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All Humanity Is My Ingroup: A Measure and Studies of Identification With All Humanity

Sam McFarland, Matthew Webb, and Derek Brown
Western Kentucky University

To psychologists Adler (1927/1954) and Maslow (1954), fully mature individuals care deeply for all humanity, not just for their own ingroups. This paper reports a series of studies with a new measure of that caring, the Identification With All Humanity Scale (IWAH). These studies together show that identification with all humanity is more than an absence of ethnocentrism and its correlates and more than the presence of dispositional empathy, moral reasoning, moral identity, and the value of universalism. Across these studies, the IWAH predicted concern for global human rights and humanitarian needs (Studies 1 and 2), was temporally stable (Study 3), and correlated with how close others see one as being (Study 4). The IWAH strongly distinguished members of 2 known groups from a general adult sample (Study 5). It predicted valuing the lives of ingroup and outgroup members equally (Study 7), knowledge of global humanitarian concerns (Study 8) and choosing to learn about these concerns (Study 9), and a willingness to contribute to international humanitarian relief (Study 10). In regression analyses, it predicted these results beyond related constructs. Although psychologists have focused extensively upon negative qualities such as ethnocentrism and its roots, we suggest that the positive quality of identification with all humanity also merits extensive study.

Keywords: identification with humanity, human rights, ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, moral reasoning

There is only one man in the world
and his name is All Men.

There is only one woman in the world
and her name is All Women.

There is only one child in the world
and the child's name is All Children.

—Carl Sandburg, written for the introduction
of *The Family of Man* (Steichen, 1955)

In 1951, in response to the ethnocentrism of the cold war and nuclear arms race, photographer Edward Steichen struggled to create an opposite vision of, as he said, “the essential oneness of mankind” (Steichen, 1955, p. 4). From more than 2 million photographs solicited from around the world, Steichen selected 503 from 68 countries to represent *The Family of Man*. Images of lovemaking, marriage, birth, childhood, family, and friendship from many cultures, along with images of human violence, destruction, and death, were selected to show “above all, how alike people were in all parts of the world” (Steichen, 1963, p. 633). Steichen hoped that this alternate vision of a common humanity could help brake the runaway ethnocentrism of his time and infuse a love for all mankind. *The Family of Man* exhibition and book won great acclaim, but the ethnocentrism Steichen abhorred often seems little abated. Although his vision of a common humanity

appears to have grown since the 15th century (McFarland, 2011), albeit slowly, it still seems in very short supply.

Can humans truly transcend ethnocentrism and value all humanity? Monroe (1996) interviewed individuals who rescued Jews during the Holocaust, often at great personal risk, and concluded that their common characteristic was that they shared the perspective “of belonging to one human family” (p. 205), effectively erasing all distinctions of race, religion, and nationality. One voiced this perspective as, “just like the cells in your own body altogether make up your body . . . we are all like cells of a community that is very important. Not America; I mean the human race. And you should always be aware that every other person is basically you” (Monroe, 1996, p. 92). Monroe’s rescuers expressed this perspective easily and spontaneously. Comparison groups of nonrescuers did not. Oliner and Oliner (1988), who interviewed over 300 Holocaust rescuers and compared them to a matched group of nonrescuers, called this quality “extensivity,” an extending of one’s concern to other people regardless of their race or religion, having emotional empathy for them and a sense of responsibility toward them. This quality, more than any other, distinguished their sample of rescuers from the nonrescuers. In this spirit, during the Nazi occupation of France, Pastor André Trocmé and his wife, Magda, led the village of Le Chambon in saving more than 3,000 Jews from the Holocaust. When told to turn over the names of all the Jews and warned of dire consequences if he did not, Trocmé responded, “We do not know what a Jew is; we only know people” (Trocmé, 2007, p. vii).

This perspective for the rescuers was more than an absence of ethnocentrism; it represented a cardinal identification with all human beings. One could be free of all prejudice and ethnocentrism but still care little for the well-being of humanity. Identification with all humanity reflects, in the metaphor of Monroe’s (1996) interviewee, viewing all humanity as family. But if such a

Sam McFarland, Matthew Webb, and Derek Brown, Department of Psychology, Western Kentucky University.

Derek Brown is now at comScore, Inc., headquartered in Reston, VA.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Sam McFarland, Department of Psychology, 1906 College Heights Boulevard, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, KY 42101-1030. E-mail: sam.mcfarland@wku.edu

perspective exists, psychology has had no validated measure of it. The purpose for the research reported here was to propose such a measure and test its validity and usefulness in predicting relevant attitudes, knowledge, and behaviors.

Relevant Theoretical Perspectives

The perspective Monroe (1996) noted in her rescuers was critical to the personality theories of Alfred Adler and Abraham Maslow. A central feature of Adler's (1927/1954) theory was *gemeinschaftsgefühl*, a German word usually translated as "social interest," but whose most mature meaning refers to a sense of "oneness with humanity" (Adler, 1927/1954, p. 38). Adler viewed *gemeinschaftsgefühl* as an innate potential in all humans but one that must be nurtured to develop fully. At all stages of its development, social interest is a genuine concern for the well-being of others. But as one matures, the range of that concern expands. Less mature forms of social interest may focus on the welfare of one's family, community, and ingroup, but with maturity, social interest extends to the community of all people, even to unborn generations. A person with mature social interest acts "in the interests of mankind generally," which leads to activities that are aimed at "helpfulness to all mankind, present and future" (Adler, 1929/1964, p. 78).

Maslow's concept of "self-actualized individuals" (Maslow, 1954) also embraces an identification with and concern for all humanity. One of the qualities that Maslow's self-actualizing people were said to exhibit is "human kinship." Individuals with this quality "have a deep feeling of identification, sympathy, and affection for human beings in general . . . [a] feeling of identification with mankind" (p. 138). They are psychologically "members at large of the human species" (p. 145) rather than ethnocentrically identified with a nation or other ingroup, and they possess "a genuine desire to help the human race" (p. 138).¹

Within social psychology, two theoretical approaches appear particularly relevant. Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, and Wetherell (1987), in their self-categorization theory, proposed three levels of self-categorization. The highest level is that of human self-categorization. Theoretically, at this highest level one categorizes oneself as a part of all humanity. In contrast, at the intermediate level, social identity is based upon ingroup-outgroup similarities and differences (e.g., how being German might make one similar to being American in some ways but different in others). At the lowest level, one's personal identity is based upon differentiation from other ingroup members. However, although self-categorization theory acknowledges the possibility of human self-categorization, no research on the theory has addressed this level. Rather, most research has focused on ingroup versus outgroup self-categorization. Perhaps self-categorization and identity are distinct: Group self-categorization, seeing oneself as part of a group, may be quite distinct from identifying with a group, in the sense of sincerely caring for the well-being of the group's members. Similarly, one might categorize oneself as human without identifying with all humanity in the way envisioned by Adler and Maslow and expressed by the Holocaust rescuers.

According to the common ingroup identity model (e.g., Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993), a key to reducing intergroup bias is to promote the two groups to recategorize themselves as a single group. Across a series of experimental

studies, when two groups are merged into a superordinate group, participants' feelings that the merged groups now feel like one group reduced intergroup bias and promoted friendly feelings and positive evaluations of former outgroup members (e.g., Dovidio, Gaertner, & Validzic, 1998). This model has been used only to examine the relations between two groups, but by implication individuals who regard all humanity as one ingroup should be low in bias against groups whom others would regard as outgroups (other races, nationalities, religions). This lack of bias should be expressed in many ways, including lower prejudice, greater concern for the well-being of members of those others regard as outgroups, and equal valuation of the lives of all human beings.

Previous Measures Related to Identification With All Humanity

Adler did not create an operational measure of the most mature form of social interest, nor did Maslow create a measure of self-actualization. In succeeding decades, several efforts were made to measure both, but none of these assess social interest or self-actualization with the full sense of identification with all humanity.

At least five measures of social interest have been reported. Crandall's (1980) Social Interest Scale (SIS), designed to assess "valuing of things other than the self" (p. 481), lists 15 personality trait word pairs, matched for social desirability. One word in each pair represents social interest (e.g., "helpful"), and the other word represents a desirable trait unrelated to social interest (e.g., "intelligent"). Respondents choose the word from each pair they would rather possess. One's score is the number of social interest traits selected. The SIS predicts many aspects of good mental health, including healthy resistance to stress (Crandall, 1984), and is the most used measure of social interest. But social interest in the sense of caring for all humanity is missing, and high scores on the SIS do not ensure a sense of connection with all humanity. One might choose "helpful" on the SIS, indicating greater social interest, but that helpfulness might be limited to members of one's family, religion, ethnic group, or nation.

Two other early scales, Greever, Tseng, and Friedland's (1973) Social Interest Index and Sulliman's (1973) Scale of Social Interest (SSI), capture facets of social interest such as trust in others, confidence in oneself, and the capabilities for friendship and love. The eight-item Life Style Personality Inventory Social Interest Index (Wheeler, Kern, & Curlette, 1982) "measures a sense of belonging in the world and having a cooperative attitude toward life" (Wheeler & Acheson, 1993). The Belonging Social Interest Scale (Curlette, Wheeler, & Kern, 1997) focuses on memories of belongingness as a

¹ "Identification" is used here in Adler's and Maslow's sense of possessing an active care and concern for others. It is not used in the analytic sense of unconsciously adopting another person as an absolute model because of threat (e.g., identification with the aggressor; Freud, 1936), nor in the authoritarian sense of dependence upon a strong authority figure or an ingroup because one's ego is weak (Adorno et al., 1950). Recently, Leach et al. (2008) validated a five-factor, two-dimensional (self-definition and self-investment) hierarchical model of identification with items from previous measures. However, none of the Leach et al. items or factors assess the proactive care and concern for others that are critical to identification in the sense of Adler and Maslow or that were exemplified by the rescuers during the Holocaust.

child, with each of nine items beginning “When I was a child, I . . .” Among these five measures, Sulliman’s 50-item SSI contains just one item that reflects universal caring (“I would like to help every person in the world”), and none of the remaining measures contain items that directly imply Adler’s most mature and far-reaching meaning of social interest, a caring for all humanity.

To assess Maslow’s self-actualization, Shostrom (1964) developed the Personal Orientation Inventory, consisting of 150 pairs of statements, with participants choosing the one most characteristic of themselves. Ten self-actualization subscales load on two correlated factors that assess inner-direction (e.g., “I feel free not to do what others expect of me” vs. “I do what others expect of me”) and time competence (e.g., “I spend more time actually living” vs. “I spend more time preparing to live”). Jones and Crandall (1986) developed a short, 15-item scale to assess self-actualization, and some facets of self-actualization appear captured by the scale (e.g., self-acceptance by the item “I do not feel ashamed of any of my emotions”). Nevertheless, no item on either measure at all assesses an identification with all humanity.

However, two psychological constructs, Aquino and Reed’s (2002; Reed & Aquino, 2003) *moral identity* and Schwartz’s (1992) value of *universalism*, are plausibly similar to identification with all humanity. Aquino and Reed proposed that when individuals are high in moral identity, that is, when individuals assign great importance to their own morality,

the self/other relation should be characterized by a more expansive conception of the in-group . . . Rather than confining one’s ingroup to a narrow set of others (e.g., family, kin, fellow citizens), a person whose moral identity has high self-importance should include a larger set of social groups. In the extreme, this psychological boundary might include all of humanity. (Reed & Aquino, 2003, pp. 1270–1271)

Reed and Aquino (2003) found in several studies that participants with high moral identity had an “expanding circle of moral regard” (p. 1270). They expressed greater moral obligations toward those of different nationality, religion, and ethnicity and gave more money to charities that supported them. They found fewer civilian deaths of an outgroup acceptable during a military attack. They placed less moral value on killing an enemy (those responsible for the 9/11 attack) and greater moral value on compassion and love toward them. These effects are similar to those that we would expect for identification with all humanity.

Nevertheless, on its face, Aquino and Reed’s (2002) measure of moral identity primarily reflects the seriousness with which one takes one’s own morality. In their measure, Aquino and Reed presented nine moral traits (e.g., caring, honest, kind) and participants were asked to rate how important these traits were to themselves on a series of Likert statements (e.g., “I strongly desire to have these characteristics.”). Although taking one’s moral identity seriously might lead to a moral regard for all humanity, moral identity could still be defined narrowly. One might be concerned to be caring, honest, and kind only toward one’s ingroup. For this reason, we expect that the measure of identification with all humanity proposed in the current studies will correlate nominally with moral identity and will be superior to it in predicting critical dependent measures that this identification should predict.

