TOWARD A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF SOCIAL IDENTITY: EXPLORING LINKAGES WITH AGENCY AND COMMUNION

A Thesis Submitted to the
College of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Psychology
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon

By
Margaret Ruth Kinzel
Spring, 1996

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UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

College of Graduate Studies and Research

SUMMARY OF DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the

DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by

MARGARET RUTH KINZEL

Department of Psychology

(Applied Social Psychology Program)

College of Arts and Science

University of Saskatchewan

Winter 1996

Examining Committee:

Dr. M. Fulton	~~Dean/Assoc.Dean~~/Dean's Designate, Chair College of Graduate Studies and Research
Dr. J.E. Cheesman	Chair of Advisory Committee Department of Psychology
Dr. P.R. Grant	Advisor, Department of Psychology
Dr. D.G. Fischer	Department of Psychology
Dr. K.E. Wright	Colleges of Nursing and Education
Dr. D.M.A. Relke	Women's and Gender Studies

External Examiner:

Dr. H.L. Radtke
Department of Psychology
University of Calgary
Calgary, Alberta

TOWARD A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF SOCIAL IDENTITY: EXPLORING LINKAGES WITH AGENCY AND COMMUNION

This thesis explored linkages between Social Identity Theory (SIT) and agency and communion. Recent developments in SIT include a taxonomy of four group types delineated by the dimensions of individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational group orientations. In Study 1, college students (n=368) completed a series of scales assessing the dimensions of the taxonomy, un/mitigated agency and communion, ingroup bias, and strength of social identity. A field sample of employed individuals (n=190) was administered the same measures with the exception of ingroup bias and social identity. Confirmatory analyses indicate that the dimensions of the taxonomy are reliable, valid, and orthogonal. Also, as hypothesized, the relationship between social identity and ingroup bias is strongest in the collectivist-relational quadrant of the taxonomy.

Study 1 also explored relationships among the two dimensions of the taxonomy and un/mitigated agency and communion. A relationship was found between communion and collectivism and between individualism and unmitigated agency in both samples. Unmitigated agency relates to a relational group orientation in both samples while mitigated communion covaries with an autonomous group orientation for the college sample. A psychometric review of the agency and communion scales is recommended. The relationships obtained between strength of social identity and the agency and communion measures suggest that social identity relates not to agency or communion per se but to their mitigation.

Study 2 consisted of qualitative interviews with 6 highly

mitigated individuals selected from the college sample of Study 1. Results suggest, in part, that similarity between the mitigation of the group and the individual is related to strength of group identification. Further, mitigation may be a variable upon which perceptions of dis/similarity between group members and the group are based. Mitigation may constitute a point of "optimal distinctiveness" (Brewer, 1991) where needs for assimilation and differentiation are balanced, and that assimilation needs may be met through the intragroup comparisons of an autonomous group orientation while differentiation needs may be met through the intergroup comparisons of a relational orientation. Numerous avenues for further research emerged through the interviews. Implications for applied research and practice in organizational development are discussed.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explored linkages between aspects of Social Identity Theory (SIT) and the constructs of agency and communion. SIT is a theory of intergroup relations pertinent to groups of unequal power that integrates social and psychological variables to account for the impact of group memberships on intergroup behaviour, particularly ingroup bias. Recent developments in SIT include a taxonomy which delineates four types of groups specified by the dimensions of individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational group orientations. In Study 1, college students (n=368) completed a series of scales assessing each of the dimensions of the taxonomy, un/mitigated agency and communion, ingroup bias, and strength of social identity. A field sample of employed individuals (n=190) was administered the same measures with the exception of ingroup bias and social identity. Confirmatory analyses of Study 1 indicate that in this research context the dimensions of the taxonomy are reliable, valid and orthogonal. In addition, the results show that, as hypothesized, the relationship between social identity and ingroup bias is strongest in the collectivist-relational quadrant of the taxonomy.

Agency and communion are multidimensional constructs that

refer to individuals' needs for autonomy and connection, needs which must be balanced or mitigated in the interests of health. Study 1 also investigated the relationships among the two dimensions of the taxonomy and un/mitigated agency and communion. The results indicate that there is a relationship between communion and collectivism and between individualism and unmitigated agency in both the college and field samples. Unmitigated agency also relates to a relational group orientation in both samples while mitigated communion is associated with an autonomous group orientation for the college sample. A psychometric review of the agency and communion scales is recommended. The relationships obtained in Study 1 between strength of social identity and the agency and communion measures suggest that social identity relates not to agency or communion per se but to their mitigation.

In order to explore the meaning of this novel finding, Study 2 consisted of qualitative interviews conducted with 6 highly mitigated individuals selected from the college sample of Study 1. The results suggest, in part, that similarity between the mitigation of the group and the individual is related to strength of group identification. Further, they suggest that mitigation may be one of the variables upon which perceptions of dis/similarity between

group members and the group are based. It is suggested that mitigation may constitute a point of "optimal distinctiveness" (Brewer, 1991) where needs for assimilation and differentiation are balanced, and that assimilation needs may be met through the intragroup comparisons of an autonomous group orientation while differentiation needs may be met through the intergroup comparisons of a relational orientation, a theoretical direction that clearly warrants pursuit. Other potential avenues for research also emerged through the interviews, including a need for examination of agentic and communal behaviours in a group context, exploration of the consequences of mitigation for group life, and indications that the qualitative method is valuable in the study of social phenomena. Implications for applied research and practice in organizational development are also discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to my supervisor, Peter Grant, for his strong theoretical and technical support of this research. Pete, the project stretched both of us and I appreciate your responsiveness to that challenge. You managed to respect my independence while supporting my progress. I would also like to acknowledge my committee members, Don Fischer, Karen Wright, Dianna Relke, and the external examiner Lorraine Radtke. Your contributions to both the content and process were valuable. I am particularly grateful for the support, enthusiasm, and appreciative perspectives you each brought to my work.

I was also assisted with parts of this research project by others. In particular, my thanks to Kelly Chessie for her able contributions as research assistant while I was on parental leave. Robin Pollock provided me with valuable and timely statistical consultations, helping me to really understand and making herself readily available. Thanks also to Jan Thompson for her outstanding transcription of the interviews. She, Muriel, and Andrea have made my visits to the department office warm and supportive.

I also want to acknowledge the contributions of my research participants, both from the university and the field. However trite it

may sound, it is true that the thesis couldn't have been done without their openness and participation. In particular, my thanks to those six individuals who gave of their time to share their thoughts and experiences in a demanding interview context.

I am blessed with a strong community of support. My family and friends outside of academe have provided the perspective and encouragement I needed to complete my graduate work. Please know that you have each made important contributions to my development through your active expressions of support and confidence. Among my caregivers and cheering squad are some folks to whom I am especially grateful: my mother, Linda McCann, Kelly Chessie, Janis Bassingthwaighte, Laurie Goff, Doug Maurer, Ron Fisher, Patti Smith, Lanny Magnusson, and Lillas Brown.

At the core of my support is my life's partner, Pierre Cadrin. My dear, your contributions to this endeavour are many. You managed our household and cared for me in ways that made a huge difference to the load I carried. Most important, your ongoing commitment to "mitigate agency and communion" helps me further my own developmental work on these issues. Our dear Nikolai has been born of this process. He prospers as we reckon with these challenges to walk our paths together. Thank you, Pierre, for sharing your journey with me.

DEDICATION

To Eric L.G. Smith

With love and gratitude for your
insightful and active encouragement
to pursue Applied Social Psychology.
Your light still shines, my friend.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PERMISSION TO USE	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
DEDICATION	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
INTRODUCTION	1
Research Base	13
Patterns of Bias	15
Noncomparative Processes & Recent SIT Developments	28
Agency and Communion	36
Linkages to Organizational Life: An Application	52
Rationale, Research Questions and Hypotheses	62
Confirmatory Hypotheses:	
Hypothesis 1	66
Hypothesis 2	67
Hypothesis 2.1	67
Hypothesis 3	67
Exploratory Hypotheses:	
Hypothesis 4	68
Hypothesis 5	68
Hypothesis 6	68
Hypothesis 7	69
Study 1	
METHOD	71
Subjects	71
Procedure	74
Measures	76
Individualism-Collectivism Scale	77
Autonomous-Relational Orientation Scale	78

METHOD (cont'd) Page

Agency and Communion Measures 80
Social Identity Scale 87
Ingroup Bias Measure 88
RESULTS 90
Scale Reliabilities 91
Section One: Differences on Dependent Variables 93
Section Two: Primary Hypotheses 97
Confirmatory Hypotheses:
Hypothesis 1 97
Hypothesis 2 111
Hypothesis 2.1 120
Hypothesis 3 123
Exploratory Hypotheses:
Hypothesis 4 132
Hypothesis 5 137
Hypothesis 6 141
Hypothesis 7 146
DISCUSSION 154
Confirmatory Hypotheses 154
Exploratory Hypotheses 171

Study 2
RATIONALE 184
METHOD 187
Participants 187
Procedure 190
Measure 191
RESULTS 197
Summary of Thematic Analysis of Qualitative Data 299
DISCUSSION 304

IMPLICATIONS FOR ORGANIZATIONAL RESEARCH AND PRACTICE 331

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS 337

Page

REFERENCES 348

APPENDICES 358

A. Consent Form For Study 1 358

Consent Form For Study 2 359

B. Scale Items and Instructions For Study 1 360

Individualism-Collectivism Scale 360

Autonomous-Relational Orientation Scale 362

Agency and Communion Measures 363

Social Identity Scale 365

Ingroup Bias Scale 366

C. Cover Letter for Field Sample Questionnaire 367

D. Results of Factor Analyses for Hypothesis 7 369

E. Mean Differences on Social Identity Measure by Quadrant of Taxonomy 370

F. Complete Interview Schedule for Study 2 371

LIST OF TABLES

		Page
Table 1.	Descriptive Statistics	72
Table 2.	College Affiliations: Student Sample	72
Table 3.	Type of Work: Field Sample	73
Table 4.	Type of Employer: Field Sample	73
Table 5.	Scale Reliabilities: Cronbach Alphas for All Measures	92
Table 6.	Mean Differences on Mitigated Agency Measure by Major: College Sample	94
Table 7.	Mean Differences on Mitigated Agency Measure by Type of Work: Field Sample	95
Table 8.	Mean Differences on Individualism-Collectivism Measure by Type of Employer: Field Sample	96
Table 9.	Means for Significant Gender Differences on Measures: College & Field Samples	96
Table 10a.	Factor Loadings for Individualism-Collectivism Measure: College Sample	99
Table 10b.	Factor Loadings for Individualism-Collectivism Measure: Field Sample	102
Table 11a.	Factor Loadings for Autonomous-Relational Measure: College Sample	107
Table 11b.	Factor Loadings for Autonomous-Relational Measure: Field Sample	109
Table 12.	Items & Factor Loadings for Agency & Communion Measures: College Females	113
Table 13a.	Correlations Among Measures of Agency & Communion: College & Field Samples	117
Table 13b.	Correlations Among Measures of Agency & Communion: Females & Males of College Sample	118
Table 13c.	Correlations Among Measures of Agency & Communion: Females & Males of Field Sample	119
Table 14.	Correlations Between Measure of Individualism-Collectivism & Measures of Agency & Communion: College & Field Samples	134
Table 15.	Correlations Between Measure of Autonomous-Relational Orientation & Measures of Agency & Communion: College & Field Samples	138
Table 16.	Correlations Between Measure of Social Identity & Measures of Agency & Communion: College Sample	142
Table 17.	Summary Table for Stepwise Regression of Agency and Communion Measures on Individualism-Collectivism: College Sample	150

		Page
Table 18.	Summary Table for Stepwise Regression of Agency and Communion Measures on Autonomous-Relational Orientation: College Sample	152
Table 19.	Interview Participants' Scores on Selection Measures, Gender and Age	189
Table 20.	Summary of Thematic Analysis of General Questions	301
Table 21.	Summary of Thematic Analyses of G1, G2 & G3	302
Table 22.	Factor Loadings for Principal Components Analysis and Principal Factors Analysis of Scales: College Sample	369
Table 23.	Factor Loadings for Principal Components Analysis and Principal Factors Analysis of Scales: Field Sample	369
Table 24.	Mean Differences on Social Identity Measure by Quadrant of Taxonomy	370

LIST OF FIGURES

		Page
Figure 1.	Schematic Representation of SIT	14
Figure 2.	Structural Representation of Agency & Communion	44
Figure 3.	Correlations Between Social Identity & Ingroup Bias: Total College Sample	124
Figure 4.	Correlations Between Social Identity & Ingroup Bias: Females & Males of College Sample	126
Figure 5a.	Correlations Between Social Identity & Ingroup Bias: Total College Sample with Relative Status Concern Subscale	129
Figure 5b.	Correlations Between Social Identity & Ingroup Bias: Total College Sample with Evaluative Process Subscale	131

INTRODUCTION

Social psychologists have expended considerable energy on investigations of intergroup relations, particularly directed toward understanding intergroup conflict. Despite this interest, the historical emphasis within our discipline has been on intergroup relations as understood from the individual level of analysis. That is, attention has primarily been directed toward identifying psychological factors[1] which influence individuals' attitudes and behaviours toward members of other groups (see Stephan, 1985 for an exhaustive review of this literature). This historical focus on the individual level of analysis is inappropriate as the basis of extrapolation to other levels of analysis, in particular for understanding what is essentially social behaviour (Brown, 1995; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987; Brown & Turner, 1981; Taylor & Brown, 1979).

Social Identity Theory (SIT) is a theory of intergroup relations which endeavors to integrate both social and psychological

[1] An exception to this primary focus on psychological explanations of intergroup behaviour is found in the area of collective relative deprivation (CRD). Briefly, CRD endeavours to explain the conditions under which individuals, based on intergroup comparisons, pursue collective action in response to perceived injustice. This body of theory and research explicitly examines social psychological factors related to social movement participation (see reviews by Dion, 1986; Walker & Pettigrew, 1984). Although there are a number of aspects of this dissertation which broach the domain of CRD theory, these linkages are neither explored nor developed as the research is not pursuing issues of relative deprivation or collective social action.

considerations into a unified perspective from which to understand intergroup conflict, particularly conflict between groups of unequal power (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). It was developed to supplement Realistic Group Conflict Theory (RCT) which maintains that intergroup conflict results from real conflicts of interest, or competition, over scarce resources (Campbell, 1965; Sherif, 1966). Such competition, in turn, heightens people's identification with and attachment to their group. Since study of these processes of identification has not been a focus of researchers in the RCT tradition, SIT was advanced in order to explore this area and to examine the impact of these "subjective" aspects of group membership on intergroup behaviour. SIT was also developed to supplement exclusively psychological explanations of prejudicial and discriminatory intergroup behaviour, and grew out of a concern for evaluating phenomena within the wider social context in which they occur (Tajfel, 1978, 1982; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987).

The European tradition which spawned SIT differs in its approach from mainstream North American social psychology by virtue of this integration of psychological and social factors as well as through SIT's focus on the social psychological aspects of social change. The theory endeavors to account for the full range of

responses of disadvantaged groups struggling to enhance their position in society, and explicates the conditions under which each response alternative is likely to be pursued or enacted. Consequently, the scope of SIT is considerably more extensive than other social psychological theories of intergroup relations (Tajfel, 1978; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987) insofar as it explicates connections among attitudes, beliefs, and specific individual and collective behaviors.

SIT grew out of the work of Henri Tajfel and his colleagues on social categorization. Social categories are considered by these authors to be "cognitive tools that segment, classify, and order the social environment" (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 15). These tools are useful as they provide human beings with a vantage point or self referent from which to identify and understand themselves as social beings (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). Interestingly, favouritism for one's own group (the ingroup) results from simple or mere assignment to a group or social category, a result that has been replicated many times (e.g., Tajfel, 1970, 1978, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Brewer, 1979a, 1979b). This work formed the basis of SIT theorists' interest in social categorization as one of the key variables which accounts

for various kinds of ingroup bias (Tajfel, 1978, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). This is not to say that group categorization is the only process which elicits bias but rather that it has been demonstrated to be a minimal condition.

Three other core concepts of SIT evolved from the minimal group experiments, which also reflect the chronological development of SIT: social identity, social comparison, and psychological group distinctiveness. Briefly, social identity is defined as "those aspects of an individual's self-image that derive from the social categories to which he [sic] perceives himself [sic] as belonging" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40). For these categories to constitute a group, the social category or group to which we belong must not only be perceived as such, but the individuals who make up that collectivity must share some emotional involvement in the definition of the group. Tajfel incorporates these considerations into a later definition of social identity as "that part of the individuals' self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance of that membership" (1982, p. 24). Thus, an individual's social identity is represented by a cognitive component (the categorization of the self into particular groups) and an affective component (the positive or

negative valence attached to group membership) (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) note that, beyond the cognitive and affective dimensions, group members must also be defined as such by external others and that ingroup members share some degree of consensus regarding the evaluation of their group vis-à-vis other groups (outgroups).

SIT makes three general assumptions regarding social identity which can be seen to move from the intrapersonal level of analysis through the intragroup and finally, to the intergroup context. First, SIT theorists (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) state that individuals strive to maintain or enhance their self-esteem. These authors appear to consider striving for a positive self-concept as synonymous with this as self-esteem is understood as being the evaluative component of the self-concept (Abrams & Hogg, 1990). Secondly, it is assumed that social categories or groups, and our membership in them, are associated with negative or positive value connotations. These connotations tend to render the individual's social identity and hence their self-esteem more negative or positive in accordance with evaluations of the group. Third, SIT assumes that one's evaluation of the ingroup is determined by comparative reference to specific outgroups on value laden dimensions. Positive

comparisons engender high prestige and a positive social identity and similarly, negative comparisons are assumed to engender lower prestige and a negative social identity.

These processes of social comparison are seen as the means through which the individual assesses the ingroup's social position or status (Tajfel, 1978, 1982; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). Although not a novel concept (i.e., social comparison theory was first introduced by Festinger in 1954), SIT theorists extended the range of its application to account for comparative processes among groups rather than maintaining its emphasis on self-evaluation within one group (Goethals & Darley, 1987). That is, SIT informs social comparison theory through the active consideration of comparative processes through which individuals come to understand the status of the ingroup, and subsequently, the value and status accrued to them as individuals by virtue of their membership in this group. Status is considered to reflect a group's relative position on an evaluative dimension of comparison, and is not considered to be a commodity or resource like power or wealth. It is the outcome of the intergroup comparison process (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986).

From the general assumptions described above, SIT has developed three related theoretical principles (Tajfel & Turner,

1979, 1986). First, individuals are assumed to strive for or be motivated to achieve a positive social identity. This is considered to be the motivation behind individuals' actions at the intergroup level.

Second, a positive or adequate social identity is thought to result from favourable comparisons of the ingroup with a relevant outgroup(s). This principle rests upon SIT's belief in psychological group distinctiveness as a motivating drive and refers to the need for groups to find or create distinct identities. Not only are group members motivated to ascertain a unique identity or distinctiveness for their group, but this distinctiveness must also be positive in order for individual group members to derive or maintain an adequate or positive social identity. Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) argue that this pressure to comparatively evaluate the ingroup as positive leads to groups attempting to differentiate themselves from each other in particular ways. Specifically, differentiation which follows from processes of intergroup comparison is typically manifest as ingroup bias. Ingroup bias refers to intergroup comparisons which favour the ingroup and is generally thought to take the form of ethnocentric glorification of the ingroup. As Williams and Giles (1978) and Tougas and Veilleux (1988) note, SIT assumes a convergence of processes of social categorization, social

identity, and social comparison, resulting in attempts to create psychological distinctiveness.

Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) describe three classes of variables which they argue should influence intergroup differentiation in social situations. These relate, respectively, to characteristics of the individual, the social situation, and the outgroup. First, individuals must identify with the group in question. That is, their self-concept must include an internalization of their membership in this group[2]. Definition as a group by outsiders is necessary but not sufficient. Second, the situation must be such that intergroup comparisons are made on dimensions or attributes which have evaluative significance. Not all differences are important nor are all attributes salient across groups. Finally, the outgroup to whom the ingroup compares itself must be perceived as a relevant one. Comparisons are not made with every possible group. Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) argue that outgroup comparability is influenced by such variables as situational salience, perceived similarity, and proximity. They suggest that, as comparability increases, so does pressure toward ingroup

[2] Perhaps this internalization is simply the cognitive categorization of the self into the particular group. It is difficult to understand how, in the minimal group paradigm, one could identify with Group X beyond simply being aware of assigned group membership.

distinctiveness.

The third theoretical principle of SIT illustrates the strength of the theory in its drawing of linkages among beliefs, perceptions, and actual behaviour. This tenet states that intergroup comparisons which result in an inadequate or negative social identity will compel individuals to seek change. The particular forms of action people pursue are either individual or group level change strategies, depending upon whether the individual perceives alternatives to the current intergroup relationship. The perception of alternatives, in turn, depends upon two factors: whether the individual believes their group's particular hierarchical position and the intergroup situation itself are amenable to change and secondly, whether the current intergroup situation and hierarchy are perceived as just or fair[3]. This first factor is defined as the perceived stability of the intergroup relationship and the second is defined as perceived legitimacy (Tajfel, 1978; Turner & Brown, 1978).

Individual change strategies are often pursued when the outgroup's superior status is perceived as stable and legitimate. Action may take the form of enacting a belief in social mobility (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) which refers to the perception that

[3] Clearly, people's perceptions of stability and legitimacy are impacted by other factors, including historical precedent and the prevailing cultural beliefs regarding the immutability or permeability of social categories.

social categories are indeed permeable and amenable to movement among them. This individual level change strategy is characterized by attempts to join or assimilate into the more positively evaluated group thereby leaving or disidentifying with one's own group. Since it is not always possible to leave the group (e.g., when categorization is based on immutable characteristics of the person such as gender or race), individual action may also be characterized by attempts to differentiate oneself from other ingroup members which, essentially, moves the focus of the comparative process to the interpersonal level.

In contrast to strategies directed toward the attainment of a personal solution, group level change strategies tend to be pursued when the intergroup relational hierarchy is perceived as unstable and illegitimate. Here, the target of change is the intergroup relationship, as opposed to attempts to alter the position of the individual. The range of group level action alternatives include making intergroup comparisons on some new dimension, revaluing characteristics of the ingroup, changing the target of comparison to other low status groups, and direct challenge of the status quo or social competition. These strategies may be pursued as relatively independent, discrete options or in some combination.

Selecting a new dimension for the intergroup comparison reflects an ingroup's attempt to find and adopt a dimension on which it believes it can more favorably evaluate itself. The central challenge in pursuing this strategy is legitimizing the positive value connotation of the new dimension to the ingroup and subsequently, to the relevant outgroups (Lemaine, 1974). For example, the value of intuitive and relational knowledge is being increasingly legitimized within some feminist groups, despite a relative lack of progress in its legitimization among groups of nonfeminists. Increased intergroup tension may result if the legitimization threatens the outgroup's dominant distinctiveness. Consequently, we see such phenomena as the antifeminist "backlash" or increased racism in light of advancing the rights of Canada's First Peoples. Some authors (e.g., Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987) argue that all of the group level change strategies will elicit attempts by the dominant group to reassert or increase their dominance.

Reframing the value connotation associated with the dimension of comparison is often illustrated by the classic example of "Black is beautiful" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 43). The salient dimension of comparison remains the same (i.e., skin colour) but the previous negative value connotation typically associated with it by outgroups

is reversed.

Alternatively, individuals may cease to compare the ingroup with the high status outgroup if social mobility is blocked and the low status of the ingroup is perceived as stable and legitimate. Intergroup comparisons would then be made with other low status groups. Changing or selecting the outgroup with whom comparisons are made is a change strategy which may restore ingroup member self-esteem, particularly if the initial comparison group is of salient high status. As Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) note, this is consistent with the observation that the intensity of conflict between two low status groups is sometimes greater than the competition between a low and a high status group.

The final group level change strategy included in SIT is direct social competition. This refers to situations where the ingroup seeks to positively distinguish itself from the outgroup by directly challenging the groups' relative positions on the status hierarchy. The ingroup may endeavor to achieve equal status or reverse these relative positions on salient dimensions which will likely engender more conflict with the dominant group[4]. The antifeminist backlash referred to above may also serve as an example of this outcome,

[4] Again, we enter the domain of CRD. Tajfel (1978) described this increased conflict as motivated by both the perceived injustice of the intergroup situation and threat to identity.

insofar as feminism is commonly misunderstood or presumed to be advocating female superiority over males and is thus seen to imply a reversal of positions with the dominant outgroup.

A schematic representation of the relationships among the assumptions and theoretical principles of SIT described above is presented in Figure 1. As previously noted, the scope of SIT is indeed extensive as is the research base which it has spawned. While a complete review of the empirical base of SIT is well beyond the parameters of this document, selected research is reported below as it pertains to aspects of the theory which I consider germane to the purposes of this dissertation.

Research Base

Of the numerous hypotheses and propositions derived from SIT which have been systematically investigated, what follows is a brief review of two broad areas of research activity investigating intergroup comparisons and ingroup bias. These are surveyed with a view to identifying patterns of results which demonstrate a need to elaborate and extend central assumptions of SIT and to illuminate a path for its further development.

While acknowledging that the research base for SIT's central

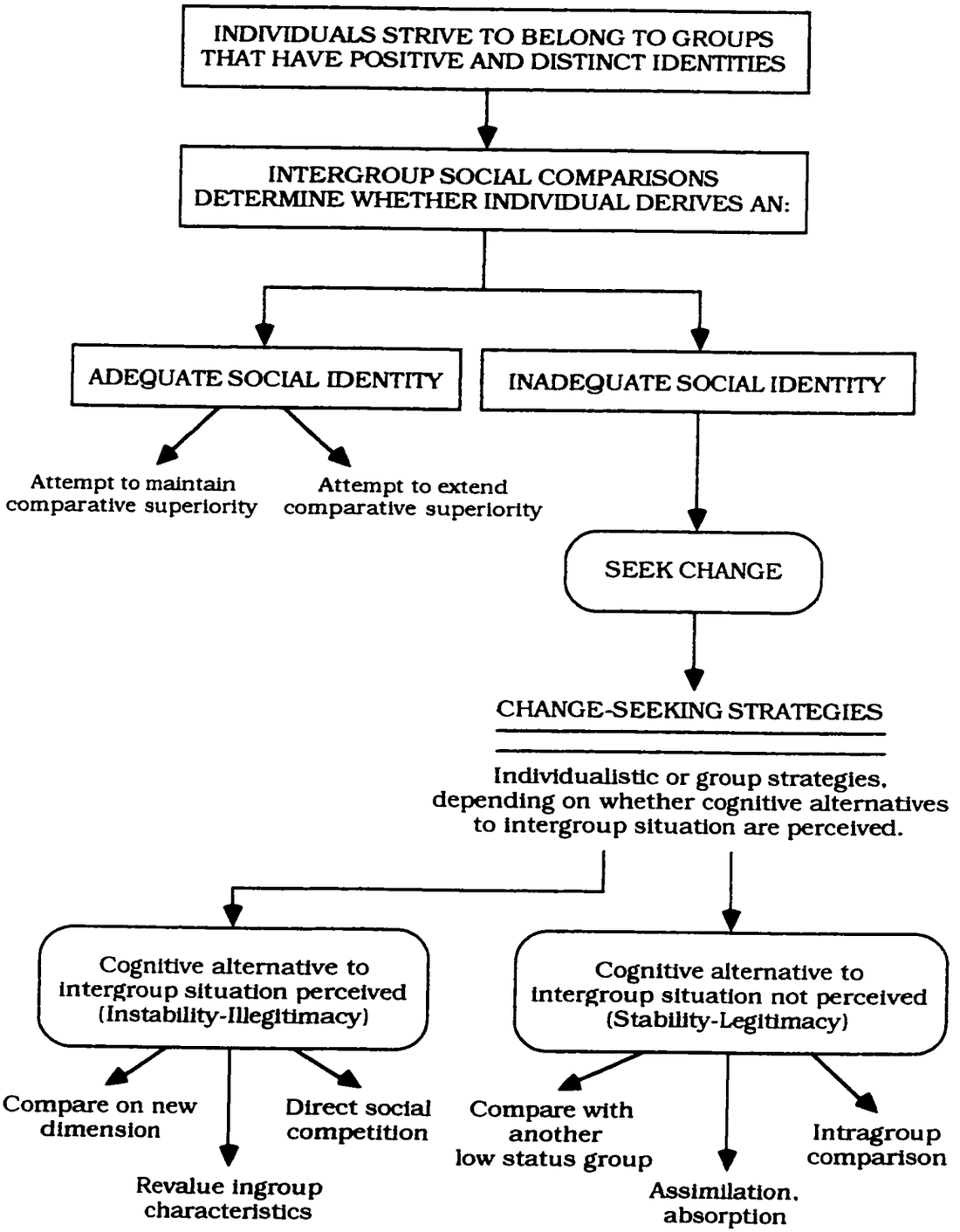


Figure 1. Schematic Representation of Social Identity Theory
(Based on Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987, p. 77)

tenet that intergroup comparisons yield ingroup favouritism is extensive (a theme to which I shall return below), Hinkle and Brown (1990) argue that some research results are problematic for SIT. These anomalous patterns are reviewed by Hinkle and Brown (1990) as they examine literature relevant to three themes found in this research area for which SIT cannot account: outgroup favouritism effects, multidimensional intergroup comparisons, and non-comparative social identities.

Patterns of Bias: Hinkle and Brown (1990) report that, although ingroup bias effects are indeed prevalent, they are not universal, a theme also explored by Mullen, Brown and Smith (1992). Outgroup favouritism does occur which is not consistent with the SIT perspective that ingroups strive for positive social identities by making invidious comparisons[5]. Attempts have been made to account for this finding through examination of such variables as the salience of the outgroup, intergroup

[5] Two exceptions to this would be where a social mobility strategy is pursued or where the focus of the comparison shifts to another low status group. With respect to social mobility, it seems safe to assume that one would favour the group you hope to join if you believe that social mobility is possible. This raises the interesting question of when this favoured group ceases to be the outgroup and becomes the ingroup. One could argue that insofar as social mobility is pursued, predicated on perceptions of status stability and legitimacy, it is movement toward a more desirable ingroup and consequently is not necessarily indicative of ingroup favouritism.

competitiveness, group status and power, status legitimacy and stability, relevance of the comparison group, and social creativity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Hinkle & Brown, 1990).

For example, using the minimal group paradigm, Sachdev and Bourhis (1987, 1991) demonstrated that members of low status groups engaged in intergroup comparisons which manifest outgroup favouritism. Conversely, members of high or equal status groups made intergroup comparisons which resulted in evaluations biased in favour of the ingroup. This general pattern of the impact of differential status has also been demonstrated in field research, including the work of Brown (1978, 1984b) and van Knippenberg and van Oers (1984).

Hinkle and Brown (1990) note that these findings are problematic for SIT in two ways. First, the very existence of outgroup favouritism is inconsistent with SIT (except pursuant to the change strategies discussed in footnote 5). Second, outgroup favouritism among low status groups appears contrary to the SIT notion that it is these very groups which should be most motivated to enhance their social identity. This enhancement would be through comparisons which favour the ingroup if the status of the intergroup relationship is perceived to be unstable and illegitimate. This can be

understood within SIT, however, by considering that a group's social identity might not be compromised if comparisons to the high status outgroup are seen as irrelevant to assessment of the ingroup's own worth. Alternatively, a positive social identity may be re-established if the consequences of unfavourable comparisons to a high status outgroup are "outweighed" by more positive comparisons to other outgroups (Hinkle & Brown, 1990).

Hinkle and Brown (1990) review numerous attempts to account for the tendency of low status groups to favour the outgroup, some of which serve to expand upon SIT and others which speak to psychological mechanisms (e.g., strategic responding and structural constraints). They conclude that interpretation of this seemingly anomalous pattern is difficult and warrants continued attention. It is important to note that this interpretive problem is not unique to SIT but is a general problem in the intergroup relations literature.

Hinkle and Brown (1990) also contend that SIT cannot cogently account for multidimensional intergroup comparisons. This refers to the phenomena observed when the ingroup creates new bases for comparison favourable to itself. They describe patterns of results which indicate that the same group within one experimental

situation will vary the "target" of its favouritism contingent upon the particular comparison being made. That is, the nature of the bias may shift from ingroup favouritism to outgroup favouritism to no differential intergroup bias.

These differing patterns of biases present interpretive challenges for SIT, particularly with regard to prediction of the specific form bias will take and determination of the consequences of multidimensional comparisons for social identity (Hinkle & Brown, 1990). Some research has endeavored to address these issues and identify the variables which are influential in determining the importance of particular dimensions (e.g., Mummendey & Simon, 1989). Hinkle and Brown (1990) note, however, that while this work has succeeded in demonstrating ingroup bias on comparison dimensions of importance to the ingroup and outgroup favouritism on comparison dimensions which are unimportant to the ingroup, it has failed to address the problem of what renders a comparative dimension to be important or not. Hinkle and Brown report that other research has generated seemingly contrary results where the ingroup favoured the outgroup on important comparative dimensions[6]. Thus, some observed patterns may be inconsistent

[6] Whether these results are an example of strategic responding or pose a genuine problem for SIT has yet to be determined. Only further research can distinguish between these very different explanations.

with SIT's central tenet that group members strive to maintain a positive social identity through comparative processes which favour the ingroup.

These themes of inconsistency in patterns of ingroup bias and the importance of comparative dimensions were recently studied through a meta-analysis of the results of 137 tests of the ingroup bias hypothesis conducted by Mullen, Brown, and Smith (1992). This work examined issues of ingroup salience, intergroup status differentials, and the relevance of the attributes being evaluated. The goals of the meta-analysis were twofold: first, to precisely summarize the significance and magnitude of the ingroup bias effect and second, to account for variations in this bias in different intergroup settings. The study operationalized ingroup bias as tests of the difference in evaluative ratings of the ingroup and the outgroup rather than as tests of difference in the allocation of resources to the respective groups. This dependent variable was selected since it is considered to be the most widely used, is the least encumbered by controversy regarding its interpretation and construct validity, and constitutes a measure of ethnocentrism as opposed to discrimination. Thus, their work examines indices of people's perceptions of ingroup and outgroup rather than examining

allocation behaviours (Mullen et al., 1992).

Mullen et al. (1992) identify three theoretical perspectives as potentially fruitful to account for variability in levels of ingroup favouritism: categorization theory which maintains that such bias is inherent in our cognitive processes, SIT and, more recently, self-categorization theory which extend the categorization perspective to include the added psychological significance of the category of the self and, within this category, social identities with various groups, and finally, self-attention theory which examines the impact of group composition variables (e.g., size) on group phenomena. Mullen et al. (1992) argue that, despite some differences in the specific direction of anticipated outcomes, these theoretical perspectives identify similar variables to be determinants of ingroup bias (i.e., ingroup salience, status, and relevance) and the authors organize their meta-analysis with respect to these variables.

Overall, the meta-analytic results indicate that ethnocentrism is indeed pervasive and that, generally, such ingroup bias effects are of moderate magnitude (Mullen et al., 1992). With respect to salience, all three approaches predict that ingroup bias should vary in accordance with variations in the salience of group membership. That is, more (or less) salient group memberships should be

reflected in more (or less) ingroup bias. Mullen et al. (1992) report that this prediction has received support from several separate lines of research which indicate that the group being focused upon is evaluated more positively than the group not focused upon.

Two variables which are considered to contribute to salience are the relative sizes of the groups and whether the categorizations are real or imposed (Mullen et al., 1992). The results of investigations into these variables are more complex than those regarding the impact of the overall salience of group memberships. Self-attention theorists have garnered some support in studies which generally demonstrate that the smaller group will tend to be the focus of attention for both itself and the larger outgroup, an effect found in a variety of settings. Some research, however, has suggested that ingroup bias is not affected by relative group size (e.g., Hinkle & Schopler, 1986, cited in Mullen et al., 1992). Results of the meta-analysis are consistent with the former perspective and are taken to disconfirm the latter. That is, ingroup bias was found to be stronger where the ingroup was proportionately smaller than the outgroup (Mullen et al., 1992), an effect which was demonstrated independent of the realism of group categorization.

Mullen et al.'s (1992) meta-analysis included the first

empirical examination of the impact of the reality of group categorization on ingroup bias. The studies included in the analysis were coded with respect to whether the group categories were created for the purposes of the experiment and were, consequently, artificial groups or whether they were "real" group categorizations that existed beyond the experimental situation. Real group categorizations are assumed by Mullen et al. to be more salient to their members than artificial categorizations and, from the SIT perspective, real groups are expected to effect social identity more strongly. Results of the meta-analysis (Mullen et al., 1992) indicate that ingroup bias was indeed stronger among real groups than among artificial groups. Mullen et al. conclude that ingroup favouritism increases as a function of the salience of the ingroup in terms of both the reality of the group categorization and the proportionate size of the ingroup.

The second variable set examined in Mullen et al.'s (1992) meta-analysis refers to the status or prestige which a group holds or which is conferred upon it. Ingroups were sorted into one of three levels of status: lower overall than the outgroup (42 hypothesis tests), equal to the outgroup (50 hypothesis tests), and higher (45 hypothesis tests). Some previous research reflects a tendency for

lower status groups to exhibit more ingroup bias (e.g., Brewer, 1979a) while other research suggests it will decrease (Mullen et al., 1992). In the meta-analysis, the ingroup bias effect increased as the relative status of the ingroup increased. That is, a weak effect for ingroup bias was obtained where the ingroup was of lower status, a stronger effect was found for ingroups of equal status, and the strongest effect for ingroup bias was found where the ingroup was of higher status. A significant interaction effect was obtained between ingroup status and group categorization such that the above pattern of results holds for artificial groups while there is a nonsignificant trend for ingroup bias to decrease as a function of the status of real groups.

Some previous research is supported (e.g., Turner & Brown, 1978) in the results of the meta-analysis insofar as a stronger ingroup bias effect was obtained from higher status ingroups. Conversely, other research (e.g., Brewer, 1979a) appears to be disconfirmed in the meta-analysis insofar as lower status ingroups did not exhibit a stronger ingroup bias effect (although, in accord with SIT, we would only expect that low status groups would be biased if they were in direct social competition with the outgroup). Mullen et al. (1992) offer two speculative explanations regarding

these contradictions between their meta-analytic results and previous patterns of outcomes. First, they suggest that previous authors who observed stronger ingroup bias among higher status ingroups may have examined artificial groups. Similarly, they suggest that authors who have observed stronger ingroup bias among lower status ingroups may have examined real groups. Consideration of the percentages of hypothesis tests which yielded an ingroup bias effect and were conducted with real and artificial groups of high and low ingroup status respectively, lends considerable support to their contention. Thus, the concentration on artificial groups may lead to erroneous conclusions about higher status groups exhibiting more ingroup bias (Mullen et al., 1992).

Mullen et al.'s second tentative explanation for the contradictory historical predictions regarding the impact of status on ingroup bias is also compelling. They suggest that the predictions may stem from alternative conceptualizations of status. Again, it is examination of the percentages of studies which is revealing. Of the studies in which ingroup bias effects were obtained among lower status ingroups, approximately 95% "involved more global, static, diffuse conceptualizations of status (e.g., favoured ethnic group; prestige of work unit within society)." (Mullen et al., 1992, p. 118).

Conversely, of the studies in which ingroup bias effects were obtained among higher status ingroups, approximately 47% "involved more particular, transitory, task-specific conceptualizations of status (e.g., superior scores on some laboratory task)." (Mullen et al., 1992, p. 118). Thus, global cues regarding status have been used in most studies which have obtained ingroup bias effects among groups of lower status while little more than half of the tests with ingroups of higher status have used global cues. These authors argue that focus on transitory, task-specific aspects of status may lead to erroneous conclusions regarding the prevalence or predominance of ingroup bias in higher status groups.

With respect to the final issue considered in the meta-analytic work of Mullen et al. (1992), previous research (e.g., van Knippenberg & van Oers, 1984; Mummendey & Simon, 1989) has demonstrated that ingroup bias is generally consistent with the centrality or import of the dimension of comparison. That is, the ingroup bias effect is typically strongest on the dimensions of comparison which are most important or relevant to the ingroup. In addition, outgroup bias is often found to occur on dimensions of comparison which are unimportant to the ingroup, an effect which Mullen et al. (1992) refer to as "a 'magnanimous' outgroup bias" (p.

107). As Hinkle and Brown (1990) note, however, the relative import of dimensions of comparison are generally determined post hoc. Subjects indicate the importance of each dimension after they have evaluated each group on it. As Mullen et al. (1992) note, this raises the distinct possibility that indices of dimensional relevance may be more a consequent than a determinant of ingroup bias.

Given a significant interaction effect in the meta-analysis between relative ingroup status and the reality of group categorization (Mullen et al., 1992), the effects of dimensional relevance were examined for each combination of status and reality of categorization through separate correlational analyses. For artificial groups of lower status, a negative relationship was found between relevance and the ingroup bias effect. With artificial ingroups of equal status, the relationship between relevance and ingroup bias was marginally negative and for artificial groups of higher status, a positive relationship was found between relevance and ingroup bias although this interaction was nonsignificant. In addition, the same pattern was obtained for real groups but the interaction between relevance and status was statistically significant. Thus, more ingroup bias was exhibited on relevant dimensions of comparison for both real and artificial groups of higher status. More

ingroup bias was exhibited on less relevant attributes for both real and artificial ingroups of lower status although this pattern was stronger for real rather than artificial groups (Mullen et al., 1992).

The authors conclude that this pattern is interpretable from a SIT perspective in the following manner. The dimensions deemed relevant by members of higher status groups may be the very dimensions upon which the group's "superior" status is founded. If they have demonstrated their superiority on these relevant dimensions, the higher status ingroup may then "magnanimously" exhibit an outgroup bias on the less important dimensions. Similarly, the lower status ingroup may be defined as such by virtue of their "poor" performance on the dimensions deemed relevant. This lower status group, then, would be the most motivated to stress alternative dimensions of comparison (Mullen et al., 1992). These authors note this interpretation is consistent with Tajfel and Turner's (1986) and Brown's (1988) descriptions of one identity maintenance strategy lower status groups are apt to adopt.

In summary, Mullen et al. (1992) have demonstrated through their meta-analysis that some of the outcomes obtained in previous research regarding ingroup bias effects may be erroneously attributed to particular variables. That contrasting conclusions are

drawn, therefore, is not surprising. Specifically, they argue that the elevated levels of ingroup bias exhibited by higher status groups may be an artifact of studying artificial groups, using task-specific status cues, and/or highly relevant dimensions of comparison. Conversely, lower status groups may exhibit more ingroup bias due to the use of real groups, global status cues, and/or dimensions of comparison less relevant to the dominant group (Mullen et al., 1992). Mullen et al. recommend that primary level research more closely examine these complex interactions. In particular, they encourage exploration of the independent impact of differential indicators of status, as well as examination of the impact of status on the relationship between ingroup bias and dimensional relevance and in real and artificial groups.

Noncomparative Processes and Recent SIT Developments: The final theme which Hinkle and Brown (1990) pursue in their review is the notion that social identities may be formed and maintained through noncomparative processes for some groups or in some group contexts. A central hypothesis of SIT maintains that there will be a consistent, positive relationship between the strength of ingroup identification and the degree of intergroup differentiation (e.g., Tajfel

& Turner, 1979, 1986). The reader will recall that intergroup differentiation is considered to arise from pressure to evaluate the ingroup more positively than the outgroup, motivated by a drive for a positive social identity. The positive relationship between strength of identification with the ingroup and ingroup bias, however, is not consistently obtained (Hinkle & Brown, 1990). Hinkle and Brown (1990) specifically examine the correlation between ingroup identification and ingroup bias in 14 studies conducted in field and laboratory contexts with many different types of groups. They conclude that there is not strong support for SIT's prediction and that, while the majority of the correlations are indeed positive, they are of very modest size and variable range.

Hinkle and Brown (1990) suggest that intergroup comparisons should occur spontaneously if this is the mechanism through which needs for a positive social identity are met. They note that evidence is very limited but describe the results of three studies which indicate that spontaneous intergroup comparisons do not readily occur (see also Hinkle, Brown, & Ely, 1992) and that distinctions are not necessarily made between interpersonal and intergroup comparisons. Hinkle and Brown (1990) conclude that this evidence reflects both the nonuniversality of intergroup comparisons and the

need for conceptual clarity regarding the circumstances where the bases of identity implicate noncomparative processes.

From this perspective, Hinkle and Brown (1990) initiate a theoretical reformulation based upon a new typology of groups. The absence of differentiation among variables such as group type, size, or activity, in previous research concerns these authors as it does Mullen et al. (1992). Hinkle and Brown (1990) maintain that such distinctions are necessary in order to delineate the extent of the applicability of SIT and identify when intergroup comparative processes are likely to be operative.

The initial construct Hinkle and Brown (1990) offer as an important dimension in the differentiation of group types is individualism-collectivism (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai & Lucca, 1988). This refers to "the extent to which cultures emphasize interpersonal competition, individual achievement and separation from the ingroup versus cooperation within the group, collective achievements and close ties with ingroup members." (Hinkle & Brown, 1990, p. 66). The dimension is considered to be descriptive of individuals, groups and whole countries, a parallelism between levels of analysis that Hinkle et al. (1992) see as consistent with Triandis et al.'s conceptualization of the dimension at the cultural

level (Triandis et al., 1986; Triandis et al., 1988). Specifically, Triandis et al.'s (1986) empirical work found reliable distinctions among 9 cultures with separation from ingroups and self-reliance with hedonism being considered characteristic of more individualist cultures, and family integrity and interdependence-sociability as characteristic of the more collectivist cultures.

The work of Triandis et al. (1988) suggests that the social identity processes characterized by SIT may be most applicable to collectivist groups, since it is collectivists (both individuals and group) who tend to be most concerned with comparative intergroup relations. Hinkle and Brown (1990) state their belief that the collectivist orientation is important but not necessarily sufficient for the manifestation of comparative social identity processes. The issue becomes one of when collectivism is important within groups (i.e., among ingroup members) and when it is important between groups. That is, there may be instances when comparative social identity processes are more related to dynamics within a group rather than to the dynamics or relationship between that group and others.

