudi Arabia is a near-absolute monarchy run by a state-cleric alliance according to Wahhabism, one of the most restrictive interpretations of Islam. Saudi Arabia has the most traditionalist Islamic legal structure in the world based on Sharia law. Islam is the official state religion and citizens are legally required to be Muslim. The religious leaders repress dissenters and religious minority groups, as well as take measures against any cultural change with the potential to undermine current institutions. The religious police regulate social and religious norms like appropriate dress and interactions between men and women. People know

them as Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice. Thus, there is almost no conception of the separation between Religion and State in Saudi Arabia. This naturally creates problems for Saudi citizens who are not Sunni Muslims ascribing to the more restrictive interpretations of Islam. A Saudi Shiite may feel a sense of belonging to the Saudi land, or even a sense of loyalty to the Kingdom. However, the State creates self-selection because of its religious nature, and a Shiite or a woman may naturally feel excluded.

In contrast, Americans are diverse in thinking, culture, race, and religion. Therefore, nationalism is higher in America due to having a unity of purpose. It is clear that military might, calamities, and a reason to stand together for the enemies of the US have united the country forcing it to adopt some manner of patriotism linked to the American way of life. In Saudi Arabia, the loyalty to the king, religion and the culture have created a form of movement referred here as Arabism that forges nationalism based on Islam and the love for prosperity.

The behavior of citizens in the United States and Saudi Arabia in relation to their patriotic and nationalistic views of their respective countries and towards each other is of particular interest to this study.

From this discussion, it is apparent that Americans, like most national communities, are not particularly appreciative of expressions of nationalism by others. At best, communities are apathetic of nationalism of other communities and this is to be expected. At worse, communities are skeptical or denigrating towards such expressions of nationalism, which is rooted in the enculturation of ethnocentrism that most communities subject their members to. On the other hand, nationalism in Saudi Arabia does not rely on the activities of other nations like the United States. It relies on a strong bond created by culture and religion.

## Chapter 6: Conclusions

In conclusion, no culture, economy, political stability, or even military may appear as a greater drive for nationalism than that in the United States. The country has based its nationalism in the American way of life. However, this display of tolerance and solidarity became outdated after the September 11 and the 7/7 attacks in London.<sup>78</sup> Citizens in countries like the U.S. and the UK are increasingly becoming intolerant towards foreign countries' public display of patriotism, especially in instances where the foreign countries are from the Middle East.<sup>79</sup>

The main highlights of this discussion may sum up as patriotism and nationalism in particular interest to Saudi Arabia and the United States. The two countries are essentially different. They are at the opposite ends of the spectrum. However, their beliefs in nationalism are very similar.

After the terrorist assaults of September 11, the consensus in society was that nothing about America would ever be the same again. As to the American news media, this implied something positive: following quite a while of decreased openly and expert sentiment, American standard news had all of a sudden got to be respectable again and received a wide viewership. In the weeks following September 11, the vast majority of Americans said that the news media's scope of the assaults had been great or magnificent, with the greater part saying that the scope was fantastic. The press rose to the event in a remarkable manner.<sup>80</sup> The most perceptible change

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78. John Hutcheson, David Domke, Andre Billeaudeau, and Phillip Garland, "US National Identity, Political Elites, and a Patriotic Press Following September 11." *Political Communication* (2004), 28.

79. Yewah, "The Nation as a Contested Construct," 45.

80. Minxin Pei. *The Paradoxes of American Nationalism*. (2009, November 02) Retrieved 12 December, 2015, from Foreignpolicy.com: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/11/02/the-paradoxes-of-american-nationalism/>

in standard American news promptly taking after the assaults of September 11, and probably one of the fundamental reasons why the news media appeared to have improved, was the end of unimportant element stories from the features. Exactly the amount of a change this was gets to be clear when we glance back at the real news stories on the three noteworthy show systems – ABC, CBS, and NBC – in the month paving the way to September 11.

This is a show of just how high patriotism and nationalism were in America at that time.

This outpouring of patriotic sentiment and unity of cause in the days and weeks immediately following the attacks was remarkable not only because of its magnitude and scope, but also because of its genuinely spontaneous and populist origins. Yet patriotism's momentum to agreement can be observable concurrently as oppressive conformity, with citizens seeking to stifle voices of dissent. As in the spontaneously organized citizen mobilization following the 9/11 attacks in New York, this impulse to rally support behind the Iraq War through the mobilization of threat and violence also appears to have arisen unprompted, organically, in the town of Norton and elsewhere. In Norton, the enthused citizens saw themselves as virtuous and loyal people protecting the American flag. Additionally, the need for unity during a time of national crisis; just as the students saw themselves occupying the moral high ground, duty-bound to defend American liberty and democracy at home, and democratic principles abroad, even if that meant publicly denouncing the US government. This thesis has shown that we account for these different expressions of patriotic sentiment, and the resultantly distinct responses to wartime crisis through a display of nationalism.