Schwartz (1992) defined universalism, one of his 10 basic values, as the motivational goal of “understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of *all* people and for nature” (p. 12). It

refers to “values that referred primarily to the welfare of entities outside the ingroup (world at peace, equality, social justice)” (Schwartz, 1992, p. 39). To assess universalism, individuals typically rate each of nine statements (“world at peace,” “protecting the environment,” etc.) on a scale ranging from -1 (*opposed to my values*), to 0 (*not important*), to 7 (*of supreme importance*). The other nine values are typically assessed simultaneously.

Universalism does, in fact, predict attitudes and concerns that we would expect to be predicted by identification with all humanity. Sagiv and Schwartz (1995) found that universalism was the strongest predictor among the 10 values of Israelis’ readiness for contact with Palestinians. Universalism has predicted the importance ascribed to human rights and self-reported human rights behaviors (e.g., giving money to human rights organizations; Cohrs, Maes, Moschner, & Kielmann, 2007). The discriminant validities of identification with all humanity from moral identity and universalism are tested here in Studies 1 and 6, respectively.

In planning the current research, just one previous effort to directly measure identification with all humanity was located. Jackson (2001), in a statewide survey of Minnesota residents ($N = 1,076$), asked participants to rate how close they felt to progressively larger groups from *family* to *people all over the world*, with ratings from 1 (*not close at all*) to 5 (*very close*). Feeling close to people all over the world correlated with warmer feeling thermometer ratings of outgroups (Native Americans, Blacks) but with colder ratings of Whites, the ingroup of most respondents; those who identified strongly with people all over the world appeared more critical of their ingroup for its ethnocentrism. Closeness to people all over the world correlated positively with egalitarianism; with political interest, involvement, and efficacy; and with an absence of political alienation.

Jackson offers a promising start, and we have followed her method. As a single-item measure, however, internal consistency evidence is not possible, and little is known about the construct validity of her measure. Its convergent validity with theoretically related constructs is unknown. Its discriminant ability to predict important social attitudes and behaviors beyond other constructs is also not known, as is its relationship to social desirability responding.

The purpose for the studies reported here was to report a multi-item measure of identification with all humanity and to examine its reliability and validity.

Study1: Identification With All Humanity Scale (IWAH): Convergent and Discriminant Validity

The full scale consists of 9 three-part items in the following form:

1. How much do you identify with (that is, feel a part of, feel love toward, have concern for) each of the following?
 - a. People in my community
 - b. Americans
 - c. All humans everywhere
2. When they are in need, how much do you want to help:
 - a. People in my community.
 - b. Americans.
 - c. People all over the world.

The sum of the c. items is referred to as identification with all humanity and abbreviated IWAH.

We anticipated that multiple identifications would correlate positively, that those who say that they care about “all humans everywhere” would likely also say that they care about their closer groups. Because our interest was in examining the unique associations with caring about all humans everywhere, it seemed necessary to control for the other identifications. For that reason, we examined both raw and partial correlations between identification with all humanity, controlling for the other identifications and dependent measures of interest. These partial correlations express the specific association of identification with all humanity with other measures. For this control in regression analyses, we entered identification with “people in my community” and “Americans” along with “all humans everywhere.”²

The full scale is presented in the Appendix. When used in other countries (e.g., Hamer & Gutowski, 2009), that country’s name is substituted for “Americans.” Because the three identifications are presented together, a comparison is implicit but not explicitly requested.

For Studies 1 and 2, one item presented a sequence of Venn diagrams, adapted from Aron, Aron, and Smollan’s (1992) Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale. This measure depicts a series of pairs of circles from nonoverlapping to almost totally overlapping, with one circle labeled “self” and the second labeled “other” (see Appendix). Aron et al. had respondents select the pair of circles “which best describes your relationship” with a significant other (friend, romantic partner, or family). Aron et al. used this measure only for assessing close relationships, but the method seemed potentially useful for assessing closeness to larger groups as well, including all humanity. Although the Venn diagram item correlated well with the other items for each identification, it is harder to reproduce. For that reason, the item marked in the Appendix was substituted for it beginning with Study 3.

For Studies 1 and 2, identification with “my family” and “my ethnic group” were also assessed with each question. However, scale analyses for Studies 1 and 2 found that identification with my family and my ethnic group consistently had very low, usually nonsignificant, correlations with the dependent measures of interest. Further, their inclusion did not alter in any case the contributions of the other three identifications to the dependent measures. Because these identifications were superfluous for studying identification with all humanity, they were not included in the reported analyses of Studies 1 and 2 and were not measured in subsequent studies. Also, dropping these identifications reduced the number of responses required from 45 to a more manageable 27.

Convergent Measures

Although identification with all humanity is a specific construct, any valid measure of it obviously should correlate negatively with ethnocentrism and with the major roots of ethnocentrism, authoritarianism (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Altemeyer, 1996) and the social dominance orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Ethnocentrism embraces “a pervasive and rigid ingroup–outgroup distinction . . . negative imagery and hostile attitudes regarding outgroups . . .” (Adorno et al., p. 150), qualities that are clearly antithetical to an identification with all humanity. The construct of authoritarianism was developed by Adorno et al. in large part as an effort to understand the psychological roots of ethnocentrism. Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, and

Malle (1994) defined the social dominance orientation as “the extent that one desires that one’s in-group dominate and be superior to out-groups” (p. 742), an orientation that is also antithetical to any sense of identification with all humankind. Authoritarianism and the social dominance orientation have been labeled the “lethal union” (Altemeyer, 1998, p. 88) because of their independent but combined effects upon an array of ethnocentric attitudes and behaviors. On the other hand, the IWAH should correlate positively with dispositional empathy (Davis, 1983), for empathy includes both a concern for others and a consistent effort to understand their perspectives that differ from one’s own. Also, it should correlate positively with principled moral reasoning on Kohlberg’s (1969) model, moral reasoning that has transcended reliance upon the conventional norms of one’s society and seeks universal ethical principles that are just for governing all humanity. McFarland (2010) found that dispositional empathy and principled moral reasoning both negatively predict generalized prejudice and do so in regression analyses beyond the effects of authoritarianism and the social dominance orientation. Beyond these, the IWAH may correlate with Aquino and Reed’s (2002) measure of moral identity, as those who identify with all humanity may certainly take their morality quite seriously. Despite these anticipated correlations, if identification with all humanity reflects a distinct construct, the IWAH should not be merely the composite of these related measures.

Predictive Utility

The value of any new construct and measure rests in its ability to predict important attitudes and behaviors beyond measures of other constructs. The IWAH should specifically predict, of course, other expressions of concern for the well-being of humanity. McFarland and Mathews (2005) developed measures of globalism (priority given to global humanitarian concerns such as world hunger) and of commitment to universal human rights. They found that ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, and the social dominance orientation correlated negatively with globalism and human rights commitment, whereas dispositional empathy and principled moral reasoning correlated positively with them. Here we examined whether this new measure of identification with all humanity predicts globalism and commitment to human rights and does so beyond the predictors used by McFarland and Mathews. Regression analyses were used to test this issue.

² We considered but rejected the use of difference scores, calculated as the difference between scores for identification with all humanity and the mean of the other two identifications. Although difference scores would reflect how much one identifies with all humanity relative to one’s identification with community and nation, individuals who are very dissimilar in their identification with all humanity could receive identical scores. One who identified “not at all” with all humanity (1 on the 5-point scale) across the nine items and “just a little” (2 on the scale) with community and nation items would receive a difference score of -9 [$9 - [(18 + 18)/2]$], but so would one who identified “quite a bit” with all humanity (4 on the scale) and “very much” (5 on the scale) with community and nation [$36 - [(45 + 45)/2]$]. Clearly, these two individuals should not be treated as identical, as the latter has a much stronger identification with all humanity but also with community and nation.

Method

Measures. In addition to the three identifications, the following measures were used. To assess ethnocentrism, Altemeyer's (1996) Manitoba Ethnocentrism Scale (MES; 12 items), which measures negative attitudes toward an array of outgroups (e.g., Russians, Native Americans, Arabs, Asians), was modified slightly so that the items assumed American rather than Canadian respondents. Authoritarianism was assessed with a 12-item version of Altemeyer's (1996) Right-Wing Authoritarian Scale (RWA); this shortened scale correlated above .90 with a full 30-item RWA in an earlier unpublished study by the first author. The social dominance orientation was measured by Sidanius and Pratto's (1999) 16-item scale (SDO). Dispositional empathy was assessed by the highly correlated perspective taking and empathetic concern subscales of Davis's (1983) Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI; 14 items). The perspective taking subscale focuses on the tendency to take another's perspective during disagreements and in other situations, and the empathetic concern subscale focuses on concern for those suffering misfortune or hardship. McFarland and Mathews' (2005) globalism measure assesses the importance of five humanitarian foreign policy goals (e.g., "combating world hunger") versus five nationalistic goals (e.g., "controlling and reducing illegal immigration"), with the five nationalistic goals reverse scored. Aquino and Reed's (2002) measure of moral identity was also administered, as were Paulhus's (1984) impression management and self-deception scales, with 10 items each, to assess social desirability. For the preceding scales, response options ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Rest, Narvaez, Thoma, and Bebeau's (1999) revised Defining Issues Test (DIT2) assessed principled moral reasoning.

McFarland and Mathews' (2005) Human Rights Choices Questionnaire (HRCQ) provides participants with choices between pairs of goals. One goal of each pair expressed an international human rights concern, and the other expressed a concern for American national well-being. The form of the HRCQ was as follows:

On the following items, pairs of issues are presented. Please rate what you see as the relative importance of the two items according to the following scale:

- A = Item a is much more important than item b.
- B = Item a is somewhat more important than item b.
- C = Items a and b are of equal importance.
- D = Item b is somewhat more important than item a.
- E = Item b is much more important than item a.

1. a. Maintaining a strong American military.
- b. Ending child prostitution worldwide.

For these studies, the HRCQ contained 11 items.

Questionnaire administration. The questionnaire was divided into three parts, and these parts were rotated in all six possible orders. Part 1 consisted of the scales assessing social dominance, authoritarianism, empathy, ethnocentrism, globalism, self-deception, moral identity, and impression management. Part 2 contained the IWAH, single items assessing age, ethnic group, gender, and the HRCQ. Part 3 consisted of Rest et al.'s (1999) DIT2, the most time-consuming questionnaire.

The questionnaire was completed by 200 students at Western Kentucky University. Some completed it in class; others received course credit for doing so in out-of-class sessions.

Results

The sample was 73% female and 86% Caucasian, with 89% younger than age 25. Because gender, age, and ethnic group did not correlate significantly ($p = .05$ or less) with any measure of identification, globalism, or human rights choices, the demographic variables are not discussed further.

The means, standard deviations, and internal consistency indices for each identification measure are presented in Table 1A. The internal consistencies for each identification were good for nine-item measures. Factor analysis for the IWAH raw scores yielded a robust single factor, eigenvalue = 3.61, with all items loading on this factor from .57 to .72. The scree plot also indicated a single-factor solution. Similarly, identification with one's community and identification with Americans each yielded strong single-factor solutions. As expected, the IWAH correlated substantially with identification with community and Americans, .46 and .60, respectively, which correlated .58 with each other.

Respondents on average identified .42 less on the 5-point scale for each "all humans everywhere" or "people all over the world" item than they did on average for the other two identifications. The mean score for identification with people all over the world fell .24 below the scale midpoint of 3 (i.e., *somewhat*); the other two mean identifications scores were slightly above this midpoint.

Table 2 reports the correlations of the raw score and partial correlations (controlling for identification with one's community and Americans) with the hypothetically related constructs and with social desirability. The IWAH correlated as predicted with ethnocentrism, social dominance, dispositional empathy, and principled moral reasoning, and the raw scores correlated with moral identity and Paulus's measure of impression management. With Williams' t used to test for the difference between two correlations with a common element, the partial correlations of IWAH with ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, empathy, and principled moral reasoning were all significantly greater than their respective raw score correlations. However, the partial IWAH correlations with empathy, moral identity, and impression management identity were significantly smaller than their raw score correlations.³ The nonsignificant IWAH

³ Differences between the raw and partial correlations are determined by the correlations between the three identifications and by the direction of the correlations of the other two identifications with the related measures. If a dependent measure's correlations with identification with community and Americans are different in direction than that with identification with all humanity, the IWAH partial correlation will be greater than the raw correlation. If all three identifications correlate in the same direction with a related measure, the partial correlation will be reduced. Here, for example, authoritarianism correlated negatively with identification with all humanity (see Table 2) but positively with identification with one's community and with Americans (.20 and .15, respectively); as a result, the authoritarianism-IWAH partial correlation was greater than their zero-order correlation. On the other hand, because empathy correlated positively with identification with community (.24) and with identification with Americans (.33), as well as with identification with all humanity (see Table 2), the partial correlation for empathy and IWAH was smaller than its raw correlation.