In order to further differentiate among group types in a manner which can illuminate the scope of SIT, Hinkle and Brown (1990) propose a second dimension orthogonal to the individualism-

collectivism dimension. This second dimension is referred to as autonomous-relational group orientations. Being part of an autonomous group has no implications about membership or nonmembership in other groups (Hinkle et al., 1992). Indeed, these groups do not seem to evaluate themselves in terms of "us versus them" comparisons but rather, in relation to some internal, abstract standard. Maintaining a favourable social identity depends upon the ingroup's standing relative to a group norm or ideal standard rather than their standing relative to an outgroup. In contrast, relational groups are intrinsically defined in contrast to other groups and the meaning of membership is construed in terms of nonmembership in certain other groups (Hinkle et al., 1992). Political parties and some competitive sports teams serve as examples of such groups where intergroup comparisons are a central and defining characteristic. Hinkle and Brown (1990) and Hinkle et al. (1992) suggest that groups may be dispositionally autonomous or relational, and alternatively, may vary this orientation according to the particular situation. Specifically, an autonomous or a relational ideology may predominate within a group independent of context or, conversely, may only occur in specific contexts.

Hinkle and Brown (1990) conclude that the comparative

intergroup processes which maintain social identity as described by SIT might only reflect one of four combinations of these two orthogonal dimensions: specifically, groups with a collectivist orientation and a relational ideology or in a relational situation. That is, strength of group identification will only be related to the degree of ingroup-outgroup bias for groups in this quadrant of their taxonomy.

The independence of the individualist-collectivist ideologies and autonomous-relational dimensions proposed by Hinkle and Brown (1990) was systematically investigated in three studies conducted by Brown, Hinkle, Ely, Fox-Cardamone, Maras and Taylor (1992). These authors conclude that the two dimensions demonstrate little overlap and are, consequently, considered to be orthogonal. More importantly, Brown et al. (1992) tested the hypothesis that positive correlations between ingroup bias and ingroup identification would be most likely to occur in collectivist groups with a relational orientation. The predicted correlations were obtained while the same correlations were zero for individualists with autonomous group orientations. As these patterns of results were demonstrated in each of the three studies (two of which were conducted in the lab and one field study), these results serve as

strong initial evidence of the utility of their taxonomy.

A similar pattern of results indirectly supporting this hypothesis was also obtained in the experimental work of Grant (1992, 1993a & b). Hinkle and Brown's (1990) contention that collectivist-relational groups are the most likely to exhibit identity formation and maintenance processes as described in SIT implies that the relationship between ingroup identification and ingroup bias will be stronger where the collectivist and comparative nature of the intergroup situation are heightened (Grant & Brown, 1995). In three experiments (Grant, 1992, experiment 1; 1993a & b), the salience of the comparative relationship was enhanced through an explicit threat to group identity. Specifically, this threat to social identity created a relational intergroup environment for groups of subjects whose fates were strongly interdependent (collectivist). These conditions resulted in the pattern of relationships expected by Hinkle and Brown (1990) in that ingroup identification and bias were significantly related in the high threat conditions but not in the low threat conditions of these two experiments. This result was also obtained by Grant and Brown (1995) although in their experiment the relational intergroup environment was created through a collective relative deprivation (CRD) manipulation.

Further support for Hinkle and Brown's (1990) taxonomy is found in the recent work of Meeres (1994). The purposes of this research were to replicate Hinkle and Brown's findings regarding relational-collectivists and to explore other quadrants of the taxonomy. Specifically, individualist groups were compared to collectivist groups in a relational intergroup context with respect to their maintenance of positive social identities. Although unexpected, Meeres (1994) found a significant relationship between strength of group identification and intergroup differentiation for collectivist groups when the personal goals of the members were compatible with the group's goals. However, a relationship was found for collectivists between self-esteem and intragroup differentiation when the collectivists' personal goals were incompatible with the group's goals. Thus, it appears that when group and individual goals are compatible, members of these collectivist groups protect their self-esteem through intergroup comparisons. In contrast, invidious interpersonal comparisons are made between themselves and other ingroup members when personal and group goals are incompatible (Grant & Meeres, 1995).

To conclude, Hinkle and Brown (1990) have proposed a promising new theoretical direction which has received some limited

experimental support. Clearly, more experimental work is required so as to strengthen these findings and further illuminate the remaining cells of the taxonomy. Of particular import for SIT are those groups which express high levels of group identification, are collectivist and also have an autonomous orientation. These groups would appear to not invoke comparative intergroup processes but assess their group's achievements in some other, perhaps abstract, manner (Brown et al., 1992)[7].

Agency and Communion

The recent developments in the explication of group ideologies and situations which influence comparative processes at the intergroup level can be interpreted as consistent with the research and recommendations of Jennifer Williams (1984). Specifically, Williams argued that the historical emphasis in SIT reflects a preoccupation with processes of identity construction which focus on differentiation from others and intergroup comparisons. As such, Williams concludes that SIT has actually been concerned with social identity as agentic (Bakan, 1966) social identity which renders only a partial account of identity construction and evaluation processes.

[7] Grant and Meeres (1995, experiment 2) present the preliminary results of an experiment that examines autonomous groups' enhancement of their social identities through comparisons with normative ingroup standards.

For example, in Figure 1 the reader will note that an adequate social identity is associated with attempts to maintain or extend the ingroup's comparative superiority. In fact, Tajfel & Turner (1979) state that "the aim of differentiation is to maintain or achieve superiority over an outgroup on some dimensions. Any such act [of differentiation], therefore, is essentially competitive." (p. 41). This assumption of an inherent competitiveness is an androcentric notion which, by virtue of the extent of its generalization, precludes the possibility that a group may derive meaning through its relations with others and by activities of care or service (Williams, 1984). Williams' perspective is consistent with other feminist psychologists who argue that many psychological theories have been dominated by androcentric biases in their emphasis on, for example, separation and individuation and the relative neglect of issues pertinent to connection and relatedness (e.g., Eichler, 1990; Wilkinson, 1986; Bar-Yam Hassan & Bar-Yam, 1987; Gilligan, 1977, 1982; Loevinger, 1976).

Williams (1984) maintains, however, that people can also define their identities and enhance their self-esteem by processes of affiliation and attachment to others, communal (Bakan, 1966)

processes[8] which have found early support in such work as Gutmann (1965) and Gilligan (1982) and more recent support in the work reviewed above (e.g., Brown et al., 1992). If this is indeed the case, it is not surprising that a strong, positive relationship is not consistently found between identification with the ingroup and intergroup differentiation as typically measured in SIT research. For groups of a communal nature, we need not assume that the aim of differentiation is the maintenance or advancement of superiority. Nor would we necessarily expect that the self-esteem of these group members would be enhanced through comparative processes which favour the ingroup. A positive social identity may be achieved through noncomparative processes, as suggested by Hinkle and Brown (1990).

The relational or communal orientation may also apply within groups in that self-esteem may be sustained by relationships with other group members (Williams, 1984). In order to predict, for example, the conditions under which social identity needs motivate collective action, "it may prove necessary to accomodate the possibility that communality, both within the ingroup and in the intergroup context, may be a more attractive option than attempting

[8] Specific definitions and manifestations of agency and communion are described below.

to restructure intergroup relations to satisfy the need for agency." (Williams, 1984, p. 313).

Specifically, agency and communion are used to refer to two fundamental modalities of human existence (Bakan, 1966). Bakan derived these constructs through exploring the self-definitional activities of humankind. His work was driven by an interest in understanding our intrinsic and simultaneous self and other reference, often referred to as our individual and collective experience. He describes and uses the terms as follows (Bakan, 1966):

> agency for the existence of an organism as an individual, and communion for the participation of the individual in some larger organism of which the individual is a part. Agency manifests itself in self-protection, self-assertion, and self-expansion; communion manifests itself in the sense of being at one with other organisms. Agency manifests itself in formation of separation; communion in the lack of separations. Agency manifests itself in isolation, alienation, and aloneness; communion in contact, openness, and union. Agency manifests itself in the urge to master; communion in noncontractual cooperation. Agency manifests itself in the repression of thought, feeling, and impulse; communion in the lack and removal of repression (p. 15).

Bakan's formulation has spawned considerable research since his original publication in 1966. Early investigations into agency and

communion tended to focus on gender differences in the distribution of the modalities such that males were characterized by an agentic disposition while females were more typically characterized by aspects of a communal disposition (e.g., Bakan, 1966; Block, 1973; Carlson, 1971; Spence & Helmreich, 1978). These differences are readily understood in the context of the differential socialization of boys and girls, the different maturational milieus inhabited by women and men (e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Block, 1973; Gutmann, 1965; Barry, Bacon & Child, 1957). As Bar-Yam Hassan and Bar-Yam (1987) note, however, it is important

> to transcend the myopic polarization of male-female sex differences in favor of perceiving the universality of agency and communal pathways, and their continuous interaction throughout the life cycle. Although there may be some gender differences in the orientation to agency and communion, both men and women are consistently involved with both agentic, individuated action and communal, interpersonal relatedness at every developmental stage. (p. 125)

Bankart and Vincent (1988) also describe agency and communion as fundamentally healthy motives for human behaviour that are equally applicable and appropriate to women and men.

The constructs Bakan articulated had been broached prior to his explication of them. Wiggins (1991) refers to selected examples

of this work in his historical review which he maintains serves to establish a broad context for the argument that agency and communion serve as useful "conceptual coordinates for the measurement of interpersonal behaviour." (p. 90). Wiggins (1991) cites examples of how these concepts have had explicit roles in personality theory as the cultural matrix within which personality is embedded is increasingly emphasized. While agency and communion have not necessarily been referred to as such in the work of these other authors, conceptual similarity is indeed evident, for example, in the work of Horney and her concepts of moving against others and moving towards others, Erikson's concepts of autonomy and basic trust, Fromm's use of separate entity and oneness with the world, and McAdams' descriptions of power and intimacy motivations (Wiggins, 1991).

Wiggins (1991) concludes that these works suggest agency and communion may potentially serve as universal organizing concepts for social life. They are considered to be multidimensional constructs which encompass attitudes and values, and are also superordinate to traits, motives, and behavioural patterns (Bakan, 1966; McAdams, Healy & Krause, 1984). Wiggins draws further examples of the pancultural nature of agency and communion from

the study of languages, sex-roles, and interpersonal behaviour. Again, the similarity is evident with Bem's conceptualizations of masculinity and femininity, Spence's self-assertion and expressiveness, and Freedman's work on dominance/submission and affiliation/hostility (Wiggins, 1991). The convergence of diverse conceptual analyses emphasize the "basicness" of agency and communion as broad meta-constructs (Wiggins, 1991). Examination of these constructs at the group or intergroup level of analysis, however, has not yet been pursued.

Central to Bakan's (1966) thesis is the argument that a balance of both of these modalities is essential within any living organism. Agency and communion are seen as essential ingredients to the psychological well-being of individuals and to harmonious and well-ordered societies (e.g., Wiggins, 1991; Buss, 1990; Bankart & Vincent, 1988; Bar-Yam Hassan & Bar-Yam, 1987; Stewart & Malley, 1987; Bakan, 1966). These needs are essentially in tension and simultaneous at each stage of human development. Gilligan (1982) aptly describes this tension and its centrality: "we know ourselves as separate only insofar as we live in connection with others, and ... we experience relationships only insofar as we differentiate other from self." (p. 66). These modalities or motivations have also been

described as "a yearning to be included and connected coexisting simultaneously with a yearning to be independent and autonomous" (Bar-Yam Hassan & Bar-Yam, 1987, p. 102).

Wiggins (1991) presents a figure which illustrates that agency and communion are continua among which there is no inherent conflict. This diagram is reproduced below as Figure 2. He argues that all combinations of agency and communion are possible in an individual or in a society. If this is indeed the case, it is also possible that all combinations of agency and communion are similarly possible among groups. The orthogonal relationship indicates that development in one modality does not restrict development in the other (Wiggins, 1991). The polar opposites of each, however, (passivity and dissociation respectively) restrict the development of and are in conflict with the positive poles of agency and communion (Wiggins, 1991). That is, an individual or society could not be characterized as both hostile or dissociative and communally oriented: more of the disposition of one pole implies less of its opposite. This structural representation is not intended to reflect a static state. Interactions could clearly influence one's "position" in the model. For example, negative interpersonal reactions to a high level of communion may evoke reactions that increase

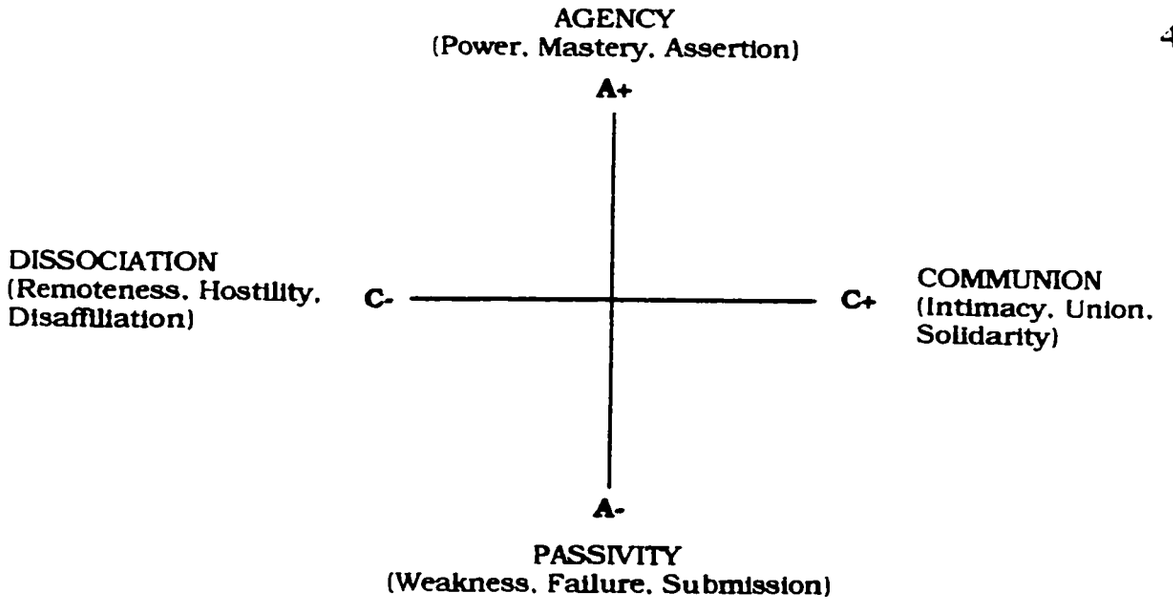


Figure 2. Structural Representation of Agency and Communion
Source: Wiggins (1991). p. 91

powerlessness and submission. Similarly, negative reactions to a high level of agency may engender increased isolation (Wiggins, 1991).

The integration or balance of agentic and communal modalities is a developmental task[9] which Bakan (1966) refers to as the mitigation of agency and communion. Each modality in turn mitigates the potential excesses of the other: communion is the essential mitigator of agency and similarly, agency is the essential mitigator of communion. From this assertion, variations in

[9] Bakan goes so far as to suggest that this developmental task is a moral imperative. While argument for a healthy balance or integration is compelling both intellectually and intuitively, description of this as a moral imperative constitutes a theological perspective beyond the current domain of social science.

individual behaviour can be understood to result from differing levels of mitigation which are simply different overall balances of agentic and communal characteristics.

Mitigated agency and communion refers to the presence of instrumental, agentic characteristics that are accompanied by the presence of expressive, communal characteristics. This is similar to Bem's (1974) concept of androgyny which describes individuals who are characterized by both stereotypically masculine and stereotypically feminine traits. In contrast, unmitigated agency refers to individuals whose agentic characteristics are not balanced by or do not coexist with communal traits. Similarly, unmitigated communion is reflected in a predominance of communal characteristics accompanied by a relative absence of agentic traits. These unmitigated states of agency and communion are synonymous with the terms masculinity and femininity, respectively, as used by Bem (1974). This depiction of mitigation is consistent with Bakan (1966) insofar as one would not expect individuals to exhibit, for example, traits indicative of both unmitigated agency and socially desirable or mitigated communion. For example and as Wiggins (1991) notes, an individual or society could not be described as both dissociative or hostile and as communally oriented. In addition,

these definitions of mitigation and unmitigation limit the covariation between them, a proposition supported by empirical work, including Spence, Helmreich and Holahan (1979) and Helmreich, Spence and Wilhelm (1981). That is, measures of mitigated agency and communion are not positively correlated with their unmitigated counterpart with coefficients of substantial magnitude.

To further illustrate the meaning of mitigation, results from a study conducted by Bankart and Vincent (1988) indicate that communion mitigates agency in adolescent males in a manner analogous to the mitigation of communion with agency in females. These authors examined male subjects' ratings of the social appropriateness of dominant acts, self-descriptors, and life goals. The data reflected that, with no differences in reported levels of agency, the high and low communion males exhibited differences in their endorsement of dominant acts, life goals, and their beliefs in how others perceived them. That is, men with high levels of communion[10] tended to report that they value relationships as ends

[10] It is interesting to note that in this sample, highly communal males were more likely to come from rural areas or small towns than from urban or suburban communities. This constituted the only significant demographic difference between groups. As Bankart and Vincent (1988) indicate, it is unclear what this difference reflects although differences in socialization seems a likely explanation. For present purposes, however, it highlights the need to be cognizant of geographic similarities and differences in potential sample populations.

in themselves, devalue power and wealth as life goals, reject dominant acts as self descriptors, and endorse socially constructive dominance items (such as being active in community affairs or taking the lead in organizing a project) (Bankart & Vincent, 1988). Bankart and Vincent suggest that this pattern is highly similar to that found with androgynous females who mitigate their high levels of communion with high levels of agency (White, 1979, cited in Bankart & Vincent, 1988).

The consequences of imbalanced, unmitigated agency have been examined by a number of authors. Bakan himself (1966) suggested that unmitigated agency can result in physical illness at the individual level of analysis and social destruction at a more global level. He cites examples such as aggression, sexual promiscuity, and suicide and suggests that the denial and repression which are characteristic of unmitigated agency reflect the precedence mastery is given over openness. The linkage of unmitigated agency with deleterious physical health has also been documented in the work of Stewart and Malley (1987) which illustrates, in part, that women high in agency and low in communion (unmitigated agency) are at considerable risk of physical illness. Buss (1990) examined the expression of unmitigated agency

in dominant acts and found that they involved the formation of separations from others, narcissistic self-assertion, and self-protection. In part, these descriptors were manifest, respectively, as correcting a friend's mistake publicly, yelling and using fists to get one's way, and bluffing one's way out of an embarassing situation. Buss (1990) concludes that, taken together, "these acts appear to sacrifice group harmony for the goal of self-projection." (p. 565).

Conversely, unmitigated communion is a notion largely unexplored by Bakan but pursued by others and associated with susceptibility to undesirable psychological outcomes (e.g., Buss, 1990; Stewart & Malley, 1987). Buss (1990), in the study which examined unmitigated agency, also found a relationship between submissive acts and unmitigated communion. These acts included the toleration of insults, humiliation, and scolding and were manifest, for example, in giving up vacation wishes in deference to others, eating out when not hungry, and agreeing that one is wrong when one is not. The degree of self-subjugation in these acts approaches masochism and implies an absence of appropriate agentic responses (Buss, 1990).

Stewart & Malley (1987) investigated unmitigated communion, defined as "connection and feeling without self-assertion and self-protection" (p. 47) to determine whether it results in depression.

Through case studies, these researchers closely examined 4 women: one who represented unmitigated agency in her orientation to both job and family, another who represented unmitigated communion in these two spheres, a third whose orientation to family was communal and agentic to her job, and a fourth woman who held an agentic family orientation and a communal job orientation. Results of the case study analyses indicate that unmitigated communion appeared to undermine the person's sense of competence and spawned feelings of helplessness. They concluded that it is not necessarily depressing but that it is more generally unhealthy. Depression seemed to result from an imbalance in either agency or communion (Stewart & Malley, 1987) although this study did not enable examination of the possibility of depression being of different types.

Mitigation, or the balance of both components, apparently neutralizes the deleterious effects of either when present alone (e.g., Buss, 1990; Stewart & Malley, 1987; Chodorow, 1978). Stewart and Malley (1987) also conducted content analyses of interviews with 102 women and concluded that a balance of agency and communion enabled the women in their sample to manage stress and change effectively and facilitated physical and emotional health. High levels

of both agency and communion were predictive of well-being scores. The effect for communion on measures of physical health scores was greatest for those women who were also high in agency. It is interesting to note that higher scores on emotional health measures were associated with women who were high or low on both agency and communion. That is, balanced agency and communion, independent of level, was considered predictive of emotional health (Stewart & Malley, 1987). Thus it appears that it is asymmetry which has problematic consequences and not the absolute level of agency and communion.

Specific to SIT, Condor, Brown and Williams (1987) have approximated examination of some of these concepts in a laboratory experiment which, in part, investigated the relationship between intragroup atmosphere, sex of subject, and styles of identity construction on ingroup favouritism. Subjects participated in experimental groups designed to evoke a task (T) or socioemotional (S) orientation. Following the completion of their group activity and identification measures, each group viewed a short excerpt of film which they were told was a recording of the previous session. Subjects were then asked to rate both their own and the target group. In both conditions, there was a tendency toward ingroup

favouritism: the T groups displayed it on instrumental characteristics and the S groups tended to display it on relationship-oriented characteristics. This is not explained by the T groups simply being more instrumental and the S groups being more relationship-oriented since these differences were in perceptions of the target group and not in perceptions of the ingroup. Consistent with SIT, subjects who scored high on group identification tended to show more intergroup differentiation than their less identified counterparts. It is interesting to note that these differences between high and low identifiers appeared on characteristics which were "opposite" to the experimental group type: on relationship ratings for the T condition and on instrumentality ratings for the S condition (Condoret al., 1987). These authors suggest that although this result may be a categorization effect where intergroup differences are maximized on attributes that define the group, it highlights the need to consider the specific dimensions used for intergroup differentiation. The work of these researchers supports a conceptualization of social identity as multifaceted and as having variable behavioural consequences: strength of group identity is not sufficient to predict the extent of intergroup differentiation.

No significant relationships with differentiation were obtained

for sex of subject, gender composition of the group, or individuals' styles of identity construction as measured by the mitigated agency and communion scales of the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). The influences of unmitigated agency and communion, however, were not examined. Similarly, the relationships of agency and communion to other variables which may in turn impact upon differentiation were not examined. Thus, while this work was an important initial attempt to systematically examine different comparative processes and SIT's assumption of uniformity in intergroup behaviour, it leaves the concerns of this dissertation largely unaddressed.

Linkages to Organizational Life: An Application

As an extended example of a context for the application and illustration of these concepts, I turn to organizational life, a domain with which I am familiar and which is ripe for exploration at multiple levels of analysis. In 1990, a study was published by Palus, Nasby and Easton which examined psychological agency as a defining characteristic of executive development. These authors argue that agency is the basic "fuel" for executive performance, a fundamental motivational force within executive identity, with its concomitant

problems and advantages. They illustrate this notion through the story of Dodge Morgan, an American executive who successfully completed a solo circumnavigation of the world on a 60 foot sail boat in 1986.

Palus et al. (1990) argue that executive work and such a voyage are parallel in a number of ways. Each require clarity of vision and complex strategic planning, quick responses, limited or overburdened resources, and periods of physical and mental distress. Both tend to attract highly agentic individuals, are forums for dramatic achievement, and require high levels of autonomy. Palus et al. (1990) believe the most important parallel to be "that performance in each realm potentially benefits from being closely aligned with personal identity as a channel for volatile agentic drives." (p. 511). Thus if agency is considered to be the "fuel" for executive performance, identity is seen to be the psychological "vehicle".

The study included extensive prevoyage assessments of Morgan's personality, cognitive performance, and emotional stability. Data was recorded by Morgan himself on the voyage through the completion of daily instruments comprised of psychometric tests specifically designed to assess change in these areas. In addition,

biographical documents were collected and interpreted, Morgan's personal journal was reviewed, and interviews were conducted with Morgan and his family.

Through analyses of these data and their review of relevant literature, Palus et al. (1990) revealed a number of patterns in the manifestation of agency in executive performance. Agency is virtually synonymous with defining and successfully executing complex tasks, and striving for control. Some research has shown executives to be confident, expansive, seeking achievement, self-assertive, and having a distinct, autonomous sense of self (e.g., Kaplan, 1989, 1990, cited in Palus et al., 1990). Before the voyage, this pattern was certainly characteristic of Morgan: test scores indicated he was independent, achievement oriented, disciplined, poised under pressure, and tended to take risks (Palus et al., 1990). These abilities are necessary for executives to exert power and are often predictive of executive success.

Unmitigated or excessive agency, however, also has negative consequences in this context. Kaplan (1989, cited in Palus et al., 1990) reports imbalanced agency as including arrogance, impatience, insensitivity, and hyperactivity, and as also manifest in being overly ambitious, confident, and self-serving. Relationships are not

nurtured and social networks are neither developed nor maintained. Extreme needs for control can result in an inability to delegate, rigidity, or being overwhelmed with detail and the need for "hands on" managment (McCall, Lombardo & Morrison, 1988, cited in Palus et al., 1990). Stress related illnesses have also been associated with unmitigated agentic drives (e.g., the Type-A personality and its risk of exhaustion, ulcers, and coronary conditions). Palus et al. (1990) refer to this state of unmitigated agency as the "derailed executive" (p. 506).

These excesses were evident at a number of points in Morgan's data. At the time of the pretests (18 months before the voyage), Morgan identified himself through themes of independence, self-assertion and mastery with a concomitant absence of communal themes (Palus et al., 1990). Loneliness was described as "delicious" and no mention was made of people in his life, including family, teachers, mentors or teams. Three episodes of distress were noted and each was marked by a period of impeded forward progress which he could not alleviate. Data indicated that Morgan was particularly stressed by the absence of an enemy or competitor and that an inverse relationship between depression and progress was increasingly obvious. Indeed, individual action resulting in mastery

of a situation is considered to be a hallmark of agency. Palus et al. (1990) maintain that this is precisely where stress originates for executives: not from combatting situational elements but rather from an absence of combat.

Palus et al. (1990) suggest that it is through the mitigation or balance of agency with communion that executives can avoid derailment. Communion is seen as the complement of agency and involves subsuming the self rather than expanding it and is manifest in a desire for intimacy. These authors refer to a study which indicates that this balance is important to executive functioning. Those executives who avoid derailment can be characterized as showing some measure of humility, compassion, and sensitivity to others (McCall & Lombardo, 1983, cited in Palus et al., 1990).

Data collected four months after Morgan's voyage indicate a transition toward communion (Palus et al., 1990) which continued for several years. The psychometric profile reflected a decrease in achievement motivation and independence and an increase in the communal aspect of socialization. His reflections on his experience include a pained awareness of his agentic isolation and a desire for communion, in part reflected in the following comments: "... I do know that love is more important than anything, when once I did

not. ... I do know I yearn to return to those I love, when once I left them for myself. ... I really do know that I am not a competent hermit. I am a social animal." (Palus et al., 1990, p. 521). This rebalancing or mitigating of agency and communion may well not yet be complete for Morgan as his renewed identity continues to emerge.

What is of most interest to me is the central proposition which Palus et al. (1990) argue: that agency is prototypical of executive performance and that mitigating agency with communion is a goal for the potential development of executives. As an organizational change and development practitioner, it is clear to me that interventions in the workplace are very commonly directed toward mitigating agency with connection, relatedness, and other socioemotional, communal competencies. Terms such as "employee empowerment", the development of self-directed workteams, and the growing concern with organizational climates, cultures and equity all reflect this need for a balance of the typically more agentic workplace and management styles with more communal cultures and leadership styles.

At the level of the individual, discontent with workplace managerial styles are often expressed in the very terms used above

to describe the "derailed executive" (e.g., arrogant, insensitive, impatient, unconcerned with relationships). When indicating the preferred managerial style, employees tend to refer to more participative and humane decision-making, a balance of concern with getting the job done with concern for the people doing it. Thus it appears that the need for a balance of agency with communion is not simply a developmental task within individuals in general but may also apply to the development of individuals within specific roles such as organizational leaders, executives, or managers.

It seems reasonable to extend this analysis to the group level within organizations. Interventions with individuals, groups, and organizations themselves are often directed toward the mitigation of agency and communion. Current trends toward empowerment, teamwork and participative management can be understood as examples of mitigative interventions intended to humanize or democratize the workplace and the human relations within it. As further illustration, the traditional relationship between management and collective bargaining units has been adversarial and could be characterized as highly competitive or agentic. The recent work of some practitioners indicates, however, that collaborative intergroup relations with a participative focus are

increasingly the trend. Further evidence for this approach can be found in international conflict resolution work which specifically strives to build relationships and understanding among dissenting parties (e.g., Fisher, 1990). Thus, the need or drive to mitigate agency and communion may be manifest within individuals, within groups or organizations, and at the intergroup level as well. The extent of the applicability of these concepts to this multitude of levels of analysis has yet to be systematically examined.

Drath (1990) notes that managers may have a sincere commitment to empowerment and participative management but tend to be ill equipped to implement such commitments since managerial success has historically been defined in agentic terms. The research of Drath and his colleagues has focused on the role of executive development in organizational development with results indicating that aspects of the character of successful managers impact the prospects for effective organizational development. Drath (1990) explores the process by which the self is constructed and given meaning as humans endeavor to both integrate with others and differentiate the self toward autonomy. He argues that managers have tremendous demands placed upon them to both separate and relate (for example, to both take responsibility and

share authority) and to manage these tensions which are the very essence of their role.

Drath (1990) reviews and applies a developmental model to facilitate the resolution of managerial identity issues to move them toward interdependence or, in Bakan's (1966) terminology, mitigated agency. This work illuminates the sense of threat and risk many managers experience as they develop these capacities which often entails a restructuring of the self, of identity. While organizational development efforts endeavor to facilitate this movement toward interdependence and collaboration, managers must attempt it within organizational climates which typically continue to favour the historical context and historical benchmarks of success and meaning (Drath, 1990).

In looking toward the future, Drath (1990) describes the features of organizations which could emerge from the development work of managers. These features constitute the current goals and practice of many organizational change and strategic planning intitiatives: shared and open discourse on mission and goals, personal openness and interpersonal disclosure beyond current norms, and a shared and collaboratively derived understanding of the sociohistorical context of the organization that would spawn

informed decision-making (Drath, 1990). Decision-makers' energy would be directed more toward the achievement of meaning for the organization with accountability to consensually derived expectations and less toward the achievement of personal meaning. Thus, the development of individual decision-makers can be seen as analogous to the development of organizational culture, each involving processes of mitigating agency with communion.

What is germane to the applied component of this thesis are the implications of such development from a social identity perspective. Questions to explore at the individual level of analysis include the impact of these developmental changes on individuals' personal and social identities. From an organizational perspective, these issues are relevant insofar as they pertain to changing perceptions of the social categories of, for example, "decision-maker", "leader", "manager" or "employee". The redefinition of these categories in terms of their defining characteristics and the values placed upon them by members of the ingroup and relevant outgroups have implications for understanding the nature of biases within western organizations. Understanding the nature of the biases which both facilitate and hinder organizational change endeavors can enable change agents to refine their interventions and

enhance the effectiveness of developmental initatives.

Rationale, Research Questions and Hypotheses

In general, this dissertation was an attempt to create a new vantage point from which to reflect upon SIT by pursuing some of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) recent theoretical and empirical work and linking it to Bakan's (1966) concepts of agency and communion. This is motivated by my belief in the value of a breadth of analysis which I have tried to accomplish through interweaving these broad concepts from different areas of psychology.

Before many of the recent considerations and developments can be incorporated into research endeavors which can build upon the predictive specificity of SIT, however, I believe it is necessary to first establish some basic or fundamental relationships among several variables. I also believe it necessary that a feminist meta-analysis be brought to bear in order to ensure that consideration of these variables and relationships be as inclusive, integrative, and flexible as possible. Generally, there are two modes of engaging in feminist studies: woman-centred and nonsexist research. The woman-centred approach focuses on the inclusion of women's experience in the formulation of both research questions and

answers. In contrast, nonsexist research endeavors to transform social science itself, not through the creation of a new paradigm centred around women but through an integration which transforms both the current androcentric approach and a gynocentric approach into a nonsexist approach to scholarship (Eichler, 1990). This dissertation aspires to the latter. While recognizing considerable diversity of opinion among feminists, I share Eichler's perspective that feminist scholarship does not by definition determine or restrict our use of particular research methods. Rather, a feminist approach is brought to bear on all aspects of the research process including the language and concepts used, the questions posed, the application of methods, the interpretations and policy recommendations made, and the overall assumptions and perspective of the work (Eichler, 1990).

Study 1: The reader will recall Williams' (1984) position that SIT has typically emphasized processes of social identity formation and maintenance that she considers to be agentic, an emphasis which she argues renders an incomplete accounting of social identity construction and intergroup evaluative processes. These agentic processes involve invidious social comparisons in which the ingroup is valued more highly than the outgroup rather than communal

processes in which identity is constructed and maintained through affiliation with others. While Williams' (1984) argument is compelling, however, the relationship between aspects of social identity and the concepts of agency and communion (Bakan, 1966) has not been established.

Recent developments in SIT provide some potential linkages to these concepts which warrant pursuit. Hinkle and Brown (1990) and Brown et al. (1992) have moved toward a more complete accounting of the relationship between social identity processes and intergroup differentiation through the delineation of a two dimensional taxonomy which distinguishes among types of groups and group situations in terms of individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational orientations. The extent to which these developments address Williams' (1984) concerns has yet to be determined. The reader will recall that both individualism and agency refer to, for example, individual achievement, interpersonal competition, autonomy or separation, and self-assertion. Conversely, both collectivism and communion make reference to interdependence with others, collective achievement, intragroup cooperation, openness, contact, and union. Thus, there appear to be considerable similarities between definitions of individualism and agency and

between definitions of collectivism and communion. Agency and communion, however, are considered to be independent constructs (e.g., Bakan, 1966; Spence & Helmreich, 1978) while individualism-collectivism are polar opposites (e.g., Triandis et al., 1988; Hinkle & Brown, 1990).

In the interests of enriching the construct of social identity and working to ameliorate an androcentric bias in SIT (Williams, 1984), therefore, this thesis explored the relationship between individualism-collectivism and the constructs of agency and communion. In addition, Williams' (1984) work suggests a need to examine the relationship between measures of agency, communion, and social identity. This too was exploratory research as it had not been directly investigated elsewhere.

Another important psychometric consideration has been included in this pursuit. Specifically, the first study examined the relationship between agency and communion and the second dimension of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) taxonomy, the autonomous-relational group orientation. The overlap or similarity between this dimension and agency and communion is not readily apparent. It was considered, nonetheless, worthwhile to examine these relationships in an exploratory sense for the sake of completeness.

These considerations led to the formation of the following research questions and hypotheses. The hypotheses which pertain to the confirmatory work are presented first. This is considered to be useful for the reader since the exploratory work builds upon current knowledge in extant areas. Until consistencies between aspects of the present research and previous endeavors are established, exploratory examination of interrelationships is premature.

The data collected in the study provided an opportunity to do confirmatory factor analysis in accord with previous investigations which established the orthogonality of agency and communion (e.g., Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Spence et al., 1979) and the orthogonality of the dimensions of individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational group orientations (Brown et al., 1992). This aspect of the research also enabled further tests of the reliability and validity of the scales used to assess these constructs. Since the dimension of autonomous-relational group orientations has only recently been proposed, further psychometric work on the reliability and validity of its measure is of particular value.

The hypotheses were, therefore, that:

1 Factor analysis of the individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational group orientations measures

will generate a factor structure which demonstrates that these two dimensions are orthogonal.

2 When the factor structures of the measures of agency and the measures of communion are examined, this confirmatory analysis will generate orthogonal dimensions.

2.1 A significant negative relationship will be obtained between the measures of unmitigated agency[11] and mitigated communion and between the measures of unmitigated communion and mitigated agency.

The first study also served as a conceptual replication of the field study conducted by Brown et al. (1992, experiment 3). Replication of this work with another sample in another culture could contribute to the value of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) taxonomy and to the validity of the autonomous-relational orientation scale. Recall that the Brown et al. (1992) study examined the relationship between group type (as determined by measures of individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational orientations), social identity, and ingroup bias among English school children. The specific hypothesis of relevance here is that:

3 The strongest relationship between group identification (social identity) and positive intergroup differentiation (ingroup bias) will occur for

[11] These scales are desribed in detail in the Method section.

collectivists with a relational orientation, and this relationship will not be obtained for individualists with an autonomous orientation. The strongest evidence in support of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) theory is that these two correlations are significantly different. Correlations in the remaining two cells of the taxonomy are hypothesized to fall between these two extremes.

The following research questions were pursued as exploratory aspects of this dissertation:

4 The relationship among the measures of agency and communion and the individualism-collectivism dimension will be examined. As this is initial exploratory work, specific predictions are not made.

It is anticipated, however, that there will be a positive and significant relationship obtained between scores on measures of agency and individualism. Similarly, it is anticipated that there will be a positive and significant relationship obtained between scores on measures of communion and collectivism.

5 The relationships among the various measures of agency and communion and the autonomous-relational dimension will be examined. Again, as this is initial exploratory work, specific predictions are not made.

6 The relationships among the measures of agency and communion and the measure of social identity will be examined. As this also constitutes exploratory research, no specific predictions are advanced. If Williams (1984) is correct, however, it seems likely that the measure of social identity will correlate with

the measures of agency significantly more strongly than with the measures of communion.

7. The factor structure of the measures of agency, communion, and individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational group orientations will be examined. This is exploratory factor analytic work and consequently, specific predictions regarding the potential factor structure are not made.

In summary, the first study of this dissertation had several purposes. First, it served as opportunity to confirm the orthogonality of the dimensions within Hinkle and Brown's (1990) typology and the dimensions of agency and communion (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). In addition, it provided further psychometric work on the reliability and validity of these constructs, particularly the autonomous-relational dimension. Second, this study provided an opportunity to replicate Brown et al.'s (1992) application of the taxonomy to the examination of the relationship between social identity and ingroup bias. Finally, this study endeavored to directly explore the relationship between measures of agency and communion, the dimensions of individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational group orientations, and social identity. These endeavors are considered to be important as they enhance construct validity and dimensional clarity, basic issues which need to be

addressed prior to developing a more complete accounting of social identity formation and maintenance processes. This development work will, in turn, facilitate research initiatives directed toward the examination of the relationships among various social identity processes and ingroup bias.

Study 1

METHOD

Subjects

A total of 368 undergraduate students at the University of Saskatchewan, with a mean age of 20.6 years, participated in Study 1. In addition, two hundred and fifty-five (255) questionnaire packages were distributed to employed persons in Saskatoon and Regina, of which 190 were returned. This constitutes a 74.5% return rate for the field sample. This second sample was included in order to enhance the validity of the results and to assess the stability of the factor analytic solutions. Table 1 contains summary statistics which describe the sample size, gender, and age distributions of the college student sample and the field sample of employed individuals.

Table 2 presents the college affiliations of the student sample which indicates that the vast majority of college respondents were enrolled in the College of Arts and Science (75.6% of the total college sample). Tables 3 and 4 summarize the types of work and types of employers reported by the field sample respondents. These tables indicate that the work performed by these people was primarily professional or academic (43.7%), administrative or managerial

Table 1.
Descriptive Statistics

	COLLEGE SAMPLE	FIELD SAMPLE
TOTAL SAMPLE SIZE	368	190
Women	237	136
Men	119	53
AGE		
Range in Years	17 - 67	21 - 69
Mean (Mode)	20.6 (18)	41.5 (41)

Table 2.
College Affiliations: Student Sample

COLLEGE	NUMBER	PERCENT
Arts & Science - Social Sciences	115	31.3
- Physical Sciences	89	24.2
- Humanities	49	13.3
- Fine Arts	25	6.8
Commerce	44	12.0
Engineering	13	3.5
Education	7	1.9
Agriculture	6	1.6
Nursing	3	0.8
Physical Education	3	0.8
Pharmacy	2	0.5
Missing Data	12	3.3
Total n=	368	100%

Table 3.
Type Of Work: Field Sample

TYPE OF WORK	NUMBER	PERCENT
Professional or Academic	83	43.7
Administration or Management	48	25.3
Clerical or Administrative Support	39	20.5
Service	9	4.7
Technical	5	2.6
Agriculture or Horticulture	3	1.6
Heavy Equipment Op. or Transportation	2	1.1
Artistic or Literary	1	0.5
Total n=	190	100%

Table 4.
Type Of Employer: Field Sample

TYPE OF EMPLOYER	NUMBER	PERCENT
Education or Training	76	40.0
Civic, Provincial or Federal Government	52	27.4
Community, Business or Personal Services	32	16.8
Self-employed	14	7.4
Transportation, Communication or Utilities	6	3.2
Technology or Research and Development	4	2.1
Construction or Manufacturing	3	1.6
Agriculture or Mining	2	1.1
Missing Data	1	0.5
Total n=	190	100%

(25.3%), and clerical or administrative support services (20.5%). The majority of field respondents (67.4% in total) are employed by education and training organizations or the government (civic, provincial or federal).

Procedure

Access to undergraduate Psychology classes was negotiated through the Psychology Department's Subject Pool Coordinator and relevant faculty members. A researcher assistant introduced herself, described the purpose of the study as exploratory work on the nature of people's perceptions of themselves as individuals and as group members, invited the students' participation in the study, and explained the purpose of the consent form (see Appendix A).

A questionnaire (see Appendix B for scale items and instructions), opscan sheets, and a consent form were distributed to those students who chose to participate. The questionnaire contained instructions, the measures described below, and several demographic questions. The final item on the questionnaire was a yes/no question as to whether they would be willing to be contacted about participating in the second phase of the research. Thirty-two percent of the respondents (n=119) opted to do so and most then

provided their name, address and telephone number on the top of the opscan sheet. Finally, the students were thanked for their participation, questions were fielded, and they were invited to read a copy of the results of the study at the Psychology Department general office the following October. In the situations where in-class time was not available for completing the questionnaire, a sign-up sheet was circulated for individuals to choose among several times to meet with the research assistant to complete the instrument.

The procedure with the field sample was slightly modified as I did not have personal contact with all of these individuals. Consequently, a cover letter to the questionnaire package was included (see Appendix C) which described my role, the purpose of the study and the consent form, and expressed appreciation for their participation. The package also included a sharpened novelty pencil as a token of my appreciation for their participation. Packages were distributed to individuals employed in organizations in Saskatoon and Regina within which I had identified a central contact person who had agreed to coordinate the dissemination and collection of questionnaires on my behalf. Upon their completion, questionnaires were returned to me directly or through these contact people. Fifty-one percent of the field respondents (n=97) indicated that they were

willing to be contacted regarding participation in the second phase of the research.

The questionnaire package for the field respondents was identical to that described above with the following exceptions. The Social Identity and Ingroup Bias scales were removed. These scales were not included as the heterogeneity of the field sample precluded the identification of an ingroup or outgroup that would be common to all respondents. Additional demographic questions were included which identified occupation and type of organizational employer.

Measures

The following measures and instructions for their completion are contained within Appendix B. In order to minimize the possibility of order effects, the order of items within scales was chosen randomly. Similarly, the order of presentation of the agency, communion, individualism-collectivism, and autonomous-relational scales was random. In order to reduce printing costs, the questionnaires from the college sample were reused for the field sample. As the field sample would not be completing the Social Identity and Ingroup Bias scales, these measures were printed on the last pages of the questionnaire for ease of removal. For the

college sample, the order of presentation of these measures on the last pages was chosen randomly. A final page with the demographic questions pertinent to the field sample was added.

Individualism-Collectivism Scale: This measure is taken from the extensive review and factor analytic work of Triandis et al. (1988). The original pool of items was taken from previous research including Triandis' work on the instrument's convergent and divergent validity (Triandis et al., 1985, cited in Triandis et al., 1988) and its ability to distinguish different cultures in cross-cultural studies (Triandis et al., 1986; Triandis et al., 1988). The measure consists of 29 items which formed a stable 3 factor solution. The factors were named self-reliance with competition (accounted for 35.2 % of the variance), concern for ingroup (accounted for 13.7% of the variance), and distance from ingroups (accounted for 12% of the variance). As the factors are intercorrelated, Triandis advocates the use of all 29 items to create a total scale score. Each of the 29 items is rated on a 9 point scale, ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", four of which are reverse scored.

Although measures of internal consistency are available for a short, 12 item version of the Triandis et al. (1988) scale (e.g., Brown

et al., 1992), Cronbach's alpha for the 29 item scale is not reported in the original source. Meeres (1994), however, employed 26 of the 29 items from the full scale in her Master's thesis research and obtained a reasonable reliability (Cronbach's α=0.68).

Autonomous-Relational Orientations Scale: Hinkle et al. (1992) conducted factor analytic research on the autonomous-relational dimension. Thirteen (13) items were found to form 2 factors: relative status concern (RSC) and evaluation process (EP). The RSC subscale includes items which reflect concern with the ingroup's status relative to other groups. The EP subscale assesses preferences for "us vs. them" evaluative comparison processess or preferences for more autonomous bases for group evaluation. These autonomous bases for evaluation may involve comparison to an abstract or internal standard rather than to another group as with the evaluative comparison process. Each item is rated on a 9 point scale, ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree".

The RSC and EP subscales demonstrated satisfactory internal consistency with Cronbach's alphas of 0.86 and 0.69 respectively. The overall alpha for the 13 item scale was 0.82 (Hinkle et al., 1992). The correlation between the subscales was 0.42. The validity of the

subscales was assessed in two ways. First, their correlations with a measure of tendency to engage in intergroup comparison and self-reported frequency of intergroup comparison were all significant at $p<.01$. In addition, the correlations between identification and ingroup bias were computed for each group orientation generated on the individualism-collectivism scale and both the RSC and EP subscales. As expected, the highest correlation, when based upon the EP subscale, was found in the collectivist/relational cell. In contrast, the highest correlation between identification and bias was obtained in the collectivist/autonomous cell when based on the RSC subscale. As Hinkle et al. (1992) note, this pattern of results is not surprising as the content of the EP subscale corresponds more closely to previous theoretical descriptions of the autonomous-relational distinction (e.g., Hinkle & Brown, 1990).