Bertrand Russell speaks of the enmity that grows internationally during a time of war and bloodshed, as heightened passions flame animosity and blind hatred between the peoples of warring nations. The hatred between warring peoples is blind because it does not consider the



other as fellow human beings, with whom, under somewhat different circumstances, we might enjoy in a whole host of mutually beneficial interpersonal relationships of various degrees of intimacy. The interactions include trading partners, friends, and lovers. Instead, blind patriotism only allows us to see each other as the abstract objects of a pressing foreign matter to which the government brings to our attention. Patriotism is one of those large amorphous sentiments that eludes easy definition. Most generally it is love and pride of one's own country, and generally strongly indicates the enthusiasm of an individual to surrender his or her happiness and comfort for the common good of the nation and the citizens of the nation. This feeling combines a sense of selflessness with a spirit of sacrifice. A patriot not only is required to put the interests of the nation over that of the individual, but also to be ready to give the ultimate sacrifice – that of one's own life – in defense of the country. Nonetheless, nationalism as loyalty to the country and willingness to sacrifice is a sweeping emotion that citizens must actualize in following in their private lives. Furthermore, one encounters different comprehensions of how patriotism is correctly articulated, or put into practice, especially in response to perceived crises or threats to the country.

There exists extensive concurrence on the importance of nationalism as “a deeply felt affective attachment to the nation” or the “degree of love for and pride in one's nation.” More prominent incongruity evolves, however, over the manner in which nationalism is identified and evaluated. Patriotism sometimes is seen to be conflated with political ideology in the United States, resulting in the common perception that American conservatives are more likely to be patriotic and nationalistic than American liberals. This paper has drawn on social identity theory to develop a hypothetically based evaluation of national identity with clear connotations for intergroup conduct. Social identity theory represents a rich body of thought and research on the

genesis and results of a tightly-bound social identity that has had rising authority on political research in recent years. A social identity is typically an awareness of one's objective membership in a group as well as a cognitive sense of attachment to a socially defined group. Accordingly with this definition, we define national identity as a subjective or cognitive-mental sense of identification and belonging to the Nation-State and measure it with questions that usually evaluate social identities.

Communal identity theory generates numerous predictions about the social impact of national loyalty among certain groups among the population. We discover numerous politically vital prospects in this research. Firstly, people expect their national identities to be non-political, non-partisan and essentially neutral in nature because it is a corporatist or collective identity. Political ideologies such as economic conservatism or social democracy do not play a part in this subjective sentiment. Feeling American or wanting to defend American interests does not necessarily depend on identification with a certain political ideology or social values. Research on American identity among members of ethnic and racial minority groups provides evidence of the non-ideological nature of American identity. The American identity or national identification depends upon feeling American by attachment to the nation, and not to certain political ideologies or social beliefs like Liberalism, socialism, or conservatism. On the contrary, other forms of nationalism depend upon values about the precise significance of American identity. It may be defined and supported on narrower terms than a broad American identity. For example, uncritical patriotism is an especially contentious, ideologically tinged form of patriotism that involves unwavering support of political leaders. Uncritical patriots are very likely to identify as Americans, but not all American identifiers endorse uncritical patriotism. Also, a fringe of

American patriots may claim that American identity is linked to being and feeling Christian, though that is obviously not the case always.

Subsequently, having a strong sense of affinity to the nation increases political participation. The self-categorization theory, an offshoot of social identity theory, explains that people who feel a strong sense of identification of the self, are also more likely to feel loyalty towards a group identity. Group identity in this case includes nations, states, provinces and ethnicities. Self-categorization researchers have come across, the fact that objective to carry out defensive health actions among strong group identifiers depends to a large extent on what the common trend or fashion is among the group at large. The researchers have also defined group traditions and customs experimentally and observed stronger devotion to defined customs among group identifiers. Furthermore, highly identified group members are most likely to adhere to or propagate the ideal or prescriptive norms (e.g., all good Americans should vote, or all good Americans should serve in the Military) as opposed to subjective norms (e.g., only some Americans actually vote) of group behavior and to experience more positive emotions after conforming to them. Saudi Arabia uses different rules. The democracy in this country is not as high as that in the US. As a matter of fact, the Saudi Arabian culture has only recently begun accepting women and minorities into their regime. However, nationalism still runs high in this country, even though non-Sunni Muslims cannot hold public office.

Participation in politics and espousing a national identity does have quite a high inter-relationship in both Saudi Arabia and the United States. However, there is no direct link between national identity and a positive form of patriotism, or any positive form of patriotism for that matter. The first impact to be considered is the low level of political participation or awareness among less educated people who often display the most exuberant signs of patriotism. These

people do not have a logical explanation or justification for their unbridled patriotism, but it does seem that they tend to identify with a string, centralized and authoritarian form of Government. People owing allegiance to dictatorial forms of government characteristically display lesser degrees of political awareness, knowledge, and participation. Such a result arises because these highly patriotic people are also less likely to be open to new experiences or new knowledge, which is an essential trait of political awareness. Thus, people owing allegiance to a totalitarian regime are less likely than ordinary people to be eager to learn about different cultures or new ideologies. Patriots who have an affinity for authoritarian rule also tend to be politically passive and are not much concerned with rapid political change. In this they are truly conservative in political belief and also exhibit loyalty to all forms of authority figures – like Church clergy, Police officers, the Military, among others. Therefore, we expect to find lower levels of political involvement and interest among uncritical patriots due, in part, to their greater authoritarianism.

It does seem that positive nationalism is related to active participation of the populace. However, the actual conceptual foundation for this correlation is not very clear. It may well be a reflection of the popular desire of a lot of citizens to participate in politics and bring about some change, without any nationalist identification. It might also indicate support for forms of social protest or social values, which the participants seek to change through politics. It may well be regardless of nationalist sentiment. However, political participation can be used to measure the intensity of nationalist sentiment from certain groups. However, there has not been any direct experiment or case study in such a correlation in any particular nation. In addition, no research has established a direct link with the political participation of a group of people and the extent to which they consider it figurative nationalism.



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