Table 1
Item Means, Standard Deviations, and Internal Consistency (Alpha) for Measures of Identification

Identification measure	Scale mean	Item mean	Scale SD	Mean interitem correlation	Alpha
A. Study 1 (student sample)					
“My Community”	28.99	3.22	7.01	.48	.89
“Americans”	28.34	3.15	5.88	.36	.83
“People all over the world”	24.85	2.76	5.93	.34	.81
B. Study 2 (adult sample)					
“My Community”	30.91	3.43	5.79	.42	.86
“Americans”	30.87	3.43	5.67	.37	.84
“People all over the world”	25.91	2.87	6.18	.35	.83
C. Study 5 (Human Rights Watch adult sample)					
“My Community”	33.33	3.70	5.03	.31	.78
“Americans”	33.67	3.74	4.25	.30	.78
“People all over the world”	35.87	3.98	4.43	.33	.79
D. Study 5 (Church World Service adult sample)					
“My Community”	34.33	3.81	4.99	.37	.82
“Americans”	33.83	3.76	3.71	.23	.70
“People all over the world”	36.44	4.05	3.17	.17	.62

partial correlations with moral identity and impression management indicate that these are associated with expressing identification with all groups but not specifically with all humanity.

The construct uniqueness of identification with all humanity. The degree to which all predictors used in this study overlap with the IWAH was examined by regressing it upon the other identifications and all individual differences. The final model, with the nonsignificant predictors deleted sequentially, is presented in Table 3A. Although the other two identifications positively predicted identification with all humanity, ethnocentrism, the social dominance orientation, and principled moral reasoning all contributed further to IWAH scores; authoritarianism, dispositional empathy, moral identity, and the two indices of social desirability did not. Altogether, for Study 1 these related measures accounted for 55% of the variance in identification with all humanity.

Table 2
Raw and Partial Correlations With Identification With All Humanity Controlling for Identification With Community and Americans

Measure	Study 1		Study 2	
	Raw	Partial	Raw	Partial
Ethnocentrism (.86, .82)	-.29**	-.39**	-.29**	-.36**
SDO (.90, .89)	-.36**	-.36**	-.30**	-.26**
RWA (.81, .82)	-.12	-.31**	-.05	-.23**
DIT2 (.62, -)	.17*	.25**		
Empathy (.85, -)	.39**	.22**		
Impression management (.61, -)	.25**	.10		
Self-deception (.77, -)	.07	-.09		
Moral identity (.81, -)	.34**	.06		
Social Interest Scale (-, .79)			.16*	.02
Blind patriotism (-, .85)			-.20**	-.41**
Constructive patriotism (-, .76)			.16*	.01

Note. The numbers in parentheses are internal consistencies (alphas) for each measure for Studies 1 and 2. SDO = social dominance orientation; RWA = right-wing authoritarianism; DIT2 = principled moral reasoning. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 4 reports the correlations of all predictors with globalism and the HRCQ. Both the zero-order and the partial IWAH scores correlated significantly with both globalism and HRCQ, but Williams' t tests showed that the partial score correlations were stronger ($p < .01$) in both cases. The results also replicate McFarland and Mathews' (2005) findings that ethnocentrism, the social dominance orientation, authoritarianism, and principled moral reasoning correlated substantially with both globalism and human rights concerns, with dispositional empathy's correlations somewhat weaker. Interestingly, moral identity did not correlate with either globalism or human rights choices.

Separate regressions were conducted to determine if the IWAH contributed unique variance to globalism and human rights commitment, which correlated .60 with each other in this study. In each case, nonsignificant contributors were removed and the final model with significant contributors is reported. As shown in Table 5A, identification with all humanity positively predicted globalism, and ethnocentrism and identification with Americans did so negatively. No other predictors (RWA, SDO, IRI, DIT2, etc.)

Table 3
Regression of the Predictors Upon Identification With All Humanity (Final Model)

Predictor	B	SE B	β
A. Study 1			
Identification with Americans	.555	.061	.553**
Identification with community	.120	.051	.14*
Social dominance	-.010	.003	-.17**
Ethnocentrism	-.015	.005	-.17**
Principled moral reasoning	.009	.005	.10 [†]
$R^2 = .55$			
B. Study 2			
Identification with Americans	.447	.067	.41**
Identification with community	.279	.065	.26**
Ethnocentrism	-.028	.005	-.29**
$R^2 = .43$			

[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 4
Correlates of Globalism and Human Rights Support

Measure	Study 1		Study 2		
	Globalism (.80)	HRCQ (.79)	Globalism (na)	HRCQ (.84)	HRScene (.72)
IWAH (raw)	.26**	.26**	.30**	.32**	.25**
IWAH (partial)	.41**	.42**	.36**	.40**	.32**
Ethnocentrism	-.52**	-.59**	-.41**	-.47**	-.36**
Social dominance	-.37**	-.51**	-.31**	-.38**	-.31**
Authoritarianism	-.40**	-.42**	-.28**	-.30**	-.24**
Moral reasoning	.25**	.37**			
Dispositional empathy	.13	.21**			
Moral identity	-.03	-.02			
Blind patriotism			-.38**	-.37**	-.30**
Constructive patriotism			.08	.04	.19**
Social Interest Scale			.13	.07	-.09

Note. HRCQ = Human Rights Choices Questionnaire; HRScene = Human Rights Scenarios Scale; na = not applicable; IWAH = Identification With All Humanity Scale. The numbers in parentheses are internal consistencies (alphas) for these measures.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

explained additional variance in globalism. Table 6A presents the results of a parallel regression upon human rights choices on the HRCQ. As with globalism, ethnocentrism was the most powerful predictor (negatively) of human rights choices, with social dominance and identification with Americans also predicting lower valuing of human rights relative to national self-interests. However, identification with all humanity and principled moral reasoning predicted increased support for human rights over national self-interests on the HRCQ.

Discussion

The results of Study 1 indicate that the IWAH has promise as a measure of identification with all humankind. As expected, the IWAH was more than a general tendency to identify with others; an absence of ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, and the social dominance orientation; and more than principled moral reasoning, moral identity, and dispositional empathy. Although correlated with most of these constructs, it predicted globalism and commitment to universal human rights beyond the effects of these related constructs. Because of their generally higher correlations with both

logically related constructs and criterion measures, the partial correlations of the IWAH, controlling for identification with one's community and with Americans, appear to more accurately reflect the construct and were effectively free of social desirability responding.

Study 2: Further Validation of the IWAH on an Adult Sample

Further tests are needed to establish the validity of the IWAH as a measure of identification with all humanity. It seemed useful to replicate major results of Study 1 on a more varied adult sample, so this sample was obtained for Study 2. Such an adult sample also permits examining correlations of the IWAH with age and level of education, which were effectively homogeneous for the Study 1 student sample. Study 2 was also used to examine IWAH relations with a second measure of support for human rights, with blind and

Table 5
Regression of the IWAH and Other Predictors Upon Globalism (Final Model)

Predictor	B	SE B	β
A. Study 1			
Ethnocentrism	-0.29	0.044	-.43**
IWAH	2.527	0.646	.33**
Identification with Americans	-2.277	0.621	-.31**
$R^2 = .33$			
B. Study 2			
Ethnocentrism	-0.70	0.16	-.31**
IWAH	5.747	2.02	.24**
Identification with Americans	-5.64	2.18	-.21*
$R^2 = .23$			

Note. IWAH = Identification With All Humanity Scale.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 6
Regressions of the IWAH and Other Predictors Upon Human Rights Choices (HRCQ)

Predictor	B	SE B	β
A. Study 1			
Ethnocentrism	-0.31	0.06	-.33**
Social dominance	-0.17	0.04	-.28**
DIT2	0.14	0.05	.15*
IWAH	1.05	0.41	.15*
Identification with Americans	-1.35	0.56	-.13*
$R^2 = .47$			
B. Study 2			
Ethnocentrism	-0.41	0.10	-.30**
Identification with Americans	-3.54	1.07	-.23**
IWAH	4.65	1.03	.33**
Social dominance	-0.11	0.06	-.13 [†]
$R^2 = .31$			

Note. DIT2 = principled moral reasoning; IWAH = Identification With All Humanity Scale.
[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

constructive patriotism, and with the most widely used measure of social interest, the SIS.

Individuals who possess identification with all humanity should want the United States to invest resources to defend universal human rights rather than act strictly on narrow national self-interests. In situations of grave human rights abuses, such as the 1994 Rwandan genocide, those who identify with all humanity should have preferred America to try, in conjunction with other nations, to stop the genocide rather than let it continue. For that reason, a second measure of human rights commitment that specifically addressed this preference and similar choices was added.

Schatz, Staub, and Lavine (1999) contrasted *blind* patriotism, defined as “an attachment to country characterized by unquestioning positive evaluation, staunch allegiance, and intolerance of criticism” (p. 151), with *constructive* patriotism, which is “characterized by support for questioning and criticism of current group practices that are intended to result in positive change” (p. 151). Surely, identification with all humanity precludes blind patriotism and the two should correlate negatively. However, constructive patriotism as assessed by Schatz et al. focuses only upon a willingness to criticize America (e.g., “I express my love for America by supporting efforts at positive change”) without a clear reference to larger humanity. For that reason, constructive patriotism was not expected to correlate with the IWAH.

Finally, because we view the IWAH as reflecting mature social interest, and other social interest measures as assessing less mature variants, it is important to know if the IWAH is unique from other such measures and is superior in predicting criteria that reflect identification with all humanity. For that reason, Study 2 examined the IWAH’s relationship with Crandall’s (1980) SIS and their relative power to predict globalism and commitment to human rights.

Method

Measures. The IWAH and other identifications, MES, SDO, RWA, and human rights choices, used in Study 1 were unchanged. To assess globalism, participants rank ordered (rather than rated, as done in Study 1) the foreign policy goals. This method was chosen for Study 2 because it more directly reflects the choosing of global rather than nationalistic goals. A single globalism measure can be calculated as the relative ranking preference for the five globalist goals in comparison to the five nationalistic goals. To make room for Schatz et al.’s (1999) Blind and Constructive Patriotism Scales and Crandall’s (1980) SIS, added for Study 2, the DIT2 (which is also relatively time consuming), empathy, and social desirability measures from Study 1 were not included.

McFarland and Mathews (2005) developed a scenarios measure of human rights commitment (hereafter called HRScene) that describes recent historical events and offers respondents choices that range from acting on American self-interest to investing American resources (including military troops) to defend international human rights. A sample item reads as follows:

In the central African country of Rwanda, rival tribal groups, Hutu and Tutsi, had a growing hatred. In 1994, the Hutu extremists began killing all Tutsi, including women, children and babies. It quickly became evident that a deliberate genocide was beginning. United Nations personnel in the country urged the UN to send troops to stop the genocide and said that such a mission could succeed. However, the

mission would be dangerous and costly. Do you think the President of the United States should have

- A. sent American troops along with other nations to stop the genocide?
- B. offered supplies and transportation to troops from other nations, but not sent American troops?
- C. not become involved if no vital American interests were at stake?

Other items asked whether the United States should be willing to send forces to Sudan along with other nations to stop the ethnic cleansing, have cut off military aid to the anticommunist government of El Salvador in the 1970s for its human rights abuses, risked trying to arrest accused Serbian war criminal Ratko Mladić, ratified the International Criminal Court, and the like. For the present study, nine historical and current events plus one generic item were used. The generic item, borrowed from the Gallup Organization and used with permission, asked whether the United States military should be used to stop mass killings and ethnic cleansing, with options ranging from 1 (*much less often*) to 5 (*much more often*) than it is doing now.

The questionnaire was divided into two parts. One part presented, in order, the measures of blind and constructive patriotism, the SDO, RWA, MES, HRScene, SIS, and single-item indices of age, gender, income, and education. The second part consisted of the IWAH, HRCQ, and globalism. Approximately half of the sample took each part first.

