

Knud S. Larsen | Grigorii Vazov | Krum Krumov | Johann F. Schneider (Editors)

ADVANCES IN INTERNATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY:
RESEARCH APPROACHES AND PERSONAL DISPOSITIONS,
SOCIALIZATION PROCESSES AND ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR

**Knud S. Larsen | Grigorii Vazov |
Krum Krumov | Johann F. Schneider (*Editors*)**

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2013

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***Editors* Knud S. Larsen, Grigorii Vazov, Krum Krumov & Johann F. Schneider**

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Preface

This book grew out of a discussion between colleagues attending a conference at Sofia University in 2010. Administrators present urged the publication of a book that might be useful to students when assessing the state of psychology in various countries. Over the last several years we have corresponded with contributors in both Western and Eastern countries and the results follow.

This book is an effort to bring together scholars from several countries report on their research on topics of common interest in psychology. At the same time the book also provided an opportunity to observe to some extent the zeitgeist of our discipline, and the progress made toward establishing a world psychology. The contributions from Eastern Europe represent new developments in that direction as formerly the topical interests followed largely Soviet psychology.

The chapters also discuss the interests in international psychology. That seems to be a hopeful development as the chapters reflect both theoretical concerns, but also practical information useful to the well-being and integration of society. We hope the book is useful to students and researchers in psychology. As an example of the current interests in international psychology the book could be a useful supplement in a variety of courses including dispositional themes, social psychology and organizational courses.

The chapters are divided into three sections. The first section includes chapters on useful methodological approaches and research on personal dispositions. Since cross-cultural and cross-national psychology is particularly complex it is essential that results are framed by established reliability and validity. In particular the section reports on international research approaches and dispositions starting with a chapter on critical thinking in cross-cultural and cultural psychology. This is followed with data based papers on prejudice, the role of personality in electoral choices, practical advice on how to develop cumulative attitude scales, a social-psychological analysis of goal setting in the effective transmission of health information and related to personal dispositions and motivation. The section concludes with a model for pre-testing self-completion surveys and qualitative interviews aimed at improving psychometric validity.

Section 2 covers issues of socialization and well-being. This section contains seven chapters including a theoretical chapter on socialization process as influenced by culture. Other topics include the evolution of human socialization and cognition, ethnic identification and social discrimination in Kazakhstan, the social group identity of immigrants, a model of motivation for

adolescent delinquency, speech as a mediator of cognitive competence in children and the interaction of police with society. Further the section includes a very topical paper on reactions to 9/11 based on content analysis of editorials in prominent newspapers. The section concludes with a chapter on the relationship of men and women as influenced by many factors including the feminist struggle and lawful changes.

Organizational behavior is discussed in section 3. The section reports papers on organizational management and effectiveness, evaluates communication modalities in virtual firms, the role of the marginalization of social groups and effects on employment. The section and book concludes with a discussion on pay satisfaction and a critical evaluation of professional matching based on job competencies. It is our hope the book may be a stimulating bridge toward further international cooperation and a step toward building an inclusive international psychology.

The Editors

List of Contributors

- Anna Fam** – Lomonosov Moscow State University, Department of Psychology, Russia
- Ansaf Ewaiwi** – Saarland University, Saarbruecken, Germany
- Anne Snellen** – University of Tennessee, USA
- Andreea Tutu** – Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iasi, Romania
- Askar N. Jumageldinov** – L. N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Kazakhstan.
- Boiko Ganchevski** - Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”, Bulgaria.
- Dmitry Leontiev** – Lomonosov Moscow State University, Department of Psychology, Russia
- Dušan Marković** – University of Belgrade, Serbia
- Johanna Bertram** – University of Tuebingen, Germany
- Johann F. Schneider** – Saarland University, Germany
- Kees van der Veer** – VU University Amsterdam, The Netherlands
- Knud S. Larsen** – Oregon State University, USA
- Krum Krumov** – Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”, Bulgaria
- Laurens Higler** – VU University Amsterdam, The Netherlands
- Liudmila Smokova** – Odesa National I.Mechnikov University, Ukraine
- Margarita Atanassova** – University of National and World Economy, Bulgaria
- Maria K. Damianova** – Monash South Africa, Campus of Monash University, Australia
- Marilyn Lucas** – University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.
- Mirjana Radović-Marković** – University of Belgrade, Serbia
- Plama Hristova** – Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”, Bulgaria
- Reidar Ommundsen** – University of Oslo, Norway
- Silvia Ivanova** – Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”, Bulgaria
- Talant Boleyev** – Taraz State Pedagogical Institute, Kazakhstan
- Tolya A. Stoitsova** – New Bulgarian University, Sofia
- Žarko Spasić** – University of Belgrade, Serbia

Section 1: International research approaches and dispositions

In the first chapter Larsen and Krumov propose parameters for evaluating both quantitative and qualitative research. Since cultural bias may affect both collection of data and interpretation the issue of equivalence take on special importance in cross-cultural and cross-national research. To start with the equivalence of translation of the research protocol is the first and most important criteria to develop valid comparative investigations. Psychometric equivalence is the concept that stresses the importance of the same constructs and theoretical framework is employed in the samples used. The chapters discuss various approaches to improving equivalence. Since cross-cultural psychology is by far the most complex field in psychology it requires the investigator to make inferences at different levels. For example, personality traits are considered and medium level inference that seek to capture the essence of the domain being studied.

The chapter also reports on ecological level studies using average statistics that point to underlying dimensions in a culture like individualism responsible for example for health outcomes in a society. Since the probability of bias exists in all comparative research great care must be made in the construction of the research protocol. The chapter also discusses the case for qualitative and quantitative research; a topic creating continues antagonism between researchers. For all the reason s outlined above research must be evaluated with healthy skepticism, and summarized in meta-analyses where possible. Even in that case we must be aware of the fact that only statistically significant results are included in such analyses.

Chapter 2 by Bertram, Schneider and Ewaiwi continue the theme of personal dispositions. In particular the authors investigated prejudicial attitudes toward Muslims in Germany and the relationship between explicit and implicit measures. Implicit measures may yield better validity outcomes since these approaches are less vulnerable to response sets and social desirability biases. The research protocol included a priming task which allowed the use of response latencies as an implicit measure of prejudice. Explicit attitudes on prejudice have accumulated a long record of research in particular using measures developed from theoretical work on authoritarianism. Both types of measures predict behavior, so the researcher should include explicit and implicit protocols where possible.

Chapter 3 by Fam and Leontiev discusses qualitative dimensions and the role of personality traits in electoral choices for the Moscow municipal parliament. The results supported the relationship between electoral decisions and attitudes toward the choice process. Participants who were actively striving to influence electoral outcomes also made more stable and deliberate decisions. The chapter points to the important role of personality traits in electoral behavior.

In chapter 4 van der Veer and Higler describe the development of cumulative scales that are essential for the unidimensional measurement of social attitudes. In their chapter they provide useful examples of several scales that model the process and meet the criteria for psychometric validity. Ommundsen in chapter 5 discusses the important dispositional roles of motivation and personal dispositions and provide a social psychological analysis of realistic goal

setting when utilizing health-related information. It is important that health-related information is non-threatening, but still attribute individual responsibility to sustain healthy behavior.

In chapter 6 van der Veer returns for a discussion of the three-step test-interview model useful in pre-testing scales measuring attitude and personal dispositions. The model can also be applied to qualitative interviewing. This contribution is especially helpful to investigators trying to assess problems in the formation of questions or response categories and therefore the model can contribute to psychometric validity. Overall section 1 provides important theoretical perspectives for studying the relationship of personal dispositions to behavior, relevant psychometric criteria essential in international research, and practical examples useful as models.

Chapter 1

CRITICAL THINKING IN CULTURAL AND CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

Knud S. Larsen & Krum Krumov

The findings of cross-cultural psychology are delimited by the reliability and validity of the research methods used. Since cross-cultural psychology is by far the most complex of the psychological disciplines students and researcher must develop a critical eye in evaluating research data and results. Research can be conducted at several levels and the complexity of results produces the possibility of bias in the design of research and/or in the researcher. The student should consider all possible alternative explanations of the reported outcomes. This initial chapter will outline the means by which to evaluate results in both qualitative and quantitative research? Disagreement exists among social researchers as to whether comparative studies can produce valid results given varying influences and the difficulty of selecting representative sampling. Another issue introducing complexity are the levels of research utilized since cross-cultural psychology is based on several approaches including individually based survey studies, interviews, and ecological population level variables. Great care must be taken in evaluating the relevance of any conclusions in cross-cultural psychology because of the complexity introduced by different levels of research. Are the results obtained from different cultures interpreted correctly and do they meet the criterion of equivalence? Since researchers are not immune to cultural bias and ethnocentric interpretations we must guard against conclusions that are not valid?

1.1 Cultural bias and the criterion of equivalence

The most significant issue in cross-cultural research concerns the equivalence of comparative research methodology. Are the concepts employed in comparative research and research methodology equivalent in each culture studied? If the conceptual foundation and research methods are not similar it is not possible to draw comparative conclusions. The lack of equivalence will inevitably produce bias in results and interpretations. Therefore a significant precursor to valid methodology is creating studies that meet the test of equivalence.

1.1.1 The issue of language equivalence

By its very nature cross-cultural research is often conducted with respondents who speak different languages. The first issue in comparative research must be an evaluation of the equivalence of translations that derived from the original research protocol. Whether the researcher employs surveys, attitude scales or interview protocols, linguistic equivalence is the most important condition of valid research. The development of research instruments should

initially utilize multi-lingual participants (Van de Vijver & Hambleton, 1996). However, what actually happens most frequently is the utilization of a research protocol developed in the researcher's culture and then translated into the languages of the cultural groups selected for comparison. To create linguistic equivalence the first step is to ask a committee of bi-lingual experts to collectively evaluate the research instrument. They will be asked to indicate their opinions as to whether the individual survey items or statements belong to the research domain selected for study. The experts will be asked to identify items that do not validly reflect cultural experience and whether the unique language context of a cultural group affects survey responses. Language constructs that are culturally specific, and for which there is no equivalence in other cultures introduce bias making it difficult to compare the results to other samples. The committee of bilingual experts works toward a consensus about the appropriateness of the language used in the research protocol.

The second method used since the 1970's is called back translation (Brislin, 1970; 1993). The researchers have the research document translated into the other language of interest, after which independent participants translate it back into the original language. If the retranslation is semantically equivalent to the original language protocol the researcher can have confidence in language equivalence. A satisfactory criterion is met when the independent back translation produces more or less the original language used. The back translation procedure requires the use of participants that are fluent in the several languages employed. If the original form is found not to be translatable, the researcher must return to the drawing boards and use other language in the protocol. Since many participants in cross-cultural research are bi-lingual and often use English as a second language, researchers have to be cognizant of the possibility that responses are influenced by the participant's stereotypes of the culture of the particular language (Bond, 1983).

1.1.2 Psychometric equivalence

In cross-cultural comparative studies research instruments must be developed in a manner that ensures measurement equivalence. The fundamental question in evaluating psychometric equivalence is the degree to which instruments used in varying cultures measure the same construct. If equivalence is attained the researcher should expect the same or a similar order of preferences in the use of response categories and the same order of item difficulty. Further, similar correlation patterns between items are expected in comparisons between cultures and constitute a major criterion of equivalence. However, even where we have followed a valid translation procedure there is no way of knowing a priori if the language chosen in the research protocol has the same meaning in different societies (Poortinga, 1989). If the meaning of the protocol is different it is not possible to make valid comparisons.

Underlying all measurements concerns are the concepts of reliability and validity. Reliability is accessed by several methods, but refers essentially to whether the instrument elicits consistent responses internally or over time. Internal reliability is determined by intercorrelations that measure the degree to which items in the research protocol belong together. Significant intercorrelations are expected where measures has structural equivalence. Validity on the other hand asks the question as to whether the research instrument measure what it purports to measure.

An important consideration is equivalence in the theoretical framework used or in the constructs being employed. Comparability is impossible when the theoretical framework is not the same in comparison studies or when the constructs meaning depend on interpretation. Typically respondents in Western Europe or North America are guided by rationality in responding to psychological assessments. Responses of Western participants are mainly influenced by an educational system that reinforces rationality and reward logical thinking. Other cultures may reward other types of thinking processes making cross-cultural comparisons difficult. Different thinking processes between cultures may result in measuring an aspect of the culture that confounds the variable of interest.

Van de Vijver and Leung (1997a, 1997b) suggested several types of structural equivalence. One approach asks whether the instrument measures the same variables by examining the underlying construct in the cultures to be compared. For example is the concept of intelligence the same in the cultures compared, or does it depend on cultural uniqueness factors not measured? However, as noted above, a test of structural equivalence is found if the pattern of intercorrelations is the same across cultures. The underlying response structure in comparative studies can also be examined by means of factor analysis. A factor analysis with varimax rotation will allow the researcher to determine the level of factorial agreement. Factor analysis is a process that group survey items together based item intercorrelations, and the results are thought to represent different concepts in the respondents. If the same group of items emerge in different cultural samples that is taken as evidence of cross-cultural structural similarity or structural equivalence. The similarity of the factors is then taken as evidence of psychometric equivalence. Statistical techniques to further assist in evaluating psychometric equivalence include regression analysis that reports the amount of variance contributed by each variable to the construct. In the analysis of variance procedure it is also possible to examine for interaction between items and cultural effects, and where none are present the result is evidence of structural equivalence.

1.1.3 Selecting equivalent samples in cross-cultural psychology

The selection of samples in cross-cultural research is difficult because of the complexity of the variables studied and for practical reasons of doing research when educational levels vary between accessible respondents. Literacy rates and educational levels often vary between societies that are examined in comparative studies and such heterogeneity may become a confounding factor in the response patterns of participants. Further, the influence from travel and contacts that are by-products of a globalized world make it nearly impossible to obtain pure culturally influenced responses in today's world.

For practical reasons culture refer in many studies to the countries of the respondents. In effect cross-national studies often replace cross-cultural research. This defeats the equivalence criterion since different ethnic groups and cultures can co-exist within a nation. In any event in cross-national studies care should be taken in not assuming national homogeneity as even countries with intact traditions and stable socio-economic systems may in fact be very heterogeneous. The obvious solution is to obtain matched samples from the cultures studied. However, the psychometric control obtained when matching for one variable in the research protocol often causes mismatching on other salient variables. For example being Black in South

Africa does not mean the same as being Black in London since they may differ on variety of socio-economic and cultural variables.

The sample selected represents a larger population. To ensure representative sampling researchers have in the past examined issues related to appropriate sample selection. In most cases cross-cultural and cross-national samples are chosen for reasons of convenience, typically by the availability of university students in many societies to participate in comparative studies. Convenience sampling has often been criticized as being unrepresentative of the population for the obvious reasons of the higher level of education and socio-economic standing of university students (Wintre, North, & Sugar, 2001). However, whether university samples are useful in comparative research is really an empirical issue to be investigated by comparing university students and representative samples (Ellsworth & Gonzales, 2003) and not dismissed without evidence. Pernice, Van der Veer, Ommundsen & Larsen (2008) demonstrated that university students could be successfully utilized in both concept development and scale construction in an attitude toward immigrants study in New Zealand. Students in this study based their attitudes on the same criteria as the general population supporting the shared cultural and political systems of both samples.

Another type of sampling is called systematic since samples are selected based on some theory. Perhaps the objective is to study the effect of membership in religious organizations, and samples are drawn with proper controls from that religious group in different cultures. Another study may investigate the treatment of homosexuals in different cultures and select accordingly. An underlying theory might be the effect of religious dogmatism as related to tolerance toward homosexuals.

In random sampling an effort is made to obtain representative sampling of the population studied. In general random sampling is representative, and results obtained from responses to the research protocol are assumed to represent the population studied with little error. In random samples each individual has an equal and independent chance of being selected, and if the sample size is large enough the results are reliable and the population characteristics are represented with relative little error (Offerman & Hellman, 1997). In general the larger the number of participants the less the sample will vary from the population characteristics (Heiman, 1996). The ideal in cross-cultural sampling is to utilize the random selection of participants. As noted that is often difficult or impossible, and convenience samples are frequently used. Although convenience sampling may not produce bias in the development of assessment instruments, the researcher must be cautious in generalizing the results to the overall population of the culture.

Several sampling decisions have to be made when comparing cross-cultural groups. The primary decision is what cultural groups should be compared. That conclusion might in turn be based on some theory that predicts differences on the variables of interest. Secondly, all cultures have subsets of groups that vary on important dimensions. Therefore a second consideration is what sub groups should be included. Finally, the issue of how to select individual respondents must be considered.