The six item RSC subscale was used by Brown et al. (1992) in two studies. Cronbach's alphas of 0.89 and 0.94 were obtained, respectively. In both of these studies, the correlations between strength of group identification and ingroup bias were calculated by quadrant of the taxonomy and the expected pattern was obtained. That is, the highest correlation between social identity and ingroup bias was found in the relational-collectivist cells, the lowest in the

autonomous-individualist cell, with the remaining two correlations falling between these extremes.

Agency and Communion Measures: In 1978, Spence and Helmreich published a measure of masculinity and femininity which they entitled the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ). These authors argue that the core properties of femininity "can be usefully labeled or conceptualized as a sense of communion and the core properties of masculinity as a sense of agency." (p. 18). Their research demonstrates the independence or orthogonality of these dimensions. This perspective also finds support in, for example, the work of Block (1973), Bem (1974), and in Loevinger's (1976) work on ego development where she characterizes agency and communion as crucial components of masculinity and femininity. Spence and Helmreich (1978) have maintained the use of the labels masculinity and femininity on the PAQ, however, since the belief that the sexes differ on these attributes is both widely held and largely descriptive, particularly at the time of the measure's publication. They do caution that these terms are not directly descriptive of the content of the scales and that the terminology detracts from the fact that the characteristics have implications for the behaviour of both men and

women, independent of how informative they may be about sex differences.

Briefly, the development of the PAQ was based on ratings of the typical man and typical woman on 55 trait dimensions. These traits had been determined to differentiate between socially desirable stereotypes of the typical man and woman. Ratings of the ideal individual were also obtained and these were used to form the 3 scales: Masculinity (M+), Femininity (F+), and Masculinity-Femininity (M-F). The M+ scale contains items which are considered to be socially desirable in both genders but that males are believed to possess to a greater degree that females (e.g., independence). Similarly, the F+ scale contains items which are considered to be socially desirable in both genders but which females are believed to possess in greater abundance than males (e.g., gentleness). In contrast, the M-F scale contains those characteristics where the ratings for the ideal man and ideal woman were on opposite ends of the midpoint, indicating that what was socially desirable for one was undesirable for the other (e.g, aggressiveness being deemed desirable in males and nonaggressiveness desirable in females).

The correlations between the M+ and F+ scales were low and positive for both genders in their samples from which Spence and

Helmreich (1978) conclude that the dimensions are independent and indicative of the dualistic nature of masculinity and femininity rather than supporting the historical bipolar conceptualization of masculinity and femininity.

From the original set of items, 8 were chosen for each scale based on the magnitude of the correlation between the item and the scale of which it is a part. The resulting 24 items constitute the short form of the PAQ. Each item (rated on a scale from 1 to 5) is scored from 0 to 4 where a high score on M+ and M-F indicate extreme masculine or agentic responses and a high score on F+ indicating an extreme feminine or communal response. The possible scores range from 0 to 32 for each of these scales.

Spence and Helmreich (1978) report Cronbach alphas of 0.85 (M+), 0.82 (F+) and 0.78 (M-F) for the short form. The validity of the instrument has been demonstrated through the pattern of relationships obtained and reported in Spence and Helmreich (1978) in their extensive research project which specifically examined the psychological dimensions of masculinity and femininity in relation to a number of other measures and in a multitude of contexts, including cross-cultural studies.

Spence and Helmreich (1978) maintain that their scales are

measures of mitigated agency and mitigated communion and found conceptual justification for this in the work of Bakan (1966). The items which constitute the M+ scale largely refer to socially desirable instrumental, agentic characteristics while items on the F+ scale refer to socially desirable expressive, communal characteristics (see Appendix B).

These authors describe the content of the M-F scale as mixed, containing items which can be classified as either agentic, communal or a combination. In fact, the communal items of the M-F scale appear to refer, primarily, to emotional vulnerability and largely unflattering characteristics considered stereotypically feminine (e.g., very submissive, high need for security, feelings easily hurt, very excitable in a major crisis, and being home oriented vs. worldly). As such, I cannot support the contention that the M-F scale assesses unambiguously socially desirable characteristics. The bipolar nature of the M-F scale is also conceptually inconsistent with the dualistic interpretation of masculinity and femininity that characterizes the Spence and Helmreich's (1978) interpretation and discussion. Because of these confusions and a similar lack of conceptual clarity in the psychometric analyses of Helmreich, Spence and Wilhelm (1981), I did not include the M-F scale in my research.

The PAQ has been expanded (EPAQ) by Spence, Helmreich, & Holahan (1979) to also include scales which assess negative or socially undesirable masculinity and femininity. This work was motivated by a desire to develop measures of unmitigated agency and unmitigated communion that were conceptually parallel to the M+ and F+ scales (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Similar procedures to the development of the PAQ were followed. Criteria consistent with Bakan's (1966) formulation were established to identify items which reflected unmitigated agency (M-), from which 8 items were chosen to equal the number on the original version of the PAQ. The identification of items reflective of negative or unmitigated communion was more difficult. Four items were found to be close to conceptualizations of unmitigated communion and consequently form the F_{C-} scale. The second cluster of socially undesirable communal characteristics contain items which describe verbal passive-aggressiveness. These 4 items form the F_{VA-} scale. When added to the 24 items from the PAQ scales, the scales of the EPAQ total 40 items.

All 40 items of the EPAQ are rated on a 5 point scale (and scored from 0 to 4) where the extremes reflect low and high degrees of the trait. The M+, M- and M-F scales are scored in an agentic

direction and the F+, F_{C-} and F_{VA-} scales are scored in a communal direction. Spence, Helmreich, & Holahan (1979) obtained the expected pattern of correlations among the scales and between the scales and other measures. For example, the correlations between M+ and M- and between F+, F_{C-} and F_{VA-} for both sexes were nonsignificant or of very small magnitude. Significant negative correlations were found between the cross-typed positive and negative scales. That is, those high on M+ tended to be low on both F_{C-} and F_{VA-}, and similarly, those high on F+ tended to be low on M-. This is interpreted as congruent with Bakan (1966) insofar as those with a healthy sense of self as reflected in mitigated agency would tend to be low on the traits that reflect unmitigated communion. Characteristics of unmitigated agency would tend to appear where socially desirable communal attributes are relatively lacking. In neither sex did socially desirable and undesirable agentic or communal traits covary.

With respect to relationships with other measures, Spence et al. (1979) expected and obtained, for example, a negative correlation between self esteem and F_{C-}. Their data also indicate a lack of a social desirability response bias to the EPAQ. If such a bias were operating, these authors would expect substantial negative

correlations between counterpart positive and negative scales which were not obtained.

These patterns are consistent with the results of the research of Helmreich, Spence and Wilhelm (1981). The reliabilities of the EPAQ scales were calculated by these authors on separate samples of women and men. The following alpha coefficients were generated for the sample of females: M+, α=0.74; F+, α=0.75; M-F, α=0.63; M-, α=0.70; F_{VA-}, α=0.63 (4 items); and F_{C-}, α=0.41 (4 items). The following alpha coefficients were generated for the sample of males: M+, α=0.74; F+, α=0.75; M-F, α=0.54; M-, α=0.69; F_{VA-}, α=0.60 (4 items); and F_{C-}, α=0.46 (4 items). Thus, the scales were demonstrated to be of satisfactory reliability with the exception of F_{C-}.

Helmreich, Spence and Wilhelm (1981) also conducted other psychometric analyses of the PAQ and the EPAQ. These served to demonstrate the orthogonality of the M+ and F+ dimensions for both sexes across 6 factor analyses of the PAQ. Each analysis generated an optimal 2 factor solution and reproduced the M+ and F+ scales of the PAQ. These authors also conclude that the data justify the separation of mitigated and unmitigated traits into separate scales. A differential factor structure for the negative items of the EPAQ

emerged for males and females. Among females, a 3 factor solution reproduced the 3 scales (M-, F_{VA-} and F_{C-}). For males, M- and F_{VA-} items combined to form a single factor while the F_{C-} scale formed a separate dimension. Overall, the negative scales had low correlations with their parallel positive scales and substantial negative correlations with the opposite scales (Helmreich, Spence & Wilhelm, 1981). For example, in females the correlation between M+ and M- was .12 while the correlation was -.44 between M- and F+.

Five of the six scales of the EPAQ were used in the present study: M+ as a measure of mitigated agency (8 items), F+ for mitigated communion (8 items), M- as a measure of unmitigated agency (8 items), and F_{VA-} (4 items) and F_{C-} (4 items) as measures of unmitigated communion. Each scale and its associated items are presented in Appendix B.

Social Identity Scale: This measure of strength of ingroup identification consists of 10 items which are each rated on a 5 point scale. The response categories range through "never", "seldom", "sometimes", "often",and "very often". Five of the items are reverse scored which gives a possible range of total scores on the measure of 10 to 50. Consistent with Tajfel's original definition of social

identity, the scale has been developed to assess its 3 components: awareness of group membership (tapped through items 2 and 5), evaluation (items 1, 6, 7 and 10), and affect (items 3, 4, 8 and 9). The scale items are presented in random order upon administration. For the purposes of this dissertation, the ingroup referred to for this measure was University of Saskatchewan students.

The validity of the measure is supported by the multicomponent results of the Hinkle, Taylor, and Fox-Cardomone (1989) factor analysis. The internal consistency of the social identity scale has been demonstrated in a number of studies with the following Cronbach's alphas obtained: 0.71 in Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade, and Williams (1986); 0.87 (Study 1) and 0.88 (Study 2) in Brown et al. (1992); 0.85 in Hinkle et al. (1989); and, at the group level of analysis, 0.88 in Grant and Brown (1995).

Ingroup Bias Measure: In this study, ingroup bias was assessed as attitudes which favour the ingroup over the outgroup. Thus, differentiation is determined by the relative evaluations of the two groups. On separate pages, subjects were asked to describe their own group (University of Saskatchewan students) and another group (University of Regina students) on a 7-point semantic differential

attitude scale developed by Grant (1992, 1993a & b; Grant & Brown, 1995). This scale consists of eight bipolar pairs of adjectives with half of the items reversed. Ingroup bias is measured by subtracting the outgroup ratings from the ingroup ratings.

The internal consistency of this measure has been repeatedly demonstrated. For example, Grant (1992, experiment 2) obtained a Cronbach's alpha for the ingroup subscale of 0.66 and 0.95 for the outgroup with N=54 groups. Similarly, Grant and Brown (1995) report Cronbach'salpha of 0.82 for the ingroup subscale and 0.92 for the outgroup measure with N=98 groups. As well, the validity of this measure has been demonstrated by the results of several studies which show that groups use it to respond more ethnocentrically to an outgroup when threatened (Grant, 1992, 1993a & b; Grant & Brown, 1995).

RESULTS

The first information presented below pertains to tests of the reliabilities of the measures used in Study 1. Tables 1 through 4, found in the above Method section, contain the summarized demographic information.

The statistical results of Study 1 are presented in two sections. Section One presents the results of analyses based on specific demographic characteristics of each sample. For the demographic categories of considerable size (i.e., $\underline{n} \geq 25$), analyses of variance were conducted to determine if there were significant differences among these groups on their scale scores. Where significant gender differences were found, the data were reanalyzed within each gendered subsample. These subsample results are presented within Section Two.

Section Two presents the results of analyses as they pertain to each hypothesis in turn. One-tailed tests of significance were used where predictions were unidirectional, otherwise two-tailed tests of significance were conducted. The results in this section are reported in accordance with the order of the hypotheses. To remind the reader, each hypothesis is reiterated before the results of the

relevant analyses are presented. Tests of the first three hypotheses, which pertain to the confirmatory analyses, are followed by the results of the exploratory hypotheses.

Scale Reliabilities

Table 5 presents the reliability (Cronbach'salpha) of each scale used in the study. With 3 specific exceptions, the scales demonstrated good to excellent levels of reliability. These exceptions include the 2 scales which assess unmitigated communion and verbal passive-aggression, both of which were developed to measure unmitigated communion (Spence et al., 1979). This low level of reliability is not surprising since these 2 scales are each comprised of only 4 items. It is important to note, however, that each of these scales demonstrated adequate reliability for one sample and inadequate reliability for the other.

Specifically, the unmitigated communion scale had a coefficient alpha of 0.49 with the college sample and 0.63 with the field sample. Conversely, the verbal passive-aggression scale had a coefficient alpha of 0.65 with the college sample and 0.47 with the field sample. Consequently, results of analyses of the unmitigated communion scale with the college sample data and with the verbal passive-

Table 5.
Scale Reliabilities: Cronbach Alphas for All Measures

SCALE (number of items)	COLLEGE SAMPLE ALPHA (sample size)	FIELD SAMPLE ALPHA (sample size)
Individualism-Collectivism (29)	0.79 (n=335)	0.71 (n=177)
Autonomous-Relational (13)	0.83 (n=340)	0.82 (n=183)
Relative Status Concern (6)	0.86 (n=354)	0.85 (n=183)
Evaluative Process (7)	0.55 (n=346)	0.56 (n=183)
Mitigated Agency (8)	0.74 (n=361)	0.84 (n=189)
Unmitigated Agency (8)	0.77 (n=358)	0.74 (n=190)
Mitigated Communion (8)	0.78 (n=362)	0.88 (n=190)
Unmitigated Communion (4)	0.49 (n=348)	0.63 (n=188)
Verbal Passive-Aggression (4)	0.65 (n=363)	0.47 (n=188)
Social Identity (10)	0.77 (n=358)	Not applicable
Attitudes toward Ingroup (8)	0.83 (n=350)	Not applicable
Attitudes toward Outgroup(8)	0.91 (n=279)	Not applicable

aggression scale for the field sample must be interpreted with caution.

The Evaluative Process subscale of the Autonomous-Relational measure was found to have inadequate reliability with both the college and field samples. The overall Autonomous-Relational measure, however, demonstrated excellent internal consistency with

both samples. The correlation coefficients between the Relative Status Concern (RSC) and the Evaluative Process (EP) subscales were 0.59 (n=340) for the college sample and 0.64 (n=183) for the field sample. The reader will recall that Hinkle et al. (1992) obtained a correlation of 0.42 between the subscales for their sample of college students. The total scores from the autonomous-relational measure are used in all relevant analyses with the exception of Hypothesis 3 which includes examination of the subscales. Other properties of the measures used in the study are discussed in Section Two as they pertain to specific hypotheses.

Section One: Differences on Dependent Measures

For the demographic categories of considerable size (i.e., $n \geq 25$), 1-way ANOVAs were conducted to determine if there were significant differences among these groups on their scale scores. Where the *F* statistic indicated there were significant overall differences, the Tukey[12] post hoc procedure was used to identify

[12] The Tukey procedure was used for the pairwise comparisons because it maintains the overall α level at .05, it provides a balance in controlling both type I and type II errors, and it is a fairly powerful test for detecting differences (Stevens, 1990). Although the Newman-Keuls post hoc procedure is often used, it does not actually control the overall α level and is considered to be quite liberal (Stevens, 1990). Tukey was used because it is a more conservative test.

which group means significantly differed from each other. Tables 6, 7, 8 and 9 present the results of these analyses for those measures which generated significant differences.

Significant differences were found on the mitigated agency measure and the measure of individualism-collectivism. Specifically, Table 6 indicates that the scores on the mitigated agency measure for Physical Science majors were significantly greater than scores on the same measure for Social Science and Commerce majors. No other significant differences were found among the other college majors. On this same measure with the field sample (Table 7), individuals who performed administrative or managerial work scored significantly higher on the measure of mitigated agency than did individuals who are employed in a clerical or administrative support

Table 6.
Mean Differences on Mitigated Agency Measure by Major: College Sample

	College Major				
Measure	Social Science	Physical Science	Humanities	Fine Arts	Commerce
Mitigated Agency	19.24^{a}	21.81^{b}	19.84^{ab}	20.56^{ab}	19.57^{a}

Note: Scores range from 0 to 32 with a high score indicating a high level of mitigated agency.
Means which do not share a subscript are significantly different from each other ($p < .05$).

Table 7.
Mean Differences on Mitigated Agency Measure by Type of Work: Field Sample

	Type of Work		
Measure	Administration or Management	Clerical or Admin. Support	Professional or Academic
Mitigated Agency	24.07[a]	20.31[b]	22.06[ab]

Note: Scores range from 0 to 32 with a high score indicating a high level of mitigated agency.
Means which do not share a subscript are significantly different from each other ($p < .05$).

capacity. Neither of these two groups differed in their scores on mitigated agency from those individuals who work as professionals or academics.

Table 8 presents the information pertaining to differences obtained on the individualism-collectivism measure for the field sample. Individuals who worked for a community, business or personal services employer tended to be more individualistic than those whose employer was an educational or training organization.

Table 9 presents the significant gender differences on all measures with both the college and field samples. Descriptions of these data are presented below in Section Two as they pertain to individual hypotheses which were reanalyzed with each gendered subsample.

Table 8.
Mean Differences on Individualism-Collectivism Measure by Type of Employer: Field Sample

	Type of Employer		
Measure	Community, Business or Personal Services	Education or Training	Government (civic, provincial or federal)
Individualism-Collectivism	119.31[a]	107.01[b]	111.06[ab]

Note: Scores range from 29 to 261 with a high score indicates individualism and a low score indicates collectivism.
Means which do not share a subscript are significantly different from each other ($p < .05$).

Table 9.
Means for Significant Gender Differences on Measures: College and Field Samples

	College Sample			Field Sample		
Measure	Females	Males	p	Females	Males	p
Individualism-Collectivism	111.32	125.43	.0001	NS[1]	NS	NS
Social Identity	39.25	37.86	.0307	NA[2]	NA	NA
Ingroup Bias	2.98	5.56	.0109	NA	NA	NA
Mitigated Agency	19.26	22.03	.0001	NS	NS	NS
Unmitigated Agency	11.79	15.47	.0001	10.88	12.51	.0322
Mitigated Communion	24.03	22.22	.0002	24.63	22.06	.0111
Unmitigated Communion	6.93	6.11	.0023	NS	NS	NS

Note: A high score on all measures is indicative of a high level of the construct, with the exception of individualism-collectivism where a high score indicates individualism and a low score indicates collectivism. See Appendix B for details of the possible range of scores for each measure.
[1] NS = not significant [2] NA = not applicable

Section Two: Primary Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1

> It was hypothesized that factor analysis of the individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational group orientations measures will generate a factor structure which demonstrates that these two dimensions are orthogonal.

Although it may appear that the appropriate test of this hypothesis would be a factor analysis that includes all of the individualism-collectivism scale items and all of the autonomous-relational items in one analysis, this was not the intention of the hypothesis. This hypothesis was intended to confirm the previous work on individualism-collectivism conducted by Triandis et al. (1988) and the research of Hinkle et al. (1992) on autonomous-relational group orientations. Consequently, separate factor analyses were conducted on the two scales with the expectation that the analyses would replicate the factor structures within each scale. The orthogonality of the dimensions of individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational group orientations was assessed with the same correlational analysis as originally used by Brown et al. (1992).

The data for the confirmatory factor analyses of these two

measures were subjected to Principal Components Analysis (PCA) with varimax rotation. Tables 10a and 10b contain the items and factor loadings for the individualism-collectivism measure with the college and field samples respectively.

The three factors in the college sample solution account for 14.3%, 9.9% and 9.1% of the total variance, respectively, with the total variance accounted for equal to 33.3%. With very minor exceptions, the resulting factor structure for the college sample closely replicates the work of Triandis et al. (1988). In the work of Triandis et al. (1988), the factors were given the following names: factor 1 was self-reliance with competition which accounted for 35.2% of the variance, factor 2 was concern for ingroup which accounted for 13.7% of the variance, and factor 3 was distance from ingroups which accounted for 12% of the variance.

The items which comprise factor 1 with the college sample are identical to those of previous research with two exceptions. Item 16 ("To be superior, a person must stand alone.") loads highly (.40) on its intended factor (self-reliance with competition) but more highly (.46) on factor 2 (concern for ingroup). This item does not seem to have a clear conceptual relationship with this factor. In contrast, item 27 ("What happens to me is my own doing.") could be

Table 10a.
Factor Loadings for Individualism-Collectivism Measure: College Sample (PCA with varimax rotation)

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
1. Winning is everything.	.744	.150	-.088
2. I feel winning is important in both work and games.	.729	.106	-.087
3. If you want something done right, you've got to do it yourself.	.642	.013	.080
4. Only those who depend on themselves get ahead in life.	.641	.175	.219
5. Success is the most important thing in life.	.636	-.063	.060
6. Doing your best isn't enough; it is important to win.	.627	.103	-.057
7. If the group is slowing me down, it is better to leave it and work alone.	.609	.166	.060
8. It annoys me when other people perform better than I do.	.495	.014	-.158
9. In most cases, to cooperate with someone whose ability is lower than oneself is not as desirable as doing the thing on one's own.	.447	.237	.013
10. In the long run, the only person you can count on is yourself.	.436	.125	.311
11. Even if a child won the Nobel Prize the parents should not feel honored in any way.	.168	.627	.023
12. Children should not feel honored even if a parent were highly praised and given an award by a government official for contrib'ns and service to the community.	-.012	.576	-.001
13. People should not be expected to do anything for the community unless they are paid for it.	.351	.575	-.046
14. I would help within my means if a relative told me that s/he is in financial trouble. (reverse scored)	-.012	.542	-.125
15. When my peers tell me personal things about themselves, we are drawn closer together. (reverse scored)	.120	.540	-.007

Table 10a (cont'd)

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
16. To be superior, a person must stand alone.	.403	.459	.200
17. I would not let my parents use my car (if I had one), no matter whether they are good drivers or not.	.011	.443	-.076
18. It is foolish to try to preserve resources for future generations.	.156	.408	.099
19. I would not share my ideas and newly acquired knowledge with my parents.	.119	.405	.121
20. I like to live close to my friends. (reverse scored)	-.020	.367	.228
21. My peers' opinions are not important in my choice of a spouse.	-.002	.012	.645
22. I am not to blame when one of my close friends fails.	.015	-.038	.594
23. My parents' opinions are not important in my choice of a spouse.	.092	.161	.543
24. I am not to blame if one of my family members fails.	-.031	.031	.541
25. One need not worry about what the neighbours say about whom one should marry.	-.105	-.138	.522
26. My happiness is unrelated to the well-being of my peers.	-.022	.269	.517
27. What happens to me is my own doing.	.196	-.112	.464
28. The motto "sharing is both blessing and calamity" is still applicable even if one's friend is clumsy, dumb, and causing a lot of trouble. (reverse scored)	.075	.234	-.300
29. When a close friend of mine is successful, it does not really make me look better.	.031	.074	.287

Note: This scale is scored such that a high score is indicative of individualism and a low score is indicative of collectivism.
Triandis et al. (1988) describe their factors by reference to the items only and they do not report actual loadings. Thus, it is not clear what specific cut-off value they used to deem $\underline{r}$ a "high" loading.

interpreted as associated with factor 3 (distance from ingroups) although it loaded on factor 1 (self-reliance with competition) in the original work of Triandis et al. (1988).

With respect to factor 2, all items for this factor from the original work of Triandis et al. (1988) correspond to factor 2 of the present study with the exception of item 28. This item ("The motto 'sharing is both blessing and calamity' is still applicable even if one's friend is clumsy, dumb, and causing a lot of trouble.") loads (.23) on its intended factor (concern for ingroup) but more highly and in a negative direction (-.30) with factor 3 (distance from ingroups). Again, this particular "displacement" from the original factor structure of Triandis et al. (1988) has a certain face validity.

Finally, all items which comprised Triandis et al.'s (1988) factor 3 load on this same factor in the present study which also includes items 27 and 28 as described above. Thus, the factor structure of the individualism-collectivism scale was very well replicated in the present study with the college sample.

Table 10b presents the items and factor loadings for this same measure with the field sample. Factor 1 accounts for 12.2% of the variance, factor 2 accounts for 9.5% of the variance and factor 3 accounts for 9.0% which totals 30.7%. Although the order of

Table 10b.
Factor Loadings for Individualism-Collectivism Measure: Field Sample (PCA with varimax rotation)

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
4. Only those who depend on themselves get ahead in life.	.684	-.039	.225
8. It annoys me when other people perform better than I do.	.593	.210	-.043
3. If you want something done right, you've got to do it yourself.	.586	-.082	.135
16. To be superior, a person must stand alone.	.548	.096	.024
1. Winning is everything.	.541	.172	-.104
6. Doing your best isn't enough; it is important to win.	.532	-.104	.041
2. I feel winning is important in both work and games.	.492	.213	-.104
7. If the group is slowing me down, it is better to leave it and work alone.	.477	.299	.120
5. Success is the most important thing in life.	.444	-.051	-.041
9. In most cases, to cooperate with someone whose ability is lower than oneself is not as desirable as doing the thing on one's own.	.416	.372	-.0266
15. When my peers tell me personal things about themselves, we are drawn closer together. (reverse scored)	.301	.048	-.166
13. People should not be expected to do anything for the community unless they are paid for it.	.238	.767	-.064
11. Even if a child won the Nobel Prize the parents should not feel honored in any way.	-.121	.763	.026
17. I would not let my parents use my car (if I had one), no matter whether they are good drivers or not.	.126	.678	.057
12. Children should not feel honored even if a parent were highly praised and given an award by a government official for contrib'ns and service to the community.	-.206	.522	.147

Table 10b (cont'd)

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
19. I would not share my ideas and newly acquired knowledge with my parents.	.159	.427	-.016
18. It is foolish to try to preserve resources for future generations.	.129	.261	.180
14. I would help within my means if a relative told me that s/he is in financial trouble. (reverse scored)	.002	.191	.129
22. I am not to blame when one of my close friends fails.	-.028	.067	.65
23. My parents' opinions are not important in my choice of a spouse.	.038	.132	.585
10. In the long run, the only person you can count on is yourself.	.377	-.247	.550
26. My happiness is unrelated to the well-being of my peers.	.184	.102	.533
24. I am not to blame if one of my family members fails.	-.0396	.131	.522
21. My peers' opinions are not important in my choice of a spouse.	-.181	-.037	.500
27. What happens to me is my own doing.	-.020	-.150	.403
25. One need not worry about what the neighbours say about whom one should marry.	-.299	.046	.394
29. When a close friend of mine is successful, it does not really make me look better.	.024	.210	.386
20. I like to live close to my friends. (reverse scored)	.164	.041	.177
28. The motto "sharing is both blessing and calamity" is still applicable even if one's friend is clumsy, dumb, and causing a lot of trouble. (reverse scored)	-.134	.087	.138

Note: This scale is scored such that a high score is indicative of individualism and a low score is indicative of collectivism.

magnitude of the loadings is somewhat different within factors, there is considerable similarity between the factor structures for this

sample and the college sample. Again, we see that the Triandis et al. (1988) solution is well replicated with a few exceptions. Two items that were expected to load on factor 1 (items 10 and 27) load more highly on factor 3 (distance from ingroups). Item 10 ("In the long run, the only person you can count on is yourself.") loaded fairly high on factors 1 and 2 (.38 and -.25, respectively) but predominantly (.55) on factor 3. Each of these loadings, and the direction of the coefficients, make conceptual sense in terms of the face validity of the item and the interrelatedness of the factors as reported in Triandis et al. (1988). In addition, item 15 ("When my peers tell me personal things about themselves, we are drawn closer together.") loads highest (.30) on factor 1 (self-reliance with competition) in the present study but was found to load on factor 2 (concern for ingroup) in the original research of Triandis et al. (1988). Its conceptual relationship with factor 1 is not apparent.

Factor 2 contains all expected items with the exception of item 15 as just described and items 20 and 28. These latter two items correlate most highly with factor 3 (distance from ingroups) in the present study but the correlations coefficients are very small (i.e., <20). Consequently, these two items do not load on any factor at a level appropriate for interpretation. Similarly, the correlation of

item 14 with factor 2 is very low. Although its association with this factor is congruent with Triandis et al. (1988), the magnitude is too low to interpret the item as loading on that factor. All 7 items expected to load on factor 3 did indeed do so, although this factor also contains items 10 and 27 which "belong" to factor 1 as described above. Thus, we see that the original factor analytic work of Triandis et al. (1988) is well replicated with the data from the field sample.

I turn now to examination of the factor analyses of the autonomous-relational measure of group orientation. Principal Components Analysis (PCA) with varimax rotation was used in order to confirm the factor analytic work of Hinkle et al. (1992). Table 11a contains the items and factor loadings for this measure for the college sample. Factor 1 accounts for 34.7% of the variance and factor 2 accounts for 12.8% which totals 47.5% of the variance accounted for in scale scores with the college sample. These figures are very close to the original factor analytic work of Hinkle et al. (1992) in which the two factors accounted for 34.0% and 13.9% of the scale's variance. Hinkle et al. refer to these two factors as Relative Status Concern (RSC) and Evaluative Process (EP) respectively.

The replication of the first of the two factors was quite successful with the college sample. The replication of the second factor was not. As evident in Table 11a, nine items load on the first factor and four load on the second. Items 5, 6 and 9 load on factor 1 (RSC) in this study but were part of the second factor (EP) in Hinkle et al.'s (1992) original work. Item 5 ("I often compare my group to other groups.") can be seen as indicative of a RSC. Item 6 ("It is best to judge my group by comparing it to other groups."), also indicative of a concern for relative status, had quite high loadings with both the RSC factor (.65) and the EP factor (.41). The final item from EP that loaded on RSC was item 9 ("It is not possible to assess my group's achievements in isolation.") which had quite low loadings on both factors (.32 and .22 respectively). The four items which load on factor 2 (EP) are consistent with the results in Hinkle et al. (1992) with the exception of items 5, 6 and 9 that also "belong" to factor 2 in the original research but which are associated with the RSC factor in this study as just described.

Table 11b presents the items and factor loadings for the autonomous-relational measure of group orientation for the field sample. Of the seven items that load on factor 1 (RSC), items 11 and 13 loaded on factor 2 (EP) in Hinkle et al.'s (1992) research. Item 11

Table 11a.
Factor Loadings for Autonomous-Relational Measure: College Sample (PCA with varimax rotation)

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2
* 1. I am concerned about how my group compares to other groups.	.858	.218
* 2. I think about how my group does relative to other groups.	.829	.248
* 3. I am concerned about the adequacy of my group's status.	.815	.087
* 4. I think about the reputation of my group relative to other groups.	.742	-.035
5. I often compare my group to other groups.	.671	.202
6. It is best to judge my group by comparing it to other groups.	.649	.413
* 7. I experience competition between my group and other groups.	.619	.347
* 8. I am concerned about my group's success.	.590	-.221
9. It is not possible to assess my group's achievements in isolation.	.318	.221
10. My group can be satisfied irrespective of other groups. (reverse scored)	.016	.715
11. I seldom compare my group's facilities to other groups'. (reverse scored)	.188	.557
12. My group's fortunes are linked to other groups.	.273	.453
13. I am only interested in what goes on in my group. (reverse scored)	-.242	.293

Note: This scale is scored such that a high score is indicative of a relational orientation and a low score is indicative of an autonomous orientation. The * items constitute the original RSC subscale (Hinkle et al., 1992).

("I seldom compare my group's facilities to other groups.") seems to speak to both evaluative processes and a concern for relative status. Item 13 ("I am only interested in what goes on in my group.") loads

most highly on the RSC factor (.35) although it loads at almost the same level on the EP factor (-.32) and in an understandably negative direction.

Factor 2 in the present study contains all original items of factor 2 with a few exceptions: as just described, items 11 and 13 "belong" to this factor but load on the RSC factor. Item 7 ("I experience competition between my group and other groups.") has a high loading (.79) on EP only depite "belonging" with the RSC factor in Hinkle et al.'s (1992) study and with the college sample of the present study. Its conceptual relationship to EP seems indirect at best insofar as "experiencing competition" implies an outcome of an evaluative process.

In sum, the confirmatory analysis of the RSC factor of the autonomous-relational measure is considered to be largely successful across both samples, but the confirmatory analysis of the EP factor was not successful. Given these results, it is not surprising that the EP subscale had relatively low reliabilities in both the college and field samples (Cronbach's alphas of .55 and .56 respectively). Consequently, and in conjunction with the results of the factor analysis of the individualism-collectivism scale, Hypothesis 1 is supported with the results of analyses of both the college and field

Table 11b.
Factor Loadings for Autonomous-Relational Measure: Field Sample (PCA with varimax rotation)

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2
* 8. I am concerned about my group's success.	.796	.025
* 3. I am concerned about the adequacy of my group's status.	.754	.308
* 2. I think about how my group does relative to other groups.	.679	.537
* 1. I am concerned about how my group compares to other groups.	.659	.563
* 4. I think about the reputation of my group relative to other groups.	.603	.365
11. I seldom compare my group's facilities to other groups'. (reverse scored)	.410	.082
13. I am only interested in what goes on in my group. (reverse scored)	.345	-.320
* 7. I experience competition between my group and other groups.	.042	.794
6. It is best to judge my group by comparing it to other groups.	.122	.711
5. I often compare my group to other groups.	.257	.602
12. My group's fortunes are linked to other groups.	.377	.496
9. It is not possible to assess my group's achievements in isolation.	.273	.449
10. My group can be satisfied irrespective of other groups. (reverse scored)	.066	.292

Note: This scale is scored such that a high score is indicative of a relational orientation and a low score is indicative of an autonomous orientation. The * items constitute the original RSC subscale (Hinkle et al., 1992).

samples, with the exception of the results for the EP subscale of the autonomous-relational measure.

Examination of the correlations between the individualism-

collectivism and autonomous-relational measures suggests that these two dimensions of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) taxonomy are indeed independent. This method of assessing orthogonality is consistent with that used by the original authors. The correlations were calculated for the total college sample (r=.121, p<.01, n=362) and the total field sample (r=-.072, n.s., n=189). The correlation coefficient which is statistically significant is of such small magnitude (i.e., r=.121) and accounts for so little variance (1.45%) that the dimensions of individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational group orientations are considered to be independent.

Since significant gender differences were obtained on the individualism-collectivism scale, the patterns of correlations within the gendered subsamples were also examined for evidence of orthogonality. Within the total college sample, the correlation between individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational group orientations for females was r=.277 (p<.001, n=235) and r=-.135 for males (p<.10, n=118). The statistically significant correlation for females accounts for only 7.67% of the variance. This correlation was nonsignificant within the field sample for both females (r=-.0489, n.s., n=135) and males (r=-.1147, n.s., n=53). Thus, the dimensions of individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational

group orientations can be considered to be independent for the gendered subsamples within the total college and field samples.

Hypothesis 2

> When the factor structures of the measures of agency and the measures of communion are examined, this confirmatory analysis will generate orthogonal dimensions.

The original psychometric analyses of the agency and communion measures conducted by Helmreich, Spence and Wilhelm (1981) were performed as separate gender analyses. The sample sizes obtained in the present study are too small to conduct the confirmatory analyses with the exception of the subsample of college females (n=237). Consequently, results of the confirmatory factor analysis are presented for this subgroup only. The maximum likelihood solution with oblique rotation was used in the present study since it was the factor analytic procedure employed in the original psychometric analyses (Helmreich, Spence & Wilhelm, 1981).

Table 12 contains the scale items and their factor loadings for the college females on the measures of mitigated and unmitigated

agency, mitigated communion and the two measures of unmitigated communion. These data come from the factor pattern matrix. The factor structure matrix is not included since the matrices were almost identical and the primary factor loading of each item was the same. The five factor solution accounts for a total of 32.4% of the total variance with the five factors accounting for 8.4%, 5.4%, 6.8%, 6.5% and 5.3% of the variance respectively.

Three of five factors were clearly replicated with the college females. Factor 1 corresponds most closely with the mitigated communion scale. It contains all eight items of that scale plus one item from the unmitigated agency scale ("cynical") which loads positively at .44 on the factor while all other item loadings are negative[13]. Its conceptual relationship to the other items of this scale has face validity only insofar as the direction of its loading is the inverse of the others'. This item also loads highly on factor 3 (.41) and may be a better conceptual fit with that factor.

Six of the eight items of the unmitigated agency scale load on

[13] The direction of the loadings of the original 8 items on this factor in the analyses of Helmreich, Spence, and Wilhelm (1981) were positive. Consequently, I conducted further analyses with differing extractions and rotations. Throughout all of these, the same items continue to form the first factor. The direction of the loadings becomes positive when orthogonal rotations are used. Thus, the solution is deemed to be very stable and the negative sign of the coefficients in the present analysis simply places the factor in a different location within the hypothetical space created by the factor analysis.

Table 12.
Items and Factor Loadings for Agency and Communion Measures: College Females (Maximum likelihood extraction with oblique rotation)

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Not able/Able to devote self completely to others	-.667	-.027	-.052	.137	.022
Very cold/Very warm in relations with others	-.646	.116	.064	-.120	-.008
Not at all/Very helpful to others	-.517	.032	.032	-.245	.141
Not at all/Very understanding of others	-.508	-.077	-.138	-.244	.130
Not at all/Very aware of feelings of others	-.507	.043	.011	-.333	.191
Not at all/Very kind	-.480	-.056	-.145	-.044	.089
Not at all/Very cynical	.443	-.014	.407	-.028	.141
Not at all/Very emotional	-.439	-.060	.318	.050	-.269
Very rough/Very gentle	-.317	.046	-.055	-.218	-.130
Not at all/Very self-confident	-.223	.762	.060	-.091	.195
Feels very inferior/superior	-.054	.602	-.014	.150	.092
Not at all/Very spineless	-.017	-.342	.056	-.015	-.190
Does not/Subordinates self to others	-.183	-.292	.069	-.022	-.032
Not at all/Very complaining	.104	.063	.836	-.176	-.202
Not at all/Very nagging	-.076	.072	.619	.118	.134
Not at all/Very whiny	.015	-.108	.555	.135	-.147
Not at all/Very hostile	.193	-.082	.334	.275	-.028
Not at all/Very fussy	.025	-.041	.281	-.005	-.015
Not at all/Very gullible	-.203	-.266	.271	.028	.102

Table 12 (cont'd)

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Not at all/Very boastful	-.075	.121	.057	.709	-.023
Not at all/Very egotistical	.114	.268	.038	.577	-.116
Never/Always looks out only for self	.091	-.028	-.061	.441	.024
Not at all/Very arrogant	.038	.370	.194	.398	-.128
Not at all/Very greedy	.172	-.147	.228	.380	.070
Not at all/Very dictatorial	.022	.063	.261	.328	.291
Goes to pieces/Stands up well under pressure	-.017	.175	.006	-.119	.527
Gives up/Never gives up very easily	-.095	.024	-.048	.016	.455
Not at all/Very independent	-.063	.075	-.091	-.067	.443
Not at all/Very competitive	.056	-.097	.063	.299	.410
Has difficulty making decisions/Can make easily	-.134	.279	-.154	.152	.357
Very passive/Very active	-.171	.235	.038	.138	.348
Not at all/Very servile	-.178	-.077	.022	.119	-.317

Note: Each item is rated on a 5 point scale with 5 reflecting a high level of the characteristic.

factor 4. The "cynical" item from this scale loads on the mitigated communion factor as just described. The eighth item from this scale ("hostile") loads on factor 3 at .33 in the present analysis. It also loads at .28 on factor 4, to which the item "belongs". Factor 3 most closely resembles the verbal passive-aggression measure of unmitigated communion and is described below.

The third factor that was largely replicated with the subsample of college females, factor 5, contains six of the eight items of the

mitigated agency scale plus one item ("servile") from the unmitigated communion scale. This latter item loads negatively (-.32) on the factor while all other item loadings are positive. Conceptually, this seems congruent with the other items as a depiction of mitigated agency insofar as we would expect individuals who describe themselves as independent, competitive, etc. to also describe themselves as not servile.

The loadings on factors 3 and 2 are more complex. Factor 3 is comprised of the four items of the verbal passive-aggression scale and two other items, one from the unmitigated agency scale and the other from the unmitigated communion scale. The unmitigated agency item of "hostile" also has a similar sized loading on factor 4 (.28) which contains the other items of the unmitigated agency scale. The final item of factor 3 ("gullible") also loads on factor 2 (-.27) but in a negative direction. Conceptually, this item may be more reflective of factor 2 than the verbal passive-aggression items of factor 3.

Factor 2 is comprised of two items from the original mitigated agency scale ("self-confident" and "feels very superior") which have positive factor loadings. The other two items of factor 2 come from the unmitigated communion scale ("spineless" and "subordinates self

to others") and have negative factor loadings. Taken together, these four items seem to be reflective of unmitigated communion only insofar as they depict a stereotypic absence of agency.

Overall, the factor structure of the agency and communion measures with the college females is replicated adequately with the exception of unmitigated communion. While some specific items do not load on the expected factors, the integrity of the meaning of the scales is relatively well reproduced with this subsample.

The independence or orthogonality of the measures of agency and communion can be assessed by examination of the correlations among the measures. Small correlations which do not account for much variance was taken as evidence of their relative independence by the original investigators (Spence, Helmreich & Holahan, 1979). Table 13a presents the correlations among the measures of agency and communion for the total college and field samples. Tables 13b and 13c present these correlations for the females and males within each of the samples. The gendered subsamples are included since they were the primary focus of the original research on the measures (Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Helmreich, Spence & Wilhelm, 1981).

As evident in Table 13a, the measures of mitigated agency and

Table 13a.
Correlations Among Measures of Agency and Communion: College & Field Samples

Measures	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Mitigated Agency	-	.2104*** (n=356)	.0263 (n=360)	-.4147*** (n=346)	-.1943*** (n=360)
2. Unmitigated Agency	.2320*** (n=189)	-	-.3706*** (n=357)	-.0952* (n=345)	.3978*** (n=357)
3. Mitigated Communion	.4787*** (n=189)	-.0687 (n=190)	-	.2147*** (n=347)	-.0384 (n=361)
4. Unmitigated Communion	-.1286* (n=187)	-.0044 (n=188)	.2939*** (n=188)	-	.2469*** (n=347)
5. Verbal Passive-Aggression	.0613 (n=187)	.4228*** (n=188)	.0851 (n=188)	.3031*** (n=187)	-

Note: * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (One-tailed tests of significance). Correlations for the college sample are presented above the diagonal, field sample below.

mitigated communion are uncorrelated for the total college sample but are significantly correlated for the total field sample. This latter relationship accounts for almost 23% of the variance in scale scores. As such, the measures of mitigated agency and mitigated communion are not independent in the total field sample. When we look within the field sample (Table 13c), it is apparent that the measures of mitigated agency and mitigated communion are independent for the subsample of males but not for the females.

The correlations between unmitigated agency and the two

unmitigated communion measures for the total college and field samples indicate that the measure of unmitigated agency is not orthogonal to the measure of verbal passive-aggression in either sample although it is relatively independent from the unmitigated communion scale. Examination of the gendered subsamples within the college sample (Table 13b) indicates that this same pattern holds for both the college females and males. Table 13c indicates that the unmitigated agency measure is not independent of the measure of verbal passive-aggression in the field sample of either females or males. In addition, the unmitigated agency and verbal passive-

Table 13b.
Correlations Among Measures of Agency and Communion: Females and Males of College Sample

Measures	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Mitigated Agency	-	.0875 (n=231)	.0864 (n=234)	-.3798*** (n=227)	-.1836** (n=235)
2. Unmitigated Agency	.1900* (n=116)	-	-.4639*** (n=232)	-.0715 (n=226)	.4403*** (n=233)
3. Mitigated Communion	.1015 (n=117)	-.0765 (n=116)	-	.1553** (n=228)	-.1362* (n=236)
4. Unmitigated Communion	-.4033*** (n=110)	-.0145 (n=110)	.2481** (n=110)	-	.2472*** (n=229)
5. Verbal Passive-Aggression	-.1555* (n=116)	.4643*** (n=115)	.1062 (n=116)	.2240** (n=109)	-

Note: * p <.05 ** p <.01 *** p < .001 (One-tailed tests of significance)
Correlations for females are presented above the diagonal, males below.

Table 13c.
Correlations Among Measures of Agency and Communion: Females and Males of Field Sample

Measures	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Mitigated Agency	-	.2983*** (n=135)	.5371*** (n=135)	-.0033 (n=134)	.1784* (n=134)
2. Unmitigated Agency	.0860 (n=53)	-	-.0659 (n=136)	.0583 (n=135)	.4650*** (n=135)
3. Mitigated Communion	.1416 (n=53)	-.4762*** (n=53)	-	.3368*** (n=135)	.1495* (n=135)
4. Unmitigated Communion	-.6011*** (n=52)	-.1162 (n=52)	.1499 (n=52)	-	.3743*** (n=134)
5. Verbal Passive-Aggression	-.3967** (n=52)	.4321*** (n=52)	-.3159** (n=52)	.1047 (n=52)	-

Note: * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (One-tailed tests of significance)
Correlations for females are presented above the diagonal, males below.

aggression factors were correlated at .44 in the psychometric analysis of Helmreich et al. (1981) and these same factors were correlated at .35 in the present study. This positive relationship further reflects the lack of independence between the undesirable instrumental characteristics and the verbal passive-aggression descriptors of these two scales.

The measure of unmitigated agency is correlated with the measure of unmitigated communion in the total college sample, although this is a very low correlation that accounts for less than 1% (.92%) of the variance in scale scores. Examination of Tables 13b

and13c indicates that this same relationship is nonsignificant within the gendered subsamples of both the college and field sample. Consequently, the unmitigated agency measure is considered to be independent of the unmitigated communion measure. Other comparisons among the correlations of these matrices are described below as they pertain to Hypothesis 2.1.

Hypothesis 2.1

> It was hypothesized that a significant negative relationship will be obtained between the measures of unmitigated agency and mitigated communion and between the measures of unmitigated communion and mitigated agency.

This hypothesis was strongly supported with the total college sample and partly supported with the total field sample. As noted above, Table 13a presents the correlations among the measures of agency and communion for both of these samples. As is evident from the table, the correlations between the measures of unmitigated agency and mitigated communion were indeed negative and significant for the total college sample. This relationship was not significant for the total field sample. Significant negative

correlations were also obtained between the measures of mitigated agency and both measures of unmitigated communion for the total college sample. For the total field sample, however, scores on the verbal passive-aggression scale did not significantly correlate with scores on the measure of mitigated agency. Again, it is not surprising that the hypothesized relationships were not obtained with the verbal passive-aggression measure since it is not reliable for the field sample.

Although this hypothesis has strong support with the total college sample and partial support with the field sample, support for the hypothesis is somewhat less strong when the pattern of correlations for the gendered subsamples are examined. As evident in Table 13b, the hypothesized relationships were obtained for the college females included in the study. That is, the correlation between the measures of unmitigated agency and mitigated communion was negative and significant (r=-.4639, p<.001, n=232). In addition, the correlations between the measure of mitigated agency and each measure of unmitigated communion were negative and significant, as predicted (r=-.3798, p<.001, n=227 for unmitigated communion; r=-.1836, p<.01, n=235 for verbal passive-aggression).

With the males of the college sample, the hypothesized relationships between the measure of mitigated agency and both measures of unmitigated communion were also obtained in that these correlations were negative and significant (r=-.4033, p<.001, n=110 for unmitigated communion; r=-.1555, p<.05, n=116 for verbal passive-aggression). For this subsample, however, the correlation between unmitigated agency and mitigated communion was not statistically significant. Thus, Hypothesis 2.1 has partial support with the subsample of college males and complete support with the subsample of college females.

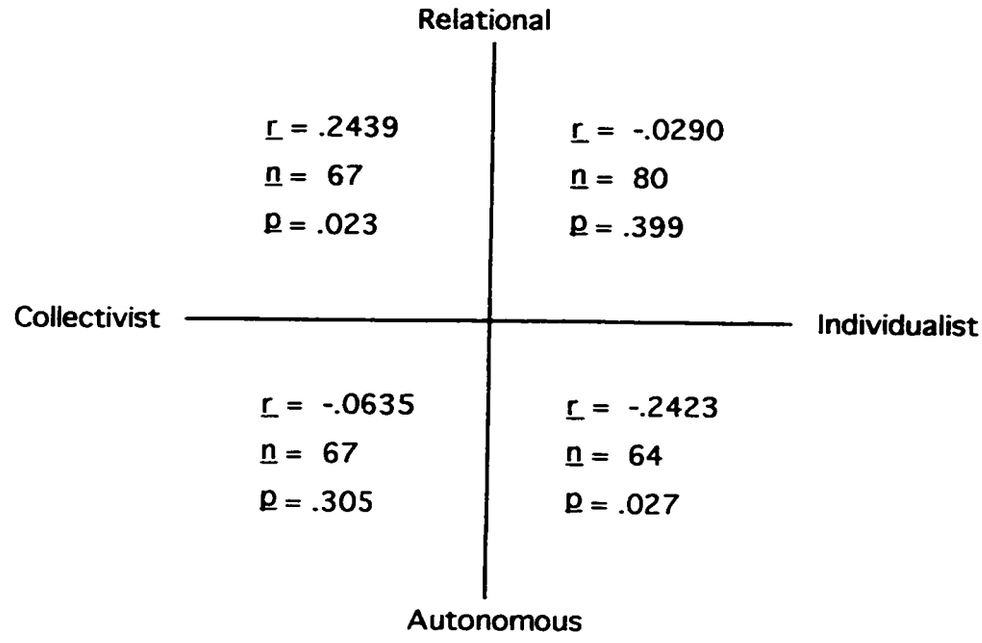
When the gendered subsamples of the field sample are examined, this hypothesis has support only with the subsample of males where all of the hypothesized relationships were obtained. In contrast, none of the hypothesized relationships were obtained for the females of the field sample. In fact, the significant correlation found between mitigated agency and unmitigated communion as measured by verbal passive-aggression was significantly positive rather than negative (r=.1784, p<.05, n=134). This is in sharp contrast to the pattern of results obtained with the total college sample and its gendered subsamples described above. Taken together, these results of Hypothesis 2.1 and the orthogonality issues

raised in Hypothesis 2 speak to the need for considerable psychometric work on measures of agency and communion for their use with a field sample.

Hypothesis 3

> The strongest relationship between group identification (social identity) and positive intergroup differentiation (ingroup bias) will occur for collectivists with a relational orientation, and this relationship will not be obtained for individualists with an autonomous orientation. The strongest evidence in support of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) theory is that these two correlations are significantly different. Correlations in the remaining two cells of the taxonomy are hypothesized to fall between these two extremes.

Analyses of this hypothesis were conducted with the college sample only since the field sample was not administered the measures of social identity and ingroup bias. Figure 3 depicts the taxonomy and the correlations within each quadrant for the total college sample. As is evident from this figure, Hinkle and Brown's (1990) theory and Hinkle et al.'s (1992) psychometric work is well supported with this sample. Collectivists with a relational



Note: One-tailed tests of significance

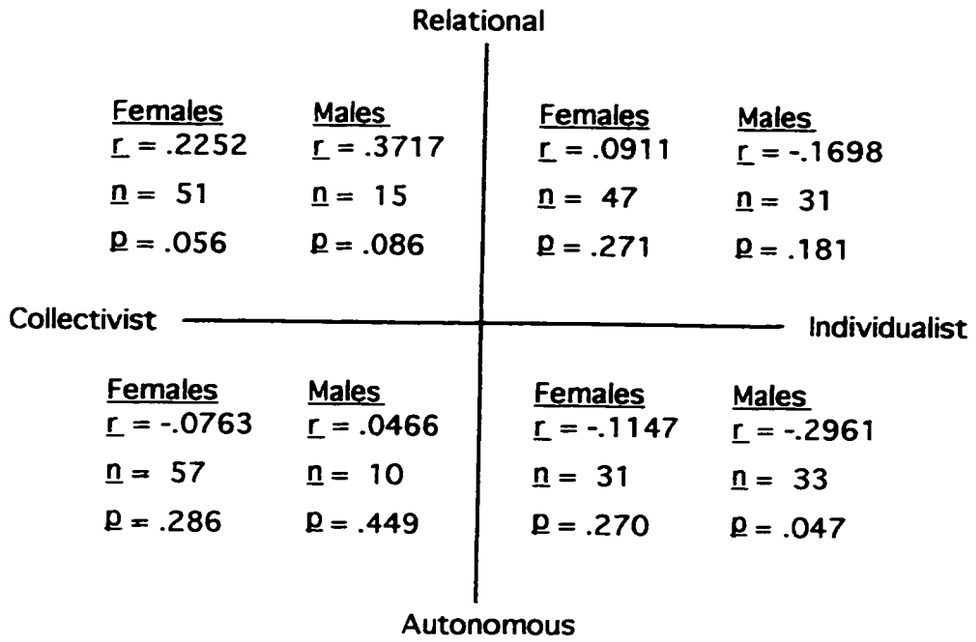
Figure 3. Correlations Between Social Identity And Ingroup Bias: Total College Sample

orientation showed the strongest relationship between social identity and ingroup bias. Unexpectedly, the correlation in the lower right quadrant (individualists with an autonomous orientation) is negative in direction and significant at $p<.05$. As expected, the correlations in the remaining two quadrants fall between these two extremes.

These correlations were examined for significant differences using Fisher's r to z transformations. This analysis indicated that the coefficients in the lower right and upper left quadrants are indeed

significantly different (z=2.77, p<.05). That is, the correlation between social identity and ingroup bias was significantly lower for individualists with an autonomous group orientation than for collectivists with a relational group orientation. In fact, the relationship between social identity and ingroup bias for autonomous individualists was found to be negative. This means that respondents in this quadrant who scored lower on the measure of ingroup bias tended to also score higher on social identity. This is in sharp contrast to the relational collectivists of the upper left quadrant whose scores on social identity and ingroup bias increased in direct relation to each other. While the pattern of correlations between these two quadrants is consistent with Hinkle et al's (1992) and Brown et al.'s (1992) work, the negative correlation in the lower right quadrant is an unexpected finding. No other correlations were found to be significantly different from each other.

Figure 4 depicts the Hinkle and Brown (1990) taxonomy and the correlations within each quadrant for the subsamples of college women and men. Separate analyses were conducted for the gendered subsamples since a significant gender difference was obtained on the social identity measure. With the females, the hypothesized relationships were obtained. That is, the correlation



Note: One-tailed tests of significance

Figure 4. Correlations Between Social Identity And Ingroup Bias: Females and Males of College Sample

between social identity and ingroup bias was strongest for those female collectivists who scored above the median on relational group orientation. The correlation for female individualists with an autonomous group orientation was negative in direction although nonsignificant. The remaining two correlations fall between these two extremes, as hypothesized. None of these correlations were found to be significantly different from each other when tested with

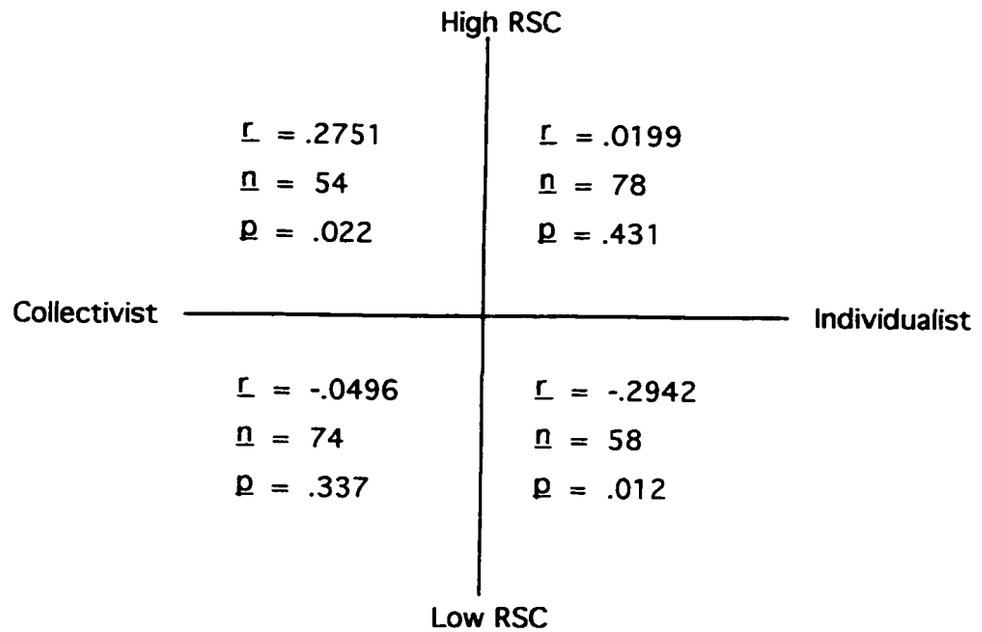
Fisher's r to z transformations.

For the males of the college sample, the correlation coefficient for the collectivists with a relational orientation was marginally significant at $r=.37$, $p<.10$. This may be due to the small number of respondents who fell into this quadrant ($n=10$). The only statistically significant correlation is in the individualist-autonomous quadrant where $r=-.30$, which is significant at $p<.05$.

Fisher's r to z transformations generated the same pattern of significant differences between correlations for the males as was obtained for the total sample. That is, the correlation between social identity and ingroup bias for relational collectivists was significantly different from the same correlation for autonomous individualists ($z=2.03$, $p \leq .05$). No other correlation coefficients were significantly different from each other. Thus, the pattern of correlations with the gendered subsamples of the total college sample is consistent with the results of Hinkle et al. (1992) and Brown et al. (1992). The relationship between social identity and ingroup bias in the relational-collectivist quadrant was the strongest correlation obtained with the total college sample and each of the gendered subsamples. Correlations in the remaining quadrants of the taxonomy reflected the hypothesized order of magnitudes.

In order to assess the validity of the Relative Status Concern (RSC) and Evaluative Process (EP) subscales with the college sample, further replication of Hinkle et al.'s (1992) and Brown et al.'s (1992) psychometric work was conducted with the autonomous-relational measure. Specifically, the correlations between identification and ingroup bias were computed for each group orientation of the taxonomy and each of the RSP and EP subscales. As with the overall scale, a median split was used to separate high and low levels on each subscale. These correlations are presented in Figures 5a and 5b respectively.

Analyses with each subscale generated almost the same pattern of relative magnitudes of correlations as was obtained with analysis of the overall scale. The difference between analyses with the overall scale and each of the two subscales, however, is that the largest correlation coefficient is obtained in the lower right quadrant rather than in the upper left cell. It is important to note that the direction of the correlations are congruent with those generated in the analyses of results with the overall scale. That is, the correlation between social identity and ingroup bias is negative for low RSC and low EP individualists and positive for high RSC and high EP collectivists. These coefficients are each significant at $p<.05$ and are



Note: One-tailed tests of significance

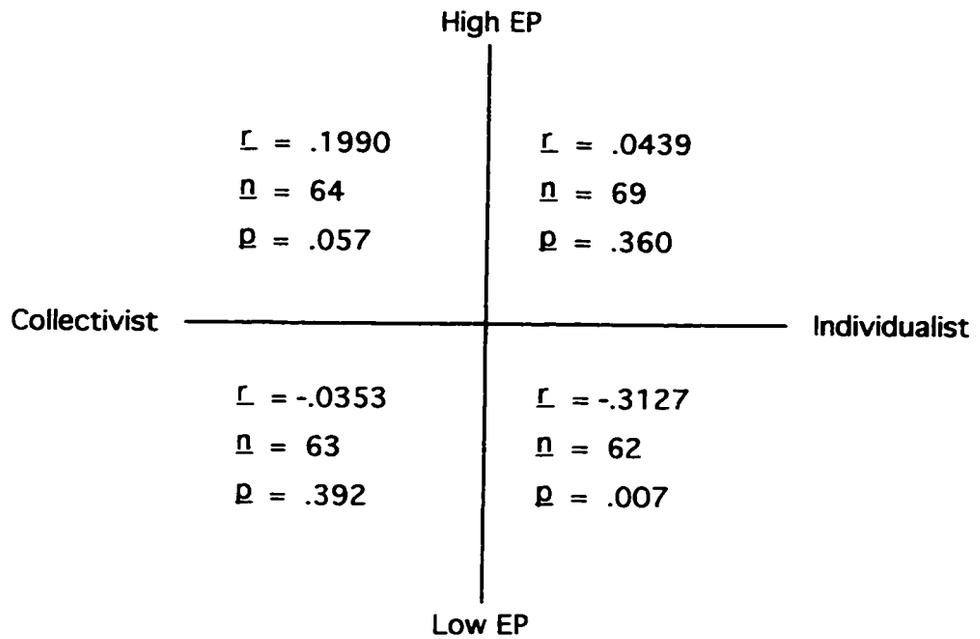
Figure 5a. Correlations Between Social Identity and Ingroup Bias: Total College Sample with Relative Status Concern (RSC) Subscale

significantly different from each other at $p<.05$ when subjected to Fisher's r to z transformations.

Specific to the RSC subscale (Figure 5a), the correlations in the two primary quadrants of interest are roughly equal in magnitude although the highest correlation is found in the lower right quadrant where low RSC individualists' scores on social identity and ingroup bias are inversely related. This correlation is significantly different

from the correlation in the high RSC collectivist cell (z=3.01, p<.05). Here, increases in the respondents' scores on social identity are accompanied by increases in their scores on ingroup bias. Again, we see the pattern that relational (high RSC) collectivists manifest more ingroup bias in direct relation to their level of social identity in contrast to autonomous (low RSC) individualists who manifest less ingroup bias in relation to increases in their social identity scores. None of the other correlations are significantly different from each other on the RSC subscale.

When based on the EP subscale (Figure 5b), the pattern of correlations obtained is identical to that generated with the RSC subscale. The highest correlation is found for the low EP individualists and the coefficient is negative in direction. This correlation, when subjected to Fisher's r to z transformation, is significantly different (z=2.88, p<.05) from the correlation in the high EP collectivist cell. Autonomous (low EP) individualists' who scored low on ingroup bias tended to also score higher on the social identity measure (i.e., the correlation between social identity and ingroup bias was negative). The correspondence between the pattern of correlations with the EP and the RSC subscales is somewhat surprising, given the low reliability of the EP subscale and the



Note: One-tailed tests of significance

Figure 5b. Correlations Between Social Identity and Ingroup Bias: Total College Sample with Evaluative Process (EP) Subscale

results of the factor analysis of that subscale.

In summary, Hypothesis 3 has strong support in that the hypothesized pattern of correlations was obtained for the total college sample and the gendered subsamples. Specifically, the strongest relationship between social identity and ingroup bias was found for collectivists with a relational orientation. This correlation was significantly different from the coefficient obtained for

autonomous individualists. Not only was this (positive) relationship not obtained for individualists with an autonomous orientation, but a significant negative correlation was found in the autonomous individualist quadrant. As hypothesized, correlations in the remaining two cells of the taxonomy fell between these two extremes. A negative coefficient was found in the autonomous-individualist quadrant with the total sample on the entire scale, with both gendered subsamples on the complete autonomous-relational scale, and with the total sample on each of the subscales. Although this does not replicate the findings obtained by Hinkle et al. (1992) or Brown et al. (1992), it is nonetheless considered a robust result in the present study.

Hypothesis 4

> The relationship among the measures of agency and communion and the individualism-collectivism dimension will be examined. As this is initial exploratory work, specific predictions are not made.

It was anticipated, however, that there would be a positive and significant relationship obtained between scores on measures of agency and individualism such that the more agentic respondents

would be more individualist in their orientation. Similarly, it was anticipated that there would be a positive and significant relationship obtained between scores on measures of communion and collectivism. These relationships were clearly obtained with the total college sample, but only one was obtained with the field sample data (Table 14).

Specific to the total college sample, the correlations between both measures of agency and the scores on individualism-collectivism rendered significant, positive correlation coefficients. That is, the more individualist respondents tended to describe themselves more strongly in terms of both the mitigated and unmitigated agency descriptors than the more collectivist respondents. The correlations between 2 of the measures of communion and scores on individualism-collectivism generated significant, negative correlations. That is, the more collectivist respondents tended to describe themselves more strongly in terms of both the mitigated and unmitigated communion descriptors than did the more individualist respondents. Thus, the anticipated relationships were indeed obtained for the total college sample. The second measure of unmitigated communion, the verbal passive-aggression scale, was not significantly correlated with scores on

Table 14.
Correlations Between Measure of Individualism-Collectivism and Measures of Agency and Communion: College & Field Samples

Measures		Individualism-Collectivism r	p
Mitigated Agency			
(n=360)	College Sample	.1654	.002
(n=189)	Field Sample	.0592	.418
Unmitigated Agency			
(n=357)	College Sample	.4784	.000
(n=190)	Field Sample	.2418	.001
Mitigated Communion			
(n=361)	College Sample	-.3436	.000
(n=190)	Field Sample	-.1088	.135
Unmitigated Communion			
(n=347)	College Sample	-.1785	.001
(n=188)	Field Sample	-.0518	.480
Verbal Passive-Aggression			
(n=362)	College Sample	.0624	.236
(n=188)	Field Sample	.1031	.159

Note: Two-tailed tests of significance. High scores on all scales reflect high levels of the construct. For the individualism-collectivism scale, a high score corresponds with individualism and a low score corresponds with collectivism.

individualism-collectivism for the total college sample.

With one exception, this pattern is replicated with the subsample of college females. Unmitigated agency was significantly correlated with individualism (r=.4059, p<.001, n=232) but the

correlation between mitigated agency and individualism was not significant. In addition, college females' scores on mitigated communion were significantly related to individualism-collectivism (r=-.3880, p<.001, n=235). Similarly, there was a significant correlation between unmitigated communion and the individualism-collectivism measure (r=-.1560, p<.05, n=228). In contrast to the total college sample, however, verbal passive-aggression was significantly correlated with individualism for the subsample of women (r=.1491, p<.05, n=236). That is, the more individualist female college respondents tended to describe themselves more strongly on the verbal passive-aggression scale.

The college males' scores on individualism-collectivism were significantly correlated with the measure of mitigated agency (r=.2313, p<.01, n=117) and with the measure of unmitigated agency (r=.4721, p=.001, n=116). Thus, increases in the college males' individualism scores corresponded with increases in their scores on agency. This is congruent with the pattern of correlations obtained with the total college sample. No significant relationships were obtained, however, between the communion measures and individualism-collectivism for the college males. Thus, results with the female subsample of the college respondents more closely

parallel the results with the total college sample than do those generated with the subsample of males.

With respect to the total field sample, one of the relationships expected between the individualism-collectivism measure and the agency and communion scales was found. The measure of unmitigated agency correlated significantly and positively with individualism. That is, the only results that are replicated across the two samples was evidence of a relationship between unmitigated agency and individualism.

Within the field sample, none of the correlations with the female subsample were significant at $p \leq .05$. As with the total field sample, a significant correlation was obtained between individualism and the unmitigated agency measure with the subsample of males (r=.4818, p<.001, n=53). The correlation between individualism-collectivism and mitigated communion was marginally significant (r=-.2628, p=.057, n=53). These two correlations provide additional evidence in support of the relationships between agency and individualism and between communion and collectivism that were obtained with the college sample.

Hypothesis 5

> The relationships among the various measures of agency and communion and the autonomous-relational dimension will be examined. Again, as this is initial exploratory work, specific predictions are not made.

Table 15 presents these correlations for the college and field samples. With both samples, scores on the unmitigated agency scale were significantly and positively correlated with respondents' scores on the autonomous-relational measure: the more relational respondents tended to describe themselves more strongly on the unmitigated agency scale. The reader will recall that unmitigated agency refers to a relative absence of communal characteristics in the presence of agentic descriptors. It might be thought, therefore, that individuals high on unmitigated agency would tend to be less relationally oriented and more autonomous. Consequently, the direction of the correlation obtained between unmitigated agency and the autonomous-relational measure may appear to be counterintuitive. However, this is not the case when the content of the scale items and the specific meaning of a relational orientation are taken into account. Individuals in this study who describe themselves as more arrogant, boastful, greedy, etc. (i.e., individuals

Table 15.
Correlations Between Measure of Autonomous-Relational Orientation and Measures of Agency and Communion: College & Field Samples

Measures	Autonomous-Relational r	p
Mitigated Agency		
(n=360) College Sample	.0460	.384
(n=188) Field Sample	.0958	.191
Unmitigated Agency		
(n=357) College Sample	.2486	.000
(n=189) Field Sample	.1703	.019
Mitigated Communion		
(n=361) College Sample	-.1069	.042
(n=189) Field Sample	-.1067	.144
Unmitigated Communion		
(n=347) College Sample	.0358	.506
(n=187) Field Sample	-.0208	.777
Verbal Passive-Aggression		
(n=362) College Sample	.2671	.000
(n=187) Field Sample	.0762	.300

Note: Two-tailed tests of significance. High scores on all scales reflect high levels of the construct. A high score on the autonomous-relational scale corresponds with a relational orientation and a low score corresponds with a more autonomous group orientation.

who score high on unmitigated agency) tend to be more concerned about their group's status and make more intergroup comparisons (i.e., score as more relational than autonomous). Thus, the

relationship obtained between unmitigated agency and a relational group orientation is not incongruous. For the field sample, no other relationships were statistically significant at $p<.05$.

With the college sample, two other significant correlations were found. The first was a significant negative correlation between the mitigated communion scale and the autonomous-relational measure. That is, the more autonomous college respondents tend to describe themselves more strongly on the mitigated communion scale than their more relational counterparts. Thus, individuals in this sample who describe themselves as, for example, more understanding of others, warm in relating to others, and aware of the feelings of others (i.e., score high on mitigated communion) tend to be less likely to look beyond their own group and make intergroup comparisons (i.e., have a more autonomous group orientation). Conversely, a significant positive correlation was obtained between the verbal passive-aggression measure of unmitigated communion and the autonomous-relational scale. That is, the more relational college respondents tend to describe themselves more strongly on the measure of unmitigated communion than do the more autonomous college respondents. Thus, individuals in the college sample who describe themselves as more complaining, fussy, whiny,

and nagging are also more likely to make comparisons between their group and another.

As with the overall college sample, the more relational college women tended to describe themselves more strongly on the unmitigated agency scale (r=.3331, p<.001, n=232). This pattern was not obtained for the subsample of college men. Both gendered subsamples of college respondents yielded significant positive correlations between the verbal passive-aggression measure of unmitigated communion and the autonomous-relational scale (r=.2525, p<.001, n=236 for college females; r=.2934, p<.001, n=117 for college males). As with the total college sample, the more relational female and male college respondents tend to describe themselves more strongly on the measure of unmitigated communion than do the more autonomous college respondents.

The negative correlation between mitigated communion and the autonomous-relational measure that was found with the total college sample was not significant with either of the gendered subsamples. For the field sample, the significant relationship found between unmitigated agency and the autonomous-relational measure with the total field sample was replicated for the subsample of women only (r=.1816, p<.05, n=135).

Hypothesis 6

> The relationships among the measures of agency and communion and the measure of social identity will be examined. As this also constitutes exploratory research, no specific predictions are advanced.

The reader will recall I postulated that, if Williams (1984) is correct, it seems likely that the measure of social identity will correlate with the measures of agency significantly more strongly than with the measures of communion. Table 16 presents these correlations for the college sample. The reader will recall that the field sample was not administered the social identity scale since it was not possible to designate an ingroup or an outgroup which would be common to all members of this sample.

For the total college sample, the measure of mitigated agency was significantly and positively related to scores on the social identity scale. The unmitigated agency scale was significantly negatively correlated with social identity for the college sample. This pattern of relationships was also obtained between the measures of communion and social identity. That is, scores on mitigated communion and social identity were positively correlated for the college sample, while a negative relationship was obtained

Table 16.
Correlations Between Measure of Social Identity and Measures of Agency and Communion: College Sample

Measures		Social Identity r	Social Identity p
Mitigated Agency			
(n=361)	Total Sample	.1042	.048
(n=235)	Females	.2063	.001
(n=117)	Males	.0230	.806
Unmitigated Agency			
(n=358)	Total Sample	-.2352	.000
(n=233)	Females	-.2100	.001
(n=116)	Males	-.2218	.017
Mitigated Communion			
(n=362)	Total Sample	.1719	.001
(n=236)	Females	.1713	.008
(n=117)	Males	.1460	.116
Unmitigated Communion			
(n=348)	Total Sample	-.0398	.459
(n=229)	Females	-.0266	.689
(n=110)	Males	-.0985	.306
Verbal Passive-Aggression			
(n=363)	Total Sample	-.1451	.006
(n=237)	Females	-.1313	.043
(n=117)	Males	-.1815	.050

Note: Two-tailed tests of significance. High scores on all scales reflect high levels of the construct.

between verbal passive-aggression and social identity. None of the correlations between unmitigated communion and social identity

were significant, perhaps because of the low reliability of the unmitigated communion scale with this sample. Thus, the pattern of correlations is such that increases in both mitigated agency and mitigated communion are significantly related to increases in social identity. Conversely, individuals who are higher on unmitigated agency and the verbal passive-aggression measure of unmitigated communion score lower on the measure of social identity. Interestingly, it appears that social identity scores may be more a function of mitigation than related to the individual components of agency as was originally thought.

For the total college sample, the differences among the significant correlations were tested with Fisher's r to z transformation. These results indicate that the correlations between the measure of mitigated agency and unmitigated agency are significantly different ($z=4.59$, $p<.05$). Similarly, the correlations between the measure of mitigated communion and unmitigated communion (as measured by verbal passive-aggression) are significantly different ($z=4.27$, $p<.05$). This analysis also indicates that the correlations between mitigated agency and unmitigated communion (as measured by verbal passive-aggression) are significantly different ($z=3.36$, $p<.05$). The correlations between

unmitigated agency and mitigated communion are also significantly different (z=5.52, p<.05). No other significant differences were found among these correlations. Again, this pattern of results suggests that scores on social identity may be more influenced by mitigation than by the components of agency or communion per se.

The measure of mitigated agency was significantly and positively related to scores on the social identity scale for the subsample of college females (r=.2063, p<.001, n=235) but not for the males. The unmitigated agency scale was significantly negatively correlated with social identity for the total sample and for both gendered subsamples (r=-.2100, p<.001, n=233 for college females; r=-.2218, p<.05, n=116 for college males). This pattern of relationships was also obtained between the verbal passive-aggression measure of unmitigated communion and social identity (r=-.1313, p<.05, n=237 for college females; r=-.1815, p<.05, n=117 for college males).

As with the total college sample, scores on mitigated communion and social identity were positively correlated for the subsample of women (r=.1713, p<.01, n=236) and not for the men. Thus, the pattern of correlations obtained with the subsample of college women is congruent with the pattern obtained with the total

college sample.

When the significant correlations of the gendered subsamples were examined for significant differences using Fisher's r to z transformations, the pattern of differences obtained for the college females is identical to that obtained with the total sample. That is, the correlations between measures of mitigated and unmitigated agency were significantly different (z=4.54, p<.05), as were the correlations between mitigated agency and unmitigated communion as measured by verbal passive-aggression (z=3.68, p<.05). In addition, the correlations between unmitigated agency and mitigated communion were significantly different (z=4.15, p<.05). Finally, the correlations between mitigated communion and verbal passive-aggression were significantly different (z=3.29, p<.05). The two significant correlations obtained with the subsample of males were not significantly different from each other. This pattern suggests that scores on social identity may be more influenced by mitigation than by the components of agency or communion per se. The lack of significant differences for the subsample of males is likely due to the smaller sample size since, with one exception, the correlations are of comparable magnitude for both gendered subsamples.

Hypothesis 7

> The factor structure of the measures of agency, communion, and individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational group orientations will be examined. This is exploratory factor analytic work and consequently, specific predictions regarding the potential factor structure are not made.

Initially, separate Principal Components Analyses (PCA) with varimax rotation were conducted with the data from the college sample and the data from the field sample. In order to assess the stability of the resulting factor structure, each data set was then analyzed using Principal Factor Analysis (PFA). This technique differs from PCA in that it does not include the unique error variance and analyzes only the common variance (the variance that each observed variable shares with other observed variables). The factor structures which resulted from the two factor analytic techniques show some stability. That is, some of the variables which load together onto factors are the same within each sample independent of which extraction technique is used.

The order of the factors, however, differs with the two techniques. In addition, the factor structures are not replicated

between the college sample and the field sample. Not only do the variables combine differently and load onto different factors, but analyses of the college sample rendered a "best" solution of three factors while the field sample generated four. Appendix D contains Tables 22 and 23 which present the specific variables and associated loadings for the PCA and PFA extractions with each sample.

The resulting factor structures are not considered to be sound solutions for two primary reasons. Most importantly, the factors were largely comprised of only one or two variables with loadings greater than .40. Consequently, these factors are not considered reliable[14] (Gorsuch, 1983; Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989; Stevens, 1992). In the few instances where more than two variables load on a factor, they load on multiple factors which does not add to the interpretability or adequacy of the factor solution. Second, the percentage of residuals greater than .05 was very high for each solution (66% for each sample) generated with the PCA extraction technique. This figure should not exceed 30% for an adequate factor

[14] Guidelines from these factor analytic sources indicate that a two variable factor may be reliable if the two variables are highly correlated with each other (i.e., $r > .70$) and are relatively uncorrelated with other variables. Neither of these conditions were met in either sample of this study. Interpretation of one or two variable factors is discouraged even in the most exploratory factor analysis (e.g., Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989). When the cutoff for loadings was reduced to .30 from .40, the interpretability and adequacy of the solutions were not increased.

structure (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989). Although the percentage of residuals greater than .05 was reduced to zero with the PFA extraction technique, the number of variables which loaded on each factor was not increased. That is, most factors were comprised of only one or two variables with loadings greater than .40. In addition, variables which load on multiple factors remain problematic.

In the main, the factor analyses do not add substantive information to what is known from the simple correlations computed among the measures of agency, communion, individualism-collectivism, and autonomous-relational group orientations. These analyses do not provide reliable or unambiguous information from which to describe the pattern of relationships among combinations of the variables of interest. In order to determine whether various combinations of these measures may account for more variance than the singular measures, a post hoc multiple regression analysis was conducted. A stepwise procedure was used as this is an exploratory analysis and the procedure constantly reassesses the importance of each predictor. This enables the researcher to determine if a predictor that may have accounted for significant proportions of the variance early in the order of entry has become superfluous at a

later point.

The individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational group orientation measures each served as the dependent variables (DV) in separate analyses, with the five agency and communion measures serving as the independent variables (IV) or predictors. In addition, each model was cross-validated. That is, each sample was split in half and analyzed separately in order to determine how well the regression equation generated with the first half of the sample (the derivation sample) predicts the scores of the other half (the validation sample).

As the reader will recall from the literature review, there appears to be considerable conceptual overlap in the definitions of individualism and agency, and in the definitions of collectivism and communion. Consequently, I computed multiple regressions to assess the extent to which scores on the agency measures would be predictive of individualism and the communion measures predictive of collectivism. Although there is no clear theoretical rationale for doing so, these analyses were also applied to the autonomous-relational measure. This was included for completeness because of the exploratory intent of this hypothesis.

A regression analysis was conducted with all five agency and

communion measures as the IV's in order to determine if some other combinations of these variables account for significant proportions of variance in individualism-collectivism scores. Table 17 presents the summary table for the stepwise regression for the college sample data. For predicting individualism-collectivism, the unmitigated agency measure was the first predictor to enter the equation for the derivation sample. This scale accounts for 22.6% of the variance in individualism scores (F (1, 170)=49.66). The second variable to enter this equation was the unmitigated communion measure which

Table 17.
Summary Table for Stepwise Regression of Agency and Communion Measures on Individualism-Collectivism: College Sample

Step	Variable	R^2	R^2change	Fchange (df)	p	β
College Derivation Sample (n=172):						
1	Unmitigated Agency	.226	NA[1]	NA[2]	.001	.4755
2	Unmitigated Communion	.258	.032	7.20 (2, 169)	.008	-.1815
College Validation Sample (n=173):						
1	Unmitigated Agency	.235	NA[1]	NA[2]	.001	.4844
2	Mitigated Communion	.292	.057	13.73 (2, 170)	.001	-.2675

Note: [1] Not applicable to variable entered on first step.
[2] F (df) values from the analysis of variance are in the text for the variables entered on the first step.

accounts for an additional 3.2% of the variance. With the validation sample, the unmitigated agency measure was also the first to enter the equation and accounted for 23.5% of the variance in individualism-collectivism scores ($\underline{F}$ (1, 171)=52.43). The second variable to enter the equation, however, differs from that of the derivation sample and is the mitigated communion measure. This variable accounts for an additional 5.7% of the variance.

When this model is applied to the field sample, the only variable to enter the equation as predictive of individualism-collectivism is unmitigated agency. This variable accounts for 6.1% of the variance (R^2=.0611) with the derivation sample ($\underline{F}$ (1, 91)=5.92, $\underline{p}$<.05, $\underline{n}$=93). This same variable accounts for 5.4% of the variance (R^2=.0539) with the validation sample ($\underline{F}$ (1, 91)=5.18, $\underline{p}$<05, $\underline{n}$=93).

All five IV's were also used to predict autonomous-relational scores with the college and field samples (see Table 18). For the latter, no variables entered the equation for either the derivation or validation samples. With the derivation sample of the college data, however, the verbal passive-aggression measure was the one variable to enter the equation and accounted for 3.9% of the variance (R^2=.0389) in autonomous-relational scores ($\underline{F}$ (1, 170)=6.87). The

Table 18.
Summary Table for Stepwise Regression of Agency and Communion Measures on Autonomous-Relational Orientation: College Sample

Step	Variable	R^2	R^2change	Fchange (df)	p	β
College Derivation Sample (n=172):						
1	Verbal Passive-Aggression	.039	NA[1]	NA[2]	.01	.1971
2	None					
College Validation Sample (n=173):						
1	Unmitigated Agency	.150	NA[1]	NA[2]	.001	.3873
2	Verbal Passive-Aggression	.187	.037	7.73 (2, 170)	.006	.2121

Note: [1] Not applicable to variable entered on first step.
[2] F (df) values from the analysis of variance are in the text for the variable entered on the first step.

pattern of results differs with the validation sample. Unmitigated agency is the first variable to enter the equation and accounts for 15.0% (R^2=.1500) of the variance (F (1, 171)=30.18). The verbal passive-aggression variable enters second and accounts for an additional 3.7% of variance in autonomous-relational scores.

The results of these post hoc multiple regressions suggest that unmitigated agency is a consistent predictor of individualism with both the college and field samples, although it accounts for substantially more variance in the college sample data. The

conceptual overlap between the constructs of agency and individualism appears to pertain to the unmitigated aspect of agency only. This result supports and further refines the expectation from which this hypothesis was derived.

DISCUSSION

Discussion of the results of Study 1 are presented in two sections. The first section discusses the results of the confirmatory hypotheses which includes exploration of the implications of this work for future research. Within this section, the discussion proceeds in accordance with the order in which the hypotheses were reported. The second section discusses the results of the exploratory aspects of Study 1. This also includes discussion of the implications for future research and theoretical developments. Limitations of the study are identified throughout.

Confirmatory Hypotheses

The analyses of Hypothesis 1 endeavoured to replicate previous work on each of the two dimensions of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) typology of group types. Specifically, the factor analyses of Triandis et al.'s (1988) individualism-collectivism scale and Hinkle et al.'s (1992) psychometric evaluation of autonomous-relational group orientations were conducted with the college and field sample. The factor analytic techniques I used were in accord with the methods used by the originators of the two scales.

The replication of the 29 item individualism-collectivism scale was very successful with the college sample and largely so with the field sample. Because all 29 items of the scale are used and subscale scores are not, and because the scale demonstrated high internal consistency, the few exceptions to the original factor loadings are not considered problematic to interpretation of analyses with this scale. In addition, the three factors are highly correlated as demonstrated by Triandis et al. (1988). Consequently, it is not surprising that most of the items whose loadings strayed from the original factors can be seen, in terms of face validity, to relate to the factor structure which emerged in the present study or were found to load substantially on more than one factor.

Specific to the college sample data, the three factor structure generated by Triandis et al. (1988) was remarkably well replicated with the exception of three items which loaded on factors other than the ones intended, two of which can be seen as having a conceptual fit with their emergent factor associations. With respect to the field sample, five of the 29 items are associated with factors other than those of the original factor analyses. The content of two of these items (2 and 27), and the direction of their coefficients, have a conceptual fit with the emergent factor structure. In contrast, the

conceptual relationship shared between item 15 ("When my peers tell me personal things about themselves, we are drawn closer together.") and its associated factor (self-reliance with competition) is not apparent. The remaining two of these five items (20 and 28) have very low correlations with the factors (i.e., <.20) and are therefore considered to not load on any factor. Future researchers should determine if these differential associations are due to chance, are a function of the different samples or they may wish to omit some items from their analyses should they prove problematic to interpretation. Given the overall strength of the scale, however, the omission of items should not be necessary.

When the factor structures are compared across the two samples, the factor structure which resulted from analysis of the college data was a somewhat stronger replication of Triandis et al. (1988) than was the resulting structure from the field sample data. Each factor in the college sample was within two items of the original set while each factor was replicated within three or four items for the field sample. The strength of the factor analytic replications, in conjunction with the internal consistency of the scale with each sample, and the use of the full 29 items in all analyses combine to lend strong support to the measure's overall reliability as

established in Triandis' original psychometric work on the individualism-collectivism scale.

The factor analysis of the autonomous-relational group orientation measure of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) taxonomy was quite successful for the first factor with the college sample and more successful with the field sample. As with the individualism-collectivism measure, analyses were conducted with the full scale (13 items) which demonstrated excellent internal consistency in both samples (α >.80). In addition, the subscales have considerable conceptual overlap and scores on these subscales are highly intercorrelated ($\underline{r}$=.59 and $\underline{r}$=.64 for the college and field samples respectively). Consequently, it is not surprising that items whose loadings differed from the factor structure in the original psychometric evaluation of the measure share meaning, again in terms of face validity, with the emergent factor structure of this study. The internal consistency of the Evaluative Process subscale was poor (α < .60) and it is this factor that was the least well replicated in both samples.

With the college sample data, all items of the Relative Status Concern (RSC) factor loaded appropriately although this factor also included three items from the Evaluative Process (EP) subscale. All

three of these items are conceptually related to RSC despite "belonging" to the EP subscale. The confirmatory factor analysis was somewhat stronger with the field sample data in that 2 items from the EP subscale loaded on the RSC factor and 1 item from the RSC subscale loaded on the EP factor. Thus, the factor structure of the autonomous-relational group orientation measure was replicated within 3 items for the college sample and within 2 items for the field sample.

Again, the fact that several items strayed from the factors with which they are associated in the original psychometric work is not considered problematic in this study for several reasons. Scores on the total scale are used in the primary analyses and not the subscale scores. The overall instrument demonstrated excellent internal consistency with $\alpha > .80$ in each sample, despite the much lower internal consistency of the EP subscale. In addition, the factors are substantially correlated ($\underline{r}_{(RSC)(EP)}=.42$) as demonstrated in Hinkle et al. (1992). The correlations are even higher in the current study ($\underline{r}_{(RSC)(EP)}=.59$ for the college sample and $\underline{r}_{(RSC)(EP)}=.64$ for the field sample) which speaks to the extent of the conceptual overlap of the two subscales. Consequently, the displacement of some items in the emergent structure from one factor to the other is not surprising.

Thus, the results generated with the scale are deemed reliable and the analysis supports the use of the RSC subscale as a reliable component of autonomous-relational group orientation. Evidence of the validity of the autonomous-relational scale is presented below in relation to tests of Hypothesis 3.

The independence of the dimensions of individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational group orientations was well supported in both the total college and the total field samples. The correlation between scores on these dimensions of the taxonomy was $\underline{r}$=.12 for the college sample and $\underline{r}$=-.07 for the field sample. These coefficients fall within the range of -.17 to .13 identified in Hinkle et al.'s (1992) review of five different tests of the orthogonality of the dimensions. This demonstrates that, in two additional samples, the dimensions of the taxonomy are also relatively independent and can be considered orthogonal[15]. Together with the largely successful results of the confirmatory factor analytic work, these outcomes identify the dimensions of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) taxonomy as reliable and independent. A test of the taxonomy's validity is

[15] The gendered subsamples were also examined for evidence of the orthogonality of the dimensions. A significant correlation for college females was obtained ($\underline{r}$=.277). As this is the only statistically significant correlation for either gender in either sample, and because it accounts for so little of the variance, the individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational dimensions are also deemed independent for the college females.

described below as it pertains to examination of Hypothesis 3.

Hypotheses 2 and 2.1 endeavoured to replicate aspects of the psychometric work of Helmreich, Spence and Wilhelm (1981) and Spence et al. (1979) on the agency and communion measures. Because of limitations in sample size, the confirmatory factor analysis of Hypothesis 2 was conducted on the subsample of college females only and was successful with the exception of unmitigated communion. The unmitigated communion scale items were found, in the original research, to be the most difficult to generate and it is this scale which demonstrated the lowest internal consistency (Helmreich et al., 1981). These conceptual and psychometric challenges are mirrored in the present study and speak to a need to develop a more robust measure of socially undesirable expressive characteristics indicative of the selflessness that characterizes unmitigated communion.

In order to more completely examine the reliability and validity of the agency and communion scales, future research should analyze the factor structure with a sample of college males for comparison with the results of the factor analysis of the EPAQ conducted by Helmreich et al. (1981). This is important to a

comprehensive investigation since a differential factor structure for males and females emerged in the research of Helmreich et al. (1981).

In addition, it would be useful to examine the factor structure of the EPAQ with female and male adults sampled from a field population. Some of the initial work on the PAQ (Spence & Helmreich, 1978) was extended to field samples, including examination of the relationships between mitigated agency and mitigated communion in samples of male and female homosexuals, female athletes, and male and female academic scientists and engineers. Their analyses "provided no surprises" (p. 110) despite their expectation that the distributions of the characterisitics in these specific subgroups might differ from those of the college sample. Examination of the factor structures of the EPAQ for gendered subsamples of a field population and for college males are especially important in light of changing norms regarding the sex-typing of women and men, as described below.

Of particular importance to this dissertation is the strength of the replication of the factors which contain the items from the mitigated communion and mitigated agency scales. It is analyses with these measures which generated the novel correlation with

social identity (Hypothesis 6), the meaning of which was explored in Study 2. These factors were not highly correlated with each other (r=-.06). The orthogonality of the mitigated agency and mitigated communion scales was also demonstrated through the absence of a significant correlation between them for the total college sample and each gendered subsample within it. This provides support for the contention that socially desirable (i.e., mitigated) instrumental and expressive characteristics are relatively unitary constructs in a college sample.

These results are in contrast to those obtained for the total field sample and its subsample of females where scores on the mitigated agency and mitigated communion scales are highly correlated and the measures are, therefore, not independent. Future research should investigate whether this finding is replicable and if so, examine reasons for why it is obtained.

The pattern of significant, negative correlations among the cross-typed scales (e.g., between M- and F+) provides additional support for a multifaceted conceptualization of instrumental and expressive characteristics. This pattern, which was consistently obtained in this study, is in accord with Bakan's (1966) formulation of agency and communion in that the undesirable traits of one aspect

covary in an inverse way with the desirable traits of the other aspect. The pattern of correlations between parallel scales (e.g., between M+ and M-) found in this study is consistent with that obtained by Spence et al. (1979). Small, positive correlations were obtained which account for little variance[16]. This is taken as evidence, as in Spence et al. (1979), of the relative independence of these scales which may, therefore, enter into different relationships with other variables. In addition, it suggests that a socially desirable response bias was not operative in that such a bias should result in substantial negative correlations between the parallel scales.

Spence, Helmreich and Stapp (1975), Spence and Helmreich (1978), and Helmreich et al. (1981) constructed the scales of the PAQ and EPAQ at a time, some fifteen to twenty years ago, where conceptualizations of the "ideal" man and "ideal" woman were likely different than they are today. Since the traits used as items were assigned to the scales as socially un/desireable characteristics, it is very important that this psychometric process be updated to ensure the validity of the descriptors for current use. Contemporary notions

[16] An exception to this pattern is found for the females of the field sample where some of the correlations are larger. The largest of these is between mitigated and unmitigated communion which accounts for 11% of the variance. This speaks to the need to examine the validity of these constructs and their measures with a field sample. Other reasons for such a review are described below.

of gender stereotypes and social desirability differ, I believe, from those of two decades ago and consequently, a psychometric review of the scale items seems important in the interests of ensuring and, as necessary, enhancing their construct validity.

In addition, we can no longer assume that particular differential patterns of correlations among the agency and communion scales for women and men are indicative of the validity of these measures. This may be especially relevant to field samples where the age and socialization experiences of individuals can differ substantially from those of college students. As gender stereotypes continue to evolve in our western cultures, quite different constellations of instrumental and expressive characteristics may be descriptive of gender roles. Discriminant or other analyses whose purpose is to predict correct gender classifications based on scale scores do not "transcend the myopic polarization of male-female sex differences" (Bar-Yam Hassan & Bar-Yam, 1987, p. 125) and are of limited utility. With respect to agency and communion, it is my opinion that what is needed are measures which, with the necessary reliability and validity, distinguish between individuals who are mitigated and unmitigated in their instrumental and expressive characteristics, without gender as the primary consideration.

At minimum, these results demonstrate the utility of the mitigated agency, mitigated communion, and unmitigated agency scales as reliable measures with a college sample and also demonstrate the need for a more robust measure of unmitigated communion to be developed. In addition, an extensive psychometric review of the scales is warranted with sample sizes sufficient for examination of the factor structure with college males and in field samples. Psychometric reviews and developments must address current evolutionary trends in gender stereotypes and identify the relevant constellations of attributes, and their social un/desirability, in order to build upon the construct validity of the measures. The use of these scales in this study in their present form, unassessed for temporal pertinence, may constitute an important limitation of this research.

The SIT postulate that there should be a strong positive relationship between ingroup identification and intergroup differentiation has not received strong or consistent empirical support (e.g., Hinkle, Brown & Ely,1992; Hinkle & Brown, 1990). This absence of support is problematic for SIT and served, in part, as motivation for the development of Hinkle and Brown's (1990)

typology of groups. As described above, the typology endeavours to identify the types of groups and situations in which social identities are maintained through comparative or noncomparative processes.

Hypothesis 3 of this dissertation served as a test of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) contention that collectivists with a relational orientation show the strongest relationship between social identity and ingroup bias. This was indeed the case with the total college sample and also with each of the gendered subsamples. In addition, the correlations between social identity and ingroup bias in the remaining quadrants reflected the expected order of magnitude. That is, the correlation for the autonomous-individualists was the lowest with the correlations in the remaining two quadrants of the taxonomy falling between the two extremes.

This pattern is consistent with the results of numerous investigations, both correlational and experimental, in laboratory and field research contexts with varied measures of key constructs (e.g., Brown et al., 1992; Grant, 1992 experiment 1; Grant, 1993; Meeres, 1994; Grant & Brown, 1995) which further demonstrates the taxonomy's generalizability. It lends strong support to the contention that the comparative processes of social identity maintenance which are central to SIT apply to collectivist group

members with a relational orientation. This further substantiates the position that comparative processes are not as generic as originally thought by Social Identity theorists. This, in turn, enhances the quality of predictions regarding ingroup bias through our understanding that social identity processes vary across different types of groups and group members and through our ability to identify these differences. In conjunction with the results of previous research, the consistency among the patterns generated with each subscale and the overall instrument is also taken as evidence of the validity of the autonomous-relational group orientation measure.

The negative correlation in the autonomous-individualist quadrant was an unexpected finding[17] and may constitute a Type I error. When the pattern of correlations between social identity and ingroup bias are examined with respect to scores on the Relative Status Concern (RSC) subscale, the negative correlation in the autonomous individualist quadrant is also obtained. It is again

[17] In a post hoc analysis, subjects in this quadrant of the taxonomy (i.e., autonomous-individualists) scored significantly lower on the measure of social identity than either the relational or autonomous collectivists for the total college sample (see Appendix E). These subjects are, by definition, less concerned with collective achievements and ties to ingroup members (i.e., they are individualists) and do not tend to engage in intergroup comparisons (i.e., they are autonomous in orientation). Consequently, it is not surprising that these individuals would score lower on the measure of social identity. There were no significant differences among the means, by quadrant, on the measure of ingroup bias.

obtained with the Evaluative Process (EP) subscale, despite this scale having had poor reliability and not being well replicated in the confirmatory factor analysis.

The negative correlation is not inconsistent, however, with Hinkle and Brown's (1990) review of 14 studies in which some of the correlations obtained between ingroup bias and strength of group identification were negative, although obviously, it was not possible to calculate these correlations within each quadrant of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) taxonomy. Further research specific to the four cells of the typology is warranted in order to determine whether the negative correlation obtained in the present study for autonomous individualists is a spurious result. For example, the pattern may reflect a cultural difference and be unique to the sample in Saskatchewan as compared to the samples drawn from populations in Great Britain and the United States. A replication with another local sample is warranted in order to systematically examine this possibility.

An initial experimental investigation into other cells of the taxonomy has been conducted by Meeres (1994; Grant & Meeres, 1995, experiment 1). In this study, individualist and collectivist groups were placed in a relational intergroup context where the

compatibility of personal and group goals was manipulated. The results indicate that collectivist groups made invidious intergroup comparisons when group and personal goals were compatible. The relationship between social identity and intergroup differentiation was strongest here. In contrast, these same groups made invidious comparisons with ingroup members when personal and group goals were incompatible. This study suggests that, for the artificial groups created in this context, the introduction of an additional variable (goal in/compatibility) further delineates the conditions under which we can expect a strong, positive relationship between social identity and intergroup differentiation. Under conditions of goal compatibility in a relational context, the collectivist groups protected their group identity while under conditions of goal incompatibility, the collectivist groups protected their self-esteem directly through ingroup comparisons.

Further, Grant and Meeres' (1995) second experiment constitutes the first test of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) contention that autonomous groups engage in comparisons with normative ingroup standards in order to enhance their social identity. With ingroup bias being the only measure of differentiation in the present study, however, it is not possible to determine if the focus of

comparisons for the autonomous-individualists was at the intragroup level. The present results are supportive and are clearly indicative of the utility and need for further research of this kind, particularly at the group level of analysis.

Taken together, the confirmatory analyses of Hypotheses 1 and 3 lend strong support to the utility of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) typology of groups for understanding differences in processes of social identity maintenance. The constituent parts of the typology are demonstrably reliable and valid, the dimensions are orthogonal, and the resulting demarcations are useful in identifying the various group types in which SIT processes are most evident.

As Hinkle and Brown (1990) and Brown et al. (1992) note, the merits of the taxonomy and the research related to it do not preclude the possibility that additional dimensions can help delineate differences within and between groups regarding their patterns of comparison and bias. Other variables, correlated with the dimensions of the taxonomy, may be mediating the observed relationships between social identity and ingroup bias. The exploratory aspects of this study may have identified some of these variables. The outcomes of the exploratory work may provide insight into additional dimensions that further delineate important

differences among groups and group members regarding processes and outcomes of social identification.

Exploratory Analyses

Hypotheses 4, 5 and 7 explored the relationships between measures of mitigated and unmitigated agency and communion and the two dimensions of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) taxonomy. In keeping with the exploratory intent of these pursuits, specific predictions were not made although particular patterns of relationships were anticipated. The results were largely in accord with expectations, although there were differences in the outcomes with the separate samples. That is, the measures of mitigated and unmitigated agency were significantly correlated with individualism for the total college sample, and the mitigated and unmitigated communion scales were significantly related to collectivism. For the total field sample, however, the only significant relationship found among the individualism-collectivism dimension and the agency and communion measures was between unmitigated agency and individualism. Mitigated communion was related to collectivism only for the males of the field sample. Thus, the overlap between the measures of individualism and agency and between collectivism

and communion seems to be greater with the college sample than with the field sample.

When examined in light of the multiple regression analysis of Hypothesis 7, it appears that the conceptual overlap between individualism and agency applies to the unmitigated aspects of agency only, a relationship which accounts for 22% of the variance in the college sample and 6% in the field sample. This differential between the samples in the percentages of variance accounted for is substantial and may relate to gender differences. That is, unmitigated agency relates to individualism in the field sample for the males only. This is in contrast to the college sample, within which unmitigated agency is significantly correlated with individualism for both females and males.

This difference may relate to genuine differences in the two samples with respect to the covariation of the measures with individualism. It is also possible that these differences, if they exist, are compounded by a differential validity of the agency and communion scales with the two samples which could result from different constellations of the characteristics constituting the constructs for college students and employed individuals. Future research should address these issues through systematic

comparisons between samples drawn from the two different populations. The comparability of these samples on specific dimensions would need to be assessed in order to ensure that each sample is not so idiosyncratic that comparisons are meaningless. These comparisons were not made in the present study since the field sample was intended to serve as a perspective on the generalizability of any emergent relationships and not as a comparison group with which to test for significant differences between samples. The latter was deemed premature in light of the exploratory nature of these research questions although the outcomes of these explorations suggest such comparisons would now be useful.

The relationships with agency and communion measures were also explored with respect to the autonomous-relational group orientation scale (Hypothesis 5). For the total college sample, unmitigated agency and verbal passive-aggression were significantly related to a relational orientation while mitigated communion was correlated with an autonomous orientation. The verbal passive-aggression scale was significantly related to a relational group orientation for the total college sample and both gendered subsamples. This scale is not independent from the unmitigated

agency measure and thus, its correlation with a relational orientation is consistent. Again, a different pattern emerged for the field sample where the only significant relationship obtained was between unmitigated agency and a relational orientation. The multiple regression analysis of Hypothesis 7 indicates that none of the agency and communion measures are substantial predictors of either component of the autonomous-relational dimension[18] in either sample.

The correlations between unmitigated agency and a relational group orientation and between mitigated communion and an autonomous group orientation are consistent with aspects of the research of Millward (1995). In her examination of nurses' representations of their social identity, communal and autonomous identity descriptions were articulated by the respondents. These differential representations were associated, respectively, with a noncomparative or intragroup focus and a comparative, intergroup focus. That is, the profile of the communal representation of the identity described the interpersonal aspects of the nursing role in patient care, examples of which include attention to the individual

[18] The regression analysis does, however, suggest that verbal passive-aggression accounts for a small amount of variance (approximately 4%) in the college sample. This result was consistent in that it was obtained for both the derivation and validation samples although it was the first variable to enter the equation with the former and the second with the latter.

needs of patients, developing rapport, and providing physical care. The autonomous representation of the nursing identity was defined by the respondents as that which makes nurses distinct from other health care professionals, an intergroup focus seen in the independence of the nursing profession and the ability to practice without the control and jurisdiction of physicians.

This one aspect of Millward's (1995) results provides an example of specific representations of a social identity which have differential comparative focuses that align with the autonomous-relational group orientation dimension of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) typology. The intragroup focus of the communal component suggests an autonomous orientation for this particular identity while the intergroup focus of the autonomous or instrumental nursing identity corresponds to the more relational end of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) dimension. Millward's (1995) work also serves as an illustration of the multidimensional nature of a single social identity and that different representations within it can have differential patterns of comparisons associated with them. Together with the results of Grant and Meeres (1995, experiment 2), Millward's (1995) outcomes lend considerable support to Hinkle and Brown's (1990) contention that a relational orientation evinces intergroup comparisons while an

autonomous orientation is more typically associated with comparisons within the group. My results suggest an additional linkage between aspects of agency at the individual level and a relational intergroup orientation and between communion and an autonomous intragroup orientation. It would be interesting to examine the impact of these individual level variables on the group orientation dimension in the context of specific representations of a social identity.

In summary, the results of these hypotheses indicate that there is indeed conceptual overlap between the constructs of agency and individualism, that this overlap applies primarily to the unmitigated aspect of agency, and that unmitigated agency is "predictive" of individualism although this accounts for much more variance in the college sample than in the field sample. The specific direction of the influence of unmitigated agency and individualism is not discernable from the correlation. It is possible that individualism is predictive of unmitigated agency.

The results regarding the relationship between communion and collectivism are less robust but the pattern of correlations across samples suggests a consistent relationship between collectivism and the mitigated aspect of communion which warrants further

investigation. Interestingly, unmitigated agency was also related to a relational group orientation in both samples while the autonomous orientation was related to mitigated communion for the college sample only.

It would be prudent to reexamine these relationships, in both samples, subsequent to the psychometric review of the agency and communion measures described above. Since unmitigated agency is correlated with both individualism and a relational group orientation, next steps for research in this area could include multiple regressions which test to what extent individualism in conjunction with a relational group orientation are predictive of unmitigated agency. In effect, this analysis would reverse the criterion and predictor used in Hypothesis 7 and enable a comparison of the amounts of variance accounted for by different directions of influence and the inclusion of the relational variable.

Hypothesis 6 examined the relationships among the agency and communion scales and the measure of social identity for the college sample. This was predicated on an expectation that, as suggested by Williams (1984), the measure of social identity would correlate with the agency measures more strongly than it would with the measures

of communion. Interestingly, the results indicate that the measures of mitigated agency and mitigated communion correlate positively with social identity while unmitigated agency and verbal passive-aggression (a measure of unmitigated communion which is not independent of unmitigated agency in this sample) are inversely related to social identity. The correlations obtained with the mitigated measures are significantly different from those generated with the unmitigated measures.

These results indicate that increases in scores on strength of social identity correspond to increases on mitigated agency and mitigated communion scores with U of S students as the referent group. Conversely, higher scores on social identity correspond to lower scores on unmitigated agency and verbal passive-aggression for these individuals, again with U of S students as the referent group. It is clearly very important that future research endeavour to replicate these findings with other referent groups and samples in order to assess their reliability and generalizability.

This demonstration of an association between social identity and the mitigation of agency and communion rather than between social identity and either construct per se is an important step toward addressing Williams' (1984) concern about the need to

critically examine SIT and its gender biases. The results do not, however, support a simple interpretation of social identity as agentic social identity.

Perhaps characterizing some groups as autonomous (Hinkle & Brown, 1990) goes further in addressing Williams' (1984) concern that SIT has focused on processes of identity maintenance and evaluation that are typically agentic. Describing groups in this way acknowledges the reality that intergroup comparisons are not paramount for a particular type of group and that members of this group type may enhance their self-esteem through, for example, "the ingroup's ability to fulfil its vocation or function" (Williams, 1984, p. 313). The recent experimental work of Grant and Meeres (1995, experiment 2) relating to ingroup standards of comparison holds considerable promise for understanding the nature of processes of social identity maintenance and evaluation in such groups.

At a theoretical level, Brewer (1991) has advanced a notion referred to as "optimal distinctiveness" which can be brought to bear on interpretation of the present findings. Her position is that "social identity derives from a fundamental tension between human needs for validation and similarity to others (on the one hand) and a countervailing need for uniqueness and individuation (on the

other)." (p. 477). As she herself notes, this idea is not novel and in fact, her description of it is strikingly similar to Bakan's (1966) articulation of humans' simultaneous needs for communion and agency. Brewer (1991) views social identity as "a compromise between assimilation and differentiation from others" (p. 477) where distinctiveness needs are satisfied through comparisons at the intergroup level and assimilation needs are satisfied within the ingroup such that "group identities allow us to be the same and different at the same time." (p. 477). Brewer's (1991) perspective is supported by Millward (1995) insofar as Millward's research on the social identity of nurses surfaced communal and autonomous representations of this single identity which have differential intragroup and intergroup comparative focuses.

Brewer's (1991) formulation suggests that a positive correlation might be found between agency and a relational or comparative intergroup orientation and between communion and an autonomous group orientation. Hypothesis 5 surfaced a significant correlation between unmitigated agency and a relational orientation for both the college and field samples. For the college sample, significant correlations were also obtained between mitigated communion and an autonomous orientation and between verbal

passive-aggression and a relational orientation. These outcomes lend some support to Brewer's (1991) position and suggest that these relationships may warrant further investigation. However, given that the regression analysis only accounts for very small amounts of variance (see Table 18), consideration of the contributions of agency and communion to social identity should also include other variables.

Brewer (1991) argues that social identification is strongest at the point of equilibrium or "optimal distinctiveness" where we identify with categories that are of a level of inclusiveness where the needs for differentiation and assimilation are equally satisfied. The communal and instrumental representations within the social identity of Millward's (1995) nurses may serve as an example of such a category although these representations were not examined with respect to overall strength of social identity.

The results of Hypothesis 6 in the present study suggest that a mitigated state may constitute the equilibrium or optimal distinctiveness described by Brewer (1991) where mitigation had a positive correlation with strength of social identity while unmitigated agency had an inverse relationship with this variable. A test of this emergent hypothesis is in order, one which would determine if mitigated individuals show the greatest strength of

identification in comparison with unmitigated individuals who should show the least[19], assuming that unmitigated agency and communion represent states of disequilibrium.

Presuming that the findings of Hypothesis 6 are demonstrably reliable and generalizable, the relationship between un/mitigation and ingroup bias warrants investigation. It seems likely that the agency and communion variables are no different than others in that their impact on ingroup bias is probably indirect and consequently, examination of whether un/mitigated agency and communion mediate the relationship between social identity and ingroup bias could be pursued.

It is clear that any study which includes consideration of social identity and ingroup bias must examine these and other associated variables in the context of the dimensions of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) typology of groups. This is necessary because of the now consistent finding that the relationship between social identity and ingroup bias varies as a function of differential combinations of individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational group

[19] This presumes that the group which serves as the referent for the social identity measure is one in which the mitigated individuals believe they are indeed mitigated. This cannot be assumed to be the case as indicated by the results of the qualitative study which are described below. Although the interview respondents are mitigated at the individual level, this is not constant across all groups insofar as some of them identified with groups (albeit not strongly) in which they see themselves as less mitigated.

orientations. More generally, the current developments within SIT, even at their early developmental stage, have already rendered accounts of social identity processes more complete and less androcentric.

Study 2

RATIONALE

The exploratory work of Study 1 was designed to explicate the general relationships between agency, communion, social identity and Hinkle and Brown's (1990) typology. It did not, however, address relationships among variables beyond the individual level of analysis. At this early stage of theoretical development, Hinkle and Brown (1990) and Brown et al. (1992) have assumed that the relationships they examine hold equally at the cultural, subcultural and individual levels of analysis. They argue that this parallelism is consistent with Triandis et al.'s (1988) perspective and that to address this issue a priori with respect to the taxonomy is not necessary.

However simplistic this analysis may seem, it does indicate that these authors have considered the issue of level of analysis. In fact, Brown has authored articles which describe the non-parallelism of the individual and group levels of analysis (e.g., Brown & Turner, 1981; Taylor & Brown, 1979). Such consideration has not been extended to the constructs of agency and communion. Insights

gleaned from the initial examination of the covariation of these constructs with social identity and aspects of group type as delineated by Hinkle and Brown (1990) could not explicate how agency, communion and mitigation are manifest, influenced or influential at the group level of analysis.

Of primary interest to me was the novel relationship which surfaced in Study 1 as a significant positive correlation between social identity and the mitigation of agency and communion. This was an unexpected finding and so qualitative examination of this quantitative result was pursued. This methodological approach is referred to as sequential triangulation (Morse, 1991) which can take a variety of forms. Of obvious relevance to the present work is the sequential use of quantitative and qualitative methods. As Morse (1991) describes, this particular triangulation of methods is warranted where the quantitative step has been deductive, based on an a priori theoretical framework, and a qualitative method is used to explore unexpected findings. Thus, Study 2 was intended as an initial exploration of the meaning of the relationships which surfaced among agency, communion, and social identity. It also served as an attempt to generate some initial insights into agency, communion and their mitigation at the group level of analysis.

Very little is known about relationships among these variables. When dealing with a relatively novel construct, a qualitative research approach allows the issues or questions of importance to surface (e.g., Stiles, 1993; Kirk & Miller, 1986). This approach helps to avoid committing what are sometimes referred to as Type 3 errors: asking the wrong questions. Study 2 was also, therefore, intended to facilitate the development of recommendations and questions for a program of research designed to pursue insights generated through this dissertation.

METHOD

Participants

The primary limitation of the particular sequential triangulation method employed in this dissertation is the quantitative sample's appropriateness for the qualitative study (Morse, 1991). Criteria for appropriateness in sampling for quantitative research centre around the sample's representativeness of the population from which it is drawn. In qualitative research, appropriateness is typically determined by the extent to which the sample can represent the phenomena of interest. As Morse (1991) describes, this refers to whether participants have experience with the phenomena and can describe these experiences. Although these perspectives on sampling differ, they are reconciled in the sequential use of quantitative and qualitative methods by selecting an appropriate theoretical sample for the qualitative followup from the random sample which generated the quantitative results. Consequently, the appropriate sample for exploration of the relationship among social identity, agency, communion and mitigation was deemed to be people who can be characterized as high on mitigated agency and high on mitigated communion, and

who are from the random sample of college students within which the initial correlations were found.

Thus, participants for Study 2 were selected for the qualitative interview based upon their scores on the mitigated agency and mitigated communion measures administered in Study 1. Individuals who scored greater than 21 on mitigated agency and greater than 24 on mitigated communion were considered eligible for the qualitative followup as these cutoff scores denote the top 30% of the two distributions. Of the 53 potential participants (17 males and 36 females) generated through this selection process, 19 (6 males and 13 females) had indicated at the time of Study 1 that they were willing to be contacted regarding participation in a second study. Seventeen people (4 males and 13 females) provided the information necessary for making contact. Those individuals with the highest scores were contacted first with a view to soliciting the participation of 3 males[20] and 3 females. Each individual I contacted agreed to participate and a total of 5 females and 1 male were interviewed. Table 19 describes these individuals' scores on the selection measures, their gender and their age.

At the time data was collected for Study 1 (early in the winter

[20] Three of the 4 males eligible for followup were no longer at the telephone numbers provided and no forwarding addresses or telephone numbers were available for these individuals.

term of 1994), each interview participant was an undergraduate student. When the followup interviews were conducted, 5 of these people were undergraduate students with summer employment. Employers included a supermarket, the military, a local contractor, a summer camp for special-needs children, and a nursing home. In these settings, the interview participants were employed in customer service, radio communications, as a plumber's helper, camp counsellor, and dietary aide. One participant is a new parent who does volunteer work from her home.

Table 19.
Interview Participants' Scores on Selection Measures, Gender & Age

Participant	Mitigated Agency Score[1]	Mitigated Communion Score[1]	Gender	Age
1	27	28	Female	32
2	26	26	Female	20
3	29	30	Female	27
4	31	32	Male	26
5	26	28	Female	19
6	23	29	Female	19

Note: [1] These measures each have a total possible score of 32 where a high score reflects a high level of the construct.

Procedure

After the interview schedule was initially developed, it was pilot tested on two individuals and some revisions were made. Feedback from these people suggested the need for an additional question, the rewording of several other questions, and clarification of some of the terminology and scale items used. These refinements were incorporated into the interview schedule and the list of potential participants was generated.

Following the identification of the eligible interview participants through the process described above, each person was telephoned and reminded that they had agreed to be contacted regarding their participation in the second phase of my research. I explained that I would be conducting interviews in order to explore the meaning of some of the relationships found in the first study. An appointment was made with each of them to conduct the approximately 90 minute interview.

In the opening of the interview (Section 1), each participant was again told that the purpose of the interview was to explore the meaning of some relationships found in the first study and that they would be informed of the specific purpose of sections of the interview as they arose. Individuals were informed that there was

no deception involved, the need for the audio tape was explained, and the exploratory and informal nature of the interview process was described. A consent form was reviewed and completed (see Appendix A) and the demographic information summarized above was collected. Other details of the interview schedule are described in the Measures section below. At the end of the interview, each participant was thanked, paid $5 for their contribution of time, and provided with my telephone number to inquire about the results of the research.

Following completion of the interviews, the audio tapes were transcribed. Each transcript was then summarized and returned to the participant with questions for their clarification and/or elaboration. When each participant had deemed the summary and their amendments complete and accurate, s/he initialled the document and returned it to me. Participants were telephoned for further clarification of their comments as necessary.

Measure

An interview schedule (see Appendix F) served as a guide for the interview and was used to record notes for followup within the interview although each interview was also audiotaped. As

described above, Section 1 of the interview schedule included opening comments and the collection of demographic information. Section 2 was designed to elicit people's reactions to the agency, communion and mitigation concepts and to identify factors they believe might impact how they describe themselves on these characteristics. This section of the interview started with reference to agency and communion as two very basic and general characteristics of human beings. Participants were then provided with a sheet of paper and verbal comments that defined these concepts as follows:

Agency
- refers to our existence as individuals, independent agents
- is concerned with separation, autonomy, independence
- is manifest in assertiveness, mastery, power and self-protection

Communion
- refers to our connections to others, interpersonal relatedness, contact
- in concerned with union, solidarity, inclusion
- is manifest in cooperation, openness and intimacy

The verbal examples of agentic characteristics that were provided included being independent, confident, and decisive. Verbal examples of communion provided were being helpful, cooperative, and understanding.

Participants were then told that they were selected for the interview because they had described themselves with many characteristics of both agency and communion and that this is referred to as mitigation. The following written and verbal definition was provided:

Mitigation
- characteristics of agency accompanied by characteristics of communion
- one balanced or attenuated by the other

At this point in the interview, the participants were provided with a list of the agency and communion descriptors on which they had described themselves in Study 1 (see Appendix B). The list was provided in order to give participants more specific and complete examples of the characteristics since these would be pursued later in the interview. Participants were asked for any general reactions to or comments about agency, communion and/or mitigation. The final question of this section asked "What do you think would alter or change the way you describe yourself on these characteristics?"

At the beginning of Section 3, participants were told that the purpose of the remaining sections of the interview was to identify if and how characteristics of agency, communion and mitigation might relate to groups and not just to individuals. In order to begin to shift participants' level of self-categorization from the personal level to

the social, different levels of identity were defined. The following written and verbal definitions were provided:

Personal Identity	• our sense of ourselves as a unique individual
Social Identity	• our sense of ourselves that comes from our knowledge of our membership in a group(s) together with how we feel about (the emotional significance of) that membership.
Human Identity	• our sense of our human identity, different from other species.

Participants were invited to share their reactions to or comments about these identity concepts and were then told that we would be focusing on social identity for the remainder of the interview. In order to do so, each participant was asked at this point to generate a list of groups s/he belongs to. The following written and verbal instructions were provided:

- list groups you identify with, feel a part of, or feel you belong to. These might include general categories of people you identify with.
- include informal groups (e.g., social groups, cohorts of friends, etc.) and more formal groups (e.g., organizations, clubs, sports teams, profession, political party, etc.)
- list as many as possible in about the next 10 minutes.

When the participant felt the listing was complete (regardless of the actual amount of time involved), s/he was asked to tell me which group they identified with the most strongly (designated as

G1) and which group they identified with the least strongly (designated as G2). The 10 items from the Social Identity Scale[21] (see Appendix B) were provided as general indicators of strong group identification for participants' reference if they thought it necessary. Participants were then reminded that they had been asked about U of S students as a group in the first study. In this followup interview, they were asked to indicate to what extent they identify with being a member of the U of S student group relative to the two groups they identify with most and least strongly. This ranking was recorded on a continuum and the U of S student group was designated as G3.

At the beginning of Section 4, participants were informed that the next series of questions would deal with each of G1, G2 and G3 in turn. This series included the following inquiries:

- What would alter or change the extent to which you identify with this group?
- What bearing do you think your own mitigation of agency and communion has on the extent to which you identify with this group?
- To what extent would you describe this group as agentic (based on the list of descriptors provided)?
- How are those characteristics evident?
- To what extent would you describe this group as communal (based on the list of descriptors provided)?

[21] The reverse scored items from this scale had been rewritten in order for the complete listing to be indicative of strong group identification without the participant needing to "transpose" the negative items.

- How are those characteristics evident?
- To what extent would you describe this group as mitigated?
- How is this evident?
- How do the group's characteristics of agency and communion relate to the extent to which you identify with this group?
- How does the extent to which you identify with this group relate to your descriptions of the group on the agency and communion descriptors?
- Is there anything else you would like to say about this group?

When each of the three groups had been addressed, two general questions were asked. These were worded as follows:

- How do you think your own characteristics of agency and communion relate to the way you identify with groups in general?
- More generally, what relationship do you think there is between the mitigation of agency and communion and social identity?

Section 5 of the interview asked participants if there was anything else they would like to say, comment on, or ask and the procedure for soliciting their feedback on the interview summary was established. The final closure of the interview was as described above in the Procedure section.

RESULTS

The linguistic results of the qualitative interviews are presented below following a process of distillation. That is, participants' responses to the inquiries have been summarized and presented so as to convey the essence of their meaning, set in the context within which the responses were generated. The results were not intended to nor do they constitute biographical or ethnographic accounts of each interview. In addition, the results of the interviews are presented descriptively, not as interpretations of the participants' responses. Interpretive issues are pertinent to the identification and labelling of the patterns or themes which I believe emerge from review of the qualitative data.

I made multiple iterations through the data and the distillation was accomplished as follows. I edited the transcript of each interview, removing preambles to questions and paraverbal utterances. Probes, paraphrases and all participant responses were kept intact including where responses were incomplete and the dialogue was interrupted. I then read these summaries to identify where clarification or elaboration were necessary for the meaning to be clear. Upon receipt of these clarifications from participants as

described above, each summary was reread and the bulk of the interview data was written into the Results section below. This text was reread, themes (or their absence) among the responses were identified, and descriptions of these patterns were incorporated below at the end of the relevant subsections.

Steps were taken to assess the trustworthiness (e.g., Stiles, 1993; Kirk & Miller, 1986; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of the summaries themselves, the data distillation process and the thematic analysis. Issues of "reliability" and "validity" are framed as concerns for credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) for qualitative research endeavors. The summaries of the interviews were deemed complete and accurate by each participant prior to the analysis of the data. This check was performed in order to establish the credibility of the data from the participants' perspective. The interview summaries, participant materials, and this section of text were given to the supervising social psychologist who independently reviewed the text and the thematic analysis. This was done to ensure accurate representation of the qualitative data in the text and the accuracy of the themes identified among participants' comments. These steps were intended to serve as an audit of the dependability and confirmability of the

inquiry. In addition, I left an audit trail by identifying specific participant comments as the sources of data which speak to each theme. Assessment of this study with respect to these issues of trustworthiness is included below in the Discussion section.

The responses of the interview participants are integrated and organized in the same order as the questions were asked within the interview. Each section of data is prefaced with the question that elicited the responses and emergent themes are identified at the end of these sections. Some questions are clustered together if they were asked consecutively and if the responses have overlapping content. The demographic information collected in Section 1 of the interview is summarized and reported above in the description of participants.

Section 2: Any reactions to or comments about the agency, communion and/or mitigation concepts?

Two participants commented on these general notions. Participant 3 identified that she remembered learning about cultural differences where, for example, Asian cultures value collectivism and cultures like North America encourage more independence. She expressed curiosity as to what influences communion and agency while identifying that, as an individual, she feels a need for both.

> Sometimes you want to be your own person, and sometimes you really want to be part of someone else or something else. And maybe ... part of life is always balancing those things *(agency and communion)* out. ... You go through different stages on both of them.

Later in the interview, this person shared the following general comments about agency and communion.

> These characteristics *(agency)* are only really valuable to be if I have these characteristics *(communion)* . I think we were created to be interpersonal beings, we weren't created to be lone rangers out there doing our own thing for ourselves and forsaking all others. ... So I think you need both but if you have ... real communion that's healthy, I think you will develop healthy characteristics of agency. But I think if you're all agency you're not going to develop the communal characteristics.

The second participant (Participant 4) to respond to this inquiry indicated that he initially thought about an internal/external distinction between agency and communion but on further reflection, he identified that he saw this distinction within both the agency characteristics and the communal descriptors.

What do you think would alter or change the way you describe yourself on these characteristics of agency and communion?

Participant 1 identified that the variability in her self-descriptions on these characteristics is dependent upon her current state or situation:

> During my really, really bad times I would be less of the communal. ... There are times where I have closed down and don't want to be intimate. ... I just close down when I need to.

This individual also indicated that she sees the agency descriptors as unchanging or constant while her level of communion "depends on what is actually happening in my life".

Participant 2 identified that she would not describe herself as favourably on the mitigated characteristics if she were in situations where she would have to make a series of difficult decisions that she did not feel good about, "a lot of decisions of that nature where you can't win either way". She saw this pattern of decision-making as likely to erode her self-esteem, that she might come to think of herself differently and consequently describe herself differently on the agency and communion descriptors.

The third participant identified that stability in relationships would impact her self-descriptions on the agency and communion characteristics. She described the dynamic from her past as follows:

> When I've gone through a time of real instability where ... a lot of relationships are taken away and then all of a sudden you're alone you really want to be a part of something. But then when you get to be a part of something, there's that sense of security ... and you have more freedom to be independent. You're not looking for that security because you have it so then you look for independence, and then maybe when you're really

> independent you're looking for that security of belonging. ... Stability would be having those things in balance.

This individual sees herself as mitigated in times of stability and satisfaction with her life. She would describe herself as more agentic and trying to develop more communion at times of instability, feeling alone and wanting to be more a part of something. This participant also identified this dynamic as descriptive of different stages in the development of an intimate relationship where there is an initial concern with connection and communion which comes to be tempered by more independence and agency. She described this as "you go through different stages on both of them".

Participant 4 would describe himself differently on the communion characteristics depending upon external factors such as the other person involved in the situation. For example, "I would have a different degree of gentleness if I was dealing with my son or whether I was dealing with a friend of mine". Changes in his self-descriptions on agentic characteristics were described as resulting from internal factors. The example he cited here was an internal decision to share information with a coworker "within the realms of what I feel confident in" rather than directing the person to the participant's superior. This individual also suggests that one's

financial situation has a bearing on levels of agency and communion. Specifically, he perceives people who are well off financially as more agentic and less communal. The middle class, of which he sees himself as a member, are thought to have characteristics of both agency and communion while people who are below the poverty line are perceived by him to have high levels of communion and the independence characteristic of agency. For himself, this person felt that his self-descriptions on agency and communion would increase when he finishes his education and reflect a higher degree of mitigation.

Participant 5 identified that, while her self-descriptions on communion characteristics would remain quite constant, her agency is impacted by stress in her life. She described a fluctuation in her perceptions of her agency when she encountered demands she had never experienced before and felt ill equipped to handle. Her agency level was restored as she experienced success in dealing with the stressors. This participant also believes her descriptions of her agency would vary depending on how she feels about herself on the day of the description:

> If it's been a bad day or whatever, something has been going wrong, I can see myself being really hard on myself in how I rate it *(agency)*. Compared to on a day when things are going really well and I'm proud of what

> I've done, or marks have come back good, things like that. I would be a lot easier on myself.

She stated that "I would probably totally shred myself apart on those *(agency characteristics)* on a bad day more that the communal ones". This pattern also applies to the unmitigated agency descriptors which would be impacted more than the unmitigated communion characteristics. Overall, the characteristics of agency are seen by this individual as more impacted than any communal characteristics by what is going on in her life on the day of the descriptive task.

Participant 6 identified that she would likely describe herself as somewhat less communal currently since increased demands on her time have made it more difficult to actively maintain relationships. This individual also described herself as less agentic than when she participated in Study 1 insofar as "decision making is not so easy any more", she is no longer living with her parents, and she feels she worries more, has more responsibilities and is having "to start planning what direction I want my life to take".

The predominant themes that are evident in these responses speak to situational variables as influential in participants' self-

descriptions on the characteristics of agency and communion. These variables include a range of particular situations, internal states as impacted by situations, and reference to who is involved in the situation. Each of these themes is described in turn.

Particular situations were identified by five of the six participants. The range of examples within this theme include:

- a series of decision-making situations that are difficult and erode self-esteem (Participant 2)
- being at particular stages in the development of an intimate relationship (Participant 3)
- a change in social class and financial resources (Participant 4)
- completing post-secondary education (which was seen as related to changes in financial resources) (Participant 4)
- a time of increased stress (Participant 5)
- success in dealing with stressors (Participants 5 and 6)
- a reduction in time available for maintaining relationships (Participant 6)

The internal states four participants referred to are not entirely independent of the above examples since our inner experiences are clearly impacted by the particular situations we are in. The references to internal states were evident in comments about being less communal "during my really, really bad times" (Participant 1) and a description of self-perceptions which vary, for example, with the nature of feedback received and in response to

"what is going on in my life that day" (Participant 5). Other examples of this category can be seen in comments about experiencing a need to balance agency and communion in order to maintain her sense of stability and satisfaction (Participant 3) and finally, in a comment about changes in agentic behaviour as resulting from internal decisions such as whether to share information (Participant 4).

The final issue raised through this line of inquiry was that of who is participating in the situation. Participant 4 noted that his self-description on some communal characteristics would vary depending upon whether he is referring to interactions with his son or with someone else.

Section 3: Any reactions to or comments about the personal, social and human identity concepts?

Four participants indicated that the categories made sense to them and one noted that the notion of a human identity as distinct from other species was new. Other comments include Participant 2's report that

> the way you think of yourself is not necessarily the way you think of yourself in a group. The whole human issue, what is right for humanity, that's like all the groups together so you have to think about each group

individually in order to do what is right for the whole.

Participant 1 commented on how she currently experiences differences among the three levels of identity:

> I definitely see myself as a unique individual and my human identity is very strong. Social I could use some work on ... I think because of the kids and things lately I have been pulling away from groups for my own personal self.

Participant 5 described a relationship she believes exists in some group contexts between personal and social identities:

> I think that sometimes our personal identity works with social identity in that I may have a perceived notion of how I fit in a group but then some other person's personal identity may interfere with what I view as my membership in that group, in the social group.

She elaborated with the following example:

> I may view my personal and social identity as positive but if there is another person who has a different personal view of themself and that may change my view of my membership in the group. For example, if I'm independent and a leader, and another person is pushy and domineering in the group, I may not see myself as as much of a leader as before.

Generate a list of groups you belong to, identify with, feel part of ...

Participants generated lists which ranged from a low of 10 group memberships to a high of 20. Of the 101 groups listed in total,

11 group memberships were based on ascribed characteristics and included gender, family of origin, species, province of birth, nationality, and race. The remainder were groups in which membership was acquired and included, for example, reference to specific sports teams, clubs or associations, and more general categories such as parents, religious denomination, and occupational group.

From your list, which group do you identify with most strongly (G1)?

The six participants identified the following groups as those they most strongly identify with:

- groups that provide help on issues of sexual and physical abuse
- the elite of baton twirling athletes
- family of in-laws
- Huskie football team
- competitive synchronized swimming athletes the participant coaches
- family of origin

From your list, which group do you identify with least strongly (G2)?

The participants identified the following groups as those they identified with the least strongly:

- childrens' sports teams
- people with many opportunities
- new mothers

- home renters
- agricultural exhibition ladies auxiliary
- volleyball referees

To what extent do you identify with being a member of the U of S student group (G3)?

Responses to this question covered the full range. At the low end was one participant (Participant 1) who stated that she does not identify with this group at all, not enough to place it on the continuum between the groups she identified with most and least strongly. Another participant (Participant 3) indicated that she identifies with this group the same amount as the "least identified with" group. At the other end of the range are two participants (Participants 2 and 4) who identify with the U of S student group a great deal, almost as much as their "most identified with" group. Between these two extremes are the remaining two participants, one of whom described her identification level with this group as just below half way between the most and the least (Participant 5). The final participant indicated that her level of identification with the group of students at the U of S is quite high and marked the continuum close to the high end (Participant 6).

Section 4: What would alter or change the strength of your identification with (G1)? (group with which participants <u>most</u> strongly identify)

Participant 1 identified that nothing could decrease the strength of her identification with groups that provide help on issues of sexual or physical abuse. She suggested that her strength of identification could increase if she became involved with self-help groups that deal with these issues.

The second participant, who identified most strongly with the elite of baton twirling athletes, suggested two ways in which her strength of identification could decrease. The first was time away from athletics and the second was to cross "the very fine line between art and sport in the art direction too many times" by doing more dance and less baton work. This person identified that the strength of her identification with these athletes could increase in several ways. These were if she became involved in different sports, if she were to have a hazardous injury, and if she has success in competition.

Participant 3 indicated that the only way her strength of identification with her family of in-laws would decrease would be if they were to decide they no longer wanted her involved in their family. Her strength of identification with this group increased with the birth of her son. This individual also suggested that identification would increase if she better understood her in-laws'

business of farming or if she and her spouse were to become directly involved in farming with his family. She stated that this is because

> you're working towards a similar goal together ... and maybe that's the thing with *(baby)* too, now we have very similar interests there with him and I guess it would be the same if we were more a part of the farm. We care but it's certainly not our business.

The fourth participant identified a number of ways that his strength of identification with the Huskies football team could decrease, all of which speak to a decrease in his involvement with the group. These were if he was unable to play due to injury, serious illness, or having to earn money, or if he were to lose his position to someone else. He described change in involvement as

> It would be like full time work going to nothing, so it would change your status within the group plus it would change how you view the group because you would be on the outside looking in rather than being in the thick of things.

This person identified three ways in which his strength of identification with this group has or could be increased. Success in competition and visibility through exposure on TSN have increased his strength of identification with the group in the past. He suggested that an improvement in personal ability, as perceived by himself and other team members, could also increase his strength of

identification with this group.

Participant 5, who identified most strongly with the synchronized swimming athletes she coaches, sees her identification with the group as influenced by the attitudes of the athletes which differ between geographical areas. Specifically, she felt a stronger identification with the athletes she coaches in a smaller urban setting than the larger centre because the attitudes (e.g., towards elders, questioning authority) are more similar to her own in the smaller setting. This participant believes her strength of identification with the athletes she coaches would decrease "if they had a different problem than something I personally had dealt with - like an injury". This impacts her identification with the individuals and would impact her strength of identification with the group if

> ... all of them have the same injury or have the same problem, with the attitudes that they had this year, I felt it harder to deal with the whole group of them. Because they all were very much like this and I respect elders and don't question authority at all whereas they all did it, so that made it harder.

This person saw her strength of identification decrease at the initial stages of shifts from coaching competitive athletes to recreational and back to competitive. She described this as resulting from the need to change her expectations of the athletes and of her

own work with them. The second shift back to competitive coaching increased her identification to beyond where it had been the first time. These shifts were described as follows:

> ... I found that the jumps were hard, but it took me just a little while to adjust and get back into the groove of things. ... It was hard to get back down to not expecting as much and knowing that they are there for fun and not to be number one - that they are there to socialize and to learn things and to have a good time and to make more games involved, and not make it so structured ... *(With the shift back to competitive)* it was like a decrease *(in strength of identification)* just because I had grown accustomed to working with recreational kids ... But once I was in it I think it *(strength of identification)* was an increase from where it was before.

Participant 5's identification with the group increases as a result of spending time together on projects or at social events that are not swimming related. This time is seen to "get more cohesiveness and we get along much better, and I identify with them just by getting to know what their characteristics are away from the pool". The final source of increased identification the participant cited was that which comes from having a younger sibling the same age as the athletes she coaches. This relationship enables the participant to "know what they are into, then I can talk to them on their level about stuff that they are totally into too", builds her understanding of the athletes and consequently, increases her

identification with them.

Participant 6, who identified most strongly with her family of origin, stated that her identification with the group decreased since she no longer lives with them and has established her own home. She can also imagine her identification with the group decreasing if she did not get along with one of the members. Working with her two sisters and sharing social time with her mother were cited as examples of how time spent together increases her identification with this group.

The predominant theme which emerged for increasing strength of identification centred around <u>more contact</u> with the group as a whole or its members. Examples of increased contact took the following specific forms:

- more active involvement with similar groups (Participants 1 and 2)
- becoming reinvolved with group after an absence (Participant 5)
- working with group members on other projects (Participants 3, 5 and 6)
- spending social and/or domestic time with group members (Participants 5 and 6)
- increased understanding of and active involvement in family business (Participant 3)
- "adding" a member to the group (Participant 3)

The last four items of this list are descriptive of increased involvements in the lives of other group members which enhance bonding within the group and build group cohesion. The latter two items were also construed by that participant as increased involvement that constitutes having a shared group goal, an interdependence that is also indicative of group cohesion.

The second theme that is apparent in participants' responses as increasing strength of identification with the group is having success experiences. These successes may be in competitions (Participants 2 and 4) or on a more personal level within the group. The latter is evident in Participant 4's description of the impact on his identification with the football team when he and other team members both perceive an improvement in his personal athletic abilities.

This theme is related to a third which was shared by the two people who identified most strongly as being athletes. These individuals (Participants 2 and 4) noted several instances of increased identification with their groups that appear to result from increased salience of their status as an athlete. The specific examples cited were exposure or visibility on television, incurring hazardous injuries, or becoming involved in additional sports.

Although these incidents did not increase the salience of their specific group membership (i.e., G1) for either participant, taken together their reports speak to an increased salience of their membership in the more general category "athletes", a superordinate group.

The final theme evident in descriptions of sources of increased group identification was similarity. The references were to similarity between one's own attitudes and those of group members, and enhanced understanding of group members resulting from familiarity with someone very similar to group members (Participant 5).

With respect to decreasing strength of group identification, the clear theme which emerged was less contact with the group. The following specific examples were provided:

- time away from athletics altogether (Participant 2)
- rejection from group (Participant 3)
- couldn't participate due to injury, illness, finances (Participant 4)
- lose position on team to someone else (Participant 4)
- leaving one context for another (shift from competitive sport to recreational to competitive) (Participant 5)
- no longer sharing domicile with group (Participant 6)

Some of these data also speak to a loss of status resulting from diminished contact with group members. For example, rejection

from the group and a loss of position on the team seem descriptive of a reduction in status as a group member.

The final category of examples cited as decreasing participants' strength of group identification speak to dissimilarity or disharmony. Evidence of this issue can be seen in the following examples:

- group members have a problem or injury the participant has never dealt with (Participant 5)
- changing emphasis in participant's own focus from sport to art (Participant 2)
- not getting along with group member(s) (Participant 6)
- group members' attitudes are perceived as negative and different from the participant's (Participant 5)

What bearing do you think your own mitigation of agency and communion has on how strongly you identify with this group (G1)?

Participant 1 describes the relationship between her mitigation and her strength of identification with groups that help with issues of sexual and physical abuse as determined by how the group is defined and what content is discussed. That is, her agency and communion are high until the content of what is discussed becomes too painful at which point this person becomes less communal and "shuts down the intimacy". She identified that while her history of sexual and physical abuse has made her more agentic, she is also communal and her mitigation is impacted by the content of the

issues that arise in the group.

The second participant described what she sees as a strong relationship between her mitigation and her strength of identification with the elite of baton twirling athletes. She identified the following aspects of athletes' need for mitigation:

> Being an athlete involves being a part of the team. And it doesn't necessarily have to be a competitive team, ... a team of people that is helping you. Like your coach, your instructor, your trainer, your sports medicine doctor ... a team of people. And you have to work with them which would be your sense of communion. On the other hand, you have to have personal drive to do your best which is a sense of agency ... I think a good athlete would need to have a healthy balance of the two of them.

Participant 3 described how her strong identification with her family of in-laws results from the freedom she has in that group to be herself in her agentic and her communal ways, that there is room for all of her in that group:

> I think it goes back to what I said at the beginning about if you have a healthy communion then maybe that develops a healthy agency. And I feel that way with them ... I've always felt with *(spouse's)* family very accepted and I can be myself ... whereas with my foster family I wasn't free to be myself there ... I felt like I needed to get away from that place to really be myself.

The fourth participant is of the opinion that if the football team were not as mitigated as it is he would still identify with it but not

as strongly. He describes the team's mitigation as evident in its competitiveness coupled with "high emotional levels from practices to games". This person believes that "that group is very mitigated in its own capabilities so whoever is part of that group will become mitigated if they are not. It's the mitigation process of change by being within a mitigated group".

Participant 5 sees her characteristics of mitigated communion as helping her build connections with the synchronized swimming athletes and increasing her identification with them. She believes her agentic characteristics also enhance identification because the athletes realize "that no matter what they come to tell me I won't fall apart on them and so I can just help them in any way that they need". In the main, she believes that her agency helps in her work with the older competitive group of athletes and her communal characteristics assist her work with the younger recreational group. This person sees her mitigation of agency and communion as enabling her to be more flexible which then builds her sense of identification with the group. She described this flexibility as follows:

> I feel like I can deal with lots of different kinds of situations and anything that's thrown at me either way, that if I need more agency or if I need more communion or whatever, that I feel I can deal with it.

Participant 6 felt that characteristics of agency and communion are both important to her family of origin, the group with which she identifies most strongly. These characteristics are important to her family and she has characteristics of both agency and communion which she believes increases the strength of her identification with this group. She has been brought up valuing these characteristics and shares this with all group members.

The one theme evident among the responses to this inquiry is similarity. That is, four of the six participants conveyed that their own mitigation of agency and communion relates to the strength of their identification with G1 insofar as the group is similarly mitigated. Perceptions of this relationship were directly expressed as above in the comments of Participants 4 and 6. Participants 2 and 3 described this relationship more indirectly as evident through the following summaries of their comments:

- Participant 2 sees herself as mitigated, is of the opinion that "good athletes" need to be, and identifies strongly with the elite of her sport (which she sees as a mitigated group).
- Participant 3 believes that her strong identification with G1 stems from the group's acceptance of her and the freedom she feels to be her mitigated self within the group (which she sees as mitigated).

It is interesting to note that the remaining two individuals (Participants 1 and 5) did not, in the next section of the interview, describe their G1 as mitigated groups as all other participants did. Consequently, it is not surprising that their responses do not reflect the similarity theme. Participant 5 did say that her mitigation of agency and communion builds her identification with the group she identifies with the most strongly in that it enables her to both build connections and to handle whatever arises.

To what extent would you describe this group as agentic? (refers to list of mitigated and unmitigated agency characteristics)

To what extent would you describe this group as communal? (refers to list of mitigated and unmitigated communion characteristics)

To what extent would you describe this group as mitigated?

Because of the extent of the overlap within participants' responses to these three questions, the results from these inquiries are reported together. That is, each participant's responses to all three items are summarized below.

What is of primary interest for these questions is the participants' overall characterization of the groups and not the ratings on each separate descriptor. The intent of this line of inquiry was also to identify ways in which some characteristics of mitigated

agency and communion may be manifest in groups. An additional purpose was to identify whether participants invoke an intragroup or intergroup referent on the comparative characteristics, and whether participants described themselves as a prototypical member of the group for the rating task. Consequently, neither the numerical values on each characteristic nor summary statistics are reported, although general patterns in responses and the issues just described are addressed. The process of this descriptive rating task is also of interest as there were some instances where the participant chose to not complete the ratings for some groups. This will be described wherever it was the case.

The first participant described the group she most strongly identifies with (groups that provide help with issues of sexual and physical abuse) as above the midpoint[22] on five of the eight characteristics of mitigated agency. Being extremely "active" was described as evident through the increasing memberships in these groups, the groups becoming more active legally and more verbal about the issues. Participant 1 rated the group below the midpoint on four characteristics of unmitigated agency, at the midpoint on two items, and above the midpoint on the remaining two items. This

[22] The reader is reminded that the agency and communion characteristics are rated on a five point scale from low to high with 3 as the midpoint.

participant identified that she had described herself as a member of the group on the agency characteristics.

In contrast, Participant 1's descriptions of the group on all eight of the mitigated communal characteristics were at the high endpoint. She identified that this reflects both what she gets from the group and some of her behaviour towards other group members. For the items that refer to an "other", this person identified that her referent was other members of the same group. Her ratings on five of the unmitigated communion descriptors were at or near the low endpoint, one at the midpoint, and the remaining two items at the high endpoint. She again identified that she was describing herself as a member of the group.

In response to the question regarding the mitigation of the group, Participant 1 described it as more communal than agentic which makes sense to her "because of the topics that they are dealing with, the very emotional topic, you have to be gentle and kind and able to understand others".

Participant 2 rated the group she most strongly identifies with (elite baton twirling athletes) above the midpoint on five of the eight mitigated agency descriptors. On each of the remaining three items, two points of a range were chosen to reflect the range within which

group members fall depending upon which specific member one has in mind. On the unmitigated agency descriptors, Participant 2 rated this group at or below the midpoint on three items and above the midpoint on one. On one item ("dictatorial") she indicated that it was not applicable since members of this group are not in a situation to dictate anything. "Hostile" was also deemed to be not applicable as "it depends on the level of competitiveness". The remaining item was rated with a range, one end of which was intended to reflect the group and the other to reflect a subgroup within the larger membership (soloists).

On both the mitigated and unmitigated communion characteristics, this participant's ratings on the items covered a considerable range. Two items were deemed to be not applicable since they describe some individuals but not the group itself. Items which refer to an "other" were taken to mean members of the same group rather than members of other groups although "it would apply in either case". Overall, her descriptions were intended to be of the group and not of herself as a group member.

In response to the inquiry about the extent of the mitigation of this group, the participant stated that it is mitigated but "not an even balance" since it leans more towards agency. She described the

group as communal in the sense that "they are working with each other and they are a team". The agency aspect of the group was described as evident in "their desire to win, their competitiveness, their showmanship, their performance abilities".

Participant 3 described her most strongly identified with group (her family of in-laws) on all of the mitigated agency characteristics as at or near the midpoint. "Active" was described as evident in both physical and social activity, and "stands up well under pressure" was deemed evident in that "all of us have been through a lot and are still standing". The unmitigated agency descriptors were all rated at or below the midpoint with the exception of "egotistical" which this person saw as evident when

> you're a farmer and there is so much politically and economically that effects the farmers and sometimes I think we just think about ourselves and we don't realize ... we might have to suffer for the sake of somebody else ... Not that they don't care about other people, but sometimes unintentionally we get consumed in our own, about ourselves.

This participant rated the group on all of the mitigated and unmitigated communion descriptors again as at or near the midpoint. (As she herself described, "you can tell I'm not much for 1's and 5's".) "Others" was taken to refer to people outside of the group and

this respondent intended her ratings to be of the group and not of herself as a group member.

The mitigation of this group was described as follows:

> I think there is a lot of involvement on each person's part outside of the family ... yet there is definitely a lot of involvement between family members. And within the family, the family is very important but yet it hasn't cramped anyone's style. ... And then with their involvement, caring for other people, there is a lot of outwardness too so I think there could be improvements in both areas, but I think it's pretty mitigated. *(see a fair mix of agency and communion)* especially when I think about other families, families that we work with ... and especially if I compare them to my foster family, and there seems to be a better balance there.

For the group Participant 4 most strongly identifies with (the Huskies football team), descriptions on the mitigated agency characteristics covered the full range of alternatives. In response to the item "feels superior", this individual explained that there is considerable variability on that characteristic depending upon whether the focus in within the group or outside of the group:

> The coaches never make you feel like that *(superior)* ... if I was talking to you *(the researcher)* about it I'd probably talk rather arrogantly about it. But it we *(the team)* sit down in a room and watch the game film and all he *(the coach)* says is "what are you doing here?" then right away you have more feelings of inferiority than I would superiority within the group. Away from the group, it would go up.

This person's ratings of the group on the unmitigated agency characteristics were primarily at the midpoint and above with the exception of "arrogant" which was rated below the midpoint because of an intragroup focus like that depicted in the above quotation.

Ratings on the mitigated communion items covered the available range with the majority of items rated at or above the midpoint. Not surprisingly, this football team was described as rough rather than gentle and as below the midpoint on "kind". For the unmitigated communion items, responses covered the full range. "Fussy" and "nagging" were considered evident in team members' concern with details of the game such as "where your nose is when you're going to be hit, whether it's supposed to be on this side of the body or on that". Items that refer to "self" and "other" were intended to describe members within the team. The group was also the focus of Participant 4's ratings, rather than describing himself as a member of the group.

The participant's perception of this being a highly mitigated group was described as follows:

> Those characteristics that we just went through - I'm sure *(of the group's mitigation)* by the way that there is feelings of both ... The group has a system in the way it runs ... right from management to coach to players to training personnel. And it all works together towards one goal and along that process ... there's each

> individual's own personality, own goals within that group and that makes it an even more complex system. So that, and to fit better into that group ... to feel better or belong to that group where you have to be mitigated even if you're not you'll be streamlined towards that. ... Somebody who is not very mitigated will not be successful with the group. And the group will - I've seen people exit because they don't have it *(mitigation)*.

Participant 5's ratings of the mitigated agency of the competitive synchronized swimming athletes she coaches covered the full range of response alternatives. In contrast, the unmitigated agency items were rated at or above the midpoint. The participant believes that much of this variability has to do with the group members' age and described the characteristics as evident in the following:

> They are very independent in that they want to do what they want to do, and they like to be away from their parents, and they are all nine and ten. I find compared to my sister, that they are very independent in the way that they act, their attitudes, everything that they seem to know, and they know best and that kind of attitude. ... They feel so very strongly that they know everything and that they are 'God' when things don't go right it hits them like twice as hard. ... Very boastful - when one athlete comes in first we hear about it for weeks. I'm better than the rest of you and you're not good enough because I can beat you, and that kind of thing. They are very greedy for time, like if I'm watching one athlete they interrupt continuously, 'You didn't see enough of mine yet, see six more of mine.' Well I didn't see any of

> this person yet, that way they only look out for themselves and they are very that way.

This participant described the group as at or near the midpoint on the mitigated communion items whereas ratings on the unmitigated communion descriptors covered the full range. The characteristics were seen as evident in the following:

> They get very emotional about how they do or if someone hurts their feelings. You hear lots of 'so and so hurt my feelings, they said this about me they told me I was fat' whatever. They can be very helpful to others when they want to be, they can be very kind one minute they can be someone's best friend and getting along well and helping them with everything that they are doing ... And the next minute, turn around and be punching that person.

Because of this sort of variability, the participant designated a range on several items by circling two numbers. "Others" was taken to refer to other group members.

The group was described as not mitigated in that "they are a lot more agency than communion. Just because they seem to be always agency orientated and the communion comes in only now and then". She went on to describe her perception that the athletes from the smaller centre are different than the athletes from the larger centre in their respective levels of mitigation, agency and communion:

> ... just a thought that when I was sitting around talking to other coaches that, from working with small town to big city, it seemed that the small town was more communion orientated and the big city was more agency. ... the small town athletes were very much more worried about the other person, how they were feeling and what was going on in their families and devoting themselves, and less complaining, nagging and fussy and that kind of stuff. And weren't very independent or they were competitive but they didn't make it known, I'm better than you, kind of thing, the superiority. .. I would almost say that they *(athletes from smaller centres)* seem to be more mitigated because the athletes I know there, while understanding each other, still feel very self confident and don't want to give up. But they still feel emotional and, one instance, one of their partners just about died during a swimthrough, they all got very emotional but they turned around and were competitive and swam the swimthrough for her and won.

Participant 6 described the group she identifies with most strongly (her family of origin) on all but one of the mitigated agency items with ratings at the midpoint or above. "Active" was understood to relate to work, exercise, and hobby activity. The unmitigated agency items were all rated at the low endpoint with one item characterized one increment higher. Largely the same pattern was evident in this participant's ratings on the mitigated and unmitigated communion items: the mitigated communion of the group was all described at the midpoint or above and, with one exception, the unmitigated communion items were ranked at the

lowest extreme. This person was describing her family as a group on all items and not herself as a representative although she stated that "each person has basically the same characteristics ... so I don't think the family is too different from each person". "Other" was taken to mean people outside of the group.

Participant 6 described her family as a mitigated group. She saw this as evident in that the clearer sense one has of one's own agency, the more one can do for others. She described the group's mitigation as follows:

> we do help others but yet we are still worried about ourselves too to the point of being active and make sure that we are happy. ... I feel confident that our family can help others and still take care of our own problems. ... The agency*(characteristics)* sort of help when you're helping with others.

The patterns noted among responses to the inquiries regarding G1s' characteristics of agency, communion and mitigation are described in very general terms. The particular characterizations of the groups on the agency and communion descriptors vary substantially although each is generally consistent with the participants' depiction of the overall level of mitigation of that group. For example, the group that was characterized as not mitigated but

as very communal received much higher ratings on the communion items than on the agency descriptors. The clearest example of this pattern of consistency is in the ratings of Participant 6 who, in describing her mitigated family of origin, rated the mitigated agency and communion items consistently higher than any of the unmitigated items.

With respect to how characteristics of agency and communion are manifest in these groups, the responses were highly inconsistent in their behavioural specificity. They lacked sufficient detail and concreteness to identify patterns or themes among them[23].

Five of the six participants completed the ratings of G1 with the intention of describing group members and not themselves as group exemplars. Four of the six participants, for the items that referred to an "other", used ingroup members as the referent. It is interesting to note that the remaining two respondents, who were describing families as the group with which they most strongly identify, interpreted "other" in these items as referring to people outside of the group.

How do you think the group's characteristics of agency and communion relate to how much you identify with that group?

[23] This aspect of the data was also problematic for the ratings of G2 and G3, a limitation of the study that is addressed in the Discussion section.

How do you think your strong identification with the group relates to how you described the group on the agency and communion characteristics?

Participant 1 was responding in terms of groups that provide help with issues of sexual and physical abuse which she had described as more communal than agentic. She sees the group's agency and communion as very related to her strength of identification with the group "since I show many of the same characteristics that the group has, as a person". She also described that her strong identification with the group relates to her ratings on the agency and communion characteristics "because that's what I'm getting from the group. Obviously if I was not getting this from the group I wouldn't be describing them that way".

Participant 2's reference group was the elite baton twirling athletes which she had described as mitigated but with the balance skewed more towards agency than communion. She described how her identification with the agentic aspects and the communal aspects of the group strengthens her identification with it insofar as she perceives the group to be mitigated.

> I identify strongly with the agency aspect of the group. I'd like to think that I'm a bit more perceptive than a lot of the members of the group, at least that's what I seem to have noticed. So I can identify with the communal aspects in that way. ... I like to think that I'm a little bit

> more perceptive than ... the soloist for example, and see the damage that she is doing to the group and go out of my way to counter that. So in that way I can relate to the communal aspect.

When asked about the relationship between her strength of identity with the group and her ratings on the descriptors, this participant identified that

> I probably describe them in a better light than they actually are. I mean positive about the good things and a little less negative about the bad things ... because I identify strongly with them as a group and I'm a part of this group.

Participant 3, referring to her mitigated family of in-laws, described that her identification with the group was stronger because both agency and communion are important to her.

> If they were really inward focused, that would be hard to be a part of. But if they were just so totally outward focused, then we probably wouldn't feel like a real close family.

This person also sees a strong relationship between her strength of identification with the group and how she then described them on the agency and communion characteristics.

> I think how you feel about something affects how you describe it. If you describe it positively, you probably feel positive about it. It's like a biased opinion. If you have a more negative attitude toward something then you're going to see more of the negative. ... Someone else

> who maybe doesn't feel really positive about the family would probably paint a different picture of it.

Participant 4 described his strength of identification with the mitigated football team as related to how he sees himself as similarly mitigated. He "couldn't look at just the individual parts of the agency and communion lists, it would be a combination of both" whether describing himself or the team. This person stated that his strong identification with the group leads him to describe it as both agentic and communal in that "I couldn't just identify with one group *(of characteristics)* , I would say they are both ... and that's for the individual plus the group itself".

Participant 5, referring to the group of synchronized swimming athletes she coaches, maintained that her communal characteristics enable her to see where the group members need help while she feels a similarity to them in terms of the agency characteristics. Although she describes the group as agentic, her mitigation of agency and communion increases her identification with them for these reasons. This participant went on to describe how she sees characteristics in the athletes that she relates to from her own experience and consequently, she tries to help them overcome whatever difficulties or problems that characteristic might lead to.

Participant 6's reference group was her family of origin which she described as mitigated in its agency and communion. When asked for her perceptions of the relationship between the group's agency and communion and her strength of identification with it, she indicated that she's very mitigated, her family is very mitigated and consequently that might increase her strength of identification with that group. This participant sees the relationship between her strong identification with the group and her descriptions of the group's agency and communion similarly.

> I don't think our family is any of those characteristics that were listed on the bottom of the page *(unmitigated agency and unmitigated communion descriptors)* ... each person has basically the same characteristics, I think. So I don't think the family's too different from each person. ... When I look at the family I look at my role in it and ... it seems like everyone's close to the same.

One theme, in whole or in part, was common to all participants with respect to the first question of this set. Each person described a <u>similarity</u> or consistency between the group's characteristics of agency and/or communion and their own which increases their strength of identification with the group. For four of the six participants, the groups with which they identify most strongly are perceived to be mitigated and these individuals are themselves

mitigated which they believe relates, in turn, to their strong group identification.

The remaining two individuals (Participants 1 and 5) conveyed that they share many or some of the characteristics of the unmitigated groups with which they identify most strongly which accounts for their strength of identification. Participant 1 described that her strength of identification comes from sharing many of the same characteristics as the group which she described as predominantly communal. Participant 5 described that, even though her G1 is an agentic group, she identifies with the group because the communion aspect of her mitigation enables her to see where she can be of assistance to group members and because she is similar to the group in her agentic characteristics.

With respect to perceptions of a relationship between strength of identification and how respondents described the groups on the agency and communion characteristics, two themes emerged. One theme, shared by two participants, speaks again to the perceived similarity of the participant's and the group's mitigation. This pattern was evident in the following:

- Participant 4 described the group as he did because he believes that it's mitigated, he identifies with it strongly, and he "couldn't identify with just one group (of the agency and communion characteristics)".

- Participant 6 described the group as she did because she perceives that it's mitigated, that it doesn't have any of the unmitigated characteristics, and that each member has largely the same characteristics of mitigation.

The latter part of Participant 6's comments describe ingroup homogeneity where all group members are seen to be highly similar to each other. This is different from the similarity theme which refers to participants' perceptions of similarities between characteristics of themselves and the group as a whole.

A second theme was shared by two participants and can be described as an awareness of ingroup bias. This was evident in the comments of Participant 2 who articulated her belief that her descriptions of the group she strongly identifies with were influenced by that identification such that her depictions of both the positive and negative aspects may be skewed. Participant 3 also identified her belief in a strong relationship between her strength of identification with the group and her positive depictions of the group's agency and communion as influenced by her positive feelings about the group.

What would alter or change the strength of your identification with (G2)? (group with which participants least strongly identify)

Participant 1 stated that her strength of identification with her children's sports teams would decrease if she or the children were to stop attending games. Her strength of identification increases when her children enjoy the teams they are on and when she is more actively involved.

Participant 2, referring to people with many opportunities, described that her strength of identification with this group would decrease if she experienced "a loss of good fortune, if a bunch of unlucky things happened" or if she had to move to a new location. This individual described her strength of identification as increasing if "significant good things happened not, 'oh I found a penny on the street' kind of thing".

Participant 3, who identified least strongly with new mothers, stated that this identification would be less if she were to lose her son or if she were to not interact with other new mothers. She anticipates that her strength of identification will increase as a result of more interaction with group members and as "I get more used to being a mom and if I have more kids. Right now I feel I'm a new mom but I don't really belong here".

The fourth participant identified least strongly with those people who rent homes that are owned by someone else. He

described his identification with this group decreasing if he were to leave the group, either because he could afford to buy his own or if he could not afford to stay. This person's strength of identification with this group increases when he talks about renting with family or friends who are also renters.

Participant 5 sees her strength of identification with the agricultural exhibition ladies auxiliary as low because she is much younger than the other group members and that "most of the time their topics *(of conversation)* are way over my head just because I don't relate to them ... I just don't have the experience". She identifies with their cause and suspects that her identification with them would be even less "if they changed their cause to not being as helpful in the city and not helping out the agricultural community". Such changes would result in her discontinuing her participation in the group. This person also believes that her identification would increase if she were kept more informed about what is going with the organization (e.g., through correspondence and notification of meetings) and if there were younger members with different concerns. Because the group is active through the summer and fall only, the participant believes that opportunities for involvement throughout the year would increase her identification with the

group.

Finally, Participant 6 described that the strength of her identification with volleyball referees would decrease if she were to stop being a referee. She does not anticipate that she would ever cease to identify with this group completely since she would continue to play and to support her father's involvement with the sport. This person sees her strength of identification increasing if she were closer in age to other group members or if the group members were to spend time together outside of games.

Three themes are apparent in regard to increasing the participants' strength of identification with these groups. As with G1s, more involvement or contact with G2s is the predominant response. Increased contact could take the following forms, the last one of which could also result in increased group cohesion:

- attending more games (Participant 1)
- more interaction with group members (Participant 3)
- being involved during more seasons of the year (Participant 5)
- being kept more informed about the organization's activities, more communications from group (Participant 5)
- spending time with group members in other contexts (Participant 6)

The second theme that was evident in these responses was one of increased similarity to group members. Specific examples of this provided by participants include more similarity in experience with topics of conversation (Participant 5) and two references to being of a more similar age (Participants 5 and 6).

The third theme, shared among two participants, reflects an increase or a gain of a membership "criterion". This refers to increases in strength of identification with the group by virtue of changes in one's status on a criterion for membership in the group. It could also be construed as an increase in "qualifications" for group membership. Specifically, Participant 2 described an anticipated increase in her strength of identification with the group "people with many opportunities" if there was a significant increase in her good fortune, where having "good fortune" defines group membership itself. Similarly, Participant 3 anticipated an increase in her strength of identification with "new mothers" as resulting from having more children, an obvious criterion for group membership.

Participant 4 provided an example of where salience of group membership would increase his strength of identification with home renters, although this category of response was not shared with other respondents. He reported increased feelings of identification

with the group when engaged in conversation about renting with other renters. Participant 1 stated that her strength of identification increases when her children enjoy the teams they are on which is not always the case. This could be interpreted as related to increased satisfaction or cohesion with the group or perhaps to an increased salience of group membership.

Two themes emerged in participants' responses regarding what would decrease their strength of identification with these groups. The predominant theme is <u>less contact</u> with the group. This would be evident in the following:

- no longer attending team games (Participant 1)
- not interacting with group members (Participant 3)
- leaving the group (Participants 4 and 5)
- leaving one's role in the group (Participant 6)

The second theme mirrors one related to increased group identification. That is, several participants described their strength of identification decreasing if there were a change that results in a <u>loss of a membership "criterion"</u>. Again, this could be construed as a change in "qualifications" for group membership. These examples of potential diminishers of strength of identification include the following:

- Participant 2 identified a loss of good fortune or location when referring to "people with many

opportunities".
- Participant 3 identified the loss of her son when referring to "new mothers".
- Participant 4 identified purchasing his own home when referring to "home renters".

What bearing do you think your own mitigation of agency and communion has on how strongly you identify with this group (G2)?

With regard to her childrens' sports teams, Participant 1 stated that she does not believe her mitigation of agency and communion "has anything to do with that group at all". She sees it as "a different group altogether ... it's not on a personal level to me, it's more of a social thing".

Participant 2 described that she identifies with people who have many opportunities more as an individual than as a group member in that her identification with the group would change as a result of things that happen to her as opposed to others.

> I identify more strongly as an individual than I do communally. Just because it's more focused on myself. ... I am referring more to me in this group. It's how I feel, its the things that happen to me, that directly concern me that will change how I relate, or how much I can identify with this group.

The third participant sees her lower level of identification with new mothers as related to the current strength of her own agency

and not seeing a real need to interact more with members of this group.

> Probably my agency is a little bit stronger at this point because I have functioned well up to this point without interacting with new moms. Maybe I haven't recognized a need or see a need at this time to really get involved with them. ... so I don't identify with them a lot right now.

Participant 4 described the group he identifies with least strongly (home renters) as less mitigated than the football team. He also described himself, as a member of the home renters group, as having "lower levels of agency and definitely lower levels of communion also being in that group" than as a member of the football team. While still being mitigated, he believes the balance would be at lower levels of both sets of characteristics.

Participant 5 sees her independence as giving her "the freedom to work on my own within the group". She described this as related to her strength of identification with the group in this way:

> So then, that way because I don't relate to them very well I can be given a task and do it quite easily. ... I identify with them because I know what needs to be done and how the organization works but I still have the freedom to do things on my own.

This person described the relationship between her mitigated agency and communion and identifying with the group as follows:

> When things start getting be me down within the organization, my characteristics of agency will keep me going and keep me involved, and keep me interested in the group. ... My characteristics of communion help me deal with them when I'm in the situation, because they are my elders and stuff like that. I can be kind enough and helpful to them, and if they need anything done I'll be glad to do it for them. I can relate that way - if they need assistance and they do need young people when they can't climb ladders and things like that, I'm happy to do that for them.

Participant 6 maintains that her low level of identification with volleyball referees relates to several factors: she doesn't know the group members very well, she sees them as different from herself in that they are less mitigated, and "there's a lot of characteristics in them that I don't agree with, that doesn't make me feel very close to them".

Two themes emerged from examination of the responses to this inquiry. Two people (Participants 2 and 3) described that they <u>do not see themselves as mitigated</u> in the context of these groups. (These are the same two individuals who opted to not complete the ratings of these groups on the agency and communion characteristics.) Participant 4 believes his G2 is less mitigated than G1 and that he is also mitigated "at lower levels" in the context of G2.

This could be interpreted as descriptive of similarity between self and the group.

The converse of this notion of similarity is found in the comments of two participants, although the impact on identification differs for each of them. Participant 6 attributes her low level of identification to G2 being unmitigated and consequently dissimilar to herself. Participant 5 sees her mitigation as that which keeps her in the group and actively helping group members despite her low level of identification with G2 and her dissimilarity to its members.

Participant 1 stated directly she sees no relationship between her mitigation and her level of identification with the group. Thus, participants' responses to this question cover the range from perceptions of a strong relationship between one's own mitigation and identification with a similarly mitigated group, through to perceptions of no relationship at all.

To what extent would you describe this group as agentic? (refers to list of mitigated and unmitigated agency characteristics)

To what extent would you describe this group as communal? (refers to list of mitigated and unmitigated communion characteristics)

To what extent would you describe this group as mitigated?

Participant 1 rated her childrens' sports teams as at or above

the midpoint on the mitigated agency descriptors. Ratings on the unmitigated agency characteristics covered the range of possible responses although the high endpoint was not used. Responses on the mitigated and unmitigated communion measures also covered the range of available alternatives. Throughout, the midpoint was used to denote "where it could go either way ... depending on whether they win or lose". "Other" was taken to refer to other members within the same group and the responses were intended to describe the entire group.

Participant 1 does not see this group as mitigated and described the following as evidence that it is more agentic than communal:

> These teams do assertiveness and independence, although it is a team and it is a union, you would think that it would have more communion, but quite honestly I don't think so. Although they do try to get cooperation and union within the team, a lot of times because they do promote the independence and ... assertiveness and stuff like that, they just don't get it *(the communion characteristics).*

Participant 2, referring to people with many opportunities as the group with which she identifies least strongly, found it very difficult to describe the group on the agency and communion characteristics. Her reaction to the request for the agency ratings

was as follows:

> It's really hard because its such a broad group, it's such a huge group with so many broad things. Everything *(agency descriptors)* would not apply except there would probably be a few things in general I think that would apply.

Most characteristics were considered to not apply because the ratings would depend upon which particular group member was being described. Consequently, this participant responded to five of the sixteen agency items, leaving the remainder blank. Similarly, ratings on the communal characteristics were considered to be "all very dependent on the individual person in the group" and the participant chose to not do the descriptive task. Participant 2 described this group as having almost no communal characteristics, as being "almost 100% agency", and therefore not mitigated.

Participant 3 shared very similar perceptions when asked to describe the agency and communion of the group she identifies with least strongly (new mothers). In response to the request to describe the group on the agency and communion characteristics, she stated that she did not feel she knows enough about the group to be able to discuss the characteristics.

> It was easier to do my family because I know them and so I can pass judgment on them. But it's hard to do something like this because I'm passing judgment on a

> group of people that is large and that I don't know so I feel really awkward doing that ... I don't like to pass judgment on a group of people or individuals if I don't know them. And just because an individual is part of a group doesn't mean that they have the same characteristics as you would think the group does. ... It would be easier to do somebody I know than to do a group as a whole because every person is individual from each other.

In general terms, this participant sees the group as more communal than agentic. This is evident in that she usually sees them with someone else and has "an image in my mind that moms are pretty interrelated, interactive with each other". She thinks they may be more agentic and independent in their workplaces but as mothers they are seen as more communal. This individual described the mitigation of this group as follows:

> I think you're*(new mothers)* very dependent but I think as you get better at it and you're becoming older maybe you are more independent ... because you've done it for a while, you've had that support now you can stand on your own a little bit! ... The potential is there for them to be more mitigated after ... older moms just seem different than newer moms, because the older moms are the ones that the newer moms run to.

Participant 4 described the mitigated agency of the group "home renters" using the full range of possible responses. The characteristics were considered evident, for example, in being

dependent on the owners who have the control of the property, not feeling active in decision making, and being competitive to keep utility costs at a minimum. Ratings on the characteristics of unmitigated agency covered a similar range although the high endpoint was not used.

Ratings on the mitigated communion descriptors were largely clustered around the midpoint and the unmitigated communion characteristics were described at the midpoint or above. For the former, "other" referred to other group members while for the latter, "other" was meant to refer to the landlord or owner. Responses to all items were intended to be descriptive of any group member and not of the participant himself. The participant described this group as mitigated although not as mitigated as the group with which he identifies most strongly.

Participant 5 rated the mitigated agency of the agricultural exhibition ladies auxiliary as at or near the midpoint on most characteristics. Some items were not rated and were annotated with "don't know" to indicate that the participant was unaware of the characteristic because of the structure of the organization. The group she was describing reports to the Board of the exhibition with which she is not involved and consequently, she is unaware of the

extent to which, for example, her group is independent of the Board or able to make their own decisions. The ratings on the unmitigated agency characteristics were at or below the midpoint with the exception of "dictatorial" which was rated very high with reference to within the group.

This participant rated the group as at or above the midpoint on the mitigated communion items with one item annotated with "don't know". The unmitigated communion items were rated at or near the midpoint with several characteristics described by two points of a range. The range was meant to depict the variability between members and consequently, how the organization is perceived variably. This was described as follows:

> ... depending on the President. If we get a President that is more complaining and more nagging then the whole organization looks a lot more complaining and nagging when they are going to the Board a lot more often and things like that. Whereas someone who is definitely not that way, it looks peaceful and together.

"Others" was taken to refer to people outside of the group and to those members of the community who contribute to special events. Evidence of G2's mitigation was described as follows:

> I would say they are a lot of communal, they are still very mitigated just because they have to be, they have to be active and feel self confident in what they do because it isn't a very big organization and it's not a very well

> known one. But they do a lot of good work for other people ... They look out for a lot of the other people as an organization and they aren't independent because of the way the structure is set up, and competitively they really have nothing to compete against.

The participant sees this group as more mitigated than the group with which she identified the most strongly. The comparison was described as follows:

> I think a lot of them individually are more mitigated *(than G1)*. That they help out for the whole group to be more mitigated. And just their whole place in the structure and the society needs them to be more mitigated. They have to stand up under pressure otherwise the whole organization would fold. And if they aren't helpful to others and help out in the community, there is no point to having their organization, so they need to be a lot more mitigated *(than G1)*.

Participant 6 described volleyball referees on the mitigated agency characteristics as largely at the midpoint or above. For the unmitigated agency items, the ratings were largely at the midpoint or below. One item was left blank. She described the group as quite agentic, for example, in making decisions easily while refereeing and being confident and independent.

The participant sees this group, in general terms, as not being very communal because of the competitive situation they are in and their mandate as referees within that situation. Ratings on the

mitigated communion items covered the full range. "Other" was taken to mean people outside of the group. Half of the unmitigated communion items were left blank with notation of "don't know" and the remaining four items were rated at or near the low endpoint. Even when group members are together for an annual social event, the participant does not see evidence of communion. Overall, the group was characterized as predominantly agentic and consequently as neither communal nor mitigated.

As with G1, the particular characterizations of the groups with which participants identify the least strongly vary considerably. There is a general consistency between summary comments describing the groups' overall levels of agency and communion and the ratings on the corresponding characteristics for four of the six participants. The remaining two individuals chose to not complete the descriptive task stating, respectively, that the ratings are very dependent on the individual in the group and that not enough is known about the group to judge them on the characteristics.

Of the four people who completed the ratings, all were endeavoring to describe group members and not themselves as group exemplars. For two participants, "other" was taken to refer to

people outside of the group while it referred to people in the same group for another participant. For one individual, "other" referred to members within the same group on the mitigated communion characteristics and to one specific individual outside the group (the landlord or owner of rental property) for the unmitigated communion items.

How do you think the group's characteristics of agency and communion relate to how much you identify with that group?

How do you think your strength of identification with the group relates to how you described the group on the agency and communion characteristics?

In response to these questions, Participant 1 described her childrens' sports teams as more agentic than communal and that since she promotes agency within herself, she identifies with the group. In contrast to the group she most strongly identifies with, she stated that "the reason that I identify more with this group *(G1)* is because it's on a personal level where this group *(G2)* is more on a social level". Thus, the group's agency, communion or mitigation was not seen to be related to her strength of identification with the group. This person concluded that her judgments about the group on the agency and communion characteristics were unrelated to the

importance the group has for her:

> If I sat down to think about it, some of these characteristics aren't very nice, and if I thought about it I wouldn't be involved with this group at all. So I don't think, judging how I first felt about the group, I rated it as least important it hadn't anything to do with how I actually judged it. I think when I sat down and I saw each individual thing *(descriptor)* and thought about them, that's how I judged it.

Participant 2, referring to people with many opportunities, described a relationship between the group's characteristics of agency and communion and her strength of identification with it:

> I identify with this group the least and it's probably because it's so one sided it doesn't appeal to me. I have no interaction with other members of this group in terms of the group. I don't get together with my friends and then talk about how lucky we are to be living in Canada, count our blessings, it's a very individual thing.

This person sees her low level of involvement with other group members as part of why she identifies with the group less. The relationship between her low level of group identification and depictions of the group's agency and communion was described as "I'm not identifying with it very much so it's hard to describe something that you don't identify with much". Consequently, she chose to not complete the rating task.

Participant 3, who opted to not rate "new mothers" on the

agency and communion characteristics, does not believe there is a relationship between her perceptions of the group's low level of mitigation and her low level of identification with the group.

> I just think that I don't really identify with them because I don't have a lot of relationships with that kind of people right now. It's not like me and a bunch of my friends all got pregnant and had kids and so now we're all new moms. ... It would be kind of like if all of sudden I became paraplegic, I might not feel a real part of them at first because I didn't have anything to do with them up until then. Eventually I would because I would do more with them, it's kind of like being a new mom. I know I never really thought about new moms a whole lot, but now I will.

When asked about her perceptions regarding the relationship between her low level of group identification and descriptions of the group's agency and communion, she reiterated that "it's hard to judge a group you don't know".

Participant 4 maintains that he sees home renters as low on mitigation and himself as highly mitigated and consequently, identifies with this group less. This person also sees a strong relationship between his descriptions of the group on the agency and communion characteristics and the low level of group identification. He described it as rating the group lower on the positive items and higher on the negative items, particularly the unmitigated

communion characteristics.

Participant 5 described how she sees the mitigation of the agricultural exhibition ladies auxiliary as limited and that understanding that enables her to identify with them. She does not think her limited identification with the group influenced her descriptions of them on the agency and communion characteristics insofar as she sees her identification level as a function of such things as "the communication barrier and the age barriers".

Finally, Participant 6 stated that she sees a relationship between her low level of identification with volleyball referees as related to the group's agency and communion insofar as she does not see the group as mitigated and so does not identify with them "as easily". Although she suspects that she would identify with them more if the group were more mitigated, she notes that she sees so little of the group that "I don't think it's to the point where emotionally I could be attached to them". Thus it appears that her low level of identification may be more a function of how little time is spent together than anything about the group per se.

> It's not to say they don't have these characteristics, it's just that when I am with them I don't see them. ... It just seems that they have all the characteristics that are there *(mitigated and unmitigated agency items)* and just about none out of communion, none that I can see.

Two themes emerged in the responses to the inquiry regarding perceptions of the relationship between the groups' characteristics of agency and communion and the participants' strength of identification with the groups. The predominant pattern is found among responses that describe the strength of identification with the group being a function of something other than the group's agency and communion. Evidence of this theme is taken from the following:

- Participant 1 sees her low level of identification as due to not relating to the group on a personal level, that G2 has only a social meaning for her.
- Participant 2 sees her low level of identification as related, in part, to the fact that she has no interaction with others in terms of their membership in G2.
- Participant 3 attributes her low level of identification with G2 to her very new membership in the group. She anticipates that she will "eventually" feel more a part of it.
- Participant 5 attributes her low level of group identification to "communication and age barriers". She also sees the group's mitigation as limited and that her understanding of that enables her to identify with G2.
- Participant 6 attributes her low level of identification with G2 as being a function of spending very little time with group members.

Three participants suggested that the relationship between G2's agency and communion and their low level of identification with the group is a function of dissimilarity between the group's mitigation and their own:

- Participant 2 sees the group as agentic, as "very one-sided" and consequently it "doesn't appeal" to her since she is mitigated in her agency and communion.
- Participant 4 sees G2 as low in mitigation and himself as highly mitigated and so identifies with G2 less strongly.
- Participant 6 sees G2 as unmitigated, herself as mitigated, and so she does not identify with G2 "as easily". She also described this as not identifying because she does not see any communal characteristics in the group.

With respect to perceptions of the influence of participants' level of identication on their ratings of G2 on the agency and communion characteristics, two people (Participants 1 and 5) stated directly that they see these as unrelated. Two others (Participants 2 and 3) did not complete the ratings, as noted above, because they felt unable to describe the groups. One of these people stated that she was unable to describe the group because she identifies with them so little, the other that she does not know the group well enough to judge them on those characteristics.

Participant 4's comments speak to a negative bias in his ratings of the group's agency and communion resulting from his low level of identification. He described his identification with G2 as having impacted his ratings such that he described the group lower on the positive items and higher on the negative items.

What would alter or change the strength of your identification with (G3)? (University of Saskatchewan students)

Participant 1 described that she can identify "to some extent" with the pressures of university and complaints about professors but does not identify with the students at all. Although there are two students she knows who also have families and are employed (and with whom she identifies more), she sees students as "20 year old snot noses that mummy and daddy still pay for everything". Her strength of identification with U of S students could increase if she knew more mature students which she believes would lead her to realize that not all students are as just described.

Participant 2 sees her strength of identification with U of S students as increased through her involvement with the University of Saskatchewan Students' Union (USSU). Involvement in other campus activities was also described as a potential source of increased identification with the group. Decreased identification was expected to result from discontinuing her involvement with the USSU or leaving the university.

Participant 3 believes her level of identification with U of S students would be lower if she "didn't agree with what it stood for, or ... if I thought it was a really bad learning institution".

Identification would likely be higher if "I had been part of the group longer because I only went for 1 year, and also if it would have been more important to me". She sees her low level of identification with U of S students as related to the short time she attended and the limited importance the school had for her at that time. She described this as follows:

> When I went to Bible School, I felt really a part of it because I lived there, I went to classes, I had lots of relationships with other students and teachers, and the school became important to me. ... But when I went to university here, I was married, in ministry, working and going to school, and coaching basketball, and I was just doing a hundred things that all I did was go to my classes, do the assignments and leave. I didn't develop any relationships with anybody ... I just kind of went there, did what I had to do and left.

Participant 4, who identifies very strongly with this group, described leaving the university as the source of any decreases in his strength of identification with U of S students. Possible reasons for leaving could include financial, academic, or in the case of personal illness. Increases in identification were attributed to an increase in length of time of attendance, and smaller class sizes. The impact of the latter was described as follows:

> As I get closer to my degree ... numbers seem to get smaller. It's hard to explain. For the first couple of years classes were 300, you get into your college and classes

> get down to 60 and you feel more like a student. You're just like a number - when you're in a class like Psychology 110 with 350 students you feel like a number, you get down to an upper class of Native Studies where there are 50 people in class you feel more like a U of S student rather than just a number.

Participant 5 stated that her strength of identification with U of S students would increase if she were involved in campus recreational or sport activities. This includes social activities such as dances or going to the local campus pub. She has found that working with other students on projects or assignments has increased her identification with the group "because I find that we have similar interests and objectives. It is easier to relate to them". This person has found that taking classes through televised instruction off-campus has diminished her identification with U of S students. This was due, in part, to not feeling a part of the university community and was further compounded by the fact that two of the four students were Kelsey students, and the other U of S student was doing part-time studies only.

Participant 6 sees the strength of her identification with this group as increased through relationships she has established with classmates, some of which also extend to social time outside of class. This individual described her strength of identification as likely to

decrease if she did not connect with others, "if I didn't talk to anyone and just came to class and went home, did not get involved".

The predominant pattern among the factors described as increasing strength of identification with this group is one of increased contact. Two themes are apparent within that general category: contact with group members, including work towards a shared goal and other interdependence or contact that builds group cohesion, and involvement with campus activities or organizations. The third theme shared among participants speaks to longer duration of group membership.

References to contact with group members that would or have increased participants' identification with U of S students include the following, all but the last of which reflect ways to increase group cohesion:

- developing more relationships (Participant 3)
- working with other students on projects or assignments (Participant 5)
- relationships with classmates, doing things together on and off campus (Participant 6)
- knowing more mature students (Participant 1)

The participant who conveyed that knowing more mature students would increase her strength of identification with this group also

said that her identification would increase if she were to come to know more students with similar concerns to hers, in particular having children and being employed.

What follows are examples of more contact with campus activities or organizations from participants' comments. One individual referred to an increase in involvements and one spoke to new involvements or participation:

- involvement with USSU (Participant 2)
- involvement in other campus activities (Participant 2)
- involvement in campus sports (Participant 5)
- involvement in recreational, social activities (Participant 5)

The final theme, shared between two participants, speaks to a longer duration of group membership, how a longer time at the U of S would impact their strength of identification with the group. This was described by one person (Participant 3) as an anticipated increase in identification with the group had she attended the U of S for more than one year. The second person (Participant 4) to speak to this issue described that, as he gets closer to completing his degree, his identification with the group is increasing. He sees this as largely a function of class sizes being smaller in the more senior courses. This is attributed to length of time in his program of studies although it could also be interpreted as indicative of smaller group

size increasing strength of identification, perhaps influenced by group cohesion.

With respect to decreases in strength of identification with U of S students, the responses of four participants speak to a theme of <u>less contact</u>. This could take (or has taken) the following forms, with the last two items also describing conditions of decreased contact that would diminish group cohesion:

- discontinuing involvement with USSU (Participant 2)
- leaving the university (for financial, academic, health related, or other reasons) (Participants 2 and 4)
- not being involved beyond attendance of classes (Participant 6)
- not connecting with other group members (Participant 6)
- taking classes through televised instruction off-campus (Participant 5)

Two participants' comments relate to a theme of <u>negative evaluations</u> of group members or of the context within which the group exists. Participant 3 stated that her strength of identification with the group would decrease if she did not agree with what the university stands for or if she thought the institution was of poor quality. Participant 1 shared her very negative evaluation of U of S students several times and stated that her level of identification with the group could not be any lower than it is currently.

What bearing do you think your own mitigation of agency and communion has on how strongly you identify with this group?

Participant 1 described U of S students as an unmitigated group and attributes her low level of identification to that difference between the group and herself. She does not share many of the same personal qualities with very many students and described the dissimilarity as follows:

> Most of them are not independent or assertive, I just find them very cold and selfish. They are typical teenagers. I shouldn't say typical because I wasn't like that, and that's another reason why I can't identify. I wasn't like that at that age, I already had a child ... I'd been working for a few years, I had a life.

Participant 2 sees "quite a bit" of relationship between her mitigation of agency and communion and her strength of identification with this group. She described this relationship as follows:

> The U of S is a group of individuals, that's what it is. ... I am an individual and by being on the students' union also helps me, it satisfies my communal need or desire. And with the two desires satisfied then I identify very strongly with it. ... Just being a student is enough to satisfy that*(agency)*, I am an individual in this university. ... Getting involved in anything I think would be a part of that communion, and it would satisfy that. It just so happens that I am involved in the USSU.

Participant 3 described the relationship between her mitigated

agency and communion and her low level of identification with U of S students as due to the fact that "I pretty much had everything I needed, I really didn't need this school to provide a whole lot for me, like relationally, socially, identity wise". She described having what she needed as

> I knew who I was, what I was doing, what I wanted out of life. I had all my relationships established, so when I was there it was just kind of something I was doing but I think other students that go to university they just leave home, they are trying to figure out who they are, what they want out of life, they have just left all of their childhood friends, they are developing new relationships. I think they are kind of like a clean slate and just soak up all of those things, the school, the students, the classes, the social culture, culture of the university, everything, they kind of become a part of it. With me, I didn't need it at all and I didn't really have any space in my life for any of that.

This person saw this absence of need as due to the balance of her agency and communion and stated that if her sense of communion had not come from other places she may have spent more time at the U of S.

Participant 4 described the relationship between his mitigation of agency and communion and his strong identification with U of S students as resulting from both he and the group being similarly mitigated. He described this as follows:

> I definitely have a high level of mitigation so I identify with the group more because I feel the group, in my dealings, has been mitigated back to me. So in turn that's the reason I have the high value for mitigation and the high value for the group.

Participant 5 does not believe that her mitigation of agency and communion have much to do with her strength of identification with the group. She described this as follows:

> The U of S students as a whole is very, very big and I see myself as very, very little in this whole big group of things. And because I'm not involved in things on campus that I can't show my mitigation in a group ... because the U of S population is so large I don't feel as though my mitigation is recognized other than maybe in the classes that I take. Because when I am at school I'm either studying or working ... my mitigation is not used as much in those cases.

Participant 6 also sees both herself and U of S students as mitigated in their agency and communion and attributes the strength of her identification with the group to this similarity.

Two themes are apparent in responses to this inquiry. One speaks to two participants' perceptions that their mitigation of agency and communion is related to their strength of identification with U of S students because of the <u>similarity</u> between their own and the group's mitigation. The strengths of these two people's

(Participants 4 and 6) identification with the group were, respectively, very high and moderately high. Two other individuals, whose identification levels with the group were low and moderately low, see no relationship between their mitigation and their strength of identification with U of S students. One of these people (Participant 5) described herself as uninvolved on campus and the other (Participant 3) sees her own mitigation as having been satisfied outside the university community and consequently, she spent little time at the U of S and did not develop relationships with group members.

Participant 1 attributes her very low level of identification with the group to the dissimilarity between her own mitigation and the group's. Participant 2 described what she sees as a strong relationship between her mitigation of agency and communion and her high level of identification with this group. She believes this results from both her agentic and her communal needs being satisfied in that context.

To what extent would you describe this group as agentic? (refers to list of mitigated and unmitigated agency characteristics)

To what extent would you describe this group as communal? (refers to list of mitigated and unmitigated communion characteristics)

To what extent would you describe this group as mitigated?

Participant 1 described U of S students on the mitigated agency items as at the midpoint, immediately above it, or immediately below it. This group was rated at the high endpoint on five of the unmitigated agency items, at the midpoint on one, and just above the midpoint on two items. The participant sees evidence of unmitigated agency in what she has observed and heard in classes. The mitigated communion items were rated at or below the midpoint while the unmitigated communion items were largely rated at or above the midpoint. Generally, the pattern of ratings for this group was low on the positive characteristics and higher on the more negative items for both agency and communion.

The pattern of ratings is consistent with the participant's perception that this group is not at all mitigated and that "they have the negative aspects of agency and communion". In completing the ratings, Participant 1 was describing what she sees as the typical group member, which is not herself. "Others" was taken to mean anyone other than the typical student themselves.

Participant 2 rated U of S students as at or above the midpoint on the mitigated agency characteristics. The unmitigated agency descriptors received ratings at the midpoint, immediately above or

immediately below it. One item was not completed as a response "depends on the individual" and similarly, on both agency scales the midpoints were meant to depict that "it could go either way". This individual describes evidence of the agentic characteristics as follows:

> Just in the fact that they are getting an education they are going out there, ... they are getting ready to pursue the rest of their lives, they are making a decision about what they want to do. ... Most of them are competitive, they have to be if they want to get into their college. They can make decisions ... I mean they have a goal in sight, and I've noticed this more in students than anyone else, they have a goal in sight and they are striving towards that goal with almost single mindedness. ... You have to be independent to be able to be so single minded, you have to have a certain degree of self confidence but, there are those who aren't. Generally, the students feel superior to nonstudents, they've got more education, they don't give up easily if they are here they are not going to just sort of quit unless there's a good reason. You have to stand up well under pressure to succeed.

On the mitigated communion items, this participant described the group as at the midpoint or immediately above. Two items were left blank and annotated with "depends on the individual". Ratings on five of the unmitigated communion items were at the midpoint, one immediately above and the other two at each of the extremes. In clarifying her use of midpoints and "depends on the individual",

this participant identified that she used the midpoint for items where everyone has some of the characteristic whereas an item was left blank if it "is too dependent on the individual, some people either have it or don't". On all relevant items, "other" was taken to mean "people in general".

This participant sees U of S students as very agentic and therefore as not mitigated. This was described as evident in the following:

> They are not going to school as a group, they are going to school for themselves, they are looking out for themselves, everything is done for themselves, they just all happen to be for themselves which puts them in a group. ... When you do a class, you sit down and take notes if it's a huge class of 300 people ... there is no effort to get to know everyone in your class, maybe the few that sit around you so you've got somebody to borrow notes off if you miss a day. But there is no real effort, unless it's of course a smaller class and everyone's in the same college, they are all going, but that's different. That's a group of people in a college, this is a group of students that we are talking about and as individuals they don't care.

Participant 3 chose to not complete the ratings of this group stating that "I feel uncomfortable with judging a whole group. Especially when it's that big". In general terms, she describes this group as agentic when referring to members who are more

independent and less a part of the university culture and as communal if talking about members who are very much a part of the culture.

Overall, this person perceives the group to be more agentic than mitigated as evident through processes of stereotyping and ethnocentrism. These processes were described as follows:

> I think as humans ... we are naturally self centred, self preserving. And I think, when I was in high school and I talked about how you had this opinion about these guys were snobs and these guys are nice - I think that's going to happen unless you are taught and encouraged to think otherwise. Unless you are taught and encouraged to realize that you can't judge a whole group by one person or that kind of thinking. So when I think of a university, sometimes it seems that in order to encourage your own identity at a university you have to belittle another university ... And I think that's a kind of a natural thing that happens. At least I know that happened to us in high school, like in order for us to feel good about ourselves we had to make someone else look bad. ... I guess we are all taught to be the way we are and maybe that thinking is taught too, to have stereotypes and judge. ... *(A lot of people)* develop a stereotype maybe for the U of S and maybe for most groups like that. ... You're trying to feel good about yourself and I think it's a challenge to be able to feel good about yourself as a person, as a group or whatever, without putting down somebody else. ... I've heard a lot of people at the U of S think that they are better than the U of R, then that would make me think that we are not rising to the challenge to be able to feel good about yourself ... without having to belittle other places or think that you're better and other people are worse or whatever.

Participant 4 rated the U of S student group at the midpoint, or immediately above or below it on the mitigated agency characteristics. The group was described at or above the midpoint on six of the unmitigated agency items and just below the midpoint on the remaining two items. Characteristics of agency were seen as evident in the following:

> I think our university feels superior to others but then if someone were to bring up McGill or something like that, we wouldn't feel as *(superior)* . But in competitions, we stand up well under pressure and we're competitive. ... I think we dictate in how other people - like Place Riel has the movie theatre that is the best in Saskatchewan as far as sound goes. So ... we can set standards because we're a university group, educated. ... Like with the raise in tuition we can be very cynical, we're going to strike, or we're not going to show up at school today at all.

Ratings on the mitigated communion items covered the range from below the midpoint to the high endpoint. The unmitigated communion items were rated at the midpoint, immediately above or below it. The mitigation of the group was described as follows:

> I think the group is very highly mitigated because it's people in an institution - individuals and in contact with others. There is always connections going on.

In this person's perceptions, the mitigation of the group is evident in the fact that so many of the 15,000 people in the

institution connect with each other and interact. While acknowledging that "there will be different levels of how people interact within that, stronger and weaker relations to the group", he maintains that the group is mitigated in its agency and communion.

This participant's referent when completing the ratings was of the group in comparison with other universities. "Self" was taken to mean the group itself and "other" on specific items referred to individuals outside of the U of S.

Participant 5's ratings of this group on the mitigated agency characteristics covered the full range of response alternatives. One item was left blank and annotated with "don't know". Ratings on the unmitigated agency items covered a similar range and all items were completed. The characteristics were considered to be evident in the following:

> The students can be very, very independent, they can do whatever they so choose ... the clubs are there ... There's a lot of things for students to be active in, it's competitive with other universities, like they are always trying for the best bars and highest ratings in McLeans ... Having difficulties making decisions ... with the rallies that were supposed to be happening and the cancelling of classes this past year, one minute they were doing it and the next minute they weren't, and the next minute they were ... The students stand up well under pressure - well they do if they are going to be here. ... Boastful when they are higher up on the *(McLeans)* list ... Dictatorial - they really don't because everybody is on their own ... Hostile

- there's no bursts of anything going on here.

This participant rated the mitigated communion items over the complete range, while the unmitigated communion items were rated at or near the midpoint. The following examples of communal characteristics were provided:

> Able to devote self completely to others, there are very few students that will worry about everybody. When issues come up about money ... thinking to themselves 'oh well you know if they use that money for them, all my money's going to that and I'm not getting anything out of it.' I think they are very helpful to others and aware of other peoples' feelings in the clubs that are set up. There's everything from chess to GLUS ... it just seems very more open and that they are aware of other peoples' differences ... no one is going to bug them or anything like that, it's all free and open.

"Others" was taken to refer to other group members for all items and the ratings were completed with group members the participant knows as the referent. When asked about the group's mitigation, the following response was provided:

> I would say that it is very mitigated just because you have so many different people ... there's a lot of communal stuff in the organizations and the societies. Like the Women's Help Centre and the Student Help Centre, and everything is there to help out the students ... And yet, we are very competitive with other universities, and we are competitive to get in, and we're independent once we get here and there are a lot of things to keep people active. And then we do complain and nag and

> fuss and stuff when we want something from the government or from wherever, it seems to be very middle of the line so you could be either way *(communal or agentic).*

Participant 6 described the U of S student group as at the midpoint or above on the mitigated agency characteristics and as at or below the midpoint on the unmitigated agency descriptors. Two items on these scales were not completed and were annotated with "don't know". The same pattern was evident with the ratings on the communal characteristics. The mitigated communion items were rated at or above the midpoint and the unmitigated communion items were rated below the midpoint. More ratings on the latter descriptors were at the low endpoint than the unmitigated agency characteristics and all items were completed. Throughout, "other" was interpreted as referring to others within the same group.

The mitigation of the group was described by Participant 6 as follows:

> The students within the group I think there are some that are going to be mitigated and some that are going to have just one of either agency or communion. But I think as a whole that the group has a lot to do with the helping of others and just looking out for people. But it can obviously make decisions or at least some of them, they have to be able to make decisions easily and stand up under pressure. So I think it's pretty mitigated as a group.

Later in the interview, this participant described her perceptions of the group's mitigation as "I just see it's strongly mitigated like the first group *(G1)* but yet I see more communion kind of is stronger than the agency".

The patterns among these responses reflect a general correspondence between people's characterizations of the overall mitigation level of the group and their ratings on the agency and communion descriptors. Participant 6's responses are again the clearest example in that she depicted the group as strongly mitigated and rated it higher on the mitigated agency and communion items than on the corresponding unmitigated items. As a further example of this correspondence Participant 1, who sees the group as high on the "negative" aspects of agency and communion, completed the ratings of the mitigated and unmitigated items accordingly.

Of the five participants who completed the ratings of the U of S student group, three used people outside of the group as the referent for "others" and two referred to other group members on these items. Three of these five participants endeavored to describe the group in general, one completed the ratings with group members known to the participant in mind, and one person completed the

ratings of the group in comparison with other universities even on the noncomparative items.

One person (Participant 3) felt very uncomfortable with the descriptive task and opted to not complete the ratings at all. She did, however, describe the group in general as more agentic than mitigated and cited evidence for this in her observations of ethnocentrism as described above.

How do you think the group's characteristics of agency and communion relate to how much you identify with that group?

How do you think your strength of identification with the group relates to how you described the group on the agency and communion characteristics?

Participant 1 sees an "obvious" relationship between the group's unmitigated agency and communion and her low level of identification with the group.

> On a personal level I cannot identify with anyone - I can be considerate towards people who are not independent, or who are not active and competitive and things like that. ... When people don't have the positive things that I think I have, I can be considerate of that. But when they show this arrogant, boastful ... and all this other garbage, that's when I can't identify at all. They have too many of the negative in them.

This person also stated that "the way that I identify with them

obviously is the reason why I describe them negatively."

Participant 2 sees her strength of identification with this group as related to how much a part of the group she is, that she is "the epitome of a student". She perceives her involvement with the USSU as making her feel closer to the university "but I don't know that being on the USSU makes me feel any more or less a student. ... I'm doing things for the university but it doesn't have a lot to do with being a student". This person sees the amount and frequency of time she spends on campus as "a direct relationship as to how much I feel being a part of this body of students".

Participant 3 described her low level of identification with U of S students as related to her circumstances of not being "very much a part of the group because I had other relationships and responsibilities". Not identifying with the group precluded this participant from describing U of S students on the agency and communion descriptors. "As I don't identify with them much it's really hard to have a grasp of what they are like, or what the group is like as a whole".

Participant 4 sees the similarity between his mitigation and the group's as accounting for his strong level of identification with it. He also believes that, through his identification with the group,

characteristics of the group which he shares surface for him, and this commonality in turn leads him to describe the group as mitigated. That is, he identifies strongly with the group, sees characteristics he has in common with the group, and consequently describes the group as mitigated.

Participant 5 sees the strength of her identification with the group as resulting from the similarity between her mitigation of agency and communion and the group's. She stated that she identifies more strongly with this group than if they were not as mitigated and more strongly than she identifies with the ladies auxiliary. This person described that her awareness of issues and services provided on campus increases her identification with the group insofar as

> I know that they are there and that they are helping out for other people, I can relate to them because I see that as a good cause. And that there are things that I would like to get involved with if I had more time, so I relate to that. And there are other students and one of these times I may need the services or whatever.

Participant 6 portrayed the relationship between the group's characteristics of agency and communion and her strength of identification with them as related to the similarity she sees between her own and the group's mitigation. That is, she sees

herself as mitigated, she sees the group as mitigated, and that similarity impacts the strength of her identification with the group. She described this as follows:

> I do strongly identify with a lot of people anyway. Or people that I have had relationships with from here *(the U of S)* . It's just that it seems like I'm going through a lot of things other people are and so it kind of makes me feel like I'm not the only one. ... Because I'm mitigated it helps me kind of pick out characteristics that the group has as a whole. And I think that because I see lots of the characteristics of myself also in the group that it just helps me identify with them.

This person postulated that her strength of identification with the group may have led her to rate this group higher on some mitigated characteristics of agency and communion than she rated the group with which she identified the least.

The responses of three people (Participants 4, 5 and 6) speak clearly to a theme of <u>similarity</u> between one's own mitigation and that of the group as reflecting the relationship between personal mitigation and strength of identification with the group. Participant 1's comments speak to a <u>dissimilarity</u> between her mitigation and the group's in accounting for the relationship between this and her strength of identification. She has a very low level of identification

with U of S students because she sees the group as having too many of the negative aspects of agency and communion.

The remaining two participants each spoke of their identification with the group being a function of other things and not related to their mitigation of agency and communion. Participant 2 sees her strong identification as largely a function of the amount and frequency of her time on campus. Participant 3 attributes her low level of identification to not being a part of the group because of relationships and responsibilities outside of the university.

Patterns among the responses regarding perceptions of the relationship between participants' strength of identification and how they described the group on the agency and communion characteristics are not quite as clear. Two people (Participants 1 and 6) have described the groups in a direction congruent with their strength of identification. That is, Participant 1 stated that she identifies very little with the group so described them negatively. Participant 6 stated that her strong identification with the group may have led her to rate it higher on some mitigated agency and communion characteristics than she rated the group with which she identifies the least. Participant 3's choice to not rate the group at all because of her low level of identification with it might also be seen

as congruent with this theme.

Participant 4's comments again speak to the theme of similarity. He maintains that he identifies strongly with the group, sees characteristics of agency and communion that he has in common with the group, and consequently described the group as mitigated.

As noted above, Participant 2 attributes her identification to her time on campus and did not perceive a relationship between her identification and descriptions of the group's agency and communion. Participant 5 did not address the question directly but implied that her descriptions were based on what she knows of the issues and services on campus. These two responses can be interpreted as speaking to a theme of strength of identity and group descriptions being unrelated.

How do you think your own characteristics of agency and communion relate to the way you identify with groups in general?

Participant 1 described that groups need to have meaning for her on a personal level in order to identify with them and that she sees this as "part of my personality, part of my characteristics and it's just the way I am". She went on to describe how she is attracted to groups that are mitigated and like her, have characteristics of

both agency and communion:

> I guess because of my own personal characteristics I would be attracted to groups that are more like me that I would be attracted to groups - that's probably why I personally never played on team sports and things like that. Because I don't really condone that type of behaviour, why I am not attracted to those sorts of groups.

This individual sees mitigation as what impacts how strongly she identifies with groups although if the group has strong personal meaning for her, like G1, the mitigation of the group is not as important to her.

Participant 2 describes herself as mitigated but "I think I am heavier on the agency side than the communion side". This person went on to describe the relationship between this and her identification with groups as follows:

> But just the way I am and the competitiveness, like everything that I have done the student way (being goal driven, single minded), I would identify more strongly with groups that are more agentic probably. But I would identify less strongly with those groups that are totally agentic (unmitigated) than ones that are just mostly agentic (somewhat mitigated but more agentic).

Participant 3 believes that her own characteristics of agency and communion "has a lot to do with" the extent to which she identifies with groups. She described the relationship as follows:

> It's just a challenge I guess to keep them in balance because, if I'm stable and they are in balance then I'll have a healthy involvement in groups! And I'll be less likely to be susceptible to ... in-group bias, stereotypes, racism and that kind of stuff. I think it's important to belong to something - the communal thing is important, but I think if you don't have that sense of agency, that sense of independence you can become, the group is everything and if the group becomes everything then maybe other groups aren't. Like if the U of S is everything then other universities aren't as good, and I know we do that even with our church youth. In a youth group working with teenagers, a sense of group identity and that is so important, they want to belong to a group that has a positive identity and it's a challenge to establish and maintain a youth group that feels really good about itself without encouraging them to say that they think they are better than the Mennonite youth group. ... If they don't have a good sense of worth, ... their sense of agency I think they would not be secure enough to embrace the fact that other groups are just as good.

This individual concluded her response to this inquiry with sharing her opinion that "in unhealthy communion", where communion is not mitigated with some agency, people may make more invidious group comparisons.

Participant 4 believes that he identifies more strongly with groups that are mitigated as he is. In fact, he stated that "just about every one" of the groups on his list of groups he identifies with are groups he would describe as mitigated. He maintains that "because

of my upbringing" he makes choices or personal decisions in his relationships with groups in that he could not behave counter to his mitigation and "if it was a mitigated group I would seem to track it down".

Participant 5 shared her perception that her mitigation of agency and communion enables her to understand and identify with a broad range of groups, even ones that are not mitigated and are primarily agentic or communal. She described this as follows:

> I think that because I am mitigated, I can relate with all ranges of people and groups that have very different ranges, that are very competitive or very centred on helping others, I think I can help out and relate to them. And see what they are doing and where they are going and why they are doing what they are doing. ... There are people I know that are more agency, can't relate to communal things and can't believe I would go to work with kids that are abused. Whereas people who are communal can't believe that I push competition with athletes that want to compete as much as I do.

Participant 6 sees her characteristics of agency and communion as related to group identification because of similarities which lead her to spend more time with the group. She described this as follows:

> I think that because I'm mitigated that if a group is also mitigated I'm going to identify very highly with them, like my family. Because then you tend to spend more time with the groups you are identifying with *(which)*

> has a lot to do with how close you feel to a certain group. ... And then obviously the more time you spend with the group the closer you're going to feel to that group.

When asked if it is the amount of time or something about the sort of time spent together, this participant responded that

> I think it has to do with the things that I do when I do spend time with them. Because ... I'm interested in a lot of things they are and we're all active in hobbies and stuff that we get together and do those things together.

The participant clarified that this is not just a function of doing enjoyable things together. With an example of students getting together to study for a final exam, she described how the spending time together increased identification "because it's not really that we liked being there, but it was that we all had it in common".

The predominant theme among these responses is one of <u>similarity</u> with the groups they identify with strongly. Four of the six participants indicated that they identify with groups that are mitigated similarly to themselves. This theme was evident in the following comments:

- Participant 1 is attracted to groups that are mitigated like she is. Although mitigation impacts how strongly she identifies, if the group has strong personal meaning for her (like G1) then its mitigation is not as important.
- Participant 2 sees herself as mitigated but with a

balance more towards agency than communion and identifies with similar groups. She sees her identification as less strong if the group is unmitigated in its agency than if is mitigated as she is.

- Participant 4 identifies with groups that are similar to himself in their mitigation. He sees almost all of the groups he listed in the interview as mitigated.
- Participant 6 identifies more with groups that are mitigated like herself. She believes the identification results from spending more time together which has a lot to do with how close you feel.

The remaining two participants describe their mitigation as related to things other than strength of identification. Participant 5 believes that her mitigation enables her to identify with a broad range of groups, whether agentic, communal, or mitigated. For Participant 3, her mitigation enables her to have a "healthy involvement" with groups and makes her less susceptible to biases and stereotyping. In her comments about working with the youth of her church, she stated that these young people want to belong to groups that have a positive identity and that it is a challenge to establish such a group without their engaging in comparisons with other groups. For these teenagers, she described that communion unmitigated by agency results in more negative comparisons being made in order for the group to feel good about themselves.

More generally, what relationship do you think there is between the mitigation of agency and communion and social identity?

Participant 1 believes "there is a strong relationship there". She indicated that "I am only really attracted to groups that are like me and this mitigation" and that "I don't identify with people ... that don't have the same characteristics as me either". Her perception is that agency and communion are "both involved with social identity" and described this as follows:

> In my own case, the social group that I picked as being more important - but it's on a personal level this social group is more important to me, because it does promote my communion. But I still have the agency tendencies there too so I think its both. Maybe communion but I still think agency has to be there too. ... I still believe *(social identity)* is more personal, more agency. ... If I didn't have the agency first I could not have the communion to have the social identity. So it has to be both.

Participant 2 believes that "we find groups that are complimentary of our own mitigation or lack of mitigation" where complimentary refers to similarity. She went on to describe how in these complimentary groups

> the more we will be able to identify with ourselves socially. We'll recognize more of a social identity because we want to be a part of those groups, because they fit our needs, wants, purposes and will get, bring it out, develop it. I think that if you find a group that compliments your mitigation or lack of mitigation, if you find a group that

> compliments your personal identity it will develop your social identity.

Thus, this individual believes that if we find groups that are similar to our personal identity then our social identity is further developed through these group memberships.

Participant 3, earlier in the interview, shared her perception that "when you really become a part of something, there is some sense of losing your identity and taking on the identity of the group". In relation to the concepts of personal, social and human identity, this person indicated that she thinks we lose part of our personal identity as our social identity comes to be stronger as happens in those instances where we are very involved, where we identify strongly with the group in question. She went on to describe that

> I don't think that's always necessarily unhealthy. Sometimes, from gaining a social identity it develops their personal identity. I think in ... that type of social setting of having a strong family identity encourages, can encourage, a strong personal identity, but I guess it could be the opposite too. I can think of books or movies ... like Dead Poets' Society for example, ... the boy who commits suicide, you know his family robbed him of his personal identity ... it didn't develop it at all so there's an example where that's a total opposite. But for me, ... having a strong family identity helped me to develop the strong personal identity.

Participant 3 believes mitigation is having both a personal and

social identity and that at the same time our communal sense is going to be healthier if mitigated by some agency. She described this as follows:

> Social identity would give you kind of the framework and the foundation that you would need to be able to develop your personal identity. And in that way there would be mitigation - you would have your social identity but you'd also have your personal identity. ... Your group is going to be much more healthy if it's made up of people who have strong personal identities ... because you need to be able to say, if you are part of a group, there needs to be something where at some point you can say Wait a minute something isn't right here. Or I don't agree with this and you need that because in everything in life there is good and bad and sometimes we screw up and you need to be able to say no this is wrong let's stop and evaluate this and correct it. But if you don't have a personal identity then you're not going to challenge the group, you'll just kind of go with it even though you may not agree with it. ... If I don't need you in order to feel worthwhile then I am going to be able to challenge you, but if I think I need you in order to feel worthwhile then I'm not going to do anything to threaten that.

This individual concluded by acknowledging that part of what sustains our sense of self in terms of the strength of our identity comes from different things. For people like herself it comes from her faith and belief in God which she believes makes her more resilient to what she described as warps and distortions in how she perceives other groups.

Participant 4 reiterated his opinion that the characteristics we have in common with the groups we are members of lead us to identify more strongly with those groups. He also believes that "the strength of your mitigation levels are more based on how you see not only yourself, but how others see you". He argued that if a group that he is a member of and is known to be a member of is a positive group (like the Huskies football team), other people identify with him more than if it were a negative group (like panhandlers).

This individual maintains that people need to have both agency and communion "to fit into society" and that they do not really have a social identity if they are not mitigated. He argues that in order to have that sense of ourselves that comes from memberships in groups (our social identity) we must have a sense of agency and of communion. "You could not be just agentic and still socially identify within a group". Even in a group of other agentic people, this person believes that "you'd be able to identify with them on an individual basis but you wouldn't be able to identify with them as a group".

Participant 5 believes that being mitigated enables one to have "a broader social identity" and that this breadth means more variety in types of groups and more variability as to whether these groups are agentic or communal. She went on to describe how mitigation

increases her knowledge of group members' personal identities and gives her insight into how these unique aspects of the individuals impact their behaviour within the groups. This was described as follows:

> I think being more mitigated helps out with this knowledge of the members in our group. Even the group that I didn't relate to very much, I realize that the members of the group were each their own individual, and it doesn't necessarily reflect the whole group as a whole. Even though they make up a group each member is an individual and they may be mitigated or they may not. But how they work in the group, their role, may differ. I can relate to why they do what they do and act the way they do because I'm mitigated. ... *(I'm aware of)* their personal identities and how that relates to the whole group, and how in the group their personal identities reflect what they say, what they do. If someone is personally very agentic and another person is very communal and then when they get into the group they have their opposing views - being mitigated I can see where both of them are coming from and realize ... that their input is just as important.

This individual also believes that her mitigation enables her "to be more emotional about each of the group's I'm in" in terms of how strongly she feels about the groups even for the groups she does not identify with a great deal. She maintains that mitigation makes it "a little easier to be involved in both communal and agentic groups" and that feeling positive about one's group memberships comes from

consistency between one's own characteristics and the group's. This was described as follows:

> Even the ones that I didn't related to a lot, I'm proud to be a member of the group and to help in any way that I can. That maybe, if I were more communal and I was in a more agency orientated group, I probably wouldn't be as proud or as happy to be in it. ... *(If more agentic and involved in a communal group)* I don't think you'd be able to relate as well, and if you're not going to relate you're not going to be happy with it and you're not going to feel strong ties and be glad to be in it.

Participant 6 suggested that everyone, whether agentic, communal or mitigated, has a social identity and that the specific groups they are members of will be consistent with the predominant characteristics. She described this as follows:

> If the individual is mitigated they are more likely to spend time within a group that they feel part of, or feel they belong to because of those mitigation characteristics. ... *(For people who are not as mitigated)* I think it's harder for them to be part of a group, it doesn't say that you can't be but it might be a different type of a group. Like someone, for the communion of someone who cooperates and stuff like that lots might be part more of a volunteer group, something like that. Whereas someone who's assertive might be part of a Tai Quan Do group or something like that. ... I think if you're strong like in agency characteristics or whatever you can still identify with communion, it's just that it might be a different type *(of group)*. That's not to say that they can't function socially within a group or whatever. I think it's still possible, because there are so many groups out there and everything and so many things to do that ...

> it's easy to find something to do that you identify with and that you like doing.

This individual concluded with comments that the relationship between mitigation and social identity "depends on the type of the group. ... if you think about an AA group or something like that - they are always going to be more intimate than someone who's in a sports group or something like that".

In their responses to this question, five of the six participants conveyed or reiterated their belief in a <u>similarity</u> between the mitigation of groups and the mitigation of group members. This was expressed in the following:

- Participant 1 restated that she identifies with groups that are mitigated like her.
- Participant 2 believes that we find groups that are similar to our own mitigation or lack thereof. She also described that we recognize more of a social identity in these similar groups because they fit our wants and needs.
- Participant 4 sees similarity in the characteristics we have in common with groups that lead us to identify with the groups more strongly.
- Participant 5 described her belief that positive feelings about group memberships come from consistency between our own characteristics and the groups'.
- Participant 6 sees people as members of groups that are consistent with our predominant characteristics, whether communal, agentic or mitigated.

With respect to the relationship between mitigation and social identity, two responses speak to both agency and communion being part of social identity. Participant 1 stated this directly in conveying her belief that agency and communion are both part of social identity and that we need to have agency in order to have the communion necessary for social identity. Participant 4 shared his perception that people don't really have a social identity if they are not mitigated in their agency and communion. He argued that one cannot be agentic and identify with a group, that identification would be with individuals and not at the group level, and that one must be mitigated to "fit into society".

Other responses, while related to this theme, more directly describe various perceptions of a relationship between mitigation and social and/or personal levels of identity. These are captured in the following:

- Participant 2 believes that the groups we find that compliment our personal identities (in their similarity with our un/mitigation) further develop our social identities.
- Participant 3 describes mitigation as having both personal and social identities and that social identity can serve as the foundation upon which we develop our personal identities. She believes that people lose part of their personal identities as social identities become stronger.
- Participant 6 believes that everyone has a social

> identity and that the relationship between it and mitigation depends on the type of group we are involved with, some of which are agentic, some communal and some mitigated.

Other comments speak to implications of mitigation for group life or behavior. This theme is represented in the following opinions:

- Participant 3 believes that communion is "healthier" if mitigated by agency and that groups are healthier if group members have strong personal identities. This enables members to challenge the group when necessary and avoid the "scary things" that can happen when group members do not have a strong sense of themselves.
- Participant 5 sees mitigation as enabling one to have a "broader" social identity, being able to identify with various types of groups, whether the groups are agentic, communal or mitigated. She believes her mitigation enables her to better understand group members' personal identities which gives her insight into how the unique aspects of individuals impact their behaviour in groups.
- Participant 6 stated that mitigation makes it easier to be part of groups and feel belonging.

Summary of Thematic Analysis of Qualitative Data

The themes described above are summarized in the following two tables. Table 20 presents the summary information from the general questions, while Table 21 contains the themes which emerged from the questions specific to G1, G2 and G3. Participant

responses other than those contained in Tables 20 and 21 are also explored in the Discussion section insofar as they speak to issues relevant to the intergroup relations literature.

As evident in Table 20, the interview participants identified a number of situational variables as impacting their self-descriptions on the agency and communion characteristics. When questioned at the end of the interview regarding the relationship between their own mitigation and how they identify with groups in general, responses clustered into two primary themes. The first set attribute strong group identification to a similarity between their own and the group's mitigation. A second set of responses describe mitigation as related to variables other than strength of group identification. The most general question pursued is the last to appear in Table 20 and it asked for the participants' perceptions of the relationship between mitigation and social identity. The similarity theme again emerged, in conjunction with perceptions of agency and communion both being part of social identity. The final set of responses describe specific implications that mitigation is perceived to have for group life or behaviour.

As evident in Table 21, there are considerable similarities among the themes generated as participants responded to the

Table 20.
Summary of Thematic Analysis of General Questions

Topic of Inquiry	Emergent Theme
What changes self-descriptions on agency and communion characteristics	• particular situations • internal states (as impacted by situations) • who is participating in situation
How own characteristics of agency and communion relate to identification with groups in general	• similarity between own mitigation and group's for strong identification. • mitigation relates to things other than strength of identification
Perceptions of relationship between mitigation and social identity	• similarity between own mitigation and group's leads to identification • agency and communion both part of social identity • mitigation has specific implications for group life or behaviour

Note: The first of these inquiries occurred early in the interview, before the social level of identity was invoked. The remaining two were explored at the end of the interview.

inquiries regarding the two groups they identify with most and least strongly, and the U of S students group. For all three of these groups, increases in strength of identification were described as resulting from more contact while decreases result from diminished contact. Identification was also seen to arise from and be related to ingroup similarity where participants share qualities (such as mitigated agency and communion) with the group. Generally, at low levels of identification with the groups, the participants' mitigation was not seen to be related to their strength of identification. In

Table 21.
Summary of Thematic Analyses of G1, G2 & G3

Topic of Inquiry	G1 (group most strongly identified with)	G2 (group least strongly identified with)	G3 U of S students (variable identification)
What impacts or changes Participants' (P's) strength of identification with this group	Increases Identification: • more contact (with whole group or its members, work on shared goal) & cohesion • success (in competition or personal success within group) • increased salience of category membership • increased similarity Decreases Identification: • less contact • loss of status within group • dissimilarity or disharmony within group	Increases Identification: • more contact • increased similarity between self and group • gain of a group membership"criterion" • increased salience of group membership Decreases Identification: • less contact • loss of a group membership "criterion"	Increases Identification: • more contact with group members (including work on shared goals) & cohesion • more contact with campus organizations and activities • longer duration of group membership Decreases Identification: • less contact • negative evaluations of group members or University
Relationship between P's mitigation and strength of identification with this group	• similarity between own mitigation and group's	• P not mitigated in this context • dissimilar to group (varied impact on identification)	• similarity (very & mod hi ID) • needs satisfied in group (hi ID) • no relationship (lo, mod lo ID) • dissimilarity (very lo ID)
How group's agency and communion relate to how much Ps identify	• similarity between own characteristics and group's	• strength of identification function of other things • dissimilarity	• similarity • strength of identification function of other things
How P's identification relates to how group described on agency and communion characteristics	• described similarities • descriptions influenced by ingroup bias	• unrelated • unable to describe group • negative bias in ratings due to low ident. with group	• group described congruent with level of ident. (lo or no ratings for lo ID, hi for hi ID) • unrelated

these instances, low levels of identification were largely attributed to a dissimilarity between the participants' level of mitigated agency and communion and the groups'.

One difference among the themes which emerged for the different groups is that for the high identification groups (G1), no one suggested that their ratings of G1 on the agency and communion descriptors were unrelated to their strength of identification with the group. This is in constrast to G2 and G3 where several participants saw no relationship between how they characterized the groups and their strength of identification. In addition, several participants spoke of biases in their characterizations of G1 and G2 resulting from their level of identification with the groups. The specific direction of these biases differ, however.

With respect to participants' referent for the agency and communion items that refer to an "other", four of the six participants responded that they interpreted this as another ingroup member. The remaining two participants, both referring to their families as the referent group, took the items to mean others outside the group. For the groups with which participants identified the least strongly and for the U of S student group, there was a considerable mix of references to "other" as ingroup or outgroup members.

DISCUSSION

Study 2 generated some interesting and useful results, in terms of both content and the interview process. Within the following section, the content issues are discussed first including suggestions for subsequent research. This is followed by discussion of the process of the interviews, some comments on the method, and limitations of the study. A brief discussion of linkages between the central concepts of this thesis and their application in organizational contexts is followed by a final General Conclusions section that includes summary comments regarding the results from both studies of the research project and highlights some priorities for future research in intergroup relations.

At the beginning of the interview, participants were asked to describe what might impact or change the way in which they describe themselves on the agency and communion characteristics. Responses consistently referred to situational variables as influential and, although no one suggested that the agency and communion self-descriptors are immutable, there were differences among participants' perceptions of where their own variability occurred. That is, some respondents described the agentic characteristics as

more unchanging for themselves while other respondents suggested that the communal characteristics are the more stable self-descriptors. It is unclear from the interview data to what extent people see the clusters of characteristics as enduring traits and to what extent the respondents see them more as predominantly influenced by situations. It is my impression from the interviews that these characteristics are perceived as relatively enduring traits, the overall balance or level of mitigation of which is situationally variable. This impression finds support in comments made later in the interview where some participants specifically described that they are not as mitigated in one group context as they are in another.

There was considerable consistency among participants' responses to the inquiries regarding impacts on their strength of identification across the two groups each person generated as the group most (G1) and least (G2) identified with, and the third, common group (G3) of U of S students. Increases in strength of group identification were primarily attributed to increased contact and similarities between the self and the group while decreased contact was seen as the primary cause of decreased group identification.

These variables are well documented in the literature as factors that build group cohesion, the core components of which are interpersonal attraction, commitment to the group task, and group pride or prestige (Mullen & Copper, 1994). Group cohesion is built in numerous ways including through frequent or cooperative contact, successful group experiences, and similarities among group members (e.g., Deutsch, 1973; Dion, 1979; Fisher, 1982, 1990; Cadrin, 1990). The contact and similarity variables identified by participants in the present study speak to the interpersonal attraction component of the cohesion construct. Success experiences like those identified by some participants contribute to attraction while also clearly enhancing the group pride or prestige component of group cohesion.

That increases in the salience of category or group membership increases strength of identification is consistent with research on the effects of social and self categorization (Turner et al., 1987). This body of work includes the findings of the minimal group experiments (e.g., Tajfel, 1970, 1978; Brewer, 1979a, 1979b; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and more recently, is reviewed in the meta-analysis of Mullen et al. (1992).

Similarly, the variables which participants identify in this inquiry as those that diminish the bonds or cohesion among group

members and consequently reduce the strength of ingroup identification are also consistent with the literature. These include reductions of status within the group, loss of a qualification or criterion for group membership, ingroup disharmony, and negative evaluations of ingroup members. The participants' responses identified these variables, and those described in the previous paragraph, with considerable consistency across the three groups despite each person's differing levels of identification with these groups. This consistency speaks to the important role played by these variables in people's experience of group life. Further, they suggest that often a direct relationship exists between group cohesion and strength of ingroup identification, even though this is not a necessary condition for group identification to occur (Tajfel, 1970, 1978).

With respect to the participants' perceptions of the relationship between their own mitigation of agency and communion and their strength of identification with each of the three groups, there is again a consistency among the emergent themes. For mitigated groups with which the participants identified strongly, strength of identification was attributed to the similarity between their own and the groups' mitigation. The converse of this theme emerged for the

low strength of identification groups in the comments of four participants such that the limited identification was attributed to dissimilarity between the individuals' and the groups' mitigation of agency and communion. Future research should examine to what extent the low level of identification was a function of dissimilarities in mitigation and/or reflective of lower levels of group cohesion.

For the low identification groups, some individuals also described themselves as not as mitigated in this group context as in the high identification group while others saw no relationship between their mitigation and their level of group identification. This too could be systematically examined for evidence of the extent to which individual mitigation levels vary in different group contexts, including delineation of the contexts within which there is no apparent relationship between mitigation and strength of identification.

These notions correspond to the primary theme which emerged through the inquiry regarding perceptions of the relationship between each groups' characteristics of agency and communion and the participants' strength of identification with these groups. Again, for the groups with which participants identified strongly, strength of identification was attributed to similarity between characteristics

of the group and the group member. That is, the four participants who believe that G1 is a mitigated group and who see themselves as mitigated attributed their strength of identification with G1 to this similarity. The remaining two participants, one of whom described G1 as communal and the other as agentic, attributed their strength of identification with the groups to the subset of characteristics (i.e., communal and agentic respectively) shared between themselves and the group.

This theme also emerged with respect to G3 and its converse with G2. For three of the participants who identified with U of S students moderately to very strongly, strength of identification was attributed to the similarity between their mitigation and the group's. With G2 and one low identifier with G3, dissimilarity between the group's and the individual's characteristics of agency and communion was cited as accounting for the low level of identification. Thus, mitigation appears to be one of the variables upon which perceptions of similarity between the group and its members are based. The direction of influence among these variables of similarity, group cohesion, and strength of group identification has not been assessed. While such similarities may indeed enhance group cohesion and the strength of group

identification, the converse may also be true. That is, it is possible that high levels of cohesion and group identification may enhance group members' perceptions of similarities between their own and the group's mitigation, or that there is a reciprocal relationship among these variables. Systematic examination of these alternative models should identify the pattern of interrelationships which accounts for the most variance and provides the most compelling explanation.

Consistent themes also emerged from the final question specific to the three different groups. This inquiry pertained to perceptions of the relationship between participants' strength of identification with each group and how they described these groups on the agency and communion characteristics. For the groups with which participants' identified most strongly, the ratings were perceived as describing the similarity between the individual and the group. Similarly, G3 (with which the participants had different strengths of identification) was described on the characteristics congruent with the level of identification: high identifiers tended to rate the group more highly while low identifiers rated the group at lower levels (or not at all) on the un/mitigated agency and communion characteristics. This is also congruent with a pattern

that emerged regarding G2 where some participants felt unable to describe this group at all because of their low level of identification with it.

Comments from two participants appear to provide qualitative support for Brewer's (1991) notion of optimal distinctiveness. Brewer describes social identities as varying in inclusiveness which ranges between extremes of individual uniqueness through to deindividuation. She maintains that at each point along this inclusiveness continuum, needs for assimilation and individuation are activated at particular levels and that optimal distinctiveness is achieved at the point where these needs are equally activated.

The close correspondence between agency and Brewer's (1991) differentiation dimension is evident in Wiggins' (1991) definition of agency as "the condition of being a differentiated individual, ... manifest in strivings for mastery and power which enhance and protect that differentiation" (p. 89). Similarly, Brewer's description of the need for assimilation corresponds to the notion of communion, defined by Wiggins (1991) as "the condition of being part of a larger social or spiritual entity, ... manifest in strivings for intimacy, union, and solidarity with that larger entity" (p. 89). This is not to say that assimilation and differentiation themselves constitute communion

and agency but rather that these dimesions are aspects of agency and communion. Agency and communion include needs for assimilation and individuation, among others, and serve as meta-constructs that

> are much broader, encompassing a host of personality variables at a number of different levels of analysis. Thus, communion and agency are highly general thematic clusterings in lives which may be mirrored in conscious values, specific attitudes, particular interests, stylistic traits, characteristic self-schemata and social motives such as intimacy and power. (McAdams, 1985, cited in Wiggins, 1991, p. 97)

Brewer describes optimal distinctiveness as that point where needs for assimilation and differentiation are equal and she hypothesizes that social identification is strongest for those groups where the tension or conflict between these needs is resolved. Such resolution describes a process of mitigating these aspects of communion and agency, where a balance or equilibrium is found such that "agentic strivings [are] mitigated by a concern for others and communal feelings [are] mitigated by a sense of self" (Wiggins, 1991, p. 106).

From this perspective, some of the qualitative data of the present study addresses Brewer's (1991) hypothesis. One of the interview participants directly attributed her strong identification

with G3 to her feeling that her desires for both agency and communion are satisfied within this group context. The converse was apparent in another individual's comment that her low level of identification with G3 may be due to her having her needs for agency and communion satisfied elsewhere, outside of the group. In addition, there were several references from participants to there being no relationship between their mitigation and strength of social identity for the groups with which they have low identification levels. Taken together, these comments suggest that a point of optimal distinctiveness is discernible to some group members and, more importantly, may indeed be linked to strength of social identity as Brewer (1991) purports. Further experimental work is needed to test these interesting ideas with more rigour.

One of the more surprising results of the interviews were the responses of three different participants who articulated that their descriptions of some of the groups on the agency and communion characteristics were biased by their level of identification. One participant stated that her strong identification with G1 probably influenced her description such that the group was rated more highly on the positive characteristics and lower on the negative ones, while another participant stated that her responses were skewed

positively because of feeling positively about the group. For the group with which one participant had a low level of identification, a negative bias was articulated such that the ratings on the positive characteristics were seen to be lower while ratings on the negative descriptors were higher. While this reciprocal relationship might be inferred by a social psychologist, it is surprising that any participant would be aware of her or his evaluative biases, much less articulate this awareness when prompted only by a general and nondirective question. This lends credence to this aspect of the qualitative data as valid and relatively uncontaminated by social desirability bias.

One person, who identified very strongly with G3, stated a belief that her strength of identification is attributable to the extent to which she exemplifies or "epitomizes" the group. Similarly, one participant stated, in several different ways, that all members of G1 (the high strength of identification group) share the same characteristics and that she is typical of that group. These serve as examples of self-stereotyping in the context of groups with which we identify strongly which is consistent with self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987). Self-stereotyping is defined as the process "whereby people come to perceive themselves more as the interchangeable exemplars of a social category than as unique

personalities defined by their individual differences from others." (Turner et al., 1987, p. 50). These authors argue that this is the basic process which underlies a broad range of group behaviours (including group cohesiveness, ethnocentrism, and collective action) which are assumed to express a shift in the level of self-categorization from the personal to the social level of identity.

When asked how, in general, participants' own characteristics of agency and communion relate to how they identify with groups, the theme of similarity between their own mitigation and a group's was reiterated with respect to groups with which they identify strongly. This perspective was also conveyed when participants were asked for their perceptions of any general relationship between mitigation and social identity. The frequency and preeminence of this theme is taken as evidence of the important role similarity and group cohesion often have in processes of social categorization.

Two people suggested that their mitigation is related to other variables and outcomes, including that it enables identification with a broader range of group types and that mitigation makes one less susceptible to biases and stereotyping. This perspective also emerged in connection with the inquiry regarding perceptions of the

relationship between mitigation and social identity. One implication of mitigation for group behaviour was described as a perception of communion as healthier if mitigated by agency, and groups as healthier if members have strong personal identities. This individual also described a mitigated person as having both a strong personal and a strong group identity.

This perspective suggests that it might prove interesting to identify consequences of mitigated agency and communion for individuals and groups, beyond the mitigated members having a stronger social identity. Bakan (1966) and others (e.g., Buss, 1990; Palus et al., 1990; Stewart & Malley, 1987) purport that unmitigation is associated with negative consequences such as physical illness and depression, while mitigation is associated with greater physical and emotional health and an enhanced ability to manage stress. How would these sorts of consequences be evident at a group level of analysis? What are the implications here for enhancing group functioning? That is, are the groups of which mitigated individuals are members "healthier", less biased or more egalitarian in their intra and/or intergroup relations? Pursuit of these questions could also include examination, at an individual level, of whether mitigation is indeed associated with personal and social identities

that are stronger than those associated with unmitigated agency and communion.

A second research pursuit which emerges from this participant's perspective that groups may be stronger if members have strong personal identities may be best examined from within a self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) framework. This theory is comprised of a complex and extensive set of assumptions and hypotheses regarding the functioning of the social self-concept. Among these are two sets of postulates that pertain to the theme at hand. Briefly, one set incorporates evidence that group cohesion is a function of mutually perceived similarities among ingroup members, that similarities increase the salience of group membership, and that salience produces and increases group cohesion. It could be that the strong personal identities of group members, as described in the comment above, constitute another variable denoting ingroup similarity which would increase the salience of group membership and consequently, increase group cohesion as one aspect of "group strength".

Of obvious import in future research is the operational definition of "stronger group", an issue which must be carefully addressed and should incorporate measures which have meaning

both in the laboratory and in the field and do not rely merely on group cohesion as the measure of group strength. For example, Turner and his colleagues (1987) postulate that factors which increase the salience of group membership tend to increase the level of intragroup cooperation. Perhaps this intragroup cooperation is another measure of "group strength".

Tenets of self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) are also germane to one participant's perception that we lose part of our personal identity as our social identity becomes stronger. This simple statement incorporates several complex premises of self-categorization theory. In particular, it is assumed that there are three levels of abstraction relevant to the social self-concept: the superordinate level of the self as a human being, the intermediate level of the social self, and the subordinate level of personal self-categorizations. These three levels of abstraction are related hierarchically such that there is a "functional antagonism" or inverse relationship (Turner et al., 1987, p. 49) between the salience of one level and the others. That is, the salience of one level reduces or inhibits perceptions respective to the others. In this sense, the feeling of losing part of our personal identity as social identity becomes stronger or more salient is phenomologically accurate. (As

Turner et al. (1987) note, this is not to say that personal and social self-categorizations are mutually exclusive but rather that an individual's sense of self is determined by which of these categorizations are salient in any given social situation.)

Additional hypotheses for future research can be found within other of the participants' comments and responses. These include the suggestion that a positively valued group and positive public regard will engender stronger identifications with the group, a hypothesis that directly relates to SIT's postulate that humans' are motivated to identify with groups that have positive and distinctive identities. Indeed, many research questions emerged from the qualitative data that warrant investigation. Because of their extent and diversity, some priorizing among them is necessary, a process of culling which is undertaken in the General Conclusions section as an attempt to integrate the outcomes of both studies.

Study 2 was not successful in generating insights into how un/mitigated behaviours are manifest in a group context or at the group level of analysis. Responses to the items of the agency and communion scales when applied to the three specific groups were highly variable in their concreteness and specificity. It quickly became evident that pursuit of concrete examples of each

characteristic in each group context required an inordinate amount of time over and above an already demanding interview situation. In addition, clear examples of the constructs were not easily gleaned from participants' comments when they were asked how characteristics were specifically evident. Since the generation of these examples was not a primary purpose of the study, a pragmatic decision was made to not pursue the issue beyond what was required for completion of the rating task. I believe that observations of behaviour gathered in an experimental situation may be more effective in generating some initial ideas about how un/mitigated agency and communion are manifest in groups. These ideas might then be usefully pursued through qualitative methods with a view to elaboration on the meaning and nuances of the observed behaviours.

This brings me to other comments regarding the methods used in the interviews. The interview was demanding of participants in a number of ways, including its length. In addition, participants were given a cursory introduction to concepts with which they had little or no familiarity. They were then asked questions which necessitated the application of these concepts, singularly and in combination, to their own experience. Even if the participants had

been well versed in the constructs of interest, the interview was demanding insofar as respondents were asked to describe their perceptions viz-à-vis particular concepts and not merely to report on their experiences. This kind of processing does not come easily and requires some sophistication in analytic abilities.

Evidence of the demands of the interviews is taken from several sources. The two individuals who participated in the pilot test each spoke of the analytic and temporal demands of the interview. Although steps were taken to address some of these concerns before conducting Study 2, others were insurmountable given that the primary purpose of the interviews was to explore the meaning of the relationships obtained among variables with which people are not typically familiar.

In addition, there were three instances in the interviews of Study 2 where questions were not answered despite my use of probes and paraphrasing. These primarily involved Participants 1 and 4, the participants whom I believe had the least understanding of the key concepts. This impression of Participant 1 was formed, in part, by a defensiveness in her comments, characterized by verbal and paraverbal cues such as rapid responses and prefacing many of her answers with a derisively delivered "Obviously". Participant 4

did not appear defensive but he did not answer some questions despite probes. As well, his application of some of the concepts suggested that they were not well understood. Specifically, there were several instances where his use of the terms 'mitigation' and 'social identity' were not semantically correct although some of the comments generated in relation to these concepts were indeed cogent. Both of these participants indicated, however, that they had understood the concepts as defined and that they did not require further explanation.

Perhaps, in the future, the merits of this interview process could be assessed directly. An investigation could be conducted which examines the differential impact of alternative ways of introducing concepts for their application to participants' experience. One method would be in accord with that used here, such that the concepts are explained to individuals in the setting within which they are expected to apply the concepts and where data is collected. This could be compared to some kind of group instruction followed by data collection from individuals. Other comparison conditions could include data collection in a group setting or through written qualitative responses. The outcome or dependent variables would be the participants' experience of the interview, time demands,

differences in the amount, kind and quality of data generated, and the extent to which the data relates to the domain of interest and generates additional relevant research questions. This is not an attempt to assess participants' knowledge of key concepts but rather to determine how their application of novel concepts varies as a function of the way the concepts are explained and the data collection method used.

Based upon my experience, I believe the interview could be improved by making it less ambitious in terms of its goals and by reworking one question. Specifically, I would not include the goal (and related questions) of identifying ways in which characteristics of agency and communion are manifest at the group level of analysis. It would be worthwhile to first conduct a psychometric review of the characteristics of un/mitigated agency and communion as I suggested earlier based upon the results of Study 1. The results of this review could then be used in conjunction with behavioural observations of un/mitigated individuals collected in group settings as mentioned above. This would likely generate some parameters for assessing these characteristics in groups and at the group level of analysis. These parameters could then serve as guidelines for a more in-depth qualitative examination of the different meanings and

manifestations of the characteristics which should, in turn, guide the development of more valid measures of un/mitigated agency and communion appropriate to individual and group levels of analysis.

In addition, changes could be made to one of the questions within Section 4 of the interviews which was the section reiterated for each of G1, G2, and G3. Sections 1, 2, and 3 of the interview were straightforward, contained questions that seemed more easily understood by participants, and did not require participants to apply more than one of the core concepts at a time. In contrast, the second question of Section 4 required participants to describe their perceptions in relation to two novel concepts when asked what bearing they think their own mitigation of agency and communion has on how strongly they identify with the group in question. This question was difficult for the first three of the participants although they did not seem to have consistent difficulty with it. Since this was the first question that necessitated the application of two concepts rather than one, it is not surprising that some participants found it challenging. Perhaps this inquiry could have been simplified by breaking the question into two: the first would ask whether or not they think there is a relationship between their mitigation and strength of identification with the group and the

second, if appropriate, would ask them to describe the perceived relationship. I was also asked on several occasions to repeat a question, some of which were quite long. Providing participants with a written copy of the questions, in addition to conceptual definitions and other items, might facilitate their understanding and the ease of responding.

I assessed the strengths and weaknesses of Study 2 with respect to the trustworthiness of the data in accord with the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The data are credible insofar as participants reviewed the interview summaries, elaborated and clarified these, and deemed them complete and accurate before the data were analyzed. Aspects of the data generated in Study 2 are also credible in that they were consistent with some of the quantitative results of Study 1. That is, the sequential triangulation of the results from two very different types of studies provides evidence for the quality of both. Specifically, the relationship found in Study 1 between mitigation and strength of identity was spontaneously confirmed by the interview respondents in Study 2 for the groups with which they identify strongly.

This finding from Study 2 is also noteworthy because it

suggests that the relationship between mitigation and strength of identity takes a specific form (it relates to groups with which there is a strong identification and may not exist for groups with which people have a weak social identity) and sheds light on the recent theoretical work of Brewer (1991). Thus, the finding seems to fit into a network of meaningful relationships specified by theory and enhances our understanding of these relationships. In addition, the credibility of participant responses is demonstrated through the recognition of ingroup bias which indicates that the respondents were honest and that their comments were relatively uncontaminated by social desirability bias. The primary weakness of Study 2 in this domain is that different types of participants, settings, and investigators were not used. This limits the possibilities for triangulation to a convergence of data across the two studies as in the example cited above. Having surfaced some relationships and perspectives which warrant pursuit, future qualitative research should examine these with different types of participants in different settings, particularly group settings, in order to more extensively triangulate the findings.

Transferability corresponds to concerns in qualitative research with the quantitative criterion of external validity. The assumption

is made in qualitative work that, at best, working hypotheses are abstracted from the research context. The transferability of these hypotheses is an empirical matter that depends on the similarity between the context from which the hypothesis is derived (the sending context) and the context within which it is assessed or tested (the receiving context). The goal is to provide sufficient information for the research consumer to make judgments about the similarity of the sending context to the specific receiving context (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). These authors state that "transferability inferences cannot be made by an investigator who knows *only* the sending context" (p. 297). In large part, therefore, the transferability of the hypotheses which emerged in Study 2 has yet to be determined.

If I assume, however, that the initial receiving context for this work is the mainstream of social science, the transferability of the qualitative research (and the external validity of the quantitative study) may be weak. This assessment is based on the fact that participants in both studies were students who may have an idiosyncratic perspective which would not transfer to people from other populations. Furthermore, some of the differential results in Study 1 between the college and field samples suggest that differences between these samples may indeed be relevant.

Although it is easy to rationalize the choice of a college sample as a starting point for exploratory research, in practice we need to systematically examine if, how, and why different groups of people respond differently.

Steps were taken to address the dependability and confirmability of the data and the thematic analyses. The interview summaries, all materials used and generated in the interviews, the text of the qualitative Results section, and the thematic analyses were each reviewed by the supervising academic. This individual assessed the accuracy with which participant responses were represented in the text and the accuracy of the themes identified among these responses. The data and resultant themes are deemed dependable and confirmable since this individual's interpretation agreed with mine[23]. It can be argued that this was not as rigorous an assessment as would have been the case had an entirely independent researcher conducted the review. This option was not pursued due to constraints of time and expense. The thesis examination process and review by committee members, however, serves as a further audit of the study and should enhance its

[23] A procedure, which did not need to be used, had been established for a third person to review the raw data, the summaries, and the thematic analyses in the event of disagreement in interpretation between myself and my supervisor.

dependability and confirmability.

Despite the limitations of Study 2, the interviews exceeded my expectations in terms of the amount and quality of data generated. Numerous intergroup relations variables and processes were articulated by participants, including examples of self-stereotyping and tenets of self-categorization theory, and reference to a host of variables that impact the strength of social identities such as ingroup homogeneity, contact, group cohesion, salience of group membership, status changes within the group, and ingroup conflict. There is almost an embarrassment of riches in the volume of emergent research questions, some of which are more germane than others to the evolution of social identity and self-categorization theories. In addition, the interviews generated comments that provide relatively novel suggestions or perspectives on variables. These include that mitigation varies by specific group context such that some participants are more mitigated in one setting than another, that a change on a criterion for group membership impacts the perceived strength of social identity, and that there is no relationship between mitigation and social identity in low identification groups.

The most surprising outcome of the interviews was that some participants were aware and spontaneously articulated their

patterns of ingroup bias despite the social undesirability of such responses. This suggests that qualitative research methods, which are largely ignored in the intergroup relations and group processes research traditions, are indeed fruitful and that awareness of bias may be more conscious than has been assumed to date. It would be interesting to identify and investigate factors which differentiate those who evince this kind of self-awareness from those who do not. Then perhaps it would be possible to identify ways in which this awareness may make individuals and possibly groups more amenable to intervention in the interests of reducing bias and enhancing the quality of intergroup relations, issues which serve as the focus of many third party interventions directed toward conflict resolution (Fisher, 1990).

IMPLICATIONS FOR ORGANIZATIONAL RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

Before summarizing the implications of this thesis for basic research pursuits, I now turn to a brief discussion of its implications for applied research and practice. This section identifies linkages between the central concepts of this thesis and social psychological practice and explores the application of the knowledge base to organizational development. Research pursuits relevant to this field are recommended.

To briefly review, Palus et al. (1990) describe the negative consequences of unmitigated agency for organizational executives and suggest that these can be avoided through the mitigation of agency with communion, a balance that is important to executive functioning. Drath (1990) describes the agentic and communal demands managers have placed upon them to, for example, both take responsibility and to share authority. Despite what may be sincere commitments to more mitigated managerial styles and organizational cultures, however, decision-makers are typically ill equipped to implement these commitments.

At an organizational level, developmental initiatives are often

directed toward mitigating agentic organizational cultures through the development of organizations' more communal capacities. This movement toward interdependence and collaboration necessitates a redefinition of the identities of organizational members. These shifts in identity are required within organizational climates that typically continue to hold people accountable to the historical, agentic benchmarks of success and meaning. It is not surprising, therefore, that organizational leaders, among others, experience a sense of threat and risk when faced with the need to redefine their identity and develop communal capacities.

The development issues described by Drath (1990) speak to a number of the constructs and relationships examined in this thesis. For example, he characterizes a feature of mitigated organizations as including accountability to consensually derived expectations rather than personal meaning. This can be interpreted as describing a shift to a more autonomous orientation where comparisons are made to normative ingroup standards. Perhaps this mitigation process also characterizes movement from self-categorization at the level of personal identity to the more inclusive level of social identity, such that more meaning is derived from group memberships and accomplishments than from personal success or competition. It

would be interesting to examine the relationships among collectivism, communion, and an autonomous group orientation for mitigated managers, for example, and between individualism, agency, and a relational group orientation for unmitigated managers.

In addition, the mitigation of organizations and the roles within them entails changes to the very meaning of the social categories relevant to our workplaces. Well established categories, such as "executive", "manager", "employee", or "union", are evolving. They are being redefined, recharacterized, and there are changes afoot in how these defining characteristics are valued. The perceived illegitimacy and in particular, the perceived instability of these conventional identities and the value accrued to their defining characteristics is apparently increasing. New representations of established social identities are, in essence, a goal of change intiatives as organizational members are increasingly required to implement new practices and approaches indicative of empowerment, participative management, and other contemporary organizational norms.

Progress towards this goal is not usually systematically assessed or documented. The work of Millward (1995), however, provides insight and a useful method for the examination of current

and emergent representations of established social identities. Through an application of the Q-Sort technique, two different representations of a nursing identity were surfaced reflecting an "old" and a "new" identity. Her results indicate that the new, more instrumental identity is anchored in the older, communal identity which maintains the core social representation associated with being a nurse while at the same time transforming its meaning. This notion has relevance to organizations and their members who must maintain functional representations of a workplace identity while undergoing identity development and transformation.

The representations generated by Millward (1995) were examined in relation to a number of other variables also of relevance to organizations. A significant relationship was found between hierarchical status and representation of identity such that the lower the status, the greater the proportion of nurses who share the old communal representation, while a greater proportion of high status nurses share the new, more instrumental representation. Although the content of these representations is the opposite of what constitutes old and new representations of executive identities, the results indicate that representations can vary in relation to organizational status.

Millward's (1995) work illustrates that members of the same group have variable representations or meanings ascribed to a particular identity despite equal strengths of group identification. In addition, she has demonstrated that the Q-Sort technique is a useful method to discern these differential meanings in a standardized way. This method would be highly appropriate to research on the evolution of the identities of organizational members.

This Q-Sort technique can also be applied at the group level of analysis to generate shared rather than personal meanings associated with particular social identities. As Millward (1995) notes, it enables the simultaneous exploration of individual consensus and divergence, and can establish the strength or extent of the shared representations. This group level application holds considerable potential for capturing shifts in social identities within organizations undergoing culture change.

Millward's (1995) work, in essence, increases the complexity of already complex social identity processes by adding "within identity" variability. This complexity, however, should not discourage pursuit of these research questions or methods in applied settings. Millward's approach could be fruitfully applied to assessment of the progress and outcomes of change initiatives in the development of

individual managers and more broadly, in examining the impact of intitiatives directed toward the evolution of organizational cultures.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The results of the confirmatory analyses of Study 1 indicate that the individualism-collectivism and autonomous-relational dimensions of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) typology of groups are reliable, valid, and orthogonal to each other. These dimensions successfully demarcate the group types in which social identity processes are most evident. In particular, this aspect of the study adds support to the growing evidence that the comparative processes that engender ingroup bias which are central to SIT are not as generic as initially thought. These processes apply primarily to collectivist groups with a relational group orientation for whom the strongest correlation between ingroup bias and social identity is obtained (Grant & Meeres, 1995; Meeres, 1994; Brown et al., 1992). The negative correlation obtained between these variables for autonomous-individualists is a novel finding. Replication with another sample is warranted in order to determine if this finding is a spurious result or if it is indicative of a robust pattern.

The confirmatory analyses of the measures of un/mitigated agency and communion were less successful. This is due, in large part, to limitations imposed by sample sizes which were insufficient

for conducting confirmatory factor analyses with samples other than the college women. In addition, the patterns of correlations among the various parallel and cross-typed scales differ for the college and field samples. For example, in the college sample there is evidence that mitigated agentic and communal characteristics are relatively unitary, independent constructs. These same mitigated instrumental and expressive measures, however, are not independent in the field sample. Additional research is necessary to determine whether the pattern of correlations among the scales reflects authentic differences between the samples and/or whether the measures have a differential validity in the two samples.

These issues are further compounded by the psychometric origins of the agency and communion scales and their items. The measures were generated through a process that surfaced items as characteristics descriptive of the ideal man and ideal woman, items which were then assigned to scales based upon their un/desirability in relation to gender. The extent to which, twenty years later, different constellations of these descriptors may be un/desirable should be systematically examined through a psychometric review of the agency and communion items and scales. Furthermore, the temporal bounds of the psychometric process which spawned the

scales suggests that differential patterns of intercorrelations for women and for men cannot be taken as evidence of the validity of the measures. A thorough psychometric upgrade of these scales could also produce a more robust measure of unmitigated communion, the items which have historically been the most difficult to derive (Helmreich et al., 1981; Spence et al., 1979) and the scale which seems to require the most developmental work.

Study 1 of this dissertation was driven by my belief that there is conceptual overlap between the concepts of individualism and agency and between collectivism and communion. The exploratory analyses of this study demonstrated that this is indeed the case although there are large differences in the amount of variance accounted for in the college and field samples, and slightly different correlational patterns with the gendered subsamples. When the college sample correlations are taken together with the results of the multiple regression analysis, the overlap with individualism pertains primarily to the unmitigated aspect of agency. For the field sample, the conceptual overlap between individualism and unmitigated agency is evident for the males only.

Differential patterns of correlations between the college and field samples were also obtained for the analyses which explored the

relationship between the agency and communion measures and the autonomous-relational dimension of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) typology. For the college sample, unmitigated agency and verbal passive-aggression were associated with a relational orientation while mitigated communion was associated with an autonomous orientation. In the field sample, the only significant relationship obtained was between unmitigated agency and a relational group orientation. These preliminary results are congruent with Millward (1995) who has generated evidence of an intragroup focus for the communal representation of a nursing identity and an intergroup, comparative focus for the more autonomous or agentic aspect of this same identity. Similarly, the recent work of Grant and Meeres (1995, experiment 2) provides some initial experimental evidence that the comparative processes associated with an autonomous group orientation focus on normative ingroup standards.

Future research should examine to what extent the different correlational patterns obtained between unmitigated agency and a relational orientation and between mitigated communion and an autonomous orientation reflect genuine differences between the college and field samples. This approach constitutes a comparative focus which the present study did not have. The field sample was

included in this study solely for the purpose of assessing the generalizability of any relationships which emerged and it did not constitute a comparison group. An examination of sample differences could now be conducted in conjunction with a comparative assessment of the validity of the agency and communion scales in the two samples, although this would be best pursued subsequent to the psychometric review of the agency and communion measures described above.

However dated the expectations that scores among the agency and communion scales should differentiate between women and men, the correlations obtained with the mitigated measures for the college sample did differ significantly from those obtained with the unmitigated scales in the exploratory analysis between agency, communion, and strength of social identity. This hypothesis was pursued in order to address the concern I share with Williams (1984) that accounts of social identity have been androcentric in their concern with predominantly agentic processes of identity maintenance and intergroup comparison. The results of Study 1 suggest that it is mitigation and not agency or communion per se that is significantly related to social identity where U of S students served as the referent group for the social identity measure. Clearly,

assessment of these relationships with other referent groups and samples is warranted.

The meaning of this novel relationship was explored in the qualitative interviews of Study 2 with a view to generating some pertinent research questions for subsequent investigation. Aspects of the qualitative results suggest that mitigation may be one of the variables upon which perceptions of dis/similarity between group members and the group are based, dis/similarities which impact group cohesion and the strength of identification. These results point to the important role similarity and cohesion often have in relation to the strength of social identities.

Aspects of the qualitative and quantitative results also suggest that mitigation may constitute a point of optimal distinctiveness (Brewer, 1991) where individuals' needs for differentiation and assimilation are equally activated or balanced. This is premised on the need for differentiation being understood as an aspect of agency and the need for assimilation being an aspect of communion (Wiggins, 1991). Brewer (1991) maintains that it is in groups which resolve the tension between these needs that strength of social identity is strongest, a position which is consistent with several comments made during the interviews regarding the perceived

relationship between strength of identification and mitigation. The positive correlations obtained between mitigation and social identity lend support to this perspective. Support is also garnered from the negative correlations found between the unmitigated measures and social identity which suggests that unmitigated agency and communion might constitute states of disequilibrium between needs for assimilation and differentiation, a position that is highly consistent with Bakan's (1966) formulation of these constructs.

Brewer (1991) argues that needs for assimilation are met within ingroups and needs for distinctiveness are satisfied through intergroup comparisons. The correlations found in Study 1 between unmitigated agency, verbal passive-aggression and a relational group orientation provide some support for this contention that needs for distinctiveness, or agency in Bakan's terminology, are met through intergroup comparisons. In contrast, the correlation obtained between mitigated communion and an autonomous group orientation speaks to the focus of comparisons being within the ingroup in relation to the need for assimilation.

The perspectives of Brewer (1991), Millward (1995), and Grant and Meeres (1995), taken together with the present results and theoretical bases such as Hinkle and Brown (1990) and Turner et

al.'s (1987) self-categorization theory, point to interesting and potentially productive avenues for future research. An obvious and necessary first step is to assess the reliability and generalizability of the pattern of correlations obtained between un/mitigation and social identity. Several general questions could then be pursued, including examination of the distributions of un/mitigated agency and communion within groups specified by the quadrants of Hinkle and Brown's (1990) typology of groups when focusing on a common referent group. This examination should include consideration of mitigated individuals as a type of group member (and possibly as a type of group), and should assess whether mitigation shifts when moving from one group context to another in a manner analogous to movement from a relational to an autonomous orientation. Groups of un/mitigated individuals could be constructed and the comparative context varied using, for example, experimental procedures similar to those developed by Brown et al. (1992) or Grant and Meeres (1995). Dependent variables could include, among others, the correlations between social identity and ingroup bias in each quadrant which would be examined within quadrants for significant differences between those coefficients obtained for the mitigated and unmitigated groups and examined between quadrants for their

respective order of magnitude.

Many other research questions emerged from these studies, some of which are more germane to aspects of SIT and the present results than are others. These include examination of the impact of similarity between the mitigation of a group member and the group on social identity and group cohesion. This could be assessed through constructing groups of un/mitigated individuals in an experimental situation that manipulates the compatibility of the group's un/mitigation with its members'. Such a setting would also allow for the observation of un/mitigated behaviours in a group context, observations which may then generate insights germane to the development of valid individual and group level measures of un/mitigated agency and communion. This setting could also enable observations of some of the consequences of un/mitigation for groups, perhaps in terms of intragroup cooperation and problem-solving. Linkages from these intragroup consequences to intergroup relations processes could then be pursued.

The qualitative interviews also generated results which suggest that this qualitative research method is worthwhile for the study of social phenomena, despite its limited use in the research traditions of SIT and intergroup relations (for notable exceptions see, for

example, Reicher, 1984; Wetherell, Steven, & Potter, 1987). A host of potentially important variables surfaced throughout the interviews which relate to SIT and self-categorization theory and to group processes more generally. These suggest a number of potential research pursuits, some of which are congruent with extant theoretical perspectives, and other pursuits which suggest relationships or perspectives that are relatively unexplored. This latter group includes, for example, tests of the linkages suggested among optimal distinctiveness, mitigation, and strength of social identity, and examination of agentic and communal behaviours in group settings and the consequences of un/mitigation for group life.

Surprisingly, some of the interview participants spontaneously described their patterns of evaluative bias. This suggests an awareness of bias for some individuals that, if its parameters are delineated, could lead to the identification of avenues for interventions directed towards the reduction of bias and improved relations within and between groups. Taken together, these outcomes speak to the value qualitative methods add to investigations of social phenomena which in social psychology are typically investigated using quantitative methods. In this regard, I feel that the sequential triangulation of methods (Morse, 1991) used

in this dissertation was successful because complementary findings were obtained that strengthen the interpretation of the results of each study and thereby contribute to a more complete understanding of social identity theory.

Although clear directives for practice do not emerge from these two studies, specific avenues have surfaced for investigating relationships among the core concepts of the thesis in organizational settings. In particular, this thesis is a first step in illuminating linkages between mitigation and social identity. The resulting research agenda is important to pursue because of how fundamental both of these concepts are to goals and processes of organizational development and because of the significance of social identity processes to intergroup conflict. It is through the integration of these two broad areas and the pursuit of the emergent research questions in applied settings that SIT can evolve to better inform practice directed toward conflict resolution.

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APPENDIX A

CONSENT FORM FOR STUDY 1

In this study, we are looking at people's perceptions of themselves as individuals and as group members. You will complete, on an opscan sheet, a questionnaire which contains a series of scales. All information collected from you will be kept secure and strictly confidential. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may withdraw at any time without penalty.

I, _____, understand that all of the information collected from me will be kept confidential, and that I am free to refuse to take part in this study without penalty.

_____

SIGNATURE

This study is being conducted as part of Ruth Kinzel's (343-9078) Ph.D. thesis, supervised by Dr. Peter Grant (966-6675) of the Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan.

RIP HERE IF YOU WISH TO KEEP A COPY OF THIS CONSENT FORM

I, _____, understand that all of the information collected from me will be kept confidential, and that I am free to refuse to take part in this study without penalty.

_____

SIGNATURE

This study is being conducted as part of Ruth Kinzel's (343-9078) Ph.D. thesis, supervised by Dr. Peter Grant (966-6675) of the Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan.

CONSENT FORM FOR STUDY 2

In this study, we are looking at people's perceptions of themselves and some of the groups of which they are members. You are asked to participate in an interview (75 to 90 minutes long) which asks for your reactions to several general concepts and which also includes some specific questions about groups to which you belong. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, you may refuse to answer any question, and you may withdraw at any time.

All information collected from you will be kept secure and anonymous. An audio tape of the interview will be kept in a locked cabinet in the researcher's possession. You will be contacted in the next few weeks to review a written summary of this interview to ensure the accuracy of the information collected. Some quotations from this interview, with all identifying information removed, may be included in the text of the researcher's thesis. Upon completion of the thesis, transcripts of each interview will be available to others by request only. These transcripts will have all identifying information removed.

I, _____, understand that all of the information collected from me will be kept anonymous, that my participation is voluntary, that I may refuse to answer any question, and that I may withdraw at any time.

_____

SIGNATURE

_____

DATE

This study is being conducted as part of Ruth Kinzel's (343-9078) Ph.D. thesis, supervised by Dr. Peter Grant (966-6675) of the Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan.

APPENDIX B

SCALE ITEMS AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR STUDY 1

INDIVIDUALISM-COLLECTIVISM SCALE

The following 29 items constitute the individualism-collectivism scale. Each item is answered on a 9 point scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree", with some items reverse scored as indicated in parentheses following the item stem. The first 12 items form one factor which is labeled Self-Reliance with Competition. The second factor is Concern for Ingroup and is comprised of items 13 through 22. The final 7 items form the Distance From Ingroups factor. Scores on the scale can range from 29 to 261 with a high score reflective of individualism and a low score indicative of collectivism.

Please describe yourself on each of the following 29 items. Choose the one best response on the 9 point scale with 1 meaning "strongly disagree" and 9 meaning "strongly agree".

1. If the group is slowing me down, it is better to leave it and work alone.

   strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 strongly agree
2. To be superior, a person must stand alone.
3. Winning is everything.
4. Only those who depend on themselves get ahead in life.
5. If you want something done right, you've got to do it yourself.
6. What happens to me is my own doing.
7. I feel winning is important in both work and games.
8. Success is the most important thing in life.
9. It annoys me when other people perform better than I do.

10. Doing your best isn't enough; it is important to win.
11. In most cases, to cooperate with someone whose ability is lower than oneself is not as desirable as doing the thing on one's own.
12. In the long run the only person you can count on is yourself.
13. It is foolish to try to preserve resources for future generations.
14. People should not be expected to do anything for the community unless they are paid for it.
15. Even if a child won the Nobel Prize the parents should not feel honored in any way.
16. I would not let my parents use my car (if I had one), no matter whether they were good drivers or not.
17. I would help within my means if a relative told me that s/he is in financial difficulty. (reversed)
18. I like to live close to my friends. (reversed)
19. The motto "sharing is both blessing and calamity" is still applicable even if one's friend is clumsy, dumb, and causing a lot of trouble. (reversed)
20. When my peers tell me personal things about themselves, we are drawn closer together. (reversed)
21. I would not share my ideas and newly acquired knowledge with my parents.
22. Children should not feel honored even if a parent were highly praised and given an award by a government official for contributions and service to the community.
23. I am not to blame if one of my family members fails.
24. My happiness is unrelated to the well-being of my peers.
25. My parents' opinions are not important in my choice of a spouse.
26. I am not to blame when one of my close friends fails.
27. My peers' opinions are not important in my choice of a spouse.
28. When a close friend of mine is successful, it does not really make me look better.
29. One need not worry about what the neighbours say about whom one should marry.

AUTONOMOUS-RELATIONAL ORIENTATION SCALE

The first 6 items below constitute the Relative Status Concern (RSC) subscale and the last 7 items form the Evaluative Process (EP) subscale. Each item is answered on a 9 point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", with some items reverse scored such that a high score reflects a high level of RSC and highly comparative EP. The possible range of scores is 9 to 117. A low total score is indicative of an autonomous group orientation and a high score reflects a more relational orientation.

Please describe your peer group of UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN STUDENTS on each of the following 13 items. Choose the one best response on the 9 point scale with 1 meaning "strongly disagree" and 9 meaning "strongly agree".

1. I am concerned about the adequacy of my group's status.

   strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 strongly agree

2. I think about how well my group does relative to other groups.
3. I think about the reputation of my group relative to other groups.
4. I am concerned about my group's success.
5. I am concerned about how my group compares to other groups.
6. I experience competition between my group and other groups.

7. I am only interested in what goes on in my group. (reversed)
8. I often compare my group to other groups.
9. My group can be satisfied irrespective of other groups. (reversed)
10. It is not possible to assess my group's achievements in isolation.
11. It is best to judge my group by comparing it to other groups.
12. I seldom compare my group's facilities to other groups'. (reversed)
13. My group's fortunes are linked to other groups'.

AGENCY AND COMMUNION MEASURES

The following 32 items constitute the mitigated and unmitigated agency and communion scales of the Expanded Personal Attributes Questionnaire (EPAQ). Each scale is scored on a 5 point scale with 1 reflecting a low level of the characteristic. The 8 item scales have a possible range of scores from 8 to 40 and the two 4 item scales have a possible range of 4 to 20. The items are listed below as they form each separate scale although their order of presentation in the questionnaire will be random.

The items below inquire about what kind of person you think you are. Each item consists of a pair of characteristics, with the numbers 1 through 5 in between. For example,

Not at all artistic 1 2 3 4 5 Very artistic

Each pair describes contradictory characteristics - that is, you cannot be both at the same time, such as very artistic and not at all artistic.

The numbers form a scale between the two extremes. You are to choose a number which describes where you fall on the scale. For example, if you think you have no artistic ability, you would choose 1. If you think you are pretty good, you might choose 4, and so forth. Fill in the corresponding number for that item on the opscan sheet provided.

Mitigated Agency Scale Items (M+)

1. Not at all independent / Very independent
2. Very passive / Very active
3. Not at all competitive / Very competitive
4. Has difficulty making decisions / Can make decisions easily
5. Not at all self-confident / Very self-confident
6. Feels very inferior / Feels very superior
7. Gives up very easily / Never gives up easily
8. Goes to pieces under pressure / Stands up well under pressure

Unmitigated Agency Scale Items (M-)

1. Not at all arrogant / Very arrogant
2. Not at all boastful / Very boastful
3. Not at all egotistical / Very egotistical
4. Not at all greedy / Very greedy
5. Not at all dictatorial / Very dictatorial
6. Not at all cynical / Very cynical
7. Never looks out only for self / Always looks out only for self
8. Not at all hostile / Very hostile

Mitigated Communion Scale Items (F+)

1. Not at all emotional / Very emotional
2. Not at all able to devote self completely to others / Able to devote self completely to others
3. Very rough / Very gentle
4. Not at all helpful to others / Very helpful to others
5. Not at all kind / Very kind
6. Not at all aware of feelings of others / Very aware of feelings of others
7. Not at all understanding of others / Very understanding of others
8. Very cold in relations with others / Very warm in relations with others

Unmitigated Communion Scale Items (F_C-)

1. Not at all spineless / Very spineless
2. Not at all servile / Very servile
3. Not at all gullible / Very gullible
4. Does not subordinate self to others / Subordinates self to others

Verbal Passive-Aggressiveness Scale Items (F_{VA}-)

1. Not at all whiny / Very whiny
2. Not at all complaining / Very complaining
3. Not at all fussy / Very fussy
4. Not at all nagging / Very nagging

SOCIAL IDENTITY SCALE

The last five items in this listing are reverse scored to give a possible range of scores of 10-50 for the scale total. In the questionnaire, "the ___ group" was replaced by "students at the University of Saskatchewan". Each item is answered on a five-point scale ranging from "never" to "very often".

Please describe yourself on each of the next 10 items by choosing one response:

1. I am a person who considers the ___ group important.

   Never Seldom Sometimes Often Very Often

2. I am a person who identifies with the ___ group.
3. I am a person who feels strong ties with the ___ group.
4. I am a person who is glad to belong to the ___ group.
5. I am a person who sees myself as belonging to the ___ group.
6. I am a person who makes excuses for belonging to the ___ group.
7. I am a person who tries to hide belonging to the ___ group.
8. I am a person who feels held back by the ___ group.
9. I am a person who is annoyed to say I am a member of the ___ group.
10. I am a person who criticizes the ___ group.

INGROUP BIAS MEASURE

The following bipolar adjectives constitute the semantic differential attitude scale used to assess ingroup bias. Subjects are first asked to describe the ingroup on the 7 point scale and then, on a separate page, they are asked to describe a relevant outgroup. In this study, the ingroup is University of Saskatchewan students and the outgroup for comparison is University of Regina students. Ingroup bias was then calculated as the difference score between the ratings of the two groups on each item. Consequently, the range of possible scores on ingroup bias is from -48 to +48. The first 4 items in this listing are reverse scored.

Please describe groups of UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN STUDENTS, including YOUR OWN GROUP, with each of the following adjectives by choosing one response for each item.

1. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   polite rude

2. tolerant / intolerant
3. helpful / unhelpful
4. good / bad
5. narrow-minded / broad-minded
6. unpleasant / pleasant
7. insincere / sincere
8. short-sighted / far-sighted

APPENDIX C

COVER LETTER FOR FIELD SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

(University of Saskatchewan
Department of Psychology letterhead)

May 1, 1994

Dear Respondent:

I am a graduate student in Applied Social Psychology at the University of Saskatchewan and I am writing to invite your participation in my thesis research. It is a study which explores people's perceptions of themselves both as individuals and as members of groups. The purpose of this research is to increase our understanding of how groups relate to each other. It is hoped that this information will help us work with groups so that group members' experiences are more satisfying.

It is particularly important that I am able to include individuals, such as yourself, who are employed in organizations outside of the University student community. You have different experience and can provide an important perspective that differs from college students.

The information you provide will be kept strictly confidential. Your responses will also be completely anonymous if you wish. I will have no way of identifying who you are unless you choose to provide me with that information. The questionnaire does include some items which ask for information such as your gender, age and job type, but as I do not know who will be participating in the study I will not be able to connect this data to any individuals.

If you choose to participate, please read and sign the attached consent form. You may retain a copy of this form if you wish, as indicated on the bottom of it. Be sure to return the signed consent form with your questionnaire or I will not be able to use your responses. After completing the consent form, please fill out the questionnaire on the enclosed answer sheet with the pencil I have provided. It should take approximately 15 minutes to complete.

When you have finished, please fold the consent form, questionnaire, and answer sheet and return them to me in the enclosed, stamped envelope. A copy of the results of the study will be available to you, through the person who gave you this questionnaire, by October 15, 1994. If you choose to not participate in the study, please return the unused questionnaire package to this same contact person.

Many thanks for your participation. Please keep the pencil as a small token of my appreciation. If you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact either myself (343-9078) or my supervisor, Dr. Peter Grant (966-6675).

Sincerely,

Ruth Kinzel, M.A.
Department of Psychology
University of Saskatchewan

APPENDIX D

RESULTS OF FACTOR ANALYSES FOR HYPOTHESIS 7

Table 22.
Factor Loadings for Principal Components Analysis (PCA) and Principal Factors Analysis (PFA) of Scales: College Sample

Variables	PCA			PFA		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Mitigated Communion	-.848	.034	.103	-.039	.011	-.699
Individualism-Collectivism	.732	.173	.184	.247	.168	.530
Unmitigated Agency	.631	.128	.558	.650	.184	.510
Mitigated Agency	-.029	.881	.145	.060	.886	-.012
Unmitigated Communion	-.278	-.728	.218	.204	-.469	-.308
Autonomous-Relational	.007	.110	.763	.379	.023	.079
Verbal Passive-Aggression	.129	-.406	.714	.699	-.269	-.012

Table 23.
Factor Loadings for Principal Components Analysis (PCA) and Principal Factors Analysis (PFA) of Scales: Field Sample

Variables	PCA				PFA			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Unmitigated Agency	.837	.051	.005	.178	.094	.736	.089	.276
Verbal Passive-Aggress	.614	-.003	.574	.107	.036	.435	.464	.150
Individualism-Collectiv	.602	-.070	-.210	-.531	-.031	.398	-.083	-.187
Mitigated Agency	.214	.859	-.293	.093	.788	.190	-.179	.129
Mitigated Communion	-.200	.823	.359	-.106	.785	-.177	.367	-.161
Unmitigated Communion	-.035	.008	.887	-.048	.021	-.049	.704	-.045
Autonomous-Relational	.171	-.025	-.078	.868	-.001	.022	-.010	.509

APPENDIX E

Table 24.
Mean Differences on Social Identity Measure by Quadrant of Taxonomy: College Sample

	Quadrant			
Measure	Relational-Collectivists	Autonomous-Collectivists	Autonomous-Individualists	Relational-Individualists
Social Identity	39.84^{b}	39.69^{b}	37.15^{a}	38.38^{ab}

Note: Scores range from 10 to 50 with a high score indicating a high level of identification with the group "University of Saskatchewan students". Means which do not share a subscript are significantly different from each other ($p < .05$).

APPENDIX F

COMPLETE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR STUDY 2
(format compressed)

Section 1:

- goal of the interview: explore the meaning of some relationships found in first study
- will be told of more specific purpose of sections of the interview as they arise
- no deception involved, no right or wrong answers, just be honest
- very exploratory interview, want to know what you think is important about a number of topics
- jump in any time, we can go back to things said or asked earlier, etc.
- purpose of the tape recorder and my notes
- consent form - review and complete
- questions?
- basic demographic information to be able to describe respondents (not to identify)
  Gender:
  Age:
  Education:
  Employed?:
  Type of Employment:
  Type of Employer(s):

Section 2:

- a number of researchers have described two very basic and general characteristics of all humans: agency and communion (not as usually defined).

Agency
- refers to our existence as individuals, independent agents,
- is concerned with separation, autonomy, independence,
- is manifest in assertiveness, mastery, power, and self-protection.

(e.g., independent, confident, decisive)

Communion
- refers to our connections to others, interpersonal relatedness, contact,
- is concerned with union, solidarity, inclusion,
- is manifest in cooperation, openness and intimacy.

(e.g., helpful, cooperative, understanding)

- selected for the interview because described self with many characteristics of both agency and communion. This is referred to as:

Mitigation
- characteristics of agency accompanied by characteristics of communion.
- one balanced or attenuated by the other.

- general reactions, comments or questions about agency, communion, mitigation.
- What do you think would alter or change the way you describe yourself on these characteristics? (What sorts of things would impact the way you see and/or describe yourself in this regard?)

Section 3:

- the purposes of the remaining sections are
  - to identify if/how characteristics of agency and communion relate to groups (not just to individuals), and
  - to explore how mitigation relates to groups.
- to start this section, we're going to look at different levels of identity:

Personal Identity	• our sense of ourselves as a unique individual
Social Identity	• our sense of ourselves that comes from our knowledge of our membership in a group(s) together with how we feel about (the emotional significance of) that membership.
Human Identity	• our sense of our human identity, different from other species.

- reactions to, comments, or questions about the identity concepts?
- we will focus on social identity for the rest of the interview
- generate list of groups s/he belongs to (identifies with, feels a part of).
- look at list of group memberships and ask:

Which group do you most strongly identify with? (based on the following general indicators) (G1)

Indicators of strong group identification:
I consider this group important.
I identify with this group.
I feel strong ties to this group.
I am glad to belong to this group.
I see myself as belonging to this group.
I don't make excuses for belonging to this group.
I don't try to hide belonging to this group.
I don't feel held back by this group.
I am not annoyed to say I am a member of this group.
I don't criticize this group.

Which group do you identify with the least? (based on the same indicators) (G2)

To what extent do you identify with being a member of the U of S student group (referred to in Study 1)? (G3) Mark on continuum.

identify with most (G1) _____ identify with least (G2)

Section 4:

G1
- What would alter or change the extent to which you identify with G1?
- What bearing do you think your own mitigation of agency and communion has on the extent to which you identify with G1?
- To what extent would you describe this group as agentic? (based on list of descriptors)
    - (refer to scaled items)
    - How are those characteristics evident? (record on scales)
- To what extent would you describe this group as communal? (based on list of descriptors)
    - (refer to scaled items)
    - How are those characteristics evident? (record on scales)
- To what extent would you describe this group as mitigated?
    - How is this evident?
- How do the group's characteristics of agency and communion relate to the extent to which you identify with G1?
- How does the extent to which you identify with G1 relate to your descriptions of the group on the agency and communion descriptors?

G2
- What would alter or change the extent to which you identify with G2?
- What bearing do you think your own mitigation of agency and communion has on the extent to which you identify with G1?
- To what extent would you describe this group as agentic? (based on list of descriptors)
    - (refer to scaled items)
    - How are those characteristics evident? (record on scales)
- To what extent would you describe this group as communal? (based on list of descriptors)
    - (refer to scaled items)
    - How are those characteristics evident? (record on scales)
- To what extent would you describe this group as mitigated?
    - How is this evident?
- How do the group's characteristics of agency and communion relate to the extent to which you identify with G2?
- How does the extent to which you identify with G2 relate to your descriptions of the group on the agency and communion descriptors?

G3
- What would alter or change the extent to which you identify with G3?
- What bearing do you think your own mitigation of agency and communion has on the extent to which you identify with G3?
- To what extent would you describe this group as agentic? (based on list of descriptors)
    - (refer to scaled items)
    - How are those characteristics evident? (record on scales)
- To what extent would you describe this group as communal? (based on list of descriptors)
    - (refer to scaled items)

- How are those characteristics evident? (record on scales)
- To what extent would you describe this group as mitigated?
  - How is this evident?
- How do the group's characteristics of agency and communion relate to the extent to which you identify with G3?
- How does the extent to which you identify with G3 relate to your descriptions of the group on the agency and communion descriptors?

- after all 3 groups explored, signal shift to more general discussion

- How do you think your own characteristics of agency and communion relate to the way you identify with groups in general?
- More generally, what relationship do you think there is between the mitigation of agency and communion and social identity?

Section 5:
- anything else you would like to say, comment on, or ask.
- summer phone number to contact them with summary and to get feedback.
- phone number to contact me about results of the study which will be available in the fall. (Thanks and $)