Participants and procedures. Students in the first author’s social psychology classes were offered an opportunity to give copies of the questionnaire to nonstudent adults. The students were asked to acquire respondents who varied in age and education, with approximately equal numbers of each sex. As an incentive, the student researchers were offered one ticket in a \$200 drawing for each adult who completed the questionnaire for them. The procedures for the study were explained orally and in writing to the students, with emphasis upon integrity of the data, confidentiality of responses, and not pressuring anyone to participate. To preserve confidentiality, each respondent received instructions to seal the completed questionnaire in a provided envelope before returning it to the student. The students were told to create a list of the names and phone numbers of their participants (on a separate paper, to preserve confidentiality). They were told that a random sample of respondents would be called to verify that they had completed the questionnaire and that the students had followed the required procedures. Respondents were told that, by providing their name and phone number, they would be registered in a \$200 drawing. The student researchers and respondents were registered in separate \$200 drawings, both of which were paid at the conclusion of the study.

Results

A total of 229 questionnaires were administered by 82 students. Seven questionnaires were deleted because a student researcher failed to follow procedures, and four were deleted because of incomplete data. The final sample of 218 adults, almost all Kentuckians, consisted of 113 men and 102 women (3 did not specify gender), with a median age of 46 years and median family income of \$48,000. Compared to Kentucky norms, the sample was well

educated, as 30% of the respondents held college degrees (vs. 17% of Kentucky's adult population) and 11% held graduate degrees (vs. 7% of the state's population).

As shown in Table 1B, the results for the scales measuring the three identifications all essentially replicated the findings for Study 1. The first factor eigenvalue of 3.81, factor loadings from .60 to .78, and scree plot again indicated a single factor for the IWAH items. Once again, identification with people all over the world was lower than the mean of the other two identifications, averaging .56 less on each item on the 5-point response scale. The IWAH correlated with .45 and .55 with identification with one's community and Americans. The raw and partial correlations of the IWAH with related constructs and other measures used in Study 2 are presented in Table 2. Because sex, income, education, and order of presentation did not correlate with either the raw or the residual scores (all less than .10 and not significant), these are not presented in the table. Age correlated .15 ($p < .02$) with the IWAH, but the partial correlation with age controlling for the other identifications was .00. As Table 2 shows, the IWAH again correlated negatively with ethnocentrism, social dominance, and authoritarianism. New to Study 2, both the raw score and partial correlations with blind patriotism were negative. The partial correlations again showed an overall pattern of stronger correlations with related constructs than the raw score correlations; with Williams' t used, the partial correlations with authoritarianism and blind patriotism were significantly greater than the raw score correlations. The IWAH raw scores were slightly correlated with Crandall's (1980) SIS and with constructive patriotism, but the partial correlations were not.

Replicating the regression of IWAH upon its individual difference correlates, Table 3B shows that ethnocentrism and identification with one's community and Americans contributed to the prediction of identification with all humanity. Unlike Study 1, social dominance did not, nor did authoritarianism or social interest. These together explained 43% of the variance in the IWAH, indicating again that identification with all humanity is correlated with but distinct from these related measures.

As shown in Table 4, the IWAH correlations with globalism and HRCQ were again significant. New to Study 2, the IWAH also predicted support for human rights on the HRScene; the HRCQ and HRScene correlated .50, and they correlated .50 and .66 with globalism, respectively. The IWAH partial score correlations with globalism and the two human rights measures were all larger than the raw score correlations, but none were significantly so. As one would expect, blind patriotism correlated negatively with globalism and both measures of human rights support. Importantly, although the IWAH measure of social interest predicted globalism and human rights support, Crandall's SIS did not.

Table 5B presents the results of the regression upon globalism. As with Study 1, ethnocentrism and identification with Americans negatively predicted globalism, whereas identification with all humanity positively did so. As shown in Table 6B, the IWAH contributed positively to human rights choices, and ethnocentrism, identification with Americans, and social dominance did so negatively. Table 7 shows that for the HRScene, only ethnocentrism (negatively) and identification with all humanity (positively) contributed to the willingness to invest national resources to end grave human rights abuses.

Table 7
Regression of the IWAH and Other Predictors Upon Human Rights Scenarios (Study 2)

Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
IWAH	1.017	.431	.15*
Ethnocentrism	-0.202	.042	-.32**
$R^2 = .18$			

Note. IWAH = Identification With All Humanity Scale.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Discussion

The results of Study 2, which used an adult sample, replicated those of Study 1 in important ways. The raw scores on the IWAH were internally consistent and loaded on a single factor. The IWAH again correlated significantly and as expected with ethnocentrism, the social dominance orientation, and authoritarianism, but it was largely independent of them. Importantly, identification with all humanity as measured by the IWAH again predicted concern for global issues and for universal human rights and did so beyond the power of the related constructs. Study 2 showed that this concern extended to a willingness to commit American resources to stop genocide and to advance and protect human rights elsewhere in the world. As anticipated, identification with all humanity was inimical to blind patriotism.

The IWAH was virtually unrelated to Crandall's (1980) Social Interest Scale, and that independence presents a puzzle. Using Adler's theory of social interest as a framework, we suggested that identification with all humanity is a more mature version of social interest than that assessed by other measures of the construct such as the SIS. If so, one would expect at least some correlation between the two scales. Surprisingly, identification with all humanity appears to be something other than an extension of social interest traits such as "helpful" to all humanity, and that finding leaves uncertainty about its nature and development.

Study 3: IWAH Temporal Stability and Relationships With General Personality and Emotionality

As with any new measure, it is important to ask whether the IWAH is stable over time and how it is related to general personality and emotional dispositions. Without temporal stability, the IWAH would merely reflect a respondent's immediate mood or situation. On the other hand, stability across time would indicate that the IWAH assesses a value of ongoing concern to individuals. Further, how much is identification with all humanity a function of general personality? Finally, might the IWAH be influenced substantially by either positive or negative emotional states? If so, that fact would also undermine its status as a stable and important value for individuals. Study 3 was designed to address these questions.

We propose that the identification with all humanity is a stable value rather than a temporary mood. For its relationships with general personality, a positive relationship with openness to experience seems intuitive, as openness to experience might well promote attending to and caring about the wider world; one item specifically says "I am interested in learning about the history and politics of other countries." However, we find no basis for pre-

dicting relationships with other general personality dimensions as now commonly assessed. Although the intensity of this identification may vary with emotional highs and lows, we see little reason to believe that it is substantially affected, on the whole, by positive or negative emotions.

Method

Measures. At Time 1, the HEXACO-60 (Ashton & Lee, 2009) was used to assess general personality. The HEXACO model was developed to add a morality factor, labeled honesty-humility (e.g., “I would never accept a bribe, even if it were very large”), to the classic Big Five (e.g., Costa & McCrae, 1992). Repeated studies in many cultures had found that items reflecting morality constitute a factor not captured by the Big Five (e.g., Ashton, Lee, & Son, 2000). The HEXACO-60 contains six protrait and six contrait items for each factor, with responses on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) scale. Ashton and Lee found that each of the six scales has good internal consistency and that the five measures of the Big Five correlate highly with Costa and McCrae’s parallel measures of the same factors.

Next, positive and negative emotion were assessed with the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), which asks respondents to rate how they feel on 10 positive emotions (e.g., “enthusiastic”) and 10 negative ones (e.g., “ashamed”) from 1 (*very slightly or not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). The positive and negative emotionality items typically form two essentially uncorrelated factors. For the current study, participants were asked to respond as “the extent you feel this way right now, that is, at the present moment,” one of the instruction sets used by Watson et al. This measure was deliberately placed immediately before the IWAH because we were interested in the effects of one’s immediate mood upon the IWAH. Single items asked the participants’ age, gender, ethnic group, and level of education.

At Time 2, the IWAH was repeated, followed by 52 items unrelated to this study. A concluding item offered an opportunity, should they win \$100 described below, to pledge a portion to UNICEF to be used for earthquake victims in Haiti. This item is discussed in Study 10.

Procedures and participants. Students in the first author’s social psychology class were offered course credit for obtaining the e-mail addresses for up to six adults willing to participate in a two-questionnaire online study, with the questionnaires separated by about 10 weeks. The students told the prospective participants that, by completing both questionnaires, they would be placed in a random drawing for one of three \$100 cash prizes. Students were asked to seek adults who varied in age and education, with approximately equal numbers of men and women, and to tell them that their responses would be anonymous and confidential.

Qualtrics Survey Software (<https://wku.qualtrics.com/>) was used to administer the first questionnaire at the beginning of October 2010. The instructions reminded participants that a second questionnaire would follow in about ten weeks and that participants who completed both would be placed in the drawing for the prizes. The procedures for guaranteeing confidentiality were also explained.

Eight weeks after the first questionnaire, respondents were sent an e-mail reminding them of second questionnaire and the drawing

for the cash prizes. The second questionnaire was sent 2 weeks later (mid-December), again using Qualtrics Survey Software.

Results

The first questionnaire was completed by 188 persons (66% female; 91% Caucasian; 48% with undergraduate or graduate degrees; median age = 45 years). Of these, 166 completed the second questionnaire, with the demographic percentages essentially unchanged. The IWAH again correlated with identification with one’s community and Americans, .51 and .57.

Relations of IWAH with HEXACO-60 and PANAS. The reliabilities of the six HEXACO factors ranged from .70 (conscientiousness) to .81 (agreeableness). Those of the two PANAS scales were .91 and .92 for positive and negative emotionality, respectively, and positive and negative emotionality were uncorrelated ($r = .05$, *ns*). Reliabilities for the three identifications ranged from .83 (all humanity) to .89 (community).

The raw and partial correlations of identification with all humanity (controlling for identification with community and Americans) with positive and negative emotionality and the HEXACO-60 are presented in Table 8. The IWAH correlated as expected with openness to experience but also somewhat with all six HEXACO-60 factors and with positive emotionality. However, the partial correlations show that identification with all humanity was uniquely related only to openness, agreeableness, and emotionality. Because conscientiousness, extraversion, honesty-morality, and positive emotionality correlated positively with all identifications, their partial correlations indicate that they did not relate specifically to identification with all humanity but rather to identification with people in general. Regression analysis found that, controlling for the other identifications (entered in Step 1 of a two-step regression model), openness, agreeableness, and emotionality together explained 20% of the variance in identification with all humanity at Time 1 and 16% when measured at Time 2, 10 weeks later.

Temporal consistency of the IWAH. Across the two measures, taken about ten weeks apart, the mean level of IWAH raw scores did not change, $M_s = 29.5$ and 29.7 , $t(156) = 0.62$, $p > .50$. The test–retest correlation for the IWAH raw scores across these 10 weeks was .69; those for identification with one’s community

Table 8
Correlations of the IWAH With Positive and Negative Emotionality and Personality

Measure	Study 3		Study 4	
	Raw score	Partial	Raw score	Partial
Positive emotionality	.19*	-.05	.24**	.06
Negative emotionality	-.04	.02	-.06	-.01
Openness to experience	.39**	.34**	.36**	.38**
Conscientiousness	.18*	.03	.21*	.04
Agreeableness	.33**	.28**	.28**	.21**
Extraversion	.15*	-.04	.22**	.07
Emotionality (neuroticism)	.17*	.23*	.12	.18**
Honesty-morality	.23**	.07	.23**	.08

Note. IWAH = Identification With All Humanity Scale.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

and with Americans were .70 and .68, respectively. The Reliable Change Index (Roberts, Caspi, & Moffitt, 2001) was used to estimate the number of individuals whose scores on the IWAH decreased, stayed the same, or increased, based upon each person's change relative to the standard error of measurement. Using this index, at the 95% confidence level, 85% of participants did not change on the IWAH from Time 1 to Time 2, whereas 8% were lower and 7% were higher on the IWAH at Time 2.

Discussion

Study 3 indicates that identification with all humanity correlates as expected with openness to experience and also with agreeableness and emotionality. Although these results are correlational, it is certainly plausible that openness to experience, in particular, could lead one to seek experiences that might enhance identification with all humanity. Perhaps agreeableness affects identification with all humanity similarly. The positive relationship between emotionality (neuroticism) and identification with all humanity is perplexing; we cannot hazard a guess at why those who agree with items such as "I would feel afraid if I had to travel in bad weather conditions" or "I sometimes can't help worrying about little things" identify more strongly than others with all humanity. Identification with all humanity does not appear to be affected by positive or negative emotionality. The results further indicate that identification with all humanity is something other than one's general concern for being moral or honest, as it was not specifically related to either moral identity in Study 1 or honesty-humility on the HEXACO-60 in the current study.

For most participants, but not all, scores on the IWAH were stable across 10 weeks. The test-retest correlations for the IWAH across 10 weeks compare favorably with those for the PANAS across 8 weeks, which Watson et al. (1988) found to be .68 and .71 for positive and negative affect for how "you feel on the average," and are substantially higher than the .54 and .45 test-retest correlations across 8 weeks for "how you feel at the present moment." However, the IWAH test-retest correlations appear lower than the Big Five test-retest correlations across 8 weeks found by Vaidya, Gray, Haig, and Watson (2002), which ranged from .80 (conscientiousness) to .87 (extraversion). For a minority of participants, it appears that identification with all humanity is not a stable value, positively or negatively.

Study 4: Self-Other Consistency on Identification With All Humanity

For any self-report measure, it is instructive to know the degree to which others see us as we see ourselves. Inconsistencies between self- and other-ratings indicate that one or both may be contaminated. Self-ratings may be self-deceptive. On the other hand, substantial self-other agreement offers support for the validity of self-ratings. Study 4 was designed to address this issue for the IWAH. Because Connelly and Ones (2010) meta-analysis found that self-other correlations are strongest for family members and close others, these were used for the other-ratings for this study.

Method

Measures. The PANAS, HEXACO-60, and IWAH were presented in that order, with the HEXACO-60 and PANAS in-

cluded for comparison purposes on self-other correlations. Also, the inclusion of the HEXACO-60 and PANAS made it possible to replicate their relationships with the IWAH found in Study 3. Single questions assessed sex and age. A parallel questionnaire, to be completed by family members and close friends, contained parallel versions of the same scales. As examples, whereas the "self" measure of the identifications asked, "How close do you feel to each of the following groups?" the "other" questionnaire asked, "How close does this person feel to each of the following groups?" Because self-other correlations were being studied, participants were asked to respond to the PANAS emotionality items on "the extent that you generally feel this way, that is, how you feel on average." The PANAS items asked also how the other person "generally feels . . ." Instructions on the "other" questionnaire said, in capital letters, "PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS REGARDING THE PERSON WHO ASKED YOU TO COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE."

Procedures. The self-report questionnaire was e-mailed with Qualtrics Survey Software to all faculty and staff at Western Kentucky University requesting their participation and offering a chance to win one of two \$100 cash prizes in a random drawing. The opening instructions explained that the study was on "how we see ourselves and others see us" and that once the questionnaire was completed, they would be asked type the e-mail addresses of two others "who know you very well. These may include your spouse, siblings, parents, or close friends. The questionnaires you forward to them will ask the same questions about you that you answered about yourself." When these e-mails were entered, the parallel questionnaire was automatically sent to these addresses.

A six-digit random number was automatically generated and added to the matching "self" and "other" questionnaires, making it possible to match the questionnaires and maintain the participants' anonymity. Because the questionnaire forwarded to the "other" did not contain the name or e-mail of the person who completed the self-report questionnaire, the first participants were asked to notify their contacts that they were forwarding a questionnaire and requesting their participation but were instructed to say nothing about its contents. Those completing the "other" questionnaire were told that they would be placed in a drawing for one of three \$100 cash prizes. The e-mails of both the "self" and "other" participants were placed in files separated from the data to preserve response anonymity, and these files were used to conduct the drawings and to provide participants a summary of the study and its results.

Results

The self-report questionnaire was completed by 213 individuals (75% female; 87% Caucasian; mean age = 44 years). However, only 126 forwarded the "other" questionnaire as requested. Further, a mistake (by the first author) in preparing the link caused the "other" questionnaire to arrive from an unrecognizable e-mail address, appearing to many to be unrequested spam. For that reason, just 122 "other" responses were received. Of these, two responses were received for 41 of the "self" participants (33 female, 8 male; 91% Caucasian; mean age = 48 years), with an additional 40 "self" participants generating one "other" response each. For these 122 "other" participants, 100 identified themselves as family members of the "self" (spouses, siblings, parents, or

children); 21 identified as close friends, and one identified as an employee.

Replication of IWAH relationships with HEXACO and PANAS. As shown in Table 8, the IWAH correlations with the HEXACO-60 and with positive and negative emotionality for all 213 “self” participants strongly replicated the results of Study 3: Positive emotionality was positively related to the IWAH raw score but not to unique identification with all humanity. All of the HEXACO factors except emotionality correlated with identification with all humanity, but as in Study 3, only openness to experience, agreeableness, and emotionality correlated uniquely with identification with all humanity. In a two-step regression analysis, with the other identifications entered first, these three explained just 17% of the variance in identification with all humanity.

Self–other correlations on the IWAH, HEXACO, and PANAS. The internal consistencies (alphas) for responses to the various measures were essentially equivalent for those responding about themselves and for those responding about others they knew well. For both “self” and “other” responders, the alphas for the three identifications and positive and negative emotionality were all above .8, whereas the alphas for self and others on the HEXACO factors were generally in the .70s.

Table 9 presents the self–other correlations for the identifications controlling for the other identifications, along with the self–other correlations for the other measures. The first column shows that, for all 122 participants who received “other” evaluations, the self–other correlations were all significant, including for identification with all humanity and the other identifications. The second column presents the correlations between the two “other” ratings for the 41 “self” participants who received ratings from two others; again, most correlations were significant, including those for the three identifications.

Because of assumed unreliability in the ratings of the two “others,” their ratings for the “self” were summed for a more reliable measure and the sum correlated with the “self” scores. These correlations are presented in the third column. For identifi-

cation with all humanity, the sum of the two “other” ratings correlated more strongly with the self-rating than did the individual other-ratings, indicating an improvement in reliability was obtained. This improvement was inconsistent for the other combined ratings, however.

These results indicate that close others have a fair sense of how much one identifies with all humanity that correlates with participants’ self-appraisals, as well as of identification with one’s community and Americans. In absolute terms, the self–other correlations on the IWAH were stronger than those for positive and negative emotionality and for conscientiousness, emotionality, and honesty-morality, but they were lower than those for the remaining four HEXACO factors.

Discussion

In their recent meta-analysis, Connelly and Ones (2010) found that, in addition to the degree of acquaintance, self–other correlations are strengthened by a construct’s visibility and reduced if it has evaluative connotations. Extraversion, the most visible Big Five trait, had the highest Big Five self–other correlations in their meta-analysis. For this sample, openness to experience, extraversion, and agreeableness all had strong self–other and other–other agreement, whereas agreement on the remaining HEXACO factors and positive and emotionality were lower, perhaps due to their lower visibility. The visibility of identification with all humanity and the other identifications is unclear but is likely lower than that for extraversion. The identifications, particularly with one’s community and nation, also likely have positive evaluative connotations, which may reduce their self–other correlations. Nevertheless, the results of Study 4 indicate that close others have a general sense of how much one does or does not identify with all humanity, as well as with one’s community and Americans, that corresponds significantly with one’s self-ratings.

Study 5: A Validation Study of the IWAH on Two Known Groups

Where might we find groups of individuals who are unusually high on identification with all humanity? An obvious place to look is among organizations and charities whose missions focus on international human rights and humanitarian work.

Human Rights Watch (HRW), a major international human rights organization, and Church World Service (CWS), a Christian international charity, are the kinds of organizations whose professional staff and key supporters should score high on identification with all humanity. The HRW mission statement reads, in part:

Human Rights Watch is dedicated to protecting the human rights of people around the world. We stand with victims and activists to prevent discrimination, to uphold political freedom, to protect people from inhumane conduct in wartime . . . (Human Rights Watch, n.d.)

That of CWS reads:

Church World Service works with partners to eradicate hunger and poverty and to promote peace and justice around the world . . . Around the world, Church World Service supports sustainable grassroots development, disaster relief, and refugee assistance, and we educate and advocate on hunger-related issues (Church World Service, n.d.).

Table 9
Self–Other Agreement on Identification With Community, Americans, and All Humanity (Study 4)

Measure	Self–other (<i>N</i> = 122)	Other–other (<i>N</i> = 41)	Self with other sum (<i>N</i> = 41)
Identification with			
Community [.85; .90]	.43*	.40*	.36*
Americans [.81; .87]	.38*	.57**	.32*
All humanity [.85; .89]	.42**	.38*	.56**
Positive emotionality [.85; .82]	.28**	.27†	.31*
Negative emotionality [.88; .83]	.30**	.44**	.29†
Openness to experience [.74; .75]	.52**	.52**	.57**
Conscientiousness [.68; .71]	.21*	.14	.17
Agreeableness [.72; .77]	.49**	.46**	.53**
Extraversion [.73; .76]	.50**	.52**	.56**
Emotionality [.64; .76]	.26**	.38*	.30†
Honesty-morality [.73; .77]	.33**	.20	.47**

Note. The first number in brackets is the internal consistency (alpha) for self-ratings; the second number is that for the ratings of others.

† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Both mission statements reflect the concern for all humanity that the IWAH was designed to measure. For that reason, ranking professional employees and active supporters of these organizations should score very high in comparison to more general adult populations on the IWAH. Also, both groups are likely to be quite low in ethnocentrism as measured by the MES, as their aims are to benefit all peoples without regard for ethnicity.

Method

Procedure. With each organization's prior consent, an e-mail was sent to a corresponding staff member. The e-mail contained instructions for completing the questionnaire, with the questionnaire attached as a Word document. The instructions stated that the questionnaire took about twenty minutes to complete, described procedures for ensuring confidentiality, and promised a \$30 contribution to the respective organization for each completed questionnaire. Participants were instructed to e-mail the completed questionnaire directly to the first author.

The staff member at each organization forwarded the e-mail to about twenty individuals. For HRW, respondents included both professional staff and members of its New York committee, comprised of individuals who give substantial money and time to support HRW. For CWS, only ranking professional staff members were sampled, as preferred by the organization.

Questionnaire. Following several questions on unrelated issues, the questionnaire presented the IWAH and other identifications and the MES. Single items asked for the respondent's age, gender, and level of education.

Results

For HRW, the questionnaire was completed by 15 individuals (5 men, 9 women, 1 unspecified; mean age = 45 years); 12 were college graduates (1 unspecified), and three of these held advanced degrees. For CWS, 18 individuals (10 men, 8 women; mean age = 56 years) completed the study; 16 were college graduates, and seven held advanced degrees.

The mean IWAH raw scores are presented in Table 1C (HRW sample) and Table 1D (CWS sample), along with the means of the other two identifications. Because of the high means and smaller standard deviations than for Studies 1 and 2, the raw scores yielded somewhat weaker interitem correlations and reliabilities.

These scores were directly compared with those of the 218 adults from Study 2. As the Table 1 means show, both samples averaged more than 1.1 points higher than the Study 2 adult sample for each IWAH item on the 5-point scale. The magnitude of these differences is seen in that 11 of 15 HRW participants scored above the 90th percentile of the Study 2 sample on the IWAH, with two more above the 80th percentile. For CWS, 15 of 18 scored above the 90th percentile, with two of the remaining three above the 80th percentile.

For analysis of variance (ANOVA) purposes, a sample of Study 2 participants was selected to match the HRW and CWS samples as closely as possible on age and education. From the original Study 2 sample, 53 participants were selected who generally matched the age and education level of the HRW and CWS samples, and a random sample of 20 (10 men, 10 women; mean age = 51 years) was selected from these 53. All of this subsample

held college degrees, with four holding advanced degrees. The mean IWAH raw score for this subsample was 27.72, slightly higher than for the Study 2 sample as a whole (cf. Table 1B).

This subsample was compared to the HRW and CWS participants in a three-group, one-way ANOVA. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was not violated ($p > .20$). The groups differed on the IWAH, $F(2, 52) = 26.55, p = .000$. Post hoc analyses (Tukey *B* and Dunnett *C*) showed both the HRW and the CWS differed from the Study 2 subsample but not from each other. However, the three groups did not differ on identification with either one's community or with Americans ($p > .15$ in each case).

The three ANOVA groups also differed on the MES (17.9 and 20.0 vs. 27.4; $p < .001$). As with the IWAH, post hoc analyses found that the HRW and CWS participants did not differ from each other, but both were significantly lower in ethnocentrism than the Study 2 participants.

Discussion

Study 5 offers known-group validation for the IWAH, as members of two groups whose work suggests that they strongly identify with all humanity did so. As expected, individuals who have chosen to work for or strongly support Human Rights Watch scored very high on the IWAH, as did professional staff of Church World Service. These two groups differed greatly and significantly from a matched subsample of Study 2 adults on identification with all humanity but not on identification with one's community or with Americans. Also as expected, the HRW and CWS participants were significantly lower than the Study 2 subsample in ethnocentrism.

Study 6: Distinction of the IWAH From the Value of Universalism

Study 6 was designed to examine the discriminant validity of the IWAH from Schwartz's (1992) value of universalism. As noted earlier, universalism is defined in a way that suggests substantial overlap with the IWAH, and universalism predicts a number of concerns and behaviors that should also be predicted by identification with all humanity. Therefore, it is important to know whether the IWAH and universalism are distinct constructs. If the IWAH is distinct from universalism, it should predict human rights concerns on the HRCQ beyond the effect of universalism and the other Schwartz values.

Method

Materials. Because this study was conducted in university classes with professors' permission and limited class time, only Schwartz's (1992) 10 value scales, the IWAH, and the HRCQ were administered, along with single items to assess sex, class in school, and ethnic group. The IWAH and HRCQ were administered as in Study 1; Schwartz's value scales were administered in the standard way used by Schwartz.

Participants. The questionnaire was administered in classes of varied disciplines. Students were assured that their participation was voluntary and allowed to leave class early if they wished not to participate. One hundred and forty-nine students (60 men, 88

women, one unspecified; 89% Caucasian) completed the measures.

Results

Similar to the Table 1 data for Studies 1 and 2, the item mean on the IWAH raw score was less than for the other two identifications (2.98 vs. 3.33 and 3.5), and the alphas for the three identifications were all above .8.

Because Schwartz (1992) recommended that the measure of each value control for the average rating across all values, both the raw and the controlled measures of universalism were examined. The IWAH correlated .46 and .37 with the raw and controlled measures of universalism, indicating about 20% variance overlap between the IWAH and universalism. For the Study 6 sample, the IWAH correlated .46 with the HRCQ (.56 controlling for the other two identifications), whereas the two measures of universalism correlated with the HRCQ somewhat less, .29 (raw) and .43 (controlled). With the universalism raw scores used in regression analysis, only the IWAH significantly predicted the HRCQ. Using the controlled scores, as shown in Table 10, both the IWAH and universalism contributed positively and independently to concern for human rights on the HRCQ, whereas identification with Americans and Schwartz's measure of hedonism also did so negatively; none of the other eight Schwartz values scales contributed significantly to predicting scores on the HRCQ.

Discussion

The results of Study 6 verify that the IWAH and universalism are distinct constructs, as both contributed independently to human rights choices on the HRCQ. The two constructs do differ: The IWAH focuses specifically upon whether one sincerely cares about all one's fellow human beings, whereas the values tapped by universalism are both more abstract and varied (e.g., a world of beauty, unity with nature, broad-minded). Despite their overlapping content, we do not find it surprising that the IWAH is distinct from universalism and independently predicts concern for universal human rights, and more strongly so in this sample.

Study 7: Identification With All Humanity and the Ethnocentric Valuation of Human Life

Pratto and Glasford (2008) developed unique and subtle measures of the ethnocentric valuation of human life, the tendency to value the lives of ingroup members over those of outgroup mem-

bers. For their measure, respondents were told that policy planners often have to make tough choices between policies that each have desirable outcomes or between policies that each have undesirable results. For four submeasures in their "competition" conditions, each with multiple items, they pitted (a) the loss of outgroup (Afghani) lives against an economic loss for the ingroup (Americans), (b) the loss of ingroup (American) lives against an economic loss for the outgroup (Afghans), (c) the saving of outgroup lives against an economic gain for the ingroup, and (d) the saving of ingroup lives against an economic gain for the outgroup. Participants were asked to choose between the two policies (Pratto and Glasford's Studies 1 and 2) or to rate on a 6-point scale the strength of their preference for one policy or the other (Studies 3 and 4), with 1 and 6 representing strong preference for one policy or the other. As examples, in submeasure 1, participants were asked to choose between policies that would lead to a specified number of losses of Afghani lives versus "an increase in grocery prices in the U.S." In submeasure 2, participants were asked to choose between one policy that could lead to a specified number of American lives lost versus another that could lead to "loss of shelter for Afghani civilians."

Pratto and Glasford (2008) found that their participants generally placed greater value upon ingroup than upon outgroup lives. However, individual differences mattered. In particular, the social dominance orientation and ingroup identification (e.g., "How strongly do you identify with the U.S.") predicted a greater ethnocentric valuation of American over Afghani lives, whereas dispositional empathy predicted regarding American and Afghani lives more equally. Interestingly, authoritarianism, self-rated religiousness, and self-rated conservatism versus liberalism did not predict ethnocentric valuation of lives.

Clearly, greater identification with all humanity should predict valuing the lives of ingroup and outgroup members more equally (i.e., less ethnocentric valuation of human life). Further, if identification with all humanity is a unique construct, it should do so beyond ethnocentrism, social dominance, dispositional empathy, and authoritarianism. These expectations were tested in Study 7.

Method

Materials. A questionnaire was prepared that included the IWAH along with measures of ethnocentrism, social dominance, dispositional empathy, and authoritarianism used in earlier studies. Following Pratto and Glasford (2008), single items assessed, on 5-point scales, self-rated political conservatism versus liberalism, and self-rated religiousness. Gender, age, ethnic group, and level of formal education were also recorded. Preference for the Republican or Democratic Party was also assessed on a scale from 1 (*strongly prefer the Republican Party*) to 5 (*strongly prefer the Democratic Party*), and principled moral reasoning (DIT2) was assessed for the adult sample described below.

A 16-item scale was assembled to assess the ethnocentric valuation of life, with four items representing each of the four competitive submeasures used by Pratto and Glasford (2008). The number of lives to be saved or lost was varied substantially as Pratto and Glasford had done, in this study from 50 to 90,000. The gain or loss of lives of either the ingroup or the outgroup was always pitted against a parallel economic gain or loss for the other group.

Table 10

Regression of the Identifications and Schwartz Value Scales on Human Rights Choices (Study 6)

Predictor	B	SE B	b
IWAH	0.646	0.117	.45**
Identification with Americans	-0.431	0.104	-.31**
Universalism	4.735	1.756	.21**
Hedonism	-1.908	0.966	-.13*
$R^2 = .41$			

Note. IWAH = Identification With All Humanity Scale.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Participants and procedures. Separate adult and student samples were collected. The method for collecting the adult sample was identical to that used in Study 2, except that the student researchers received course credit for their help rather than a cash drawing, and two \$100 prizes rather than one \$200 prize were offered in a drawing for the participants. For the student sample, the same questionnaire was administered in classes, and students were allowed to leave class early if they chose not to participate. The limited class time available prohibited administering the DIT2 to the students.

Results

Adult sample. A sample of 102 adults (38 men, 54 women, 10 unspecified) completed the study. The sample was 80% Caucasian, with a mean age of 39 years, and well educated, with 45% possessing either a college or a graduate degree.

Items were treated as a 16-item scale, with each item scored in the direction of ethnocentric valuation of life. The scale's alpha was a modest .64. No pattern of stronger versus weaker items was discernible among items from the four subscales, or from items with different numbers of lives gained or lost.

Similar to previous studies, except for the known-groups samples in Study 5, the IWAH raw score item mean was .40 lower than for the other identifications on the 5-point scale, and all three scales yielded alphas of .8 or higher. As expected, the IWAH correlated negatively ($-.41$) with the ethnocentric valuation of life, and ethnocentrism correlated positively ($.36$) with it ($p < .01$ in both cases). All other correlations and failures to correlate found by Pratto and Glasford (2008) were replicated: SDO correlated positively ($.26$, $p < .01$) and dispositional empathy correlated negatively ($-.20$, $p < .05$) with valuing American over Afghani lives, but authoritarianism, self-rated conservatism, and self-rated religiousness did not correlate with the ethnocentric valuation of human life; nor did political party preference, gender, age, or level of education (all smaller than $.15$; $p > .15$). Interestingly, unlike in Study 1, principled moral reasoning did not correlate with the IWAH ($.02$, *ns*), and it correlated only marginally with the ethnocentric valuation of human life ($-.18$, $p < .10$).

In regression analysis, as Table 11A shows, identification with all humanity predicted valuing Afghani and American lives more equally. In contrast, ethnocentrism predicted placing greater value

on American lives. None of the remaining measures contributed further to predicting the ethnocentric valuation of human life.

Student sample. A total of 143 students completed the questionnaire. All classes were upper division in nursing or social work, which resulted in a sample that was 84% female.

The alphas for the three identification scales were all above .8, and the mean response for identification with all humanity items was .51 less than for the mean of the other two identifications. Alpha for the ethnocentric valuation of human life was .61.

Identification with all humanity again correlated negatively with the ethnocentric valuation of life ($-.35$, $p < .01$), and ethnocentrism and SDO correlated positively with it ($.39$ and $.25$, $p < .01$), replicating the adult sample. Unlike for previous samples, dispositional empathy failed to correlate with the ethnocentric valuation of life ($-.12$, $p > .10$). But also different from previous samples, authoritarianism and preference for the Republican over the Democratic Party each correlated weakly with valuing American over Afghan lives ($r = .17$, $p < .05$), in each case. No other demographic, political, or religious measure did so.

In regression analysis, as Table 11B shows, the IWAH again predicted valuing Afghan and American lives more equally, and ethnocentrism predicted valuing American over Afghani lives. For this sample, identification with Americans did so marginally.

Discussion

Across two samples, identification with all humanity predicted valuing Afghani and American lives more equally and did so in regression analyses beyond the power of correlates obtained by Pratto and Glasford (2008), as well as beyond the power of ethnocentrism and principled moral reasoning. Ethnocentrism predicted giving greater value to American lives in both samples, and identification with Americans did so in one. Replicating Pratto and Glasford, the social dominance orientation also correlated positively with the ethnocentric valuation of life, and dispositional empathy did so negatively for one of two samples, whereas authoritarianism was either unrelated or very weakly related to it. However, none of these contributed to the differential valuation of Afghani and American lives beyond the effects of identification with all humanity, ethnocentrism, and identification with Americans.

Study 8: IWAH and Knowledge of Global Humanitarian Concerns

Individuals who truly possess an identification with all humanity should care about humanity's struggles and sufferings. As a consequence, they should be likely to attend more than others to distant events that affect large numbers of human beings, even though these do not directly affect Americans, their community, or their own lives. They should therefore be more likely to know about the genocide in Darfur, the impact of AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, efforts to end global hunger, human rights abuses and struggles, and other world events of great consequence for humanity. Study 8 was designed to test whether identification with all humanity, as measured by the IWAH, predicts knowledge of these matters.

Previous studies have found that global knowledge is positively related to intelligence, education, and sex (with males having

Table 11
Regression Predicting Ethnocentric Valuation of Human Life
(Study 7)

Predictor	B	SE B	b
A. Adult sample			
IWAH	-.783	.124	-.62**
Ethnocentrism	.715	.159	.44**
$R^2 = .33$			
B. Student sample			
IWAH	-.378	.120	-.31**
Ethnocentrism	.259	.075	.29**
Identification with Americans	.222	.126	.16†
$R^2 = .21$			

Note. IWAH = Identification With All Humanity Scale.

† $p < .10$. ** $p < .01$.

greater global knowledge) and is negatively related to ethnocentrism and authoritarianism (e.g., Ackerman, Bowen, Beier, & Kanfer, 2001; McFarland & Mathews, 2005; Peterson, Duncan, & Pang, 2002). For this study, we asked whether the IWAH predicts knowledge of global humanitarian concerns beyond these known predictors. American College Test (ACT) composite scores and college grade point average (GPA), both available from the university's mainframe computer for the students in this study, served as dual indices of intelligence. In studies conducted for the American College Testing Program, Munday (1968) found correlations in the .70s between composite ACT scores and measures of intelligence.

Method

Materials. The materials consisted of two parts. Part 1 consisted of a 16-item multiple-choice Global Humanitarian Knowledge Quiz (GHK), revised from that used by McFarland and Mathews (2005). Items asked about major humanitarian concerns around the globe. The following are representative:

1. In Darfur, in Sudan, in 2004–2005,
 - A. a famine threatened the survival of thousands of inhabitants.
 - B. the AIDS epidemic was spreading faster than anywhere else in the world.
 - C. Arab militia killed thousands and destroyed their villages. (correct answer)
 - D. African nations formed an organization called the African Union.
2. AIDS is currently having its most devastating effects (number of cases, social disruption) in
 - A. the American gay community.
 - B. central and southern Africa. (correct answer)
 - C. Asia.
 - D. the former communist countries.
3. A major aim of the Millennium Development Project is to
 - A. build the tower to replace the World Trade Center destroyed on 9/11.
 - B. cut in half the world's worst poverty by 2015. (correct answer)
 - C. create democracy in Islamic countries in the Middle East.
 - D. develop non-polluting sources of energy as alternatives to oil and coal.

Part 2 contained the 12-item version of the RWA, the MES, single items assessing sex and age, and the IWAH.

Participants and procedures. The materials were administered in classes, and all students were placed in a drawing to receive \$100. Informed consent granted permission to obtain ACT scores and GPA from the university mainframe computer. Strong assurances of confidentiality were provided, and no student declined to participate.

Results

Seventy-nine students (10 men, 69 women) enrolled in upper division classes completed the materials in class. Similar to previous studies, respondents averaged .66 less for each IWAH response than for the other identifications, and all identifications had alphas above .8.

The GHK had an alpha of .85, although student knowledge was less than impressive. Correcting for guessing, 64% knew that the AIDS epidemic was worst in central and southern Africa, but just 32% knew about the Darfur killings, and only 22% knew the aims of the Millennium Development Project.

Identification with all humanity correlated .26 ($p < .02$) with the GHK; unexpectedly, identification with Americans did so as well (.22, $p < .05$). Replicating earlier studies, the gender-knowledge correlation of $-.30$ ($p < .01$; male coded as 1 and female as 2) revealed that the male students had greater knowledge of these events than did the female students. Ethnocentrism and authoritarianism correlated $-.28$ ($p < .02$) and $-.22$ ($p < .05$) with the GHK, respectively. GPA also marginally predicted this knowledge ($r = .20$, $p < .10$), whereas ACT scores did not ($r = .09$, *ns*).

Did the IWAH contribute to global humanitarian knowledge beyond the other factors known to do so? The regression analysis reported in Table 12 shows that sex, GPA, and IWAH scores did so. ACT scores, ethnocentrism, identification with Americans, and authoritarianism added no further variance in predicting global knowledge.

Discussion

The results of Study 8 indicate that identification with all humanity positively predicts knowledge of global humanitarian concerns and does so beyond the effects of other known predictors of global knowledge. Those higher on the IWAH appear more informed of these global concerns than are those lower on the IWAH.

Study 9: IWAS and Selective Exposure to Humanitarian Concerns

A logical question arising from Study 8 is how do individuals who identify with all humanity know more about global humanitarian issues? Almost necessarily, those who are high must selectively expose themselves to more information on these issues, selectively elaborate (think about) this information more, or simply retain it better than do others. In this connection, Holbrook, Berent, Krosnick, Visser, and Boninger (2005) found that, as a general principle, people engage in both selective exposure and selective elaboration of information related to their important attitudes.

Although it seems likely that those who identify with all humanity will increase their knowledge of global concerns by all

Table 12
Regression of the IWAH and Other Predictors Upon Global Humanitarian Knowledge (Study 8)

Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
IWAH	0.12	.04	.23*
GPA	0.86	.48	.19 [†]
Sex	-3.20	.93	-.35**
$R^2 =$.21		

Note. IWAH = Identification With All Humanity Scale; GPA = grade point average.

[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

three of these means (selective exposure, elaboration, and retention), for this study we examined the selective exposure hypothesis. We hypothesized that people who are higher in identification with all of humanity would selectively expose themselves to more information concerning human rights and humanitarian-related issues and that they would do so beyond the influence of other predictors of global knowledge.

Method

Questionnaire. In addition the IWAH, the questionnaire included the MES, RWA, and SDO. Education level, which might increase selective exposure to humanitarian information, was also included for the adult sample, as were single-item measures of age and sex.

The questionnaire then presented a list of 16 articles supposedly written for a fictitious new journal, *Of General Interest*. Each article presented a title and author, followed by a one- or two-sentence teaser of the article's content. The articles were pulled from a variety of topics including sports, finance, home decorating, health, business, and American politics. Most were fictitious, but a few were taken from articles found in magazines or journals.

Participants were instructed to read all 16 titles and abstracts, select the five that they would most want to read, and rank order their preferences for these five. Twelve of the 16 articles were unrelated to humanitarian concerns. The following are examples:

"Pay for Professional Athletes: Is It Too High?"

by Mark Greenberg

The average NBA player earns \$3.7 million, the average major league baseball player about \$3 million. Are they getting paid for their performance or are fans being taken for a ride?

"The Perfect Christmas Party"

by Fiona Cotter

You want your guests to feel both comfortable and delighted. Here are twenty tips for making your next Christmas party one they will long remember.

An effort was made to balance these articles for male and female interests, with roughly half of the distractor articles more likely to appeal to men and half more likely to appeal to women. Our concern was that, on the target articles described below, sex might emerge as a predictor solely because one sex preferred more or fewer of the distractor articles.

Four target articles on humanitarian concerns were distributed throughout the 16. Two read as follows:

"Can Extreme Poverty Be Eliminated?"

by Jeffrey Sachs

The Millennium Development Plan aims to cut in half the number of people around the world living on \$1 a day or less, and reduce child mortality by two-thirds and maternal mortality by three-quarters, all by 2015. But can we do it?

"The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Making It Work"

by Patricia Tindale

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted just after the United Nations was founded, but basic human rights are still violated in many places. What can be done to make the ideal of human rights a reality for all people?

The other two were on genocide and the AIDS pandemic in Africa.

Samples. Two samples, one of adults and one of college students, completed our questionnaire packet. The adult sample was acquired with the help of the author's social psychology classes using procedures similar to those used in Studies 2 and 7. The adults sampled were told that the questionnaire was the first part of a two-part study. For the second part, they were told that they would be sent a selection of the articles they chose and would be asked to read and evaluate them. Adults who agreed to participate were told that they would be placed in a drawing at the completion of the study for one of two \$100 prizes. After the adults returned the questionnaire, they were sent a debriefing form on the purpose of the study and told that the study was completed and that they would not actually read their selected articles. Because of this deception, they were offered the opportunity to have their data removed from the study (none did so) and were asked to sign and return the debriefing form to show that they had received and read it. A participant's data were used only if this form was signed and returned.

To acquire our student sample, we administered the questionnaire in various classes across campus with the instructors' permission and the students' voluntary participation. Unlike for the adult sample, the students were simply asked to select the five articles they would most want to read and to rank order them; they were not told to expect to read and evaluate their selected articles. Students in most classes were offered extra course credit for their participation.

Results

The adult sample consisted of 196 adults, of whom 51% were female. The student sample consisted of 139 students ranging from freshman through graduate students; 74% were female.

Balancing for sex interests appeared successful. For both samples, for example, being female correlated positively with wanting to read about "America's Most Beautiful Small Homes," whereas being male correlated with selecting "Pay for Professional Athletes." However, sex was not significantly correlated with selecting any of the target articles for either sample.

Individuals who were concerned about one of the humanitarian issues tended to be concerned about the others. Selecting one humanitarian article to read correlated with selecting others, with correlations from .14 to .42 across the two samples.

Selective exposure scores were created as follows. A target article selected as a participant's first choice received a score of 5; one chosen as a participant's second choice was given a score of 4, and so on. Scores could thus range from 0 (if one chose none of the humanitarian articles) to 14 (if one chose the four target articles as the top four choices; i.e., 5 + 4 + 3 + 2).

As predicted, scores on the IWAH correlated positively with selecting the target humanitarian articles, with correlations of .46 and .30 for the student and adult samples ($p < .01$) in each case. For both samples, ethnocentrism was significantly related to not selecting them, with correlations of $-.34$ and $-.20$ for the student and adult samples. Identification with Americans and one's community did not predict selecting the humanitarian articles for either sample, with all correlations .05 or smaller. RWA and SDO both correlated negatively with selecting the target articles for the student sample (r s of $-.30$ and $-.33$; $p < .01$) but did so only marginally for the adult sample (r s of $-.12$ and $-.10$; $p < .10$ in

Table 13
*Regression Upon Selection of Human Rights and Humanitarian
 Articles (Study 9)*

Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
A. Student sample			
IWAH	.294	.050	.443**
RWA	-.106	.034	-.230**
$R^2 = .27$			
B. Adult sample			
IWAH	.214	.046	.292**
$R^2 = .09$			

Note. IWAH = Identification With All Humanity Scale; RWA = Right-Wing Authoritarian Scale.

** $p < .01$.

both cases). For the adult sample, neither level of education nor age correlated significantly with selecting the humanitarian target articles.

For each sample, selective exposure to the humanitarian articles was regressed onto the other predictors. Table 13 shows that, for the student sample, the IWAH positively predicted selecting the humanitarian articles, whereas authoritarianism did so negatively. For the adult sample, only the IWAH significantly predicted article selection. Identification with one community or Americans, social dominance, sex, and education did not add additional variance in predicting article selection.

Discussion

This study indicates at least one reason why identification with all humanity is related to knowledge of global humanitarian concerns: Identification with all humanity leads to choosing to learn about these concerns. For both students and adults, those with higher IWAH scores chose to read more humanitarian-concern articles rather than other articles. In contrast, ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, and the social dominance orientation correlated with not selecting these articles for the student sample. Although the correlations and R^2 for the regression were stronger for the student sample, only identification with all humanity predicted selecting the humanitarian articles for both samples.

Study 10: Identification With All Humanity and International Altruism

In addition to supporting human rights, identification with all humanity should predict support for international charities and humanitarian organizations. Evidence from both self-report studies and quasi-experimental tests presented below indicates that it does.

A Self-Report Result

Jonathan Haidt, Ravi Iyer, and their colleagues added the IWAH to their website yourmorals.org, where individuals can explore their own moral reasoning by responding to a large variety of measures.⁴ When the present analyses were conducted, more than 16,000 participants had responded to the IWAH and other identifications. For Studies 1 through 9, the IWAH had median alpha of .85 and correlations of .51 and .55 with identification with one's

community and Americans; identification with one's community and Americans had a median correlation of .67. For this huge sample, however, alpha was .90 and the IWAH correlated .33 and .34 with identification with community and Americans, and these two correlated .58 with each other.

Within this group, 3,033 also responded to the question "Suppose you inherited a large sum of money, and you wanted to donate some of it to charity. How would you feel about giving money to each of these charities?" Six types of charities were presented, including those that "help sick children," "help abused children escape from their abusive parents," "promote justice and fairness for the poor," "alleviate global hunger in other countries," "help people to overcome addictions and regain self-control," and "promote awareness of history and preservation of traditions of your country." Responses ranged from 1 (*nothing*) to 5 (*a very large amount*).

Because responses to the six items correlated an average of .30 and yielded an alpha of .72, their mean was used as an index of overall self-reported charity. Three relationships with the identifications are noteworthy. First, each identification correlated with greater self-reported total charity, with identification with one's community, nation, and all humanity correlating with charity (.26, .23, and .45, respectively; $p < .001$ in all cases). However, when we tested for the difference between correlations with a common element, identification with all humanity predicted total charity more strongly than either of the other two ($t_s = 10.17$ and 11.68 ; $p < .001$ in each case). Second, there was great variation between the identifications and kinds of charities one preferred to support. Whereas identification with all humanity correlated .49 with "alleviating global hunger in other countries," identification with one's community and country correlated .09 and .00 with the desire to do so. Identification with all humanity correlated slightly negatively ($r = -.06$, $p < .01$) with "preserving the traditions of your country," whereas identification with one's community and with America correlated .15 and .27 ($p_s < .001$) with desire to support this charity. Finally, identification with all humanity predicted favoring "alleviating global hunger in other countries" over the mean of the remaining charities ($r = .40$), whereas identification with one's community and America weakly predicted not favoring this international charity over other charities ($r_s = -.08$ and $-.18$, respectively).

Three Predictive Studies

Because the preceding study was based on self-report, for three diverse samples, participants were asked if they would be willing to donate a portion of their winnings from a drawing to international relief.

Student sample. A random sample of 100 students at Western Kentucky University was selected from the student e-mail master file, and these students were asked to complete an online survey that included the IWAH and ethnocentrism (MES); 67 students (18 male, 47 female, 2 unspecified) did so. The students were told that they would be placed in a drawing for one of four \$50 cash prizes. At the end of the study, the students were told

⁴ We sincerely thank Ravi Iyer for proposing the inclusion of the IWAH on yourmorals.org, and we thank both Haidt and Iyer for permission to analyze their data related to the IWAH.

As you probably know, Haiti is trying to recover from a terrible earthquake that struck it in January. UNICEF (the United Nations Children's Fund) is among the many organizations trying to provide aid to Haiti. If you win one of the \$50 prizes for completing this survey, you may choose to donate a portion to the UNICEF relief operation. Doing so is completely up to you and will be private.

The students could select either "I prefer not to donate" or "I prefer to donate the following amount ____," writing in the amount.

Results. For these students, 57% chose to donate, with amounts from \$5 upward; 22% agreed to donate the full \$50. Identification with all humanity correlated .27 ($p < .03$) with the amount donated, whereas neither identification with one's community nor identification with Americans correlated with the amount donated (.15 and .10, *ns*). Ethnocentrism did not correlate with the amount donated ($r = -.06$, *ns*). In regression analysis, only identification with all humanity significantly predicted the amount donated ($p < .01$).

Adult Sample 1. For the adult sample described in Study 3 of the IWAH test-retest reliability, a virtually identical message was added at the end of the Time 2 questionnaire, differing only in that prizes of \$100 rather than \$50 were offered. Further, because the IWAH for the student sample immediately preceded the opportunity to contribute, responses on the IWAH may have primed the amount one was willing to give. To reduce this possible priming, the opportunity to donate was separated from the IWAH by 52 questions unrelated to that study, although it still was placed at the end of the questionnaire. Also, it was possible to examine the correlations of the Time 1 IWAH from 10 weeks earlier with contributions, as well as correlations with the Time 2 IWAH.

Results. For this sample, 54% chose to donate a portion of their winnings, and 17% agreed to donate the entire \$100. Time 2 IWAH scores correlated .30 ($p < .01$) with the amount pledged. However, for this sample, identification with one's community and Americans also correlated with the size of contributions (.20 and .24, respectively; $p < .02$ or greater in each case). For that reason, the partial correlation between identification with all humanity and the amount contributed was reduced to .22 ($p < .01$). Time 1 IWAH scores correlated .27 ($p < .01$) with the amount pledged 10 weeks later; the partial correlation, controlling for the other-identifications' correlations of .13 and .20, was reduced to .21 ($p < .01$). Despite these reductions, these results indicate that unique variance associated with identification with all humanity again specifically predicted a willingness to contribute a portion or all of one's winnings to UNICEF for its Haitian relief work. The separation of about ten weeks offers confidence that the ability of the IWAH to predict the contributions to UNICEF for Haitian relief work was not due to priming. Also, agreeableness correlated .38 ($p < .01$) with contributions, as did honesty-morality (.20) and positive emotionality (.18, $p < .01$).

All Time 1 predictors (the PANAS and HEXACO-60 factors plus the identifications) were entered into regression analysis predicting donations to Haitian earthquake relief at Time 2. Only agreeableness ($p < .01$) and identification with all humanity marginally ($p < .07$) contributed to predicting donations to Haitian relief.

Adult Sample 2. Because of the issue of priming, for Study 4 above, an opportunity to contribute from one's winnings to disaster relief was provided before the IWAH was administered. Further, the opportunity to donate and the IWAH were separated

by the 80 PANAS and HEXACO-60 items. Because this study was conducted shortly after the Japanese tsunami in March 2011, participants were told the following at the beginning of the study:

Before you begin, as you know, a massive earthquake and tsunami have recently hit Japan, causing great loss of life and a great need for relief supplies. UNICEF (the United Nations Children's Fund) is among the organizations trying to provide aid. If you win one of the \$100 prizes, you may choose instead for a portion to be donated to the UNICEF relief operation. If you choose not to donate, the full prize will be sent to you. If you choose for a contribution to go to UNICEF, you may specify the amount. Doing so is completely up to you and will be private.

As in previous samples, participants could either check "I prefer not to donate" or specify an amount.

Results. Identification with all humanity correlated .24 ($p < .01$) with the amount pledged, whereas neither identification with community nor identification with Americans predicted donating (.07 and .06; $p > .25$, in each case). Openness to experience from the HEXACO-60 correlated .19 ($p < .01$) with the amount pledged, but all other HEXACO Big Six factors and positive and negative emotionality correlated .06 or less with the amount donated (*ns*). With the three identifications, the six HEXACO factors, and positive and negative emotionality entered in regression analysis to predict the amount contributed, only identification with all humanity did so ($p < .02$).

Discussion

These findings attest to the validity of the IWAH in that identification with all humanity repeatedly predicted a willingness to give to international charities for humanitarian relief and did so beyond the Big Six, positive and negative emotionality, and ethnocentrism. For an online sample of more than 3,000, the IWAH predicted a greater desire to give money to charity, specifically to an international charity to relieve hunger. Across three predictive samples, with individuals offered the opportunity to donate possible winnings to UNICEF to relieve the suffering following the Haitian or Japanese tragedies, identification with all humanity predicted contributing to that relief. Although the results of the first two samples could possibly have been due to priming, that of the third sample could not. Agreeableness from the HEXACO-60 predicted the amount contributed in one adult sample, but it did not do so in the other. The correlations between identification with all humanity and relief contributions ranged from just .24 to .30. However, they each represent a single behavioral decision, not an aggregated sum of behaviors, and correlations between measures and single behaviors are usually of this magnitude (i.e., much weaker than are correlations between measures and aggregated sums of similar behaviors; e.g., Epstein, 1979). Nevertheless, the IWAH predicted contributions for all samples. For each sample, the drawings were paid and the contributions made as the participants requested.

General Discussion

How adequate is the IWAH for assessing identification with all humanity? Monroe (1996), based on her interviews with rescuers, expressed doubt that any simple scale could capture the depth of

this identification as found in those who risked their lives to rescue potential victims of the Holocaust. But whatever its limits, these studies indicate that the IWAH has substantial merit. In these studies, we found that identification with all humanity is more than an absence of ethnocentrism and its correlates and more than the presence of positive qualities such as empathy, principled moral reasoning, general morality, or Schwartz's (1992) universalism. For most participants, it appears stable across time, and close others have a fair understanding of how much one identifies with all humanity. The IWAH appears essentially free of social desirability confounds, particularly with other identifications controlled. It predicts concerns of a global nature, priority given to human rights over national self-interests, a willingness to invest national resources to defend human rights in situations of grave abuse, less ethnocentric valuation of human life, greater knowledge regarding global humanitarian concerns and a greater desire to learn information on these concerns, and a willingness to give to international relief efforts. It predicts these beyond the power of other identifications, the related constructs cited above, general personality, and positive and negative emotionality. Professional employees and strong supporters of a major human rights and a humanitarian organization scored very high on the IWAH, offering known-groups validation.

Perhaps the most important question is why some develop a deep identification with all humanity, but many others develop only more limited identifications. At this point, little is known, although several theories point in useful directions for research. Adler (1927/1954) believed that social interest is inherent in all human beings, nurtured by early loving relationships, and quelled in its development by spoiling and neglect. Spoiling and neglect each engender exaggerated feelings of inferiority, excessive self-concern, and hostility toward the world at large. If so, spoiled and neglected children, in contrast to those reared to be loving and responsible, will have greater difficulty escaping the self-boundness essential to developing social interest, in both its less and more far-reaching expressions. However, the independence of Crandall's (1984) SIS and the IWAH, found in Study 2, presents at least some difficulty for any theory that suggests these two have common childhood origins.

As with Adler's theory, the correlations of the IWAH with authoritarianism and social dominance suggest roots in early childhood. Duckitt (2001) has offered a dual-process model proposing that authoritarianism is rooted, at least in part, in punitive socialization, whereas social dominance arises in part from an absence of childhood affection. In this model, harsh and strict child rearing beget a strong need for social conformity and a heightened sense that the world is threatening. These, in turn, beget authoritarianism. An absence of early affection, on the other hand, inspires a cold competitiveness and the social dominance orientation. Thus these quasi-independent socialization experiences create quasi-independent motive structures, conformity- and threat-driven authoritarianism, and superiority-driven social dominance. Duckitt's and others' studies in several countries have offered support for his model. To the degree that the dispositions toward authoritarianism and social dominance are so shaped, early punitiveness and lack of affection appear to predispose one to be less concerned for all humanity, whereas a lack of punitiveness coupled with affection may provide a foundation for later concern for humanity at large.

Maslow (1954), in his well-known hierarchy of needs, proposed that, given satisfactory social conditions, individuals develop through a series of lower level needs, including physiological needs, the needs for safety and security, belongingness, social approval and affection, and self-esteem. To Maslow, the highest need, self-actualization, of which identification with all humanity is an essential part, emerges only when these lower level needs are largely satisfied and one can therefore transcend them. The inability to transcend the lower level needs, whether due to difficult social reality or to personal complications, may well retard the development of identification with all humanity. Perhaps identification with all humanity is a luxury that can be afforded only by those whose lower level needs are generally satisfied. Further, in cultures where there is substantial hunger, long-standing civil strife, authoritarian family structures, and rigid social hierarchies, all of which likely impede satisfaction of lower level needs, it seems plausible that caring for all humanity will be in particularly short supply.

Concerning moral reasoning, which was also related to identification with all humanity, Hart (1988), in a longitudinal study, found that moral reasoning development was predicted by paternal involvement in child rearing and by parents' ratings of an adolescent's "conscious strength" (e.g., "To what extent is your child guided and controlled by his conscience?").

Understanding how identification with all humanity develops is worthy of direct and extensive investigation. The current studies indicate that the inhibiting roles of authoritarianism and social dominance and the facilitating role of moral reasoning are just parts of the story. Valuing the social interest traits on the SIS appears to play little role, if any. It may be that the very concept of "humanity" is more abstract than community or nation and requires greater abstract reasoning ability, a possibility that merits examination.

Steichen's vision of a *Family of Man* is still a minority vision. But perhaps it can prove useful both to bring focus to that vision, one shared with Adler and Maslow, and to offer an operational measure of the degree that individuals hold it. We hope so.

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Appendix

Identification With All Humanity Scale (IWAH)

1. How close do you feel to each of the following groups?

- 1 = not at all close
- 2 = not very close
- 3 = just a little or somewhat close
- 4 = pretty close
- 5 = very close

- a. People in my community
- b. Americans
- c. People all over the world

2. How often do you use the word “we” to refer to the following groups of people?

- 1 = almost never
- 2 = rarely
- 3 = occasionally
- 4 = often
- 5 = very often

- a. People in my community
- b. Americans
- c. People all over the world

3. How much would you say you have in common with the following groups?

- 1 = almost nothing in common
- 2 = little in common
- 3 = some in common
- 4 = quite a bit in common
- 5 = very much in common

- a. People in my community
- b. Americans
- c. People all over the world

(Appendix continues)

Please answer all remaining questions using the following choices:

- 1 = not at all
- 2 = just a little
- 3 = somewhat
- 4 = quite a bit
- 5 = very much

4. Sometimes people think of those who are not a part of their immediate family as “family.” To what degree do you think of the following groups of people as “family”?

- a. People in my community
- b. Americans
- c. All humans everywhere

5. How much do you identify with (that is, feel a part of, feel love toward, have concern for) each of the following?

- a. People in my community
- b. Americans
- c. All humans everywhere

6. How much would you say you care (feel upset, want to help) when bad things happen to

- a. People in my community
- b. Americans
- c. People anywhere in the world

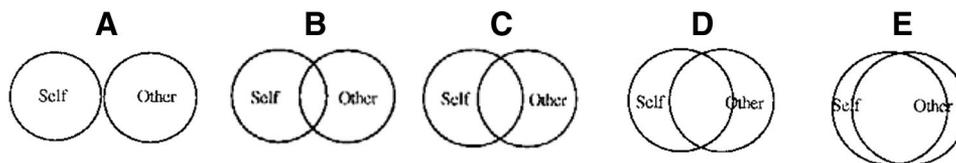
7. How much do you want to be:

- a. a responsible citizen of my community
- b. a responsible American citizen
- c. a responsible citizen of the world

8. How much do you believe in:

- a. being loyal to my community
- b. being loyal to America
- c. being loyal to all mankind

#9. Please mark the letter for the pair of circles that best describes your relationship with each group.



- a. People in my community
- b. Americans
- c. People all over the world

(Appendix continues)

+9. When they are in need, how much do you want to help:

- a. People in my community
- b. Americans
- c. People all over the world

Item used in Studies 1–2

+ Item used in Studies 3–10

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