In cross-cultural research the interest is not just in achieving representative samples, but also in ensuring equivalent samples. In practice this requires control for equivalence on demographic factors including socio-economic status, occupation, religion or ideology, age and sex. For example it would not be useful to compare a university sample from the United States with a sample drawn from Aboriginal fringe dwellers in Australia, since among many differences there would be obviously educational and socio-economic effects. Demographic factors must therefore be controlled when comparing across cultures. However, even controlling for demographic variables may not provide proper comparative controls since for example being old in Japan or Europe may be very different experiences.

1.2 Nonequivalence in cross-cultural research

Most researchers do what is possible to conduct comparative research with equivalent samples. However, the very nature of cross-cultural research makes that a difficult goal to achieve. Often researchers are left with what they believe are good approximations of construct and methodological equivalence. It is probably not possible given the influence of culture specific factors to ever create perfect methodological equivalence in selection of relevant constructs and data collection in all comparative cultures. Poortinga (1989) recognized this dilemma and suggested several approaches in dealing with nonequivalent data. Cross-cultural studies will be interpreted and published even when comparisons are made for nonequivalent data. However, the researcher can take steps to reduce the nonequivalence by identifying the research elements that are equivalent separately from those that don't meet criteria. Comparisons can then be made on only the equivalent items. In research employing attitude scales we have statistical methods to identify nonequivalent items and remove these from analysis (Ommundsen & Larsen, 1997; Ommundsen & Larsen, 1999; Ommundsen, Hak, Morch, Larsen & Van der Veer, 2002; Ommundsen, Van der Veer, Van Le, Krumov, & Larsen, 2007).

Another way of looking at the nonequivalence issue is to examine it as important information about the cultures investigated. What are the reasons for the nonequivalence and what does that tell us about psychology in these societies? Cultural differences may be informed by equivalent data, but also by examining why some data is not equivalent. Many hypotheses for further research can be developed from these methodological issues and problems.

1.3 Levels of inference

Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen (1992) suggested the presence of three levels of inferences in cross-cultural psychology. An example of low level inferences occur when the researcher constructs direct samples of research protocol content from the domain of interest and from such sample tests make inferences about the domain studied. The use of attitude scales measuring attitudes toward various groups like immigrants (Van der Veer, Ommundsen, Larsen, Van Le, Krumov, Pernice, Romans, 2004), or intergroup relations involving contacts between national or ethnic groups, are examples of low level inferences. In scaling procedures the researcher selects a representative sample of attitude statements that reflect the domain of the attitude in question. If the selection of scale items is representative the comparisons to the domain of the attitude are considered valid. Here as elsewhere one must take precautions that the statements selected do not contain information that is culturally unique and relevant only to some

respondents and not others. Likewise the methods used must also be clearly understood and equivalent cross-culturally.

Medium level inferences according to Berry et al refer to generalization from domains that are not directly observable but are manifested in predictable behaviors including cognitive abilities or personality traits. Here the objective is not to obtain representative samples of the domain of study, but rather to capture the essence of the psychological trait. At this medium level of inference it is difficult to assume without ambiguity whether the domains studied are in fact comparable across cultures. Is the authoritarianism observed in Saudi Arabia equivalent to that which can be observed in the United States? There are probably many differences confounded by other variables like religiosity that makes direct comparisons difficult. Personality traits may be culturally specific at least in manifestations and that observation makes comparative inferences difficult.

High level inferences refer to domains not easily specified, and that can't be measured by standard measurement procedures. At this level of inference it is doubtful if measurements can capture the domain of interest. Observed differences are explained post hoc after the exploratory research is completed and without solid empirical evidence. Examples cited by Berry et al include the use of high level concepts like intelligence or adaptation. Since adaptability is required in all cultural environments how is it possible to state with any confidence in comparative studies that one culture is better adapted than another? These types of assertions go beyond what the data will support and tend to be unclear and not easily operationalized into valid comparative methodology.

1.4 Studies of cultural level ecological averages

Hofstede's work-related values, Schwartz's value orientations, as well as the contributions of Leung and Bond on social axioms are examples of ecological level studies since the data collected is averaged for each culture allowing comparisons for such values as individualism and collectivism (Krumov & Larsen, 2013). Typically studies in cross-cultural psychology are based on the responses of individuals. Comparisons of samples based on individual responses may yield significant differences, but how do we know what is responsible for these results? Differences in aggression levels between cultures may or may not be the consequence of cultural variables.

Ecological level average statistics reveal the underlying psychological dimensions responsible for culturally related behavior and offer a better reference point to understand the results of individual based studies. The work-related values of Hofstede provided the researcher with a theoretical framework to develop relevant contextual and personality traits to be examined in comparative studies, and to help explain the results. Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, and Lucca (1988) utilized other cultural based averages when they correlated the incidence of heart attacks with the value of individualism. Matsumoto and Fletcher (1996) correlated Hofstede's dimensions to the occurrence rates of various diseases, and the work-related values provided a theoretical explanation for varying incidence of occurrence. Other psychological constructs have also been investigated as cultural averages including personality traits (McCrae, Terracciano, Khoury, Nansubuga, Knezevic, & Djuric Jovic, 2005). In addition to cultural dimensions other ecological level factors may also influence cultural specific variables. These include the place of

culture in relation to geopolitical issues and the political and economic system. Climatic differences may also contribute to differences linked to culture. Cross-cultural psychology could benefit from more integrated studies seeking to relate cultural average data to theories and specific aspects of culture.

1.5 What is measured in cross-cultural research?

Research in cross-cultural psychology typically seeks to ascertain differences between populations on psychological assessments. How do scores of different cultural groups compare on survey responses to measures of the variables of interest? However, the psychological world is just one aspect of the influences of culture. Any survey will contain only a small sampling of all the relevant information of interest and may not include other salient domains due to inadequate knowledge by the investigator. A broader concern is to examine differences in the natural world or the ecological context that influence culture. This refers to the more or less permanent features of a culture that create the context for individual behavior and can include climate and other aspects of the natural world, and the socio-economic system. The norms developed in society are thought the outcome of the ecological context.

In addition there are other factors that are cultural in nature including child rearing practices of society and customary behavior. The attitudes of the individual are the result of habitual and normative acceptable cognition and behavior. Is culture or climate responsible for observed differences in innovation and efficiency? Often these ecological issues are not evaluated, but nevertheless may play a role. Research confined to psychological assessment only examines a narrow band of the entire context that influences behavior in cross-cultural psychology. Some think that the addition of qualitative approaches that examines behavior in the natural world helps expand the relevant information, and more validly represent the overall context.

Cross-cultural research explains differences in psychological assessments of attributes by explaining the variability in terms of context variables like religious culture that dominate the environment. Attitudes of authoritarianism expressed in sentiments toward established institutions are explained by virtue of culture's ubiquitous religious values. Individual psychological assessments are measured, but the explanation is at the context level. Some attempts have been made to differentiate the effects of context variables from psychological assessments (Poortinga & Van de Vijver, 1987). There are many possibilities for error when one level of assessment is used to explain the outcomes at another level. Individual responses may not always be correctly explained by population level context variables. For example relative poverty might be logically thought to explain the role of education in society and individual achievement. Nevertheless in Cuba, a relative poor country, there are very high levels of educational achievement as well as high levels of health care.

One study (Iwata & Higuchi, 2000) reported that Japanese expressed higher rates of trait anxiety. The explanation offered by the researchers was that this difference occurred because of the collectivistic society in Japan where individual well-being is secondary to the well-being of the group. However, none of these factors were actually measured in the study including controlling for level of collectivism. To make valid cross-cultural comparisons requires the measurement of some aspects of the culture examined. Relevant studies need to examine more

specific aspects of culture thought responsible for behavioral differences. Culture is just an overall label, and in comparative work we need to study specific aspects of the culture thought relevant to the behavior in question.

Attempts have been made to examine at the individual level variables like individualism-collectivism thought to profoundly affect behavior. Triandis (1994, 1995) was influenced by Hofstede's early work on work-related values that found a presence of cultures dominated by values of individualism or collectivism (Hofstede, 1980). This variable was later measured at the individual level through the construction of scales. Hui (1988) developed a scale that measured the respondent's relative individualism-collectivism tendencies as related to significant social relationships including family, friends and co-workers. Matsumoto, Weissman, Preston, Brown, & Kupperbusch (1997) measured tendencies influenced by the context in interpersonal situations. The context was defined as a cultural syndrome including beliefs, attitudes and behaviors as supported by fundamental values (Triandis, 1996). Others (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand (1995) developed a revised concept of individualism-collectivism identifying both a vertical and horizontal component. In horizontal individualism members are equal and autonomous. In vertical individualist societies (like the United States) individuals are considered autonomous but unequal. In horizontal collectivism members are perceived as participants of ingroups and equal. In vertical collectivism individuals are described in terms of status and hierarchical relations.

1.6 Bias in psychological assessments

Bias can be a factor in the construction of psychological assessments. In some cases survey items may be poorly worded or inadequately translated introducing error in interpretation by the respondent. However, item error can usually be eliminated by statistical means (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997b). Item analysis produces an internal assessment of measurement bias. Eliminating poor or biased statements however, do not provide solutions to the broader problem when the entire research protocol is inadequate. If error affects the entire survey an examination of alternative approaches in the methodology is required. However a more frequent bias issue is rooted in the concept being measured. When concepts are not well articulated (operationalized) in the methods used errors are produced by different interpretations. The multiple words for snow in Inuit language makes the conceptual context of snow in that culture different compared to participants living in the tropics. To assess bias respondents in the comparative cultures should produce the same probability of responses given similar familiarity with the concept (Shepard, Camilli, & Averill, 1981).

Van de Vijver and Poortinga (1997) outlined three types of bias in psychological assessments. The difference in familiarity of concepts and constructs discussed above might be caused by a lack of overlap in definitions of the construct measured. Lack of familiarity could also be caused by poor sampling of the relevant construct variables. Issues affected by social desirability introduce another methodological problem. Individual enhancement is prominent in individualistic cultures, whereas group enhancement is more characteristic of collectivistic cultures (Lalwani, Shavitt, & Johnson, 2006) in turn affecting differential responses. Respondents from individualistic cultures engage in self-deceptive self-enhancement, whereas respondents from collectivistic cultures are more concerned with impression management. Both

forms of deception bias and confounds the results interpreted as cultural differences. However, it is possible to statistically control items affected by social desirability.

It is more likely that response sets play a role when respondents are unfamiliar with the construct measured. Response biases may also vary by culture producing a systematic response tendency to survey items or attitude scales. Consequently it is unclear whether comparative differences are the result of a cultural response bias or if they measure some actual difference in the trait. Bias in interpretation of items can also hamper direct comparisons producing differential meaning of the words used in measurement. Response sets also affects survey results. Some respondents prefer to systematically acquiesce with often conflicting viewpoints or respond with the extreme response categories.

The acquiescence response bias is the general tendency to agree with a statement regardless of the actual content being measured. Other respondents may use primarily extreme ends of a scale independent of content of the statement. Since the overall responses may be dominated by these systematic tendencies we know less about the response to the actual content of the variable being measured.

Responses to surveys are also affected by people's tendency to make implicit comparisons to the opinions of the reference groups to which they belong. Responses therefore are less personal and reflect rather the dominant opinions in reference groups. For example Japanese respondents in evaluating themselves often self-rank higher on individualism compared to their Japanese reference group. That inflates their judgment of their actual individualism (Van Herk, Poortinga, & Verhallen, 2004). The major problem with these reference group biases is that participants will respond not with their own assessments, but what they think meet social approval or what they think is the dominant opinion.

Bias may also ensue from the researchers own cultural blinds. Those who organize and carry out cross-cultural studies do so from their own theoretical perspectives confounded by implicit cultural bias. Like all other people researchers see what they need to see and what they are prepared to observe. Preconceptions may influence not only the choice of what to study, but also the methods compatible to the researcher, and the inferences made from the results. Matsumoto and his collaborators noted for example that studies of emotion differences between Japanese and Americans often infer that the Japanese suppress their emotions. However, the results actually show that the difference is not so much Japanese suppression of emotion as the American respondents exaggerating theirs. In other words most researchers are dependent on their own cultural perspective when evaluating the results of research (Matsumoto & Ekman, 1989; Matsumoto, Kasri & Kookan, 1999).

1.7 Inferences from statistical tests on cross-cultural comparisons

In all fields of psychology, including cross-cultural research, inferences are drawn from statistical method like analysis of variance. These techniques allow us to determine that the differences between cultural groups are statistically significant, and have not occurred by chance. However, the fact that an observed difference does not occur by chance often leads to the unwarranted assumption that the difference is important and meaningful. Tests of mean differences do not provide estimates of the degree of difference, nor the amount of variance that

is accounted for by the variables. In most cases, even when there are large and meaningful differences, the within group variance is probably greater than the between group observation.

Another faulty assumption is the idea that because there are statistically significant differences between cultural groups that most members of groups represented in the study differ in the direction indicated by the mean values. However, even with large mean differences a considerable overlap between groups is possible in the variable studied. It is important to evaluate the degree to which differences are meaningful and not just statistically significant. A test for the amount of variance accounted for by the research variables is possible with correlational techniques, and other effect size statistics (Matsumo, Grissom and Dinnel (2001). Scholars in Western societies in particular value the search for significant differences consistent with individualist culture, and less often look for similarities between cultural groups thinking these as not nearly as interesting. One outcome of the “difference obsession” is the focus on statistical tests of significance, even when differences are small and not meaningful.

1.8 Experimental versus correlational studies

Most studies in cross-cultural psychology are correlational in nature not properly allowing the researcher to make cause and effect inferences. For example comparisons between cultural groups cannot be described as experimental since they contain only correlational information. However, the research reported in the literature often treat observed differences as cause and effect relationships, when actually a third or other variables may be responsible for the observed differences. To use a simple example suppose differences are found between two cultures on the rate and quality of innovation. Judging the results as cause and effect might lead to the conclusion that one culture is better at innovating. However, it may be that essential nutrition in childhood is missing in one culture impairing intellectual development, or perhaps there are climatic or other factors that play a role independent of any overall generalization summarized in the concept of “culture”.

Strictly speaking cause and effect conclusions are only justified in experimental studies where control and experimental groups receive equivalent treatments. Such controlled experiments are very difficult to achieve in most cross-cultural comparative studies. In discussing the results of correlational studies it is well to remember that these studies are exploratory in nature and don't directly examine cause and effect. However, correlational studies are useful in exploring relationships and may allow us to develop further hypotheses about the domain of interest. Over time and through replication work we may get to understand more about what it is in the culture that produced the initial correlation.

Matsumoto and Yoo (2006) suggested that attributing reasons for cultural differences without specific evidence from experimental work contribute to cultural attribution errors. For example the multiple studies in individualism and collectivism have often been used to draw inferences about specific societies in the Western world and Asia. However, unless these constructs are actually operationalized and measured and found present in the samples surveyed, and unless it can be shown that these constructs are responsible for the observed differences then the attributed difference is not verified.

1.9 Qualitative and quantitative research in cross-cultural psychology

Qualitative research is dominant in cross-cultural anthropology. Social scientists trained in this tradition often have contempt for the research of quantitative psychologists feeling that the methods employed distort social reality and allow us to only glimpse small portions of relevant information in a culture. The attempt to build psychology up as a quantitative science probably derived from the widespread disbelief and reaction to speculative psychological analysis found in psychoanalysis and other subjective approaches. Behaviorism that followed however seemed unsatisfactory because it did not explain much of what went on subjectively, and largely established relationships between stimuli and responses. In reaction to these concerns subjective methods came into play in cultural psychology. Qualitative methods are employed more in studies of singular cultures whereas quantitative methods are used more in the comparative approaches of cross-cultural psychology. However, even in comparative approaches culturally specific qualities are not easily understood by using quantitative methods. It seems desirable to use both approaches to gradually understand that which is similar between cultures, and also that which is specific to each society.

Qualitative research emphasizes that cultural reality is socially constructed and to understand that reality requires a relationship of understanding between researcher and the culture studied (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Specifically the relationship is often between the researcher and trusted informants that are conversant with cultural values and normative behavior. From the qualitative perspective the research objective is to gradually build a complete holistic picture of the culture that provides the foundation for psychological regularities. This objective requires that research is more broadly conducted in the natural environment, and cannot consist of paper and pencil instruments.

Qualitative methods in psychology include unstructured interviews where the researcher seeks to understand some general aspect of culture by starting conversations on topics of interest allowing the informant to respond in an open fashion and without structured constraints. Observations in the natural setting is an alternative approach that allow the coding of the observed behavior related to specific events like marriage ceremonies or the birth of a child. However, it should be stressed that spontaneous observation is of little utility. Although observation from a qualitative perspective occurs in the natural environment, the behavior of interest should focus on identifiable behaviors that can be measured at least by frequency of occurrence in order to evaluate its significance and salience. Observation requires a great deal of patience as it follows no specific time rule, and requires a willingness by the culturally identified individuals to tolerate being watched. However, the technique is most effective when the researcher becomes a participant observer, and gets included in the society observed. Interviews can also be recorded and subsequently coded for frequency of responses. When the culture has written traditions it is also possible to evaluate texts. The insight that the researcher possesses about the culture is of great importance in qualitative research, and if not present creates obvious validity problems. Theory development using qualitative research is an inductive process where the researcher gradually builds abstractions based on multiple sources (Silverman, 1993; Charmaz, 1995).

Content analysis is another qualitative approach. Typically the investigator gathers relevant documents and summarizes the manifest and latent content of the writing. A variety of

written or performed material can prove useful including taped conversations, media programs, newspaper articles and books. The initial task of the researcher after studying the material is to establish coding categories. For example if hostility is of interest the researcher may establish what words are associated with that concept and then count the frequency in a given communication. Next the investigator tries to interpret what the frequencies mean in the cultural context. The presence or the frequency of reference to the issue can provide important information about a cultural context that later can be investigated by means of hypothesis testing studies. However, there are situations when for legal or moral reasons subjects do not want to provide written material in which case the interview may be a more useful methodological strategy (Shirayev & Sobel, 2006).

From the perspective of qualitative research quantitative results are often seen as distortions of the underlying reality. However, there is no reason why both approaches cannot be employed as they are not antagonistic, but rather complementary. Qualitative research can be used in the initial exploratory stages to obtain familiarity with the context or explore for key determinants. Quantitative methods can build on this initial conceptual development and used for comparative studies. The argument by qualitative researchers is valid that the complexity of cultural behavior can never be fully understood using only quantitative means, but rather the researcher must first understand the important contextual variables. In qualitative research the scientist seeks to understand the values of a culture not from a priori conceptions as seen from the outside, but in the terms of the conceptions existing in the culture. An obvious danger of quantitative research is that the constructs examined are developed from the framework of the culture of the researcher and perhaps not transferable to other societies. The very objects of study and methods used in such comparative approaches can create bias in the data and interpretations.

The differences between qualitative and quantitative approaches are related to the historical divisions between emic and etic conceptions of research. From the emic (cultural psychology) approach research should only be conducted within a culture and researchers must examine one culture at a time. The structural relationships discovered in the process and any criteria used to evaluate findings are developed from these internal characteristics. On the other hand the etic approach seeks to understand cultural behavior from outside the cultural system studied and engages in comparative research. In etic research the methodological structure employed is developed by the researcher, and evaluative criteria are based on the assumption of the universality of psychological phenomenon (Berry, 1969).

In practice both methods are employed in cross-cultural psychology. Segall, Dasen, Berry, & Poortinga (1999) suggested that researchers start with an "imposed etic" by applying constructs developed outside the culture. As knowledge develops from the culturally comparative studies the researcher becomes more sensitive to the similarities with other cultures and also to the culturally specific. Eventually, researchers may discover that the traits examined have universal features, and that other aspects are culture specific.

During this writer's work with the Aborigines in Australia a combination of these methods were used to understand fringe dwellers behavior, attitudes of whites toward aborigines, discrimination, and alcohol related behaviors (Larsen, 1977, 1978, 1981). These studies were based first on subjective qualitative approaches, and then followed by more quantitative analysis. For example, to understand the domain of white attitudes toward aborigines the researcher first

informally engaged white patrons in conversation about Aborigines in a variety of natural settings like hotels and bars to collect statements that could represent the attitude universe. These were then edited and subsequently used in unidimensional scaling approaches.

1.10 Quantitative comparative cross-cultural research

The major quantitative methods are those based on interviews and surveys, and those that allow hypothesis testing in experiments. Surveys are the most frequently used methods. However, innovative researchers have sought to develop other approaches including the quasiexperiment.

1.10.1 Surveys

Cross-cultural psychology employs research methods common to most areas of psychology with the goal of developing an objective quantitative field of study. The most common method used is testing for psychological differences utilizing established psychological instruments in two or more cultures (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997a). Issues of comparability are an important concern to ensure valid comparisons. The surveys employed can be open-ended where the researcher asks the respondents for opinions or attitudes on particular subjects or issues. In open-ended surveys the participant's responses is not structured as participants have the ability to provide whatever responses seem correct to a particular issue. The researcher can tabulate the frequency of response categories as an index of response patterns, but in practice open-ended questions are more difficult to interpret. Multiple choice tests or multiple response category surveys are used more frequently and easier to quantify. Structured response categories however also are problematic as not all cultures have experiences with paper and pencil formats, nor familiarity with the topic investigated. Since the respondent must provide an answer the results can be quite meaningless when the subject matter is not understood. However, pretesting of surveys with the target population can eliminate some of these concerns.

Surveys can also be conducted by way of interviews. Since the interviewer is present with the survey participant he/she can respond to inquiries and provide any necessary clarifications. In interviews careful watch must be kept to provide standardized questions, and prevent bias by not reinforcing certain responses nonverbally or otherwise. Today surveys can also take the form of telephone canvassing or by utilizing the Internet. Telephone or Internet surveying are typically easy to conduct and low in cost. However, bias in sampling becomes a major problem as typically respondents who participate are also those that are motivated by the issue because of existing attitudes located at opposing ends of the attitude continuum. In other words participation might be narrowed to those who have a special interest in the subject. There are also socio-economic bias in distance surveying since in some countries the possession of a telephone reflect higher wealth and status. A greater problem is the social desirability factor as some issues measured are sensitive and responses are confounded by the desire for social approval. Respondents who are concerned about social desirability will provide normative answers or seek to please the researcher by providing socially acceptable answers.

The results of cross-cultural psychology presented in published journals derive from multiple researchers and utilizes alternative methodologies in measuring similar or overlapping constructs. How to get a summary view of what is significant in these studies is difficult.

Research in psychology is approached from many perspectives, and with varying methodology. When different researchers are studying the same construct how can we create some summary judgment about the relationships found? Meta-analysis is a statistical method that permits researchers to analyze many studies completed on a particular subject and provide an overall integration of the results. A meta-analysis combines the results of many diverse studies allowing for an overall evaluation. Since many studies are included the researcher can have some confidence in the summary statistic. However, we must keep in mind that only studies that are published come to the attention of the researcher, and hence meta-analysis has a bias toward studies that show "significant" differences. This analysis of previous analyses also represent varied methodology and utilize constructs not all conceptually the same. The resulting heterogeneity may produce overall results that are less reliable and valid.

1.10.2 Experiments

Experiments are utilized in cross-cultural comparison studies; however they are more appropriately called quasiexperiments. Experimental research tries to establish cause and effect relationships by assigning participants randomly to experimental and control groups and then compare for significance of mean differences. However, researchers cannot create cultural experimental groups that correspond to treatment in classical experiments, and random assignments are difficult to achieve. Nevertheless experimental procedures play a role in cross-cultural comparative studies (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997a). It is for example possible to design studies that test for the effects of cultural contextual variables when cultural populations with these characteristics are selected in advance and specific hypotheses are investigated. Whether the results can be generalized depends on whether the findings in one culture can also be found in other cultures. Replication in other cultural contexts is seen as evidence for the validity of the theory that drives the research, for the instruments used, and for the presence of universal psychological characteristics.

It is difficult to apply the experimental paradigm in the cross-cultural comparative contexts. In other psychological fields the researcher typically controls the experimental treatments administered to randomly assigned groups. However, in real life research in comparative cultures the experimenter must be satisfied with groups that are intact, and believed to vary from each other on culturally contextual variables. Since already existing groups cannot meet the criteria of randomness they are not representative groups, although the results may be useful and interesting. Likewise is it impossible in most cases to control the treatment administered to intact groups. Any effect that is believed to derive from culturally contextual factors are made post hoc after the completion of research, and based on ethnographic or cultural value information like the results of Hofstede's work-related values.

Some studies have sought to examine cultural difference by priming the mindsets of the participants. For example Trafimov, Triandis & Goto (1991) manipulated the individualistic versus collectivistic orientation by trying to prime the mental conceptions of the experimental subjects. The American and Chinese participants were asked to think about the ways they were different from friends and family in one experimental condition, and asked to write what they had in common with friends and family in the second condition. Presumably these manipulations caused the mindset of the subjects to think in either individualistic or collectivistic ways. Results showed that Americans produced more individualistic responses compared to the Chinese

respondents as would be expected from the theory on collectivism-individualism as advocated by Hofstede. Further the results showed that the priming as an experimental manipulation worked since those who were primed to think in individualistic terms generated more personal responses, and those primed to think collectivistic produced more group-oriented responses. Other researchers have found similar results (Gardner, Gabriel, & Lee, 1999).

Other culturally relevant studies were carried out by Yamagishi (1986, 1988) who manipulated the sanctioning system for cooperation and relative trust of the experimental participants. In the first experiment Yamagishi found that those who were more trusting in Japan did indeed cooperate more. In the second experiment comparing Japanese with American participants Yamagishi found that high trusting American respondents were more cooperative compared to low-trusting respondents. However, when the sanctions were in place there were no differences between the two cultural groups. Yamagishi concluded that the greater cooperative behavior observed in Japan is due to the sanctioning system in place supporting cooperation, and when Americans are placed in similar situations they behave in the same way.

1.11 The problems of validity

The dogmatic preference for either the qualitative or quantitative methods is based on controversial arguments about the validity of research results and subsequent interpretation. Validity is no small matter since the objective of all research is to demonstrate a real as opposed to a fantasized interpretation of cultural behavior. The issues of validity are best answered through the utilization of methods that combine all available approaches, that demonstrate conceptual clarity, and that ensures replication of the studies over time. The results of either cultural or cross-cultural research are always approximations toward validity as no method can yield a complete picture valid for all time (Cook & Campbell, 1979).

Qualitative research poses unique problems in establishing validity. Experiments are not easily created or conducted in situations where the investigator is trying to understand underlying customs and rules of the culture. Likewise standardized surveys or scales are difficult to construct at this basic level of investigations. Further the emic approach generally is focused on individual development in interaction with cultural norms and rules. On the other hand these gradual psychological processes are not easily investigated using quantitative methods that assume the measurement of stable or static qualities. To capture the developmental changes some have argued for the use of video recordings (Greenfield, 1997).

One form of qualitative validity is called interpretive and aims at establishing communication clarity between the researcher and the cultural group observed (Maxwell, 1992). Another validity concept is ecological validity that assesses the extent to which data is collected consistent with the cultural context. Greenfield believes that is best accomplished when studying behavior in the natural context. Finally, the major problem with validity in the qualitative approach is the inability of other researchers to verify the results since selection of what to study as well as interpretations are the outcome of the subjective qualities of the researcher.

The use of quasiexperiments in cultural and cross-cultural research are produced by the inability to control the conditions of the experiment in the cultural context, especially in the administration of “treatments” to the experimental group that in turn can be compared to the

behavior of the control group (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997a, 1997b). However, there are ways to establish relative validity for differences between cultural groups. If cultural samples are selected for established ethnographic conditions rather than for convenience the differences between groups become more plausible. However, since any interpretation come after the completion of the experiment the possibility for incorrect interpretations remain a significant vulnerability. Still when differences are compared based on established theory and where the group-related variables are treated as independent variables the possibility for erroneous interpretation is reduced (Malpass, 1977). When the sample is chosen on the basis of the presence of these group-related variables validity is implicit in the methodology. Various statistical techniques can also be employed to remove error as discussed earlier for example by means of regression analysis that allows for a comparison of the contribution of various concepts to the overall behavior in question.

To address validity the inclusion of separate and independent measures of the relationships being examined are also important. That would also include conducting separate testing at different points in time, but also replication work. The latter would establish the reliability of results that is a necessary precondition for validity. Along the same line different types of measurements should be encouraged. For example the use of surveys in conjunction with experimental work can give us some evidence of convergent validity. Likewise if the results from comparative studies are what would be predicted from other research and underlining theory, that too would indicate validity. In other words validity is confirmed when the results are as expected from the theoretical perspective. Finally, meta-analysis is in recent decades an increasingly important approach to convergent validity.

1.12 A critical look at the findings from cross-cultural comparisons

Fundamentally cross-cultural psychology exists to contribute to the meaning of cultural differences. Since respondents in any culture evaluate psychological stimuli from the framing of their own cultural values it is essential to know how such bias affects the results. For example Peng, Nisbett, & Wong (1997) noted that respondents in cultural groups pay primary attention to their own cultures in evaluating their beliefs and values. This dominant mind presence may actually result in an underestimate of the role of underlying cultural values since these are seen as part of daily life and less noteworthy. In evaluating the self as being high or low on collectivism the respondent uses as reference the stereotype of the respondent's own culture for comparison purposes (Heine, Lehman, Peng, & Greenholtz, 2002).

At the same time globalization and associated values of modernity call into question many of the value based research results. The cultural dichotomies of individualism-collectivism may be inaccurate or a stereotypic simplification particularly in the face of the knowledge explosion and new communication methodology available almost ubiquitously worldwide (Hermans & Kempen, 1998). Even in the most remote dogmatic societies there are individual variances that cannot be measured by ecological level variables. Collectivism is related to conformity, yet we see many societies described as collectivistic where people are willing to risk all to be free, with liberty a variable of universal value that trump stereotypic secondary cultural values.

There is in all cross-cultural comparisons a bias in selection of the topic studied as derived from the cultural frame of the investigator. Further, the studies that are reported are those achieving statistical significance. That scientific procedure in turn may also produce bias since the non-reported studies of not statistically significant results may be a better representation of reality. In summarizing research in a given field we are also more likely to attend to interesting or extreme results that do not necessarily represent reality particularly if based on small and non-representative samples.

It is necessary to consider the method of sample selection and the validity of the method employed in cross-cultural studies. In the case of comparative studies the methodology employed must demonstrate cross-cultural validity. Remember also that any study regardless of relevance to the populations studied represent only a fragment of the universe of psychological traits in a given culture and a portion of the cultural context. Cross-cultural research offers us a window into the psychological reality in varying cultures, but never the complete picture. We cannot know for sure what aspect of culture create the differences observed although different cultural groups may vary on the issue studied. Cultural average (ecological) studies provide some understanding of cultural dimensions related to relevant psychological variables and it is possible to relate the statistical means of psychological variables to such cultural dimensions. More informative research however, is where specific aspects of culture can be related in a measurable way to psychological variables. However, even with these studies a researcher cannot be certain that there may not be other aspects of culture not measured that might also explain the behavior studied or for that matter the direction of the causal influence.

1.13 Skeptical thinking is the path to an improved cross-cultural psychology

So many aspects of human thinking are influenced by cognitive processes seeking easy solutions. Cross-cultural psychology is complex and difficult and requires students and researchers willing to cultivate a skeptical mind. The many problems of bias discussed above are partly the consequence of looking for simplistic answers to the most complex science of all: that of understanding human behavior in the cultural context. At the foundation of many distortions in cross-cultural psychology is the inability of the researcher to observe his/her own evaluative biases in how research is conducted and carried out. After completion of the research there are also many possibilities for bias in interpretation. Although we are trained to think analytically, and look for differences even when these are minimal, we should be skeptical toward generalizations. Most findings apply to specific circumstances and time. An obvious evaluation question is to ask what other factors may explain our findings. This is especially salient when cultural variables are inferred and not measured directly.

Although we may find differences in comparative studies it is well to remember that the participating groups may be heterogeneous along pertinent dimensions. Therefore any conclusions pertain only to the average responses required by statistical techniques that do not take into account this within group variability. Although a society may be low on average education, it still may have an educated class that has a strong influence on developments within the cultural group. A random sampling of such a society would deemphasize other problems like whether the participants were required to attain a certain educational level to understand the survey questions or research protocol.

As we can see the complexity of cross-cultural research creates many issues that can undermine the validity of the results yielded. The obvious problems of linguistic equivalence can be disposed with little difficulty using proper translation procedures. Other problems like equivalence that requires an understanding of the experimental constructs being the same way in different cultures present more difficult issues in comparative research. Validity perceived ultimately involves the correct interpretation of the results. A pertinent issue related to validity is the extent to which we have sampled issues that are truly salient in the cultures investigated. Issues significant in the society of the investigator are not necessarily salient in other cultures? Cultural comparative studies must be approached from a variety of angles including the use of alternate methods, samples, and procedures, and the researcher must recognize the continual need for replication.

1.14 Summary

The value of cross-cultural psychology depends on the reliability and validity of the research. It is well to keep in mind that the complexity of the discipline offers many opportunities to bias the results. The most significant issue in comparative research is equivalence based on several criteria. The search for equivalence is essential whether the research protocol is based on surveys, attitude scales, interviewing, quasiexperiments, or qualitative studies. Linguistic equivalence is possible by following proper procedures including establishing initially a bi-lingual committee to work toward a consensus creating the same language meaning of the research protocol. The back-translation procedure further ensures that the same meaning is conveyed to the groups surveyed. Psychometric equivalence seeks evidence to ensure that the same construct is measured in comparative research. Equivalence criteria are established by comparing whether the same preference order in response categories and item difficulty is found in the groups surveyed. The structure of the psychological assessment can also be established by means of item analysis. An important equivalence issue is whether the comparative research is based on the same theoretical framework in the cultures that are compared. The psychometric structure can also be examined by means of factor analysis and other statistical techniques.

Comparing equivalent samples is essential to comparative research. This is not easily achieved as factors not known about the culture may affect responses such as dissimilar education and literacy. In that regard we must remember that cross-national samples do not have the same meaning as cross-cultural samples as one nation may contain many cultural groups. Heterogeneity in cultural values confounds many national studies. Matched samples create other ambiguities and possible mismatching on other salient variables. Convenience sampling is not random, but may be useful in developing measurement instruments. Sampling that is based on theoretical considerations is called systematic when such samples are drawn with proper demographic controls. However, random sampling is the only approach considered representative of the population studied and if the sample is large enough represent the cultural group with little error. Equivalent samples can also be built using equivalence in demographic variables. Non-equivalence is however ubiquitous in cultural and cross-cultural studies that utilize approximations to construct and methodological equivalence. In survey research equivalence can be promoted post hoc by identifying non-equivalent items and eliminating these from the analysis.

Cross-cultural studies are complex as they require different levels of inferences. Low level inference is possible when the researcher constructs samples directly from the domain of interest as occurs in the building of attitude scales that utilizes statements from the universe of all possible attitude items. Medium level inferences are not directly observed but believed to be determining factors of behavior. Factors requiring medium level inferences include personality traits where the aim of the assessment is to capture the essence of the domain measured. The ambiguities that occur at this level call into question whether the construct measured is in fact comparable across cultures. High level inferences concern more complex domains not easily specified, and which are not easily captured by measurement techniques. At this level inferences are typically made post hoc without empirical evidence as in evaluations of research on constructs like adaptation or intelligence.

Useful cross-cultural studies have been carried out at the ecological level reporting average statistics that point to underlying dimensions responsible for culturally related behaviors. For example studies that report on the presence of individualism in a culture is related to the rate of heart disease. However, cross-cultural comparative research seeks to ascertain differences on psychological assessments. We must however remember there is more to culture than the psychological world and survey results in any event measure only a small sampling of the domain of interest. Not measured are differences in the natural world, the ecological context, or childrearing procedures that all significantly influence behavior. Examining specific cultural context may explain differences in psychological attributes, and psychological survey results are often explained at the contextual level. There are however problems in interpretation when results at one level are explained by inference to another level. A step forward is to measure specific aspects of culture through the construction of scales and surveys.

The possibility of bias exists in any psychological assessment. Survey or scale items may be poorly constructed or inadequately translated. Such item error can usually be corrected by statistical testing. However, if the entire methodology is problematic the only solution is to return to the drawing boards and select alternative research approaches. Bias in psychological assessments may occur due to differences in respondent's familiarity with the construct measured, due to poor sampling of the concepts, and due to the influence of social desirability, that all may bias the results. Research has also demonstrated differences between individual versus group enhancement in varying cultures that also might bias the respondents answers. Response sets also influence responses in cross-cultural comparative studies, and the cultural blinds of the researcher produce implicit bias in construct and methodological selection.

All disciplines in psychology are interested in establishing cause and effect relationships. However, the special problems of cross-cultural psychology make that objective difficult. Most studies in cross-cultural psychology are correlational as it is practically impossible to assign cultural respondents randomly to experimental treatment. However, even in correlational research the constructs must be operationalized and measured or inferences about culture cannot be made.

Researchers in the field have often taken antagonistic positions about the value of qualitative versus quantitative research. Qualitative research is often employed for in-depth studies of a single culture, but in the context of cross-cultural research can be seen as exploratory and hypothesis generating for use in quantitative studies. The argument in favor of qualitative

studies is that cultural reality is socially constructed and therefore only a relationship between the researcher and the culture (represented by informants) can assess that reality. Typically qualitative research is associated with behavior in the natural world, and best carried out when the observer works in a participant-observer relationship. Theory development in qualitative research is based on an inductive process utilizing multiple sources. However, qualitative and quantitative approaches are not antagonistic, but rather complementary despite contentions centered on the validity of the results produced.

Quantitative methods include surveys that test for psychological differences between cultures on established psychological assessments. Surveys can be open-ended but questions with fixed response categories are easier to quantify. Interviews that use standardized questions can also be useful if the researcher is careful in not reinforcing certain responses. Although telephone and Internet surveys are easy to conduct the researcher must be careful to avoid bias derived from differences in socio-economic status measured by access to these means of communication and the likelihood of including respondents with extreme positions. Meta-analysis creates a summary statistic and an overall integration of the results. However, bias may be introduced as the focus is only on statistically significant studies ignoring perhaps the larger pool of insignificant results.

It is also possible to design studies that test for the affect of cultural context variables where cultural populations are selected in advance as known to have characteristics of the domain of interest. Replications in other cultures of these results can be seen as evidence of validity as well as the presence of universal psychological characteristics. In one study the mindsets of the participants were primed for individualistic or collectivistic responses with predictable results.

All cross-cultural research deals with the issue of validity. The best answer to these concerns is to utilize all available approaches, demonstrate conceptual clarity, and replicate studies over time and cultural contexts. A critical look at the field cautions that the researcher's cultural frame may introduce bias in selection of domain for study and methodology. Also respondents are more sensitive to their own cultural frames and that may produce biases in responses. At the same time globalization and new means of communications call into question the permanence of any cultural values. Finally, the reporting of only statistical significant findings may introduce bias as summaries like those found in meta-analysis do not take into account the possible broader pool of insignificant results. Further any study represents only a fragment of the relevant psychological domain or the cultural context of interest. Consequently skeptical thinking is required in order to improve validity since cross-cultural psychology is both difficult and complex.

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Chapter 2

EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT MEASURES OF PREJUDICIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD MUSLIMS: ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT ATTITUDES

Johanna Bertram, Johann F. Schneider & Ansaf Ewaiwi

2.1 Introduction

The present study combines classical methods of measuring social attitudes with an affective priming procedure to approach the assessment of prejudice from different measurement perspectives. Implicit measurement is important, because much of the international literature on prejudice is mainly based on self-report questionnaires susceptible to social desirability bias and politically ‘correct’ responses. In general implicit measures are expected to be less vulnerable to response biases and social desirability concerns.

The research presented in this chapter is based on the established relationship between authoritarianism and prejudice (Altemeyer, 1981, 1988, 1996). The selection of the explicit measures of prejudice is a response to recent findings that persons high in authoritarianism tend to be negative toward both legal and illegal immigrants and are prone to perceive Islam as threatening internal security (Larsen, Krumov, Van Le, Ommundsen, & Van der Veer, 2009; Schneider & Hiber, 2007, 2010). A large majority of Germans believes that Muslims as a group are fanatical, violent, anti-democratic, and intolerant (Pew Global Attitudes Survey, 2006). In the first part of the chapter, a theoretical account of explicit and implicit attitudes is presented. The theory and measurement of implicit prejudice receive special attention. The empirical section that follows explores the relationships between different measures of prejudice and the moderating effect of the motivation to control prejudiced reactions.

2.2 Theoretical background

Attitudes are defined as predispositions to act in a specific way toward an attitudinal object (Rosenberg & Hovland, 1966). This definition implies that attitudes are not directly observable, but can be observed by measuring reactions toward different attitudinal stimuli.

Rosenberg and Hovland (1966) proposed three components of social attitudes named affective, cognitive and behavioral. The affective component describes the emotional reaction toward an attitude object and can be assessed by asking the respondent how strong he or she

likes or dislikes the object. Physiological measures, such as blood pressure or electrodermal responses, can also detect affective responses to stimuli. The cognitive component including perceptions, concepts and beliefs about an attitude object can be assessed by asking individuals to respond to the content of an attitude scale. Finally, the behavioral component can be measured through observation of how an individual acts toward an attitude object.

This differentiation between the three attitude components can be helpful in understanding the relationship between stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination in the context of social groups. Prejudice can be understood as the affective, stereotypes as the cognitive and social discrimination as the behavioral components when measuring attitudes toward social groups (Kessler & Mummendey, 2008; Hewstone, Stroebe & Jonas, 2008).

2.3 Implicit and explicit attitudes

Devine (1989) distinguished between automatic and controlled processes of attitude activation. Automatic processes are influenced by cultural stereotypes that people learn during early childhood as part of the cultural heritage. Controlled processes are influenced by personal beliefs which stem from learning episodes in later development. By comparison the automatic and culturally mediated attitudes have a longer history of unconscious learning and are therefore more easily accessible. Automatic attitudes need no conscious processes in order to become activated, since all that is required is the simple presence of the attitude object. Devine (1989) argued that while prejudice is present in probably all humans, such reactions do not necessarily produce discrimination. Controlled attitudinal processes can interfere with the automatic activated attitude and moderate the resultant behavior; however such moderation requires the development of an active and conscious awareness.

The MODE model (Motivation and Opportunity as Determinants of Attitude-to-Behavior Processes (Fazio & Towles-Schwen, 1999) differentiates between automatically activated and more conscious attitudinal processes and their impact on behavior. Fazio and Towles-Schwen (1999) assumed that judgements and behavior depend on individual perception and can be influenced by two modes of processing. On the one hand a spontaneous process with automatic attitude activation and on the other hand a deliberative process that uses available information. An automatic attitude can be activated through the mere perception of an object and serves as a perceptual filter of information. In this manner automatic attitudes can influence behavior without the person being aware of the activated attitude.

The more accessible an attitude the more influence it has on behaviour since the observed information and attributes support the activated attitude. Fazio and Towles-Schwen (1999) assumed that attitudes can be activated with different strength as mediated by the accessibility of attitudinal information. The deliberative process in attitude activation is based on bottom-up information processing. People use the available information and observe the specific characteristics related to the object. The emergence of automatic processes is determined by a person's motivation and the opportunity to use deliberative attitudinal processing. With no motivation or opportunity to use bottom-up processing, a person will be guided by automatically activated processes. Conscious attitudes play a mediating role in automatic activated behaviours,

perhaps guiding these according to social norms or personal experiences. Spontaneous and deliberative processes can also occur together and complement each another (Fazio & Towles-Schwen, 1999).

Devine (1989), and Fazio & Towles-Schwen postulate the presence of an automatic implicit component and a controlled explicit component in social attitudes. McConnell, Rydell, Strain, and Mackie (2008) describe implicit attitudes as appraisals which are not directly accessible and that cannot be controlled. Explicit attitudes are defined as controlled appraisals that can be reported (McConnell et al., 2008).

Both, implicit and explicit attitudes can predict behavior (Fazio, Jackson, Dunton & Williams, 1995; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson & Howard, 1997), but their impact often differ (Fazio & Olson, 2003). The impact of both implicit and explicit attitudes on behavior depends on motivation as well as the opportunity to use deliberative processes. Implicit attitudes predict behaviour more efficaciously when the opportunity to use deliberative processing is low. By contrast explicit attitudes are better predictors of behaviour when motivation or the opportunity to use deliberative processing is high (Fazio & Olson, 2003). Motivation and opportunity for deliberation are the primary reason for differences in the measurement of implicit and explicit attitudes (Fazio & Olson, 2003).

2.3.1 Explicit measures of prejudice

In the authoritarian personality approach (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford, 1950) prejudice is understood as a generalized negative attitude toward groups seen as threatening social control, order, cohesion, and stability (Duckitt, 2006). These negative attitudes are frequently generalized where people with unfavorable attitudes toward one minority group tend also have unfavorable dispositions toward other minorities. Perceived threat seems to be the major factor linked to negative out-group attitudes (Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006). Authoritarians tend to perceive more threat from legal or illegal migrants and favor more aggressive responses to threat than respondents low in authoritarianism (Funke, 2003, 2005; Huddy, Feldman, Taber & Lahav, 2005).

Authoritarianism, originally measured by the F-scale, is a primary determinant of prejudice. Altemeyer (1981, 1988, 1996) refined the right-wing authoritarianism construct and developed the uni-dimensional Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale (RWA). The RWA scale assesses the three covarying traits of authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionalism. Authoritarian submission exemplifies a high degree of submission to the authorities who are perceived to be established and legitimate in society. Authoritarian aggression is a generalized aggressiveness directed against a bewildering array of victims and perceived to be sanctioned by established authorities. Finally, conventionalism is demonstrated by a high degree of adherence to social conventions perceived to be endorsed by society and its established authorities. In the present study, we are using the items identified by Funke (2003, 2005) that measure the separate components of RWA. According to Funke (2005), authoritarian aggression may be regarded as the central component of authoritarianism predicting hostility toward foreigners, political intolerance, and punitiveness. In recent studies significant

relationships were found between the RWA scales and explicit measures of negative attitudes toward illegal immigrants and Muslims (Schneider & Hiber, 2007, 2010).

2.3.2 Implicit measures of prejudice

Implicit measures of prejudice assess prejudice and attitudes without asking participants to respond explicitly (Fazio & Olson, 2003). The idea behind implicit measures is to obtain more valid responses since subjects do not consciously influence their responses and the effects of social desirability and other response sets are reduced (see Degner, Wentura & Rothermund, 2006).

Implicit attitudes are measured without participants' awareness through experimental designs such as the affective priming task (Fazio, Jackson, Dunton & Williams, 1995; Fazio, Sanbonmatsu, Powell & Kardes, 1986), or the Implicit Association Test (IAT, Greenwald, McGhee & Schwartz, 1998). These measures focus on attitudes that are automatically activated through the exposure to an attitude object.

De Houwer and Moors (2007) define implicit measures as "measurement outcomes that rely on processes that are uncontrolled, unintentional, autonomous, goal independent, purely stimulus driven, unconscious, efficient, or fast" (p. 192). They regard "implicit" as a synonym for "automatic" and describe implicit measures as measures of a construct through the assessment of automatic processes (De Houwer & Moors, 2007).

However, the fact that the presentation of an attitude object evokes an automatic attitude response should not lead to an assumption that the person is unaware of this attitude (Fazio & Olson, 2003). Fazio and Olson (2003) argue that implicit attitudes cannot be defined as unconscious just because they differ from explicit attitudes. Thus, Fazio and Olson (2003) as well as De Houwer and Moors (2007) suggest that a distinction should not be made between implicit and explicit attitudes, but rather between implicit and explicit measurements. Fazio & Olson (2003) suggest that while participants may not be aware of the automatic activation of an attitude when participating in an implicit measurement they may be aware of the attitude itself.

2.3.3 Implicit Association Test

The Implicit Association Test (IAT) was developed by Greenwald, McGhee, and Schwartz (1998) to assess the association strength between two target concepts and two attribute dimensions via a computer-administered task. When applied to the measurement of intergroup attitudes, the two target concepts can be for example black and white and the attribute dimensions are typically pleasant versus unpleasant (Greenwald et al., 1998).

The IAT consists of five sequences. First, the target concepts are introduced to the participant by asking him or her to categorize names as typically black or white. Participants are then asked to push a particular button, for example "C", to identify black names, and another button, for example "M", to categorize white names. In the next sequence, participants are asked to categorize adjectives with the same buttons used to categorize the names in the first sequence with button "C" now used to identify pleasant adjectives and button "M" for unpleasant adjectives. The two sequences of target and attribute presentation are then followed by a combined task during which the participants have to categorize names and adjectives. In this

sequence, button “C” would be used to identify both black names and pleasant adjectives and button “M” to identify white names and unpleasant adjectives. In the fourth sequence, the target concepts are then reversed with button “C” now identifying white names and button “M” black names. The fifth sequence then consists of a new combined task with button “C” used to categorize both white names and pleasant adjectives and button “M” to categorize black names and unpleasant adjectives (see Greenwald et al., 1998).

To assess implicit attitudes the response latencies of sequence three and five are analyzed. A person with a negative attitude toward blacks should respond faster to black-unpleasant and white-pleasant trials in comparison to black-pleasant and white-unpleasant trials (Olson & Fazio, 2003). During the Implicit Association Test the categories of interest are always apparent to the participants and they are explicitly asked to categorize the given items. Thus, the IAT can be regarded as a category-based implicit measure of attitudes (Olson & Fazio, 2003).

2.4 Affective priming

Fazio, Sanbonmatsu, Powell, and Kardes (1986) were the first to use a priming procedure for the examination of automatic attitudes. Their affective priming task delivers information about the degree to which concepts are automatically activated and then facilitate the response to a target. They used words as primes and showed them for 200 ms on a computer screen, followed by 100 ms of pause which then was replaced by a target adjective to which the participant had to respond. The participants’ task was to categorize the target according to its valence. They had to push either a button for positive or negative valence. During the experiment it was never mentioned that attitudes would be assessed (Fazio et al., 1986).

With their affective (emotional) priming task Fazio et al. wanted to explore to what degree the presentation of prime words facilitates a response to target adjectives. The idea was that the presentation of an attitude object as a prime would trigger associations to this object followed by higher accessibility. When this initial prime is followed by a target with the same valence less additional activation is needed in order to respond to this target. Consequently the response latency should be faster in comparison to prime-target constellations with different valence.

With the affective priming task the attitude of a person toward an attitude object can be assessed by analyzing the response latencies for positive versus negative adjectives (Fazio, Jackson, Dunton & Williams, 1995). A higher facilitation (less latency in response) for positive in comparison to negative adjectives indicates a positive attitude, whereas a higher facilitation for negative adjectives in comparison to positives indicates a negative attitude (Fazio et al., 1995). The affective priming task also works when implementing pictures as primes and/or targets (see Fazio et al., 1995; Carroll & Young, 2005; Avero & Calvo, 2006).

For the assessment of ethnic attitudes the affective priming task seems to be a promising method for increasing the validity of attitude measurement, because participants may be either unaware of their feelings toward ethnic groups or unwilling to express their attitudes (Fazio et al., 1995). With the affective priming task ethnic attitudes can be assessed without asking for them explicitly since the participants are not aware of the attitude measurement. For the assessment of intergroup attitudes two or more (ethnic) categories/groups are used. It is

important to notice that with the affective priming task the responses relate to a single exemplar that the participant does not have to categorize (Olson & Fazio, 2003). The affective priming task can be considered an ethnic exemplar-based implicit measure of attitudes (Olson & Fazio, 2003).

Different implicit measures yield low intercorrelations and reliabilities (Fazio & Olson, 2003). As we already pointed out above, the affective priming task can be regarded as an exemplar-based implicit measure, because subjects respond to individual exemplars of a category without naming the category or without having to categorize it. The IAT is based on the assumption that two categories (e.g. black and bad) which are connected in the mind are more easily represented by one joint response button compared to two categories without any connection (Greenwald & Nosek, 2001).

The main difference between the IAT and the affective priming task seems to be the category versus exemplar orientation of these measures, which also seems to be the cause for the differing results when comparing IAT and affective priming. Olson & Fazio (2003) for example found a higher correlation between the two measures when asking participants to categorize the exemplars during the affective priming task. They assume the affective priming to be more predictive of behavior in situations that do not lead to ethnic categorization. The IAT should be more predictive in situations provoking categorization (Olson & Fazio, 2003).

2.5 Why do implicit and explicit measures of attitudes differ?

Fazio & Olson (2003) found that correlations between implicit and explicit measures are often very low when assessing stereotypes and prejudice. Respondents may not have introspective tools to assess implicit attitudes or they may be reluctant to express the implicit tendencies on explicit measures. However, studies using implicit measures show a relation to explicit attitudes for socially uncontroversial topics. Fazio and Olson explain these findings using the MODE model since with increasing sensitivity to a controversial topic the probability for motivational factors to influence the explicit measure rises. When deliberative processes are activated they in turn influence the automatically activated processes. According to the MODE model, motivation and opportunity to evaluate affect the size of the correlation between implicit and explicit data. Implicit and explicit measures should correlate less with high levels of both motivation and the opportunity to suppress automatic attitudes. On the other hand higher correlations are produced when respondents have low levels of motivation and opportunity (Fazio & Olson, 2003).

2.6 Motivation to control prejudiced reactions

Overall, the relationship between explicit and implicit measures is heterogeneous. The published correlations tend to be low, but positive (Gawronski, 2002). However, there are a number of additional factors that explain the low convergence of both types of measurement that include differing scale content, low reliability in implicit measures, low validity of explicit measures due to introspective limits, and self-presentational concerns. If explicit attitudes depart from dominant social norms, they are more susceptible to positive self-presentation (Fazio et al., 1995).

Dunton and Fazio (1997) reported that the expression of racial prejudice on questionnaire measures is moderated by the extent to which respondents seek to control the expression of prejudice. Furthermore, they observed that differences between self-reported racial prejudice and unobtrusive estimates of racial attitudes can be predicted by the respondent's scores on the motivation to control prejudiced reactions. The correspondence between explicit and implicit measures is higher among respondents who are less motivated to control the expression of prejudice and lower among those who scored relatively highly on the motivation scale. The German scale version of motivation to control prejudiced reactions (Banse & Gawronski, 2003) was included in the present study in order to examine its moderating effect on the convergence between implicit and explicit measures.

2.7 Method

2.7.1 Participants and design

A total of 91 students (72% female, aged 21.7 yr., SD = 4.0, range 17 to 44 years) from Saarland University participated in the first part of the study. Most were recruited from an introductory course of psychology. To control for possible order effects explicit measures of prejudice were assessed before collecting data from an implicit prejudice task. The participants were led to believe that they took part in two unrelated studies consisting of a survey and a learning and memory experiment. In the first study they would complete an in-class opinion survey that included all the explicit measures of prejudice.

The second study was described as a learning and memory experiment contained an implicit measure of prejudice toward Muslims. By emphasizing the different objective of the second study the participants were led to believe that the two parts were entirely unrelated. Thirty-five of the ninety-one students volunteered to participate in the learning and memory study* used to obtain an implicit assessment of attitudes toward Muslims and also to assess the motivation to control prejudiced reactions using the MVV-16 scale. The average age was 21.8 yr., and 63 % were females. Participants received course credits for each part of the study separately.

* Although 46 subjects originally participated in the second part of our study, 11 participants were not included in all data analyses because of a failure to complete portions of the explicit questionnaire measures.

2.7.2 Instruments

In the first survey study the participants were asked to complete a questionnaire that contained four different explicit measures of prejudice:

Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) was measured by twelve items developed by Funke (2003) following Altemeyer (1988) discussion. In RWA, three balanced sub-scales, each composed of four items, tap self-reported authoritarian aggression (“What our country really needs instead of more ‘civil rights’ is a good dose of law and order”), authoritarian submission (“Obedience and respect for authority are the most important values children should learn”), and conventionalism (“The withdrawal from tradition will turn out to be a fatal fault one day”). The RWA scale was selected because it allows an examination of the influence of combined global authoritarianism and the three traits of authoritarianism separately. A global RWA score, aggregated over all twelve items, has acceptable internal consistency (ranging from .76 to .81) and acceptable content and construct estimates (Funke, 2003; 2005, Schneider & Hiber, 2007, 2010).

Attitudes toward illegal immigration was measured by the five-items scale employing the Mokken analysis as reported in Pernice, Van der Veer, Ommundsen and Larsen (2008). In a German sample (n = 131) the five-item scale correlated .85 with the 20 items version of the attitudes towards illegal immigration and yielded an alpha coefficient of .73.

Attitudes toward Islam was assessed by three items taken from Cohrs, Moschner, Maes and Kielmann (2005) measuring the threat of Islam (Cronbach’s alpha was .85). An example of a threat-related item is: “The large number of Koran schools and mosques in Germany shows how much we are already infiltrated by Islam.”

Immigrant quota. A survey-item[†] that quantified the social distance toward people with immigrant backgrounds was included in the survey: ”The federal government’s integration commissioner proposed an immigrant quota for the public service sector. One in five public jobs should go to people with immigrant backgrounds. What do you think?”

Motivation to control prejudiced reactions scale[‡]. The motivation to control prejudiced reactions (Banse & Gawronski, 2003) was assessed using sixteen items of a German adaptation of the Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale (Dunton & Fazio, 1997). The global measure of the motivation to act without prejudice toward discriminated minorities (MVV-16) consisted of all sixteen items and has acceptable internal consistency (.81). The items can be divided into three factorially derived sub-scales: behavior control (alpha = .75; eight items such as “One should not make negative comments about minorities in public”); the awareness of one’s own prejudice (alpha = .61; four items such as “One should become aware of own prejudice”); and unprejudiced self-presentation (alpha = .64, four items such as “I do not mind if somebody would regard me as prejudiced toward minorities”).

The immigrant quota question response category consisted a three-point rating scale describing the quota initiative as “good and right, premature, or a very bad idea”. All attitude-

[†] www.welt.de/Oeffentlicher-Dienst-soll-Migrantenquote-bekommen.html

[‡] The scale was administered only to the 46 participants of the second part of our study

items were responded to on seven-point Likert rating scales ranging from highly disagree (-3) to highly agree (+3).

The weights of the items on the attitude scales toward illegal immigration were all keyed in the positive direction.

Affective priming task.

The implicit attitudes toward Muslims were assessed with the use of an affective priming task. Photos of Muslims, originating from Jordan, Turkey, Tunisia and Iran as well as pictures of ordinary Germans were used as primes. The pictures were taken by a professional photographer in the style of biometric passport photos. Thirty subjects were asked to evaluate each picture according to its valence, intelligence and attractiveness on a seven-point rating scale (-3 to +3). Furthermore, they had to identify the faces as either Arab or German, to ensure that the faces were clearly distinguishable. This resulted in eight Muslim-German pairs of photos. For an example of a Muslim-German pair seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Example of a Muslim-German pairing



The targets for the affective priming task consisted of six positive pictures (e.g., flowers or clouds) and six negative pictures (e.g., garbage or destroyed cars) of the International Affective Picture System (IAPS, Lang, Bradley & Cuthbert, 1997)[§]. In conducting the pre-test and the affective priming task, the computer software Inquisit 3.0.4.0 (Millisecond Software LLC, 2006) was employed. The affective priming task consisted of 16 primes (8 Muslim faces and 8 German faces) and 12 targets (6 positive pictures and 6 negative pictures). Primes were displayed for 100 ms, followed by a white screen for 100 ms, which was then followed by the target. A target had to be answered within 700 ms. If not answered within the allotted time the message “too slow” appeared on the screen. The participants’ task was to evaluate the target according to its valence (positive vs. negative). For positive targets respondents had to press the button “5”, for negative targets the button “A”.

[§] These pictures are freely available for non-profit researchers on the Internet.

The affective priming task was designed as one practice unit consisting of 32 trials and four main units consisting of 64 trials each. In the main units, every prime face was displayed two times and followed by a negative target and two times by a positive target. Primes and targets were displayed and assigned randomly. After each unit, participants received feedback on their performance.

2.7.3 Procedure

The current study consisted of two parts. In the first part all the explicit measures of prejudice were administered. The second part of the study assessed the implicit assessment of attitudes toward Muslims framed as a learning and memory experiment. At the beginning of the laboratory session, all participants were subjected to a sub-test of a standardized learning and memory test (LGT-3, Bäumler, 1974). They were then presented with a list of 20 simple drawings of concrete objects (e.g., the drawing of an apple) and given one minute to study. In the reproduction phase, after completing the affective priming task, the respondents were asked to name the drawings. Finally, participants responded to “the motivation to control prejudice reactions scale”.

2.8. Results

Means, standard deviations, and reliabilities for all explicit measures are presented in Table 1. Because the reliabilities of the three RWA subscales were low only the total RWA scores are included in further data analyses.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics of all explicit measures

Variable	Item(s)	Number of subjects	Cronbach's alpha	M	SD
RWA total	12	91	.72	32.5	8.7
- aggression	4	91	.41	13.3	4.2
- submission	4	91	.50	8.7	2.0
- conventionalism	4	91	.49	12.2	3.7
Illegal immigration	5	91	.72	24.9	5.3
Threat of Islam	3	91	.87	8.8	4.8
Immigrant quota	1	91	---	2.1	0.6
MVV total*	6	46	.86	86.2	12.4
- behavior control	8	46	.82	41.4	8.0
- awareness	4	46	.71	24.9	2.3
- self-presentation	4	46	.76	16.2	3.6

* *Motivation to control prejudiced reactions scale (see notes for varying number of subjects)*

In the present sample, 61% regarded the initiative of the federal immigration commissioner as premature (Table 2). The differences in the two response distributions probably reflect the ambivalence of the student participants due to the unanimous rejection of immigrant quotas in the public sector by German politicians from both the Christian Democratic Party as well as from the center-left opposition.

Table 2: Percentages of participants rating immigrant quota question in the present study (n = 91) and in a national online survey (n = 4442).

The immigrant quota initiative is	Student sample (n = 91)	Online survey (n = 4442)
good and right	15%	6%
Premature	61%	8%
very bad idea	24%	86%

2.8.1 Affective priming task

The affective priming task was used to assess implicit attitudes toward Muslims. Response latencies were recorded and analyzed. The expectation was that negative attitudes toward Muslims result in slower response latencies, when presenting incongruent prime-target constellations compared to congruent constellations. A Muslim photo followed by a positive picture and a photo of a German followed by a negative picture was defined as incongruent, a Muslim photo followed by negative picture and a German followed by positive picture was understood as congruent.

In order to analyze the priming effect the mean response latency for congruent trials and incongruent trials was calculated for each of the participants. Subsequently the mean of the congruent trials was subtracted from the mean of the incongruent trials. For participants with negative attitudes toward Muslims, this subtraction should lead to a positive difference that significantly departs from zero. In our sample of 35 subjects **, all response latencies under 200 ms and above 700 ms (response deadline) were excluded following the analyses by Wentura & Degner (2010). The mean difference between congruent and incongruent trials was 2.6 ms (SD = 12.3) and did not reach significance ($t(34) = 1.26, p < .22$). No significant implicit negative attitudes toward Muslims could be observed in the present sample.

** The following analyses are based on the data of 35 subjects who participated in both parts of our study. Compared with the 54 subject who only completed the first part, they are significantly lower in global authoritarianism ($t(89) = 2.77, p = .011$), but do not statistically differ in attitudes toward illegal immigrants, threat of Islam, and immigrant quota.

2.8.2 Relations between explicit measures, affective priming task, and motivation to control prejudiced reactions

The correlations between all variables are presented in Table 3. Contrary to our expectation, affective priming did not relate significantly to explicitly expressed prejudice (RWA: $r = -.16$, ns; illegal immigration: $r = .11$, ns; threat of Islam: $r = -.12$, ns; immigrant quota: $r = -.12$, ns). However, the motivation to control prejudicial reactions turned out to play a key role in explaining the relation between implicit and explicit measures of attitudes. The subscale “awareness of one’s own prejudice” correlated significantly with affective priming ($r = .51$, $p < .01$), authoritarianism ($r = -.33$, $p < .05$), attitudes toward illegal immigration ($r = .47$, $p < .01$), and threat of Islam ($r = -.34$, $p < .05$).

Table 3: Correlations between explicit prejudice (number of subjects varies between 90 and 92), affective priming task and the motivation to control prejudicial reactions (shaded area: number of subjects varies between 35 and 37).

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. RWA total								
2. Illegal immigration	-.54**							
3. Threat of Islam	.51**	-.61**						
4. Immigrant quota	.12	-.25*	.26*					
5. Priming	-.16	.11	-.12	-.12				
6. MVV-16 total	-.39*	.43**	-.22	-.31	.35*			
7. Behavior control	-.20	.26	-.03	-.29	.29	.94**		
8. Awareness	-.33*	.47**	-.34*	-.16	.51**	.63**	.46**	
9. Self-presentation	-.60**	.51**	-.40*	-.26	.18	.79**	.58**	.41**

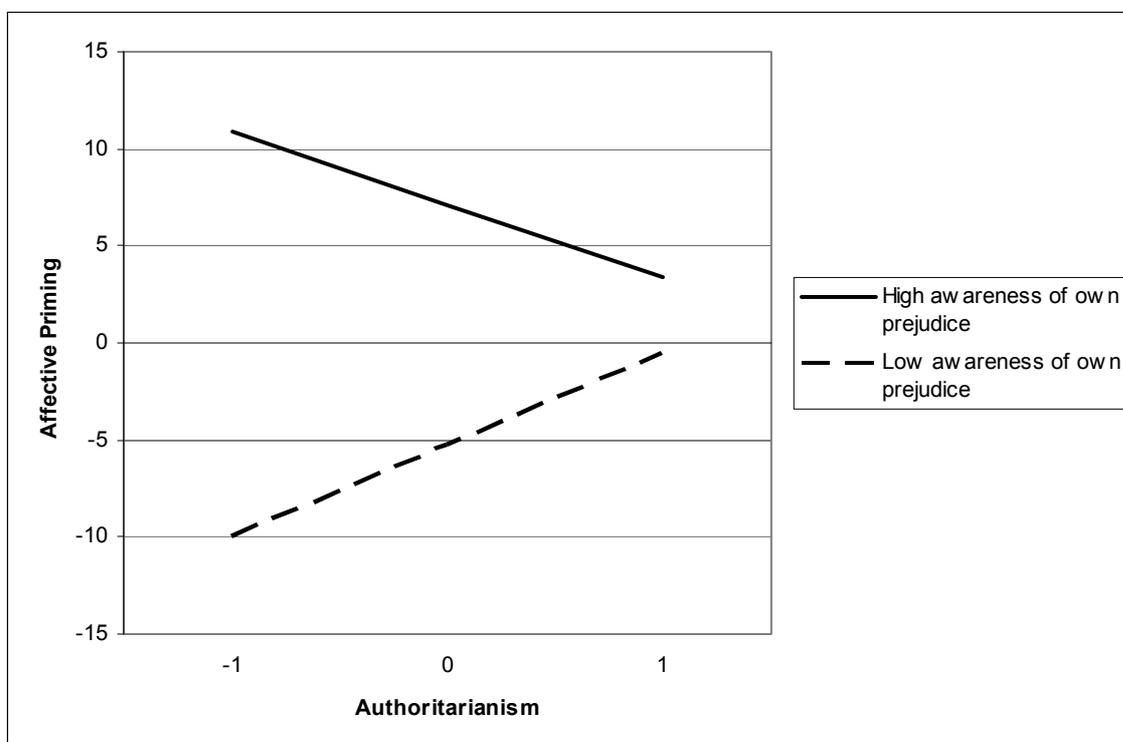
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$ (2-tailed)

To explore the moderating effects of motivation to control prejudicial reactions, several multiple regression analyses were conducted. All predictor variables were z-standardized and

interaction terms were calculated by multiplication of the predictor variables (Aiken & West, 1991). In the first multiple regression analysis, we employed motivation to control prejudicial reactions, authoritarianism and the interaction of both as predictors and the affective priming as criterion. We obtained neither significant main effects (motivation to control prejudiced reactions: $b = 3.68$, $SE = 2.50$, $\beta = .30$, $p = .15$; authoritarianism: $b = -.52$, $SE = 2.06$, $\beta = -.05$, $p = .80$), nor a significant interaction ($b = -1.09$, $SE = 2.41$, $\beta = -.09$, $p = .65$).

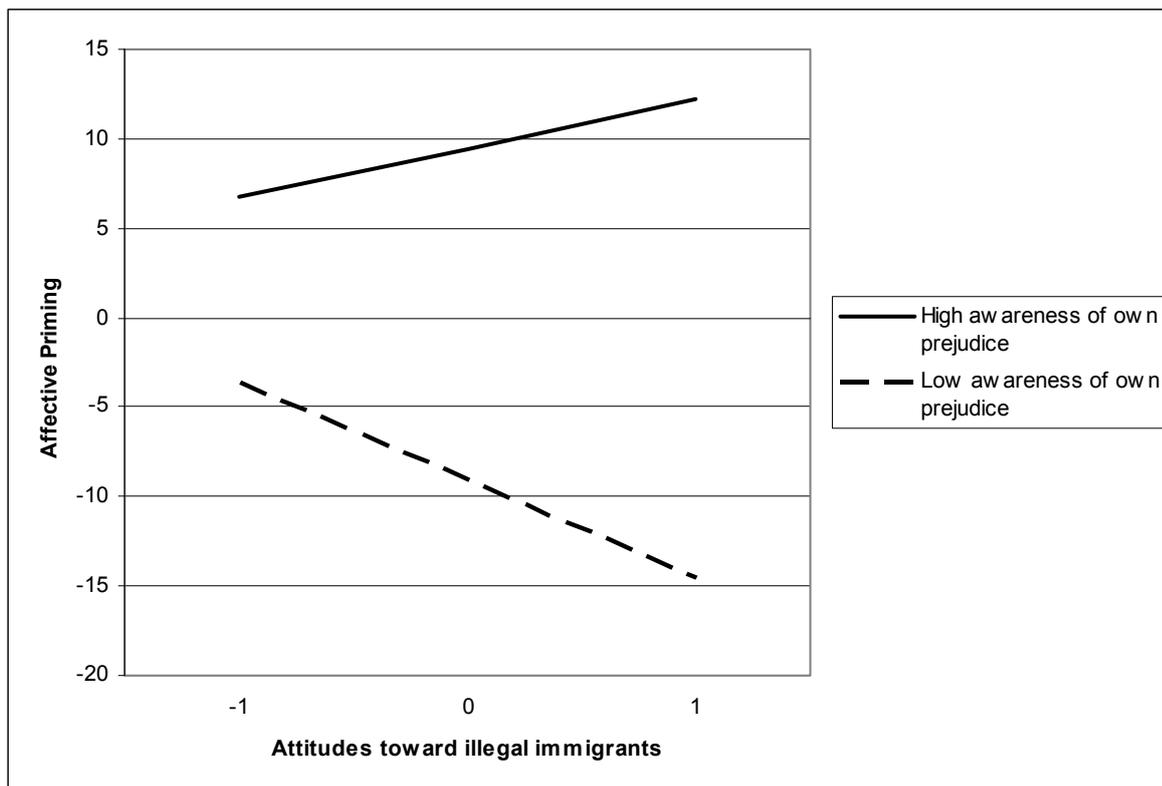
Next, we focused on the predictor quality of the three subscales of motivation to control prejudicial reactions (behavior control, the awareness of one's own prejudice, and self-presentation). The multiple regression analysis with the awareness of one's own prejudice, authoritarianism and the interaction of both as predictors and affective priming as criterion revealed a significant main effect for the awareness of one's own prejudice ($b = 6.16$, $SE = 1.84$, $\beta = .52$, $p < .01$), $adj. R^2 = .19$, $F(2, 32) = 5.04$, $p = .01$); and also a significant interaction of the awareness of one's own prejudice x authoritarianism ($b = -4.23$, $SE = 1.96$, $\beta = -.32$, $p = .04$), $R^2_{change} = .10$, $F_{change}(1, 31) = 4.65$, $p = .04$). There was no significant main effect for authoritarianism ($b = .49$, $SE = 1.73$, $\beta = .04$, $p = .78$). Simple slope analyses (see Aiken & West, 1991) show a tendency for a positive relationship between affective priming and authoritarianism when the awareness of one's own prejudice is low ($b = 4.72$, $SE = 2.77$, $\beta = .43$, $p < .10$), but not when the awareness of one's own prejudice is high ($b = -3.75$, $SE = 2.46$, $\beta = -.34$, $p = .14$). The results are displayed in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Simple slope analyses for interpreting the interaction between the awareness of one's own prejudice and authoritarianism.



The multiple regression analysis utilizing the awareness of one's own prejudice, attitudes toward illegal immigrants and the interaction of both as predictors as well as the affective priming as criterion revealed a significant main effect for the awareness of one's own prejudice ($b = 9.25$, $SE = 1.98$, $\beta = .78$, $p < .01$), $\text{adj. } R^2 = .21$, $F(2, 32) = 5.53$, $p < .01$), and a significant interaction of the awareness of one's own prejudices x attitudes toward illegal immigrants ($b = 4.09$, $SE = 1.29$, $\beta = .49$, $p < .01$), $R^2_{\text{change}} = .18$, $F_{\text{change}}(1, 31) = 10.04$, $p < .01$). The main effect for attitudes toward illegal immigrants was not significant ($b = -1.38$, $SE = 1.62$, $\beta = -.13$, $p = .40$). Simple slope analyses display a negative relationship of the affective priming and attitudes toward illegal immigrants when the awareness of one's own prejudices was low ($b = -5.47$, $SE = 2.03$, $\beta = -.52$, $p = .01$), but not when the awareness of one's own prejudices was high ($b = 2.71$, $SE = 2.11$, $\beta = .26$, $p = .21$). The results are shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Simple slope analyses for interpreting the interaction between the awareness of one's own prejudice and attitudes toward illegal immigrants.



Analysis of the responses of participants who are low in the awareness of their own prejudices showed a negative relationship between implicit and explicit measurement. This effect did not emerge for participants high in the awareness of one's own prejudices.

2.9 Discussion

The primary aim of the present study was to explore possible relationships between explicit and implicit measures of prejudice in the context of authoritarian attitudes toward people from Muslim countries. Against this background, we conducted a survey assessing authoritarianism, attitudes toward illegal immigration and the threat of Islam. Some of the subjects also took part in an affective priming task in order to implicitly assess their attitudes toward Muslims. Furthermore, we assessed subjects' motivation to control prejudicial reactions in order to examine its role in moderating the relationship between different methods used to assess prejudice.

Although we observed consistent correlations among the explicit measures, the implicit affective priming task was not significantly related to these measures. The motivation to control prejudicial reactions, especially the sub-scale "awareness of one's own prejudice", correlated significantly with both the explicit and the implicit measures. These findings led to several multiple regression analyses to examine the moderating effects of motivation to control prejudice on the relationship between implicit and explicit measures. The results showed that when the awareness of one's own prejudice was low, explicit and implicit data correlate. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the awareness of one's own prejudice is an important variable mediating the relationship between explicit questionnaire measures and affective priming.

The results did not support an overall priming effect for the entire sample. The lack of an overall priming effect could be due to the possibility that the stimuli photos used were not representative or prototypical of the categories "Muslim" and "German". The stimuli employed in priming must adequately represent the categories used as a precondition for a valid affective priming task (Fazio & Olson, 2003). In addition a standard priming condition was not administered to ascertain if the affective priming task was working properly (see Wentura & Degner, 2010).

Future studies could examine further the predictive power of affective priming tasks using Islam-related word primes to better understand the intricate connections between explicit and implicit attitudes in the context of immigrant attitudes.

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Chapter 3

ELECTORAL CHOICE: QUALITATIVE DIMENSIONS AND THE ROLE OF PERSONALITY*

Anna Fam & Dmitry Leontiev

3.1 Problem and background

The phenomenon of choice has rarely been a subject of psychological studies over the last eight decades. One of the first attempts of experimental study of choice was made by Vygotsky in the early 1930s (Vygotsky, 1983). The differentiation between choice and decision making processes (the latter traditionally associated with cognitive psychology) is still a debatable terminological issue.

As an object of psychological study, choice is usually considered from the viewpoint of its result, the decision actually made. However, in an overwhelming majority of cases the problem of choice cannot be reduced to a process of rational calculation. In most everyday choice situations we cannot predict how bad or good the outcomes will be. John Locke explained that we are not capable of anticipating the distant consequences of our decisions which is why we often chose evil rather than good. Thus, finding objectively “true” or, at least, optimal decision is essentially impossible. It is the subjective a quality of choice process that seems to be a critical issue and should be an object of study whether the choice is being made reflectively, responsibly, intelligently or, on the contrary, spontaneously and impulsively.

Choice can be most generally defined as an act of resolving uncertainty in the situations where a person has two or more alternatives of behavior and at different levels of human activity (Leontiev, 2000). Elsewhere we argued for treating choice as an internal intentional activity (Leontiev, 1994; Leontiev, Pilipko, 1995). This means that any choice is based on a vital connection between the person and the world and is motivated and intentional. Choice has a complicated operational structure which consists of both external means for example by casting a lot and internal factors for example weighting the probabilities of outcomes. This activity of choosing (it can be called self-determination activity) can proceed at different levels of complexity and elaboration. In some cases choice has a sophisticated, branched and deliberate character, being integrated with other parts of one’s life and activities. In other cases choice is reduced to automatic unconscious operations proceeding without regard to other aspects of life. The decision actually made in truly significant choice situations is usually not predetermined and mostly depends on actual self-determination processes. The characteristics of self-determination

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activity are, in turn, connected to key personality variables that reflect the level of maturity and autonomy of the subject.

The differential characteristics of choice processes are based on one's way of construing the choice activity, or choice work. An important task is studying this internal self-determination activity both as an independent variable (in relation to the choice being made) and as a dependent variable (in relation to personality variables). This study aimed at singling out process-related subjective indicators of the quality of concrete choices and at elaborating a tool for their assessment. The method utilized was the subjective semantic scaling of separate parameters of the choice activity, but nevertheless being aware of the restrictions imposed by such a methodology. However, this method provides an opportunity to investigate the process of a real choice in an ecologically valid and real life situation.

3.2 Study design

The aim of the current study was to reveal the qualitative side of personal choice in the case of a real life situation namely in the elections of local authorities in the Moscow municipal parliament (Duma) in December 2005.

The hypothesis was made that the quality of a choice process differ depending on specified personality variables that in turn predict the satisfaction with the choice and other outcome variables. The dependent variable was the decision whether to vote, but we did not study the preference for a special candidate or party.

The research protocol:

- a. Developing a tool for measurement of a person's attitude to choice.
- b. Exploring the connection between a chooser's decision and behavior, on the one hand, and his/her attitude to the process and the result of choice.
- c. Analyzing personality correlates of the subjective quality of choice
- d. Evaluating the relationship of attitude to choice.

The study consisted of 3 sequential studies: (1) The first one two weeks prior to regional elections, (2) The second two weeks after elections and (3) The third three months later.

The sample

The participants were non-psychology college students (Moscow Institute of Economics, Management and Law, N=174). The participants responded to the survey during classroom hours of psychology course.

There were 107 participants in the first study, 124 in the second study and 62 in the third study. Only 28 students participated in all three, 51 in the two first two studies, 38 in the second and the third, and 35 in the first and the third series of the study. The percentage of spoiled protocols was insignificant. There were 79 men and 90 women among the participants (5 participants did not specify their gender). All participants ranged in age from 18-21 years (Mean = 18.5; S.D.= 0.75) (9 respondents didn't specify their age).

3.3 The survey

The basic methods of the study were:

A. Questionnaire on attitudes to the forthcoming/passed elections.

A questionnaire was composed for each of the three studies in order to check the participant's conscious attitude toward the elections, the degree of psychological involvement, and the intentions to participate. These surveys contained questions about both cognitive and emotional evaluations of elections as a social event and the participant's behavior. The qualitative variables in Questionnaire 1 measured awareness of elections being held, the subjective importance of the elections, the intention to vote, the subjective opinion on the connection between one's participation in elections and their results, and the name of the preferred political party (or a candidate) (optional). The Questions of the surveys 2 and 3 were partly the same assessing participation in elections, stability of the decision to vote and satisfaction with the results. The same questions were presented soon after elections and also in the follow-up studies in order to study the participant's attitudes toward the choice and examine the stability or flexibility of these attitudes. Survey 2 contained also questions about spontaneity/deliberation of the choice, arguments about the decision, knowledge of the results of the elections and subjective opinion on the correlation between participation in elections and their results. Survey 3 included also questions about post- elections reflections and on the influence of the study on the participant's perception of elections.

B. The Subjective quality of choice technique (SQC).

This test was given to estimate the participants' attitudes to the process of choosing and to the subsequent result. The subjective quality of choice technique (Leontiev, Mandrikova, Fam, 2007) is a semantic differential consisting of set of bipolar scales for rating the process of the choice actually being made or those made in the past (I was making this choice...) and its result (The decision I've made was...). The scales measure rationality, responsibility, meaningfulness, independence, conscientiousness, subjective ease of person's decision-making process and the emotional attitude both toward the process and to the result of choice.

This survey has been applied in various ecologically valid situations of significant choices (local elections, university attendance, vocational orientation at high school). Results of previous work yielded a relatively invariant 4-factor structure that reflects the following qualitative dimensions of choice:

1. Mindfulness of choice (detailed versus insufficient, or lacking elaboration and argumentation, and proactive versus reactive choice).
2. Emotionality (purely positive versus ambivalent emotions in the process of making choice).
3. Self-determination (autonomous versus controlled or enforced choice).
4. Satisfaction (approval and acceptance of the decision versus doubts about the choice actually made).

The first three dimensions describe the process of choice-making (three-factor solutions explain 45 to 55% of the total variance), the last factor evaluates the final decision (one-factor solution explains 37-40% of the variance).

The final version of the technique consists of 16 scales (*Table 1*).

Among the additional methods we used Russian versions of some personality inventories. Russian versions of personality inventories included.

Table 1. Factors and scales of the subjective quality of choice technique

Factors		Scales
F1	Mindfulness of choice	after thorough reflection – spontaneously
		responsibly – irresponsibly
		considering the consequences – disregarding the consequences
		not accidentally – accidentally
F2	Emotionality	joyfully – bitter
		painful – painless
		feeling burdened by the situation – enjoying the situation
		with pride – with discomfort
F3	Self-determination	based on one’s own opinion – on family or friends’ advice
		relying on oneself only – relying on help of other people or circumstances
		deliberately – under pressure
F4	Satisfaction	accurate – inaccurate
		wrong – right
		depressing – encouraging
		suppressing – inspiring
		bad – good

a. The 20 item Noetic Orientations Test (NOT), (Leontiev, 1992) a Russian modification of Purpose-in-Life Test (PIL) Crumbaugh and Maholick (1981). This personality test is based on Frankl's theory of logotherapy and is a self-report attitude scale measuring the extent to which people perceive their lives as purposeful and meaningful. The test, besides providing the general score of meaningfulness, has 5 sub-scales: purpose in life, process of life, result of life, and 2 scales referring to aspects of locus of control.

b. Russian version of Alienation Test (Osin, 2007; 2012) by Maddi (1979). A large pool of questionnaire items was constructed to represent 4 types of alienation (powerlessness, adventurousness, nihilism and vegetativeness) and 5 contexts (work, social institutions, family, other persons and oneself). Each questionnaire item was intended to tap one type and one context of alienation. Two pilot versions of the questionnaire were developed for our research: one for teenagers and students (80 items) and one for adults (120 items). The Russian version of the test is in the process of standardization.

c. Russian 45-item version of Hardy Survey (Leontiev, Rasskazova, 2006) by Maddi (1987). This questionnaire measures the individual hardiness (a form of resilience) and three its components (commitment, control and challenge). The trait helps a person to choose future objectives and cope with challenges in everyday life.

d. The Russian modification (Dergacheva, Dorfman, Leontiev, 2008) of the Causality Orientations Test (Deci & Ryan, 1995). This questionnaire consists of 29 situations (each with 3 behavioral outcomes) and reveals the contribution of autonomous, controlled and impersonal orientations in determining actions.

e. The original Russian version of the 44 item Subjective Control Inventory (Bazhin, Golyunkina, Etkind, 1993) measuring general internality (locus of control). The inventory also measures internal locus of control in particular domains of life, in situations of success and failure, in family relationships, at work, in communication with other people and in the domain of health and illness.

f. The Russian version of the 22 item Multiple Stimulus Types Ambiguity Tolerance-I (MSTAT-I) test (Lukovitskaya, 1998; McLain, 1993).

g. The Russian version (Osin, Leontiev, 2012, in preparation) of the of 5 item Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS), (Diener, Emmons, Larsen and & Griffin, 1985).

h. The Russian version (Osin, Leontiev, 2012 in preparation) of the 4 items Subjective Happiness Scale (Lyubomirsky & Lepper, 1999).

i. The Original 27 item Russian Reflexivity Inventory (Karpov & Ponomaryova, 2000). In addition to the general reflexivity score, the inventory contain 4 sub-scales measuring retrospective reflexivity, reflexivity of current activity, reflexivity of a future activity and reflexivity in communication and interaction with other people.

j. The Russian version of the 60 items Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR), (Paulhus (1998).The inventory has 3 sub-scales measuring impression management, self-deceptive enhancement and self-deceptive denial.

k. The Russian version (Shevelenkova, Fesenko, 2005) the 84-item Psychological Well-Being inventory (Ryff (1989). This instrument has 6 sub-scales measuring autonomy, environmental mastery, personal growth, positive relations with others, purpose in life, and self-acceptance. The inventory also provides a general assessment of psychological well-being.

l. The Russian version (Schwarzer, Jerusalem, Romek, 1996) of the 10 item General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSE), (Schwarzer, Jerusalem, 1995). The scale assesses a general sense of perceived self-efficacy in unspecified domains.

In study 1 the research protocol included survey 1, the NOT, the Alienation Test, the Hardiness Survey, the Causality Orientations Test, the Level of Subjective Control scores, and the MSTAT-I.

In study 2 the research protocol included survey 2, the SQC, the SWLS, the Subjective Happiness Scale, the Reflexivity Test, the BIDR, and the scales of Psychological Well-Being.

In study 3 the research protocol included survey 3, the GSE, the SWLS, the Subjective Happiness Scale, the Alienation Test, and the NOT.

3.4 The results

A. To assess the relationship between a person's choice and his/her attitude to it, pair wise correlations were calculated between the qualitative variables of all the three surveys. We used Spearman's correlation coefficient that provide for pair wise removal of missing data.

The following significant ($p < .05$) correlations were observed revealed:

1. The stability of decision whether to participate or not in the elections measured by the readiness to make the same decision in another hypothetical situation of elections correlated positively with subjective importance of elections (.26).

2. The intention to participate in the elections self-reported before the elections positively correlated with actual participation (.59), with the retrospective estimation of the choice as deliberate (.33), with the stability of decision (.27) and with a person's expectation that his/her participation in the elections influenced the results (.24).

3. A person's expectation that his/her participation in the elections would influence the election results positively correlated with the same opinion after the elections (.33), with the satisfaction with their results (.29) and with the influence of the study on the participant's perception of the elections (.46).

4. Those participants that knew the name of a political party (or a candidate) to vote for before the elections tended to participate in the voting (.27) and were ready to make the same decision repeatedly (.39).

5. The post hoc knowledge of the elections results also positively correlated with the readiness to make the same decision repeatedly (.48).

6. Those who participated in the elections were significantly more satisfied with the results (.35) than those who did not, both a few days after the elections and in the follow-up studies.

7. A person's opinion on the connection between his/her participation in the elections and the electoral results positively correlated with the tendency to reflect upon the elections later on (.44).

In general, these data show that the participants who were better informed about the forthcoming elections and a few weeks later about their results and declared the subjective importance of the elections made a more deliberate and stable decision compared to participants that were less well informed. Not surprisingly informed participants made more rational choices that were self-determined, easy, responsible, reflective and emotionally pleasant, and that were accompanied with feeling of election significance and rightness. The internal preparations of self-determination often begins long before the decision-making moment of voting where that actual act of choice itself is just a short and internally prepared culmination of this process.

B. To analyze the relationship between personality variables that correlate with the subjective quality of choice, the Spearman's correlation coefficients pair wise removal of missing data were calculated between the four factors of SQC technique and the variables derived from the three surveys and all the personality inventories used in the three studies.

As hypothesized, all four parameters involved in the choice process revealed significant correlations with personality variables and predicted the emotional outcomes. Table 2 presents only significant correlations ($p < .05$; those significant at $p < .01$ are presented in bold).

Table 2. Correlations between the factors of the subjective quality of choice technique and personality variables.

Factor 1: The Mindfulness of choice

Studies	Inventories	Variables	ρ	N
Study 1	Survey 1	the name of a political party or a candidate the respondent would vote for	.417	56
	Alienation Test 1	general alienation	-.282	54
		social institutions	-.292	54
		other persons	-.313	54
		powerlessness	-.376	54
		nihilism	-.347	54
	Level of	general internality of control	.358	55

	Subjective Control	internality in the situation of failure	.283	55
		internality at work	.387	55
Study 2	Survey 2	deliberation/spontaneity of choice	.398	79
		argumentation present of the decision	.364	38
		stability of the decision	.347	76
	Reflexivity Test	reflexivity of the current activity	.332	79
	BIDR	impression management	.408	80
		self-deceptive denial	.299	80

Factor 2: The emotionality of choice

Study	Inventories	Variables	ρ	N
Study I	Hardines Survey	control	.348	57
Study 2	Survey 2	participation in elections	.402	79
		Deliberation versus spontaneity of choice	.381	74
		stability of decision	.468	76
	Scales of Psychological Well-Being	environmental mastery	.288	77

Factor 3: Self-determination

Studies	Inventories	Variables	ρ	N
Survey I	Level of Subjective Control	general internality	.342	55
		internality in the situation of success	.381	55
		internality at work	.267	55

Study 2	Survey 2	argumentation of decision	.482	38
	BIDR	impression management	.321	80
	Scales of Psychological Well-Being	personal growth	.225	77
		purpose in life	.255	77
Study 3	Survey 3	satisfaction of the results of elections	.460	21
	Alienation Test	family	-.456	20

Factor 4: The satisfaction with choice

Studies	Inventories	Variables	ρ	N
Study 1	Hardiness Survey	control	.305	57
	Causality Orientations Test	autonomy	.443	57
	PIL-1	internal locus of control	.339	55
Study 2	Survey 2	participation in elections	.432	79
		Deliberation versus spontaneity of choice	.389	74
		stability of decision	.345	76
	Scales of Psychological Well-Being	positive relationships with others	.235	77
		personal growth	.330	77
		purpose in life	.250	77
Study 3	GSE	self-efficacy	.607	21

The results presented in the Table 2 suggest the following:

1. The mindfulness of choice is significantly and positively correlated with the stability of choice (.347), knowledge of the name of a preferred political party or a candidate before the elections (.417), internal motivation (.364), reflexivity (.332), social desirability (.354) and internal control (.358) and negatively with alienation (-.307).

2. The positive emotionality of choice significantly and positively correlated with participation in the elections (.402), deliberation of the choice (.381) and its stability (.468), higher level of control of environment (.208) and hardiness (.348). Thus, we see the connection between positive emotions in the process of choice and the participant's ability to plan, control and manage different events of his/her life.

3. Self-determination of choice is significantly and positively correlated with the readiness of a person to argue for his/her choice (.482), subjective well-being (.240), internal control (.342) and social desirability (.321) and negatively with alienation in family relationships (-.456). Self-determination of choice is also strongly associated with the satisfaction with the election outcome (.460).

4. Satisfaction with one's decision significantly correlated with participation in elections (.432), deliberation of choice (.389) and its stability (.345), subjective well-being (.272), hardiness (.305), autonomy (.443), locus of control (.339) and self-efficacy (.607).

These results correspond well with the hypothesis about the relationship between personality variables and parameters of the subjective quality of choice. The correlations provide a fairly consistent structure.

No significant correlations were found between any of the four factors of The Subjective Quality of Choice Technique and the Multiple Stimulus Types Ambiguity Tolerance, the Satisfaction with Life Scale, the Subjective Happiness Scale and only a few correlations between the subjective quality of choice and sub-scales of Purpose-in-Life Test. These results suggests that the ability to make good choices is not directly associated with subjective well-being , but rather good choices is the outcome of one's beliefs to better control distant outcomes and consequences of one's actions.

C. A cluster analysis was performed to relate different styles of attitudes to the choices a person makes. The participants of the cluster analysis were the participants in the second study and the variables included The Subjective Quality of Choice Technique sub-scales.

Cluster analysis (Ward's method) split the sample into two distinctive groups by the quality of choice. Both groups significantly ($p = .00$) differed by all the parameters of the subjective quality of choice.

The participants assigned to the first group valued their choice as being more deliberate, joyful, self-determined and right than the participants in the second group. The first group was described as involved, being autonomous and elaborated and the second group as noninvolved deciding spontaneously and occasionally.

Table 3. Comparison of two groups by 4 factors of the subjective quality of choice technique

Factors of the subjective quality of choice technique	The group (Ward's method)	N	The mean	Sum	Mann — Whitney U-test	Z
Mindfulness of choice	1	39	52.56	2050	329	-4.543
	2	41	29.02	1190		
Emotionality	1	39	53.33	2080	299	-4.839
	2	41	28.29	1160		
Self-determination	1	39	51.50	2008.5	370.5	-4.531
	2	41	30.04	1231.5		
Satisfaction	1	39	55.63	2169.5	209.5	-5.725
	2	41	26.11	1070.5		

D. To check assumption about the correlations between these two styles of choosing and several personality variables we compared the two groups on personality variables (Mann-Whitney U-test). Table 4 presents only the significant intergroup differences ($p < .05$; those significant at $p < .01$ are printed in bold).

Table 4. Comparison of two groups by personality variables

Inventory	Variables	group	N	Mean	Sum	U-test	Z
BIDR	self-deceptive enhancement	1	39	46.33	1807	572	-2.192
		2	41	34.95	1433		
	impression management	1	39	46.83	1826.5	552	-2.381
		2	41	34.48	1413.5		
Scales of Psychological Well-Being	environmental mastery	1	39	45.77	1785	477	-2.697
		2	38	32.05	1218		
	personal growth	1	39	46.37	1808.5	453	-2.935
		2	38	31.43	1194.5		
	purpose in life	1	39	44.03	1717	545	-2.000
		2	38	33.84	1286		
Hardiness Survey	control	1	27	33.98	917.5	270	-2.151
		2	30	24.52	735.5		
Causality Orientations Test	autonomy	1	27	33.85	914	274	-2.095
		2	30	24.63	739		
Level of Subjective Control	internality in the situation of success	1	26	33.13	861.5	243.5	-2.256
		2	29	23.40	678.5		
Alienation Test 3	vegetativeness	1	11	8.32	91.5	25.5	-2.079
		2	10	13.95	139.5		
	powerlessness	1	11	8.36	92	26	-2.045
		2	10	13.90	139		
	social institutions	1	11	7.41	81.5	15.5	-2.793
		2	10	14.95	149.5		
	work	1	11	8.27	91	25	-2.115
		2	10	14.00	140		

As we see, the choosers that were involved were significantly higher in psychological well-being, hardiness, and autonomy, as well as in socially desirable behavior. On the other hand noninvolved choosers had significantly higher alienation scores in different domains of life compared to involved participants. The results support the hypothesis that different styles of choosing influence both the process of choice and the result of choices

3.5 Conclusion

In developing surveys to measure the participants experiencing of choice the results showed that making personal choice is a process that proceeds in different ways and forms.

Firstly, results supported a connection between the chooser's decision and actual behavior and attitudes toward the choice process and the result of choice. Those who participated in the elections were much more satisfied with the outcome compared to those who did not vote. This satisfaction held true for both a few days after the elections and in the follow-up study. Further, participants who strived to influence the election outcomes and indicated their subjective importance made more deliberate and stable decision than those participants who did not. Also participants who made more mindful choices were better informed about the results of elections and better recollected the fact of voting than those who made spontaneous and occasional choices.

Secondly, the results supported a connection between subjective quality of choice and some personality variables. Mindfulness of choice positively correlated with internal motivation, reflexivity, social desirability, internal locus of control and correlated negatively with alienation. A positive attitude toward the process of election choice also correlated with environmental mastery and control. The autonomous nature of choice is demonstrated by the positive correlations of self-determination to psychological well-being, internal locus of control and social desirability and negatively correlates with alienation in family context. Also, satisfaction with the election decision is connected with psychological the well-being, hardiness, autonomy, locus of control and self-efficacy.

Based on cluster analysis different types of attitudes toward the choice process and the result of the choice were carried out. These types were described as involved and noninvolved choosers as the results yielded systematic significant differences in personality variables between these two groups. The overall results support the contention that it is of critical importance to investigate *the way a person makes a choice* rather than just consider the actual choice. Future research will examine the two styles of choosing as differing in the structure of self-determination activity and other individual differences. We will examine if the style of choosing is individually invariant in different situations of choice.

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Chapter 4

DEVELOPING CUMULATIVE SCALES

Kees van der Veer & Laurens Higler

4.1 Introduction

Complex theoretical constructs used in empirical research require complex measurement techniques. The theoretical construct of transformational leadership is well known and widely used in organizational studies and organizational psychology (e.g. Bass, 1990; Judge & Piccolo, 2004; Martin & Bush, 2006; Wright & Pandey, 2009). The aim of transformational leadership is to change both the attitudes and behavior of employees (Burns, 1978). A transformational leader is defined by certain personality traits. For example, empathy, a salient aspect of emotional intelligence, is considered a critical factor in leadership (Goleman, 1998; David & Zaccaro, 2004). According to Wright & Pandey (2009) other qualities also are relevant. In particular the transformational leader presents a clear vision of the future of the organization and communicates the mission to reach that goal; functions as a role model within the organization; motivates employees by creating challenges in their day-to-day work; and stimulate collaboration between (groups of) employees.

Any operationalization of the concept of transformational leadership would require that the researcher include these four dimensions of the construct. Data about transformational leadership is typically obtained by formulating questions within a survey on different aspects of transformational leadership. Survey statements are presented with response categories varying from strongly agree to strongly disagree with the differences between response categories assumed to be equal appearing intervals.

Consider the following Likert-type statements.

‘My leader stimulates me to collaborate with other employees in my department’ or ‘I can see that my input is used by my leader’ or (negatively formulated) ‘My leader hardly has time to answer my questions when I need help’.

Usually in survey research the responses to such statements are combined into one total score expressing (in this case) the amount of transformational leadership that respondents perceive to have experienced in their organization. Using combined scores as an index assumes that each of the different survey statements is measuring some aspect of the same construct covering the major components. How can we be sure that this is the case?

The following sections will present different ways in which unidimensionality of attitude scales can be assessed. After introducing the Cronbach's Alpha, the principles of cumulative scale analysis will be presented. A discussion of the advantages of cumulative scale construction compared to other methods will follow. Finally, some examples of successfully constructed cumulative measuring instruments will conclude the discussion.

4.2 Item analysis and Cronbach's Alpha

Most statistical software includes procedures for item analysis (e.g. the statements in attitude scales are items) that determine whether different items in an attitude scale are reliable measures of the theoretical construct. A criterion measuring the level of inter-correlations (internal reliability) is known as Cronbach's Alpha. Alpha is an indicator of internal consistency of multiple items. A high Alpha reflects a high level of internal consistency with all items measuring the same phenomenon. A low Alpha on the other hand indicates a low level of internal consistency with items measuring different dimensions.

By applying the procedure of item analysis the assumption that the items will equally and sufficiently correlate with each other is tested. When the mean correlation of one item with the others in the scale is clearly lower (compared to the mean correlations of the other items), then this item measures 'something else' and should therefore be removed. When all correlations, computed pair wise between the items, are sufficiently positive, we consider the measuring instrument internally consistent or homogeneous.

Mathematically Cronbach's alpha (Cronbach, 1951) is computed as follows:

$$\alpha = \frac{k \frac{\overline{COV}}{\overline{VAR}}}{1 + (k - 1) \frac{\overline{COV}}{\overline{VAR}}}$$

Whereby

- k = the number of items;
- $\frac{\overline{COV}}{\overline{VAR}}$ = the average co-variance of all pairs of items of the scale to be constructed;
- $\frac{\overline{COV}}{\overline{VAR}}$ = the average variance of all the items in the scale to be constructed.

Basically, Cronbach's Alpha shows how responses on different items co-vary, and thus indicates the extent to which the item set is homogeneous. The homogeneity of the set of items is generally considered acceptable if the Cronbach's Alpha exceeds the number of 0.70 (UCLA 2010). Higher values indicate higher levels of internal consistency among the items used.

To put it differently, a high value on Cronbach's Alpha indicates that the items measure an underlying, or latent, construct (UCLA 2010). It is up to the researcher(s) to define and name this latent trait, because statistical programs cannot provide this information. For example the

following items show an acceptable internal consistency with a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.84 (Pratto, Liu, Levin, Sidanius, Shih, Bachrach, & Hegarty, 2000: 239).

- Equal rights for women.
- More efforts to eliminate sexual harassment
- More women professionals
- Equal pay for women^{††}

An analysis demonstrated that responses to these items were highly consistent. The index was subsequently labeled the '4-item sexism scale' (Pratto et al., 2000: 379) measuring the presence of the latent trait called sexism. In this example the conceptualization of the latent trait or construct is clear as all items reflect an opinion on sexism. When more items are added to the analysis a more powerful theory is needed to conceptualize such a complex latent trait reflected in more complex measuring approaches.

When assessing the internal consistency of a set of items by Cronbach's Alpha, a few measurement facts needs to be considered. First, the Cronbach's Alpha tends to increase when more items are added to a survey instrument (Garson 2008). Secondly, the software program for statistical analysis SPSS provide the opportunity to observe changes in Cronbach's Alpha when one item is deleted from the analysis. This allows an assessment of which items do not contribute enough to the underlying (latent) construct. However, before conducting this analysis it is necessary that all the weights for the response categories are directed in the same way so positive values correspond to high answer-values.

Finally, a high Cronbach's Alpha indicating high consistency is not to be confused with unidimensionality. If two distinct sets of items with high internal consistency are combined and administered (but both measuring completely different traits) then higher scores on Cronbach's Alpha can be expected. Low internal consistency reliability constitutes evidence that the measure is not homogeneous, but high internal consistency reliability does not necessarily constitute evidence of the homogeneity of a measure (for a more extended approach of the assessment of internal consistency using coefficient alpha see e.g. Pedhazur & Schmelkin, 1991).

4.3 Cumulative scales

The main reason for developing a cumulative scale is to uncover the internal relationships among the items in a scale. Useful cumulative scales often have acceptable Cronbach's Alpha-scores. The cumulative scale however gives more information about the hierarchical order among items included in the scale. This order can be deterministic or probabilistic.

^{††} The following question was asked: On a scale from 1 (very negative) to 7 (very positive) how do you feel about...

The deterministic cumulative scales, also referred to as Guttman-scales are best exemplified by the Bogardus Social Distance Scale (Babbie, 2007: 168-169):

Table 1. An example of a deterministic cumulative scale: the Bogardus Social Distance Scale

1	Are you willing to permit sex offenders to live in your country?
2	Are you willing to permit sex offenders to live in your community?
3	Are you willing to permit sex offenders to live in your neighborhood?
4	Would you be willing to let a sex offender live next door to you?
5	Would you let your child marry a sex offender?

As one can see there is a pretty straightforward hierarchy among the items mentioned above. For example, if respondents react positively on item 5, then it is certain that they also answer positively on item 1. After all, it makes no sense to let your children marry someone who you would not allow to live in your country. Another example of deterministic cumulative hierarchy is a person's height. If someone measures 1.82 it is certain that he or she is taller than 1.70 and 1.80 but shorter than 1.90.

Matters get more complicated when the order of items is less deterministic, and the cumulative pattern among the items is probabilistic. Take for example the following set of items (table 2):

Table 2. Attitudes toward the role of the government regarding homeless people
[Answer categories 1 (agree) and 0 (disagree)]

1	The government should provide homeless people with food.
2	The government should provide homeless people with health care.
3	The government should provide homeless people with housing.
4	The government should provide homeless people with a job.

In the example given above one can only speak of an increased probability of a positive answer on item 1 when the respondents provide a positive answer on item 4. There is an increased likelihood that someone who demands the government to provide homeless people with a job will also demand that the government should provide them with food, health care and housing. However, it is also possible that someone does not want the government to supply homeless people with food, but want it to provide them with a job. For that reason we only speak of an increased probability of agreement in responses to different items, which can best be assessed by a Rasch scale analysis or by a executing a *Mokken* Analysis.

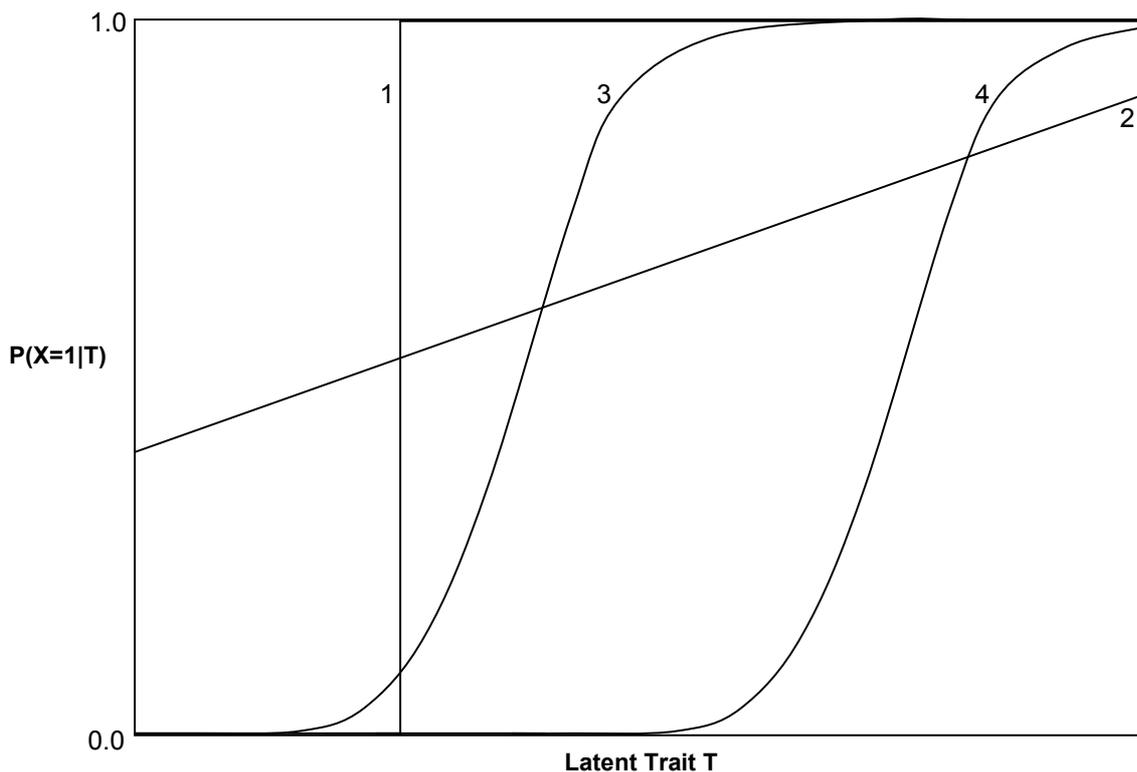
Rasch models (see e.g. Briggs & Wilson, 2003) are used for analyzing data from assessments of abilities, attitudes, and personality traits. For example, the models may be used to estimate a student's reading ability from a reading assessment, or the extremity of a person's

attitude to capital punishment from responses to a questionnaire. The Mokken Scale procedure is a comparative more simple procedure for assessing and constructing cumulative scales, and therefore more attractive to researchers.

4.4 The Mokken scale procedure

The Mokken Scale Procedure (MSP) is a method of constructing cumulative attitude scales from Likert-type summated rating scales, and is essentially a probabilistic version of Guttman scale analysis (Sijtsma & Molenaar, 2002; Dunn-Rankin, Knezek, Wallace & Zhang, 2004). The aim of the MSP is to order subjects along a certain latent trait T. The probability P to give a positive answer on an item i ($P(X=1|T)$) is dependent on the amount of T a subject S possesses. In figure 1 four graphs are drawn representing the Item Response Function for four different dichotomous items.

Figure 1. Item Response Functions for Dichotomous Items



Item 1 with the steepest slope is an example of a deterministic item: all subjects who possess a certain amount of T or more will score positively on that item ($P=1$) and all subjects with a lower amount of T will score 0 ($P=0$). Imagine we measure the trait length with the item: do you agree (1) or disagree (0) with the following item: “I am taller than 1.80 m”. Subjects with a height length through 1.80 will answer disagree, and for all those subjects the probability to

score 1 is zero ($P=0$). On the other hand, all subjects taller than 1,80 m. will score 1 with a probability of $P=1$.

Item 2 with the lowest slope is an example of an item that does not discriminate well between subjects with a large or a small amount of T. For example the item: “I have nothing against immigrants” is meant to measure an attitude toward immigrants. For subjects with a small amount of T item 2 is comparatively “easy” because even when a subject has a very unfriendly attitude towards immigrants ($T=0$), the probability to score positively is still larger than 0 ($P>0$). But for those with a comparatively large amount T, P is lower than the likelihood of scoring positive on the other 3 items represented in the figure.

The curves representing the probability for subjects to score positively for items 3 and 4 are parallel, meaning that these items are discriminating well between subjects with different amounts of T. Examples of such items are the ones presented above in table 2 measuring attitudes toward the role of the government regarding homeless people. The discriminatory power depends somewhat on a certain distance between the items. The probability of scoring positive on item 3 is always greater than the probability of scoring positive on item 4. Therefore, item 4 is considered more “difficult” than item 3 since a higher amount of T is needed for scoring positive.

The MSP and the computer program used (Molenaar, Van Scuur, Sijtsma & Mokken, 2000)^{††} locates the discriminatory items within sets of Likert-type items. This procedure computes a measure of scalability (Loevinger’s H) for each single item and for sets of items. A high degree of homogeneity in the scale means that all items measure the same attitude, indicated by Loevinger’s H. The maximal Covariance is indicated by H. In general, an item is considered part of a cumulative scale if it reaches or surpasses an H-value of .30, a Mokken scale is considered strong if the H-value ranges from 0.50 to 0.60. Scale coefficients ranging between 0.40 and 0.50 indicate an average or medium discriminatory scale, and scales with scores lower 0.4 are considered containing weak power to discriminate (Kingshot & Douglas, 1998; Sijtsma & Molenaar, 2002: 60)

The MSP may be employed for both dichotomous (Mokken, 1991) and polychotomous items (Sijtsma & Molenaar, 1996). The “search procedure” in the Mokken analysis looks for item sets with scalability coefficients $>.30$.

The Scale Reliability that is computed in the MSP (Rho) is comparable to the measure of Cronbach’s Alpha and should compute at about the same level. The Z-values for each of the items indicate whether the items have a good discriminative power. Finally, a scale with utility should have enough predictive power.

^{††} The MSP5 software program and the USER’s Manual is available on request by the authors.

The MSP has been successfully applied to the measurement of a wide variety of latent traits in the field of psychology and other social sciences (see e.g. Sijtsma & Molenaar, 2002 for an overview).

The most important difference between Mokken scales and Guttman scales is the probabilistic nature of the former and the deterministic nature of the latter. The following sections focus on probabilistic cumulative scales assessed by Mokken analysis, and how the results of the analysis should be interpreted. The examples are derived from current research on Xenophobia and on attitudes toward Illegal Immigration.

4.5 Measuring xenophobia^{§§}

Data for this research was collected in three countries: Norway, the Netherlands, and the USA. Student samples can be successfully utilized for scale construction, as shown by Pernice, Van der Veer, Ommundsen, and Larsen (2008). Data were collected in three countries with net immigration rates: Norway, the Netherlands, and the USA. According to Moïsi (2009) these are among the countries that risk rising xenophobia based on perception of threat from immigrants. Participants for this study were students recruited from universities in each of the three countries. Approval to conduct research involving human subjects was sought and granted.

The U.S. sample consisted of 608 undergraduate students, *M* age 19.5, enrolled at University of Nebraska-Lincoln. The sample contained nearly an equal number of women (47%) and men (53%). 19% of students indicated that they had a family member who was a first generation immigrant. Participants were offered incentives to participate in this study, either as extra credit for a particular course or research credit required by the Department of Psychology.

The Dutch sample included 193 undergraduate students in business administration, *M* age = 22.9, enrolled at the VU University of Amsterdam. Again the sample yielded nearly equal numbers of women (51%) and men (49%). Participants were offered a chance to win one of three vouchers of 45 Euros or the equivalent of 65 US Dollars. 20% of students indicated that they had a family member who was a first generation immigrant.

The Norwegian sample consisted of 303 undergraduate students enrolled in psychology at four Norwegian universities (University of Oslo, University of Bergen, University of Tromsø, and Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim). The sample yielded nearly

^{§§} The example in this section comes from a current project, carried out in collaboration with Oksana Yakushko, University of California Santa Barbara, USA and Reidar Ommundsen, University of Oslo, Norway. Some findings of this project are reported in Ommundsen, Van der Veer, Krumov, Hristova, Ivanova, Ivanova, & Larsen (2009) and in Van der Veer, Ommundsen, Yakushko, Higler, & Schneider (2009).

equal numbers of women (51%) and men (49%), M age = 25.2. 17% of the participants indicated that they had a family member who was an immigrant. These students took part in an online survey. The email invitation to participate informed participants about the nature of the study and offered a chance to win one of three universal gift certificates for the approximate equivalent of 60 US Dollars. Upon deciding to take part, participants were led to an URL page that included the survey.

4.5.1 Development of a xenophobia scale

All of the items were listed in the same random order in each survey and were rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree). Twelve items were keyed in the positive direction and eighteen were negatively keyed. Positively phrased items were subsequently reversed scored, and the overall attitude assessed by summing the item scores. Higher scores indicated a higher level of xenophobia.

The first step was to make a selection of items that fit the conceptualization of xenophobia defined by the irrational fear of immigrants and foreigners. The resulting items are presented in table 3. The MSP was completed separately for the three samples. The dichotomous procedure was employed because Hak, van der Veer, and Ommundsen (2006) showed that respondