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National Identity, National Pride, and Happiness: The Case of South Korea

Shang E. Ha · Seung-Jin Jang

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Abstract This paper investigates the relationships among national identity, national pride, and happiness, using a nationally representative survey dataset from South Korea. Two dimensions of national identity—civic and ethnic—are considered, after factor-analyzing eight survey items. The results demonstrate that national pride is positively associated with happiness, but empirical evidence is scarce regarding the relationship between national identity and happiness. Also, we have not found alleged moderating effects of national identity on the relationship between national pride and happiness. Lack of statistically significant effects of national identity is not consistent with the pre-existing findings from cross-national surveys. Given that national identity is deeply rooted in a historically unique context of each nation, this study calls for a more nuanced conceptualization of national identity and culture-specific measures to fully grasp its association with happiness.

Keywords National identity · National pride · Happiness · South Korea

1 Introduction

A vast amount of literature has examined the determinants of individuals' subjective well-being, i.e., global judgment of life satisfaction or happiness (Dolan et al. 2008), but its association with national identity—a common "we-feeling" or a sense of mutual belonging

S. E. Ha (✉)
Department of Political Science, Brooklyn College, City University of New York,
2900 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11210, USA
e-mail: sha@brooklyn.cuny.edu

S.-J. Jang
Department of Politics and International Relations, Kookmin University, Seoul, Korea
e-mail: jangsj@kookmin.ac.kr

and obligation to a nation—has not seriously been considered.[1] Based on the proposition of social identity theory (Tajfel 1981) that group membership is a core component of individuals' identity and self-esteem, a recent cross-national study (Morrison et al. 2011) reports that national satisfaction—the levels of satisfaction with the past, present, and future situations of one's own nation—is positively associated with happiness. This finding echoes well-known results from early happiness studies that high satisfaction in one domain can spill over another domain to boost overall subjective well-being (e.g., Campbell et al. 1976). Reeskens and Wright (2011) elaborate on the relationship between national identity and subjective well-being in the context of European countries. Using a widely accepted dichotomy between "ethnic" and "civic" definitions of nationhood (Brubaker, 1992), they demonstrate that, while moderated by national pride, higher levels of *ethnic* identity dampen happiness, but higher levels of *civic* identity enhance it. This is presumably because ethnic nationalism has "inward-looking, reactionary, anxious, and authoritarian nature", whereas civic nationalism corresponds to "elements of universalism and benevolence" (Reeskens and Wright 2011, p. 1,460).

Though it sounds reasonable that national satisfaction is generally associated with happiness and two—inextricably intertwined, yet mutually distinct—types of national identity affect happiness quite differently, prior studies have some limitations. First, they rely on cross-national data. Cross-national analysis is highly effective in demonstrating that an alleged association between psychological factors of interest is relevant to a geographically broad area. But such a practice does not necessarily suggest that the main findings can unequivocally be applied to a historically, culturally unique context of each nation. The key concepts, i.e., national identity and happiness, are particularly context-specific, so the relationship between national identity and happiness supposedly varies across nations and cultures. For example, we now know that different perceptions on the self are linked with attitudinal and behavioral disparities: on average, individuals from Western European cultures tend to view the self as independent, separate, and unique from others, whereas individuals from East Asian cultures tend to view the self as interdependent and embedded in a set of relationships (Markus and Kitayama 1991; Phinney and Baldelomar 2011). To identify a more comprehensive, detailed relationship between national satisfaction and happiness, thus, it is necessary to examine potential heterogeneity across cultures. Second, previous studies utilize a simple measure of national identity. In particular, Reeskens and Wright (2011) assign just one single survey item to construct each of two national identity dimensions. Measurement theory tells us that the use of multiple indicators is always preferred over a single indicator, mainly because it takes into account the complexity of attitudes and also parcels out potential measurement errors.

This study examines the relationships among national identity, national pride, and happiness, using an alternative, more nuanced, measure of national identity from a representative survey fielded in South Korea. Our paper contributes to the literature by adding evidence from a country that provides a unique context for the study of national identity. South Korea is an exemplary case of collectivist culture, and South Koreans have traditionally considered themselves as a racially and ethnically homogeneous nation that shares

[1] Scholars have identified three aspects of subjective well-being: (1) evaluative, (2) experience, and (3) eudemonic (Dolan and Metcalfe, 2012). Evaluative aspect of subjective well-being refers to global judgment of life satisfaction, experience aspect corresponds to positive feelings in daily life, and eudemonic aspect focuses on meaningful life with morally and ethically worthwhile activities. Gilbert (2006) uses different terms to denote these three aspects of subjective well-being, i.e., judgmental, emotional, and moral happiness, respectively. In the present study, we pay attention to evaluative (or judgmental) dimension of happiness, given that the survey question we use is about retrospective evaluation of the respondent's life.

a common bloodline and culture. That being said, the present study speaks to Reeskens and Wright (2011), which focus on thirty-one European countries. We will follow their analytic strategies as closely as possible to see whether national pride and two types of national identity determine happiness, and national identity moderates the effects of national pride on happiness.

2 National Identity and National Pride

Scholars conceptualize national identity by assessing how members of the nation understand the characteristics of other members. National identity has typically been defined using a framework that distinguishes ascriptive traits from achievable ones (Brubaker 1992). Fixed cultural markers and bloodlines characterize the ascriptive dimension of identity, which is usually referred as an "ethnic" dimension. In contrast, "civic" dimension emphasizes more fluid features of identity such as political rights, duties, and values. To be more specific, an ethnic conception of national identity links membership with ancestry, nativity, religious or cultural customs. Ethnic identity is, thus, primarily based on characteristics that are difficult to change, setting very rigid boundaries for group membership. Conversely, civic identity focuses on imagined kinship through shared acceptance of political institutions and norms. These bonds are derived from shared loyalty to the polity as manifested in a commitment to its core values and institutions, and therefore the criteria for membership are more open and readily acquired by outsiders who are willing to accept the political value of a host country.

This bi-dimensional framework has always been controversial in the literature, as there is no consensus on the degree to which these categories are mutually exclusive (e.g., Shulman 2002; Kunovich 2009). In this vein, Brubaker (2004) contends that there are several, interrelated ways to conceptualize national identity based on ethnic and civic considerations, which are used simultaneously to attribute or deny group membership in the nation. While the ethnic and civic conceptions of national identity can theoretically be distinguished, the expression of national identity in practice is the manifestation of the simultaneous impact of both conceptions. And, each of two types of national identity is weighted differently across countries (Jones and Smith 2001). A tentative conclusion among scholars is, thus, that, though using this framework is parsimonious, nuanced insights may be lost if nation-states or individuals are categorized as having simply one or the other type of identity formation (e.g., Roshwald 2006).

National pride—emotional attachment to one's own country—is conceptually different from national identity, which is clearly a cognitive, non-affective factor that sets normative boundaries of the membership. On the one hand, national pride can be based on positive feelings toward a nation's accomplishments (such as economic development, good governance, low levels of corruption or performances in sports).[2] This type of national pride is sometimes called patriotism. On the other hand, national pride can represent beliefs about superiority of one's own country, based on positive feelings toward its characteristics (such as culture and tradition), which is supposedly linked with nationalism, i.e., a kind of prejudice against other countries (de Figueiredo and Elkins 2003; Kosterman and Feshbach

[2] In this vein, Kavetsos (2012) reports that national pride increases in the period following a major sporting event (e.g., the World Cup or the Olympic Games), particularly among individuals from both host and winning countries. After controlling for sports events, economic development turns out to be unassociated with national pride.

1989; Schatz et al. 1999). According to research on the pride of individuals, the former corresponds to authentic pride, while the latter to hubristic pride (Tracy and Robins 2007). Authentic pride is genuine self-esteem characterized by confidence and productivity, where individual's success is usually attributed to specific actions taken by the self ("I got the first prize because I practiced really hard"). Hubristic pride is virtually self-aggrandizement, where success is often attributed to uncontrollable factors of the self ("I got the first prize because I am smarter than others").

In sum, national identity and national pride are mutually related, but conceptually different from each other. National identity highlights normative aspects of membership, while national pride is rooted in affective, emotional ones. Nevertheless, both national identity and national pride are expected to be associated with happiness, as they all represent one's sense of belonging to the political community, which is a type of domain satisfaction that can promote individuals' general life satisfaction. Based on theoretical expectations and the findings from previous studies (Morrison et al. 2011; Reeskens and Wright 2011), we test the following hypotheses in the next sections: (1) national satisfaction—presumably a concept similar to national pride—is positively associated with happiness; (2) ethnic identity is negatively associated with happiness, while civic identity is positively associated with it; and (3) both ethnic and civic identities moderate the effect of national pride on happiness in the sense that individuals high on national pride are much happier when they are high on civic identity, whereas those low on national pride are significantly unhappier when they are high on ethnic identity.

3 Data and Method

3.1 Participants

Data come from the 2010 Korean General Social Survey (KGSS), a face-to-face, nationally representative survey. The KGSS has been conducted every year since 2003, and its sampling procedure and interviewing methods are virtually identical to those of the General Social Survey (GSS) in the United States. The 2010 survey contains 1,576 participants.

3.2 Measures

Relevant measures in the 2010 KGSS are (1) national identity, (2) national pride, (3) happiness, (4) demographic covariates, and (5) a few other attitudinal and behavioral covariates that may affect the participants' level of happiness.

3.2.1 National identity

A battery of eight questions, adopted from the 1995 and 2003 International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), is used to assess national identity. Questions ask respondents how important various criteria are in determining whether or not someone is truly qualified as being a member of the national community. Those criteria were: (a) "to have been born in Korea"; (b) "to have Korean citizenship"; (c) "to have lived in Korea for most of one's life"; (d) "to be able to speak Korean"; (e) "to cherish Korean cultural tradition"; (f) "to respect Korean political institutions and laws"; (g) "to feel Korean"; and (h) "to have

Korean ancestry". Answers are coded in four categories (1 = not important at all; 4 = very important). Based on these items, two variables that indicate the degree of civic identity and national identity are created. Given that South Korea is one of the most ethnically homogeneous countries with very stringent citizenship policies, four criteria that a foreigner cannot easily satisfy—(a), (b), (c), and (h)—are considered to constitute an ethnic dimension of national identity ($\alpha = 0.738$). The other four criteria that can be met by a foreigner—(d), (e), (f), and (g)—are assumed to build a civic dimension of national identity ($\alpha = 0.762$). As shown in Table 1, this division is also confirmed by principal component factor analysis, which yields two separate factors in line with our intuition. We also perform confirmatory factor analysis to examine the relationships among these eight items. The indicators of model fit from confirmatory factor analysis suggest that the one factor solution is not ideal (CFI = 0.875; RMSEA = 0.123). Including the second factor slightly reduces the model Chi square (from 491.21 to 485.90), so it suggests the two-factor solution is only a bit better than—not necessarily preferable to—the one-factor solution. These measures of national identity are more nuanced than those in Reeskens and Wright (2011), which rely on just two simple survey questions, i.e., (f) "to respect [a nation's] political institutions" for civic identity and (h) "to have [a nation's] ancestry" for ethnic identity. For the sake of simplicity, analysis employs civic and ethnic identity variables by averaging the respective four items ($M = 3.34$, $SD = 0.53$ for civic identity; $M = 3.00$, $SD = 0.65$ for ethnic identity).

3.2.2 National pride

One survey item—"How proud are you of being a Korean citizen?"—is used to assess national pride (1 = not proud at all; 4 = very proud; $M = 3.23$, $SD = 0.71$). Due to the limitations of data, we cannot distinguish authentic pride from hubristic one in the analysis.

3.2.3 Happiness

One item measures the participants' perceived level of happiness: "If you were to consider your life in general these days, how happy or unhappy would you say you are?" (1 = extremely unhappy; 5 = extremely happy; $M = 3.46$, $SD = 0.89$). Since the respondents are expected to evaluate their life in a retrospective manner, it taps evaluative or judgmental happiness (Dolan and Metcalfe 2012; Gilbert 2006).

3.2.4 Demographic Covariates

A set of socio-demographic variables are considered. Both age (in years; $M = 45.2$, $SD = 16.6$) and its squared term are included in the models because a curvilinear relationship between age and happiness has often been observed (e.g., Blanchflower and Oswald 2008). Income (coded in twenty-two categories; $M = 7.74$, $SD = 5.17$) is also considered since it is arguably the most frequently examined determinant of happiness (e.g., Diener and Biswas-Diener 2002; Clark 2011). Gender—male (47.2 %) versus female (52.8 %)—and education (coded in eight categories; $M = 3.44$, $SD = 1.37$) are included as standard demographic covariates, though there is little evidence that they affect happiness (e.g., Dolan et al. 2008). Additionally, models include the participants' marital status—married (64.1 %), widowed (8.1 %), separated/divorced (4.5 %), and never married (23.3 %)—to reflect the robust finding that the married are happier than those who

Table 1 Principal component factor analysis of national identity

	Loadings (Varimax rotated)	
	(I) Ethnic identity	(II) Civic identity
(a) To have been born in Korea	**0.8341**	0.0817
(b) To have Korean citizenship	**0.7327**	0.2156
(c) To have lived in Korea for most of one's life	**0.6530**	0.2964
(d) To be able to speak Korean	0.4765	**0.5847**
(e) To cherish Korean cultural tradition	0.3841	**0.7066**
(f) To respect Korean political institutions and laws	0.1319	**0.7726**
(g) To feel Korean	0.0679	**0.7841**
(h) To have Korean ancestry	**0.6080**	0.3079
Proportion of variance explained	0.3032	0.2861

Factor loadings greater than 0.05 are in bold

were never married (e.g., Diener et al. 2000; Lee and Ono 2012). Finally, employment status—employed (60.1 %), student (7.0 %), housekeeper (13.5 %), retired (11.5 %), and unemployed (8.0 %)—is included to see whether unemployment is negatively associated with happiness (e.g., Di Tella et al. 2001; Gudmundsdottir 2013).

3.2.5 Other Covariates

The other set of covariates includes financial satisfaction, self-reported health, and religious attendance. Subjective evaluation of the financial situation of the household (1 = extremely unsatisfied; 5 = extremely satisfied; $M = 2.90$, $SD = 1.09$) has been reported to mediate the effect of income onto happiness (e.g., Johnson and Krueger 2006). People who are in a good health (1 = not healthy at all; 5 = very healthy; $M = 3.40$, $SD = 1.23$) are more likely to be happy than those who have health problems (e.g., Okun et al. 1984; Rasciute and Downward 2010). Religious attendance (1 = never; 7 = several time per week; $M = 3.46$, $SD = 2.67$) is also known to be positively associated with happiness (e.g., Lim and Putnam 2010; Cohen-Zada and Sander 2011).

3.3 Statistical Analysis

Since happiness is an ordered variable, an ordered probit is utilized. The analysis reports robust standard errors clustered at the province level to allow for the independence of participants in a given province. The province-level fixed effects are also considered to ensure that the results are not the products of some correlations between national identity and some unobserved contextual factors (such as province-level cultural differences) that might affect happiness.

4 Results

Table 2 shows the results from four different models. The first three models estimate the effect of national pride, civic identity, and ethnic identity, respectively, after controlling for the above-mentioned covariates. National pride (Model 1; $b = 0.28$, $p < 0.05$) is

positively associated with happiness, whereas both civic identity (Model 2; $b = 0.10$, *ns*) and ethnic identity (Model 3; $b = 0.10$, *ns*) turn out to be insignificant factors. After considering the effects of other variables (Model 4), national pride ($b = 0.27$, $p < 0.01$) still has a statistically significant, positive relationship with happiness, while the effects of civic identity ($b = 0.04$, *ns*) and ethnic identity ($b = 0.03$, *ns*) are negligible. In sum, analysis reveals that participants high on national pride are more likely to be happy than those who are not proud of South Korea, but evidence is scarce regarding the association between national identity and happiness.

Model 4 also offers a set of findings regarding covariates, which by and large corresponds to those from previous studies (not reported in Table 2). The statistical significance of both age ($b = -0.04$, $p < 0.01$) and its squared term ($b = 0.04$, $p < 0.05$) suggests a curvilinear relationship between age and happiness (i.e., the lowest level of happiness in one's mid-life). Participants who were divorced or separated ($b = -0.40$, $p < 0.05$) and were never married ($b = -0.68$, $p < 0.01$) are significantly less likely to be happy than the married. Participants who are financially satisfied ($b = 0.31$, $p < 0.01$), healthy ($b = 0.11$, $p < 0.01$), and regularly attend churches or temples ($b = 0.05$, $p < 0.01$) are more likely to be happy than their counterpart.

The predicted probabilities are calculated to see the substantive effects of the variables of our interest on happiness, following the procedure delineated by Long (1997). After controlling for other covariates (Model 4), participants who are very proud of being a Korean citizen are 10.33 percentage-points more likely to be "very happy" than those who are not proud at all [95 % CI (7.20, 13.45)]. The effect size of nation pride is comparable with those of other covariates. For example, participants who are extremely satisfied with their financial situation are 22.19 percentage-points more likely to be "very happy" than those who are extremely unsatisfied [95 % CI (15.68, 28.70)]. People who are very healthy are 7.32 percentage-points more likely to be "very happy" than those who are not healthy [95 % CI (3.65, 10.99)]. And, individuals who go to churches or temples several times per week are 3.51 percentage-points more likely to be "very happy" than those who never participate in religious activities. So, the min–max effect of national pride is greater than that of self-reported health or religious attendance, but smaller than self-reported financial satisfaction. Figure 1 illustrates the effects of national pride on happiness from Model 4.

Additional analysis using a model (Model 5) that includes two interaction terms—national pride X ethnic identity and national pride X civic identity—is conducted to confirm the previously reported moderating effect of national identity (Reeskens and Wright 2011), but it has not been replicated. Both interaction terms turn out to be statistically insignificant ($b = 0.07$, $SE = 0.08$ for national pride X ethnic identity and $b =$ -0.10, $SE = 0.89$ for national pride X civic identity, respectively), while the direct effect of national pride remains significant ($b = 0.39$, $p < 0.01$).

Table 3 includes a set of models that follows the operationalization of national identity of Reeskens and Wright (2011). When one single item—"to respect Korean political institutions and laws"—is utilized to denote civic identity (Model 1), it fails to yield a statistically significant effect ($b = 0.03$, *ns*). When another single item—"to have Korean ancestry"—is used to define ethnic identity (Model 2), it turns out to be positively associated with happiness ($b = 0.08$, $p < 0.01$). Combined with national pride ($b = 0.27$, $p < 0.01$), ethnic identity ($b = 0.06$, $p < 0.01$) turns out to be statistically significant, while civic identity ($b =$ -0.01, *ns*) is not associated with happiness (Model 3). However, the direction of the coefficient of ethnic identity is opposite to the finding in Reeskens and Wright (2011), which shows a negative association between ethnic identity and happiness. Interaction terms between national pride and civic and ethnic national identities do not

Table 2 The Relationship among national pride, national identity, and happiness

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
National pride (scale, 1–4)	0.28* (0.06)			0.27** (0.05)	0.39** (0.18)
Civic identity (scale, 1–4)		0.10 (0.06)		0.04 (0.05)	0.39 (0.31)
Ethnic identity (scale, 1–4)			0.10 (0.10)	0.03 (0.10)	−0.20 (0.25)
Civic × pride					−0.10 (0.89)
Ethnic × pride					0.07 (0.08)
Nagelkerke R^2	0.263	0.242	0.242	0.264	0.204
LR (15)	367.87**	335.46**	335.74**	369.48**	370.87**

The dependent variable is happiness (1 = extremely unhappy; 5 = extremely happy). Nonstandardized coefficients and robust standard errors in parentheses (clustered by province) come from ordered probit analysis. Province-level fixed effects are applied. Models also include age, age^2, income, gender, education, marital status, employment status, subjective evaluation of household financial situation, self-reported health, and religious attendance

N = 1,329

** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$ (two-tailed)

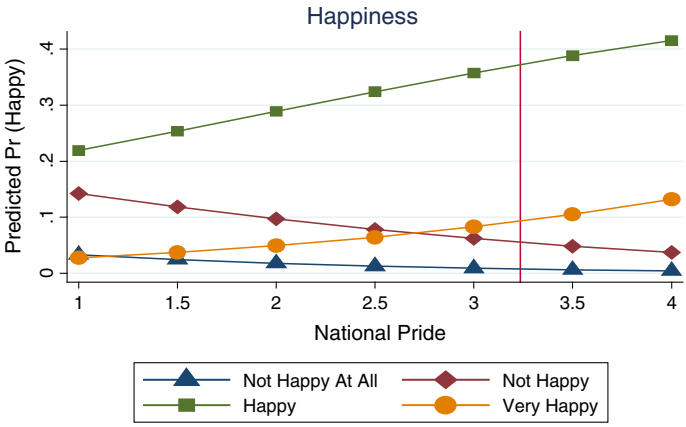

Fig. 1 The Effect of National Pride on Happiness
Note The predicted probabilities—"min–max" effects—are calculated following Long (1997). They are based on the results reported in Table 2 (Model 4). The vertical line within the figure indicates the mean value of national pride

yield any significant effects (Model 4). These findings suggest that the non-replicability in Table 2 is not simply due to different measures of national identity. Rather, its direct and moderating effects might be context-dependent.

We take into consideration an alternative understanding of national identity, based on the distinction between individuals who put little emphasis on any of the eight normative criteria and those who actively embrace all these attributes (e.g., Kunovich 2009). According to this reasoning, we are able to identify four general categories of individuals:

Table 3 The relationship among national pride, national identity, and happiness (single item measure of national identity)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
National pride (scale, 1–4)			0.27** (0.06)	0.31 (0.17)
Civic identity (scale, 1–4)	0.03 (0.05)		−0.01 (0.05)	0.12 (0.13)
Ethnic identity (scale, 1–4)		0.08** (0.03)	0.06** (0.02)	−0.03 (0.16)
Civic × pride				−0.04 (0.04)
Ethnic × pride				0.03 (0.05)
Nagelkerke R^2	0.241	0.244	0.265	0.265
LR (15)	331.42**	335.57**	368.57**	369.04**

The dependent variable is happiness (1 = extremely unhappy; 5 = extremely happy). Nonstandardized coefficients and robust standard errors in parentheses (clustered by province) come from ordered probit analysis. Province-level fixed effects are applied. Models also include age, age^2, income, gender, education, marital status, employment status, subjective evaluation of household financial situation, self-reported health, and religious attendance

N = 1,321

** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$ (two-tailed)

cosmopolitans (i.e., those for whom neither ethnic nor civic attributes are salient), multiple nationalists (i.e., those for whom both ethnic and civic attributes are salient), ethnic nationalists (i.e., those for whom ethnic identity is more salient than civic identity), and civic nationalists (i.e., those for whom civic identity is more salient than ethnic identity). To capture this more nuanced understanding of national identity, we create additive and difference scores using measures of ethnic and civic identity. The additive score equals civic identity plus ethnic identity; it differentiates between people for whom all of the attributes are relevant and those for whom none are relevant (i.e., between multiple nationalists and cosmopolitans). The difference score (i.e., civic identity subtracted from ethnic identity) differentiates between individuals who endorse civic identity more strongly than ethnic identity and those who endorse ethnic identity more strongly than civic identity. The results in Table 4 show that such an alternative operationalization of national identity does not yield any notable results: national pride still remains to be a statistically significant factor, while national identity variables are not associated with happiness.

5 Discussion

The results confirm a portion of the findings from previous studies. Analysis shows that national pride, presumably a proxy for national satisfaction, is positively associated with happiness in South Korea. In contrast with the findings from Reeskens and Wright's (2011) cross-national analysis in Europe, however, there is no evidence regarding the association between national identity and happiness. Nor does empirical support exist for the hypothesis that national identity would moderate the relationship between national pride and happiness. When single item measures of national identity are used, the findings are not only inconsistent with those of Reeskens and Wright (2011), but also somewhat counter-intuitive (e.g., a positive association between ethnic identity and happiness). A different measure that dichotomizes national identity into cosmopolitanism and multiple nationalism does not yield any noticeable differences in

Table 4 The relationship among national pride, national identity, and happiness (alternative measure of national identity)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
National pride	0.27** (0.05)	0.35* (0.16)	0.29** (0.06)
Additive index: ethnic ID + civic ID	0.04 (0.04)	0.08 (0.09)	
Difference index: ethnic ID − civic ID	−0.01 (0.06)		−0.27 (0.26)
Additive × pride		−0.01 (0.03)	
Difference × pride			0.08 (0.08)
Nagelkerke R^2	0.264	0.264	0.263
LR (15)	369.48**	369.59**	369.00**

The dependent variable is happiness (1 = extremely unhappy; 5 = extremely happy). Nonstandardized coefficients and robust standard errors in parentheses (clustered by province) come from ordered probit analysis. Province-level fixed effects are applied. Models also include age, age^2, income, gender, education, marital status, employment status, subjective evaluation of household financial situation, self-reported health, and religious attendance

N = 1.329

** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$ (two-tailed)

the results. That said, the findings from the present study are by and large consistent with those from Morrison et al. (2011). A future research awaits to see whether the findings of this paper are also observed in other East Asian countries, and by doing so, we will be able to be in a better position to claim that fundamental cultural differences yield significant heterogeneity in terms of the relationship between national satisfaction and happiness.

This study has important implications by reporting that the putative associations among national identity, national pride, and subjective well-being tend to be highly sensitive to the ways in which national identity and its related terms such as national pride, patriotism, or nationalism are conceptualized and measured. Though a clear distinction between civic and ethnic identities is obtained via factor analysis and a few different operationalizations are employed in this study, one cannot rule out the possibility that it fails to appropriately capture the multi-faceted aspects of national identity or national satisfaction (e.g., Davidov 2009; Latcheva 2011). Also, the multi-dimentionality of national pride (i.e., authentic vs. hubristic) needs to be taken into consideration. That being said, the nature of national identity—formulated and evolved in a unique historical and cultural context of a nation-state—strongly encourages researchers to develop country-specific measures (e.g., Wright et al. 2012).

Additionally, it should not be understated that the reported relationships among national identity, national pride, and happiness are correlational, and therefore, does not suggest any causal direction. Relying on a cross-sectional data, it is virtually impossible to determine whether national pride causes happiness or happiness causes national pride (e.g., Diener and Tov 2007). Further study using longitudinal data is necessary to identify the casual relationship, because experimental research may not be a viable option: national pride, national identity, and happiness are extremely difficult to be experimentally manipulated in the lab and any exogenous shock such as war, natural disaster, or a sudden institutional change will be likely to affect all the variables of interest, which hinders the possibility of conducting a natural experiment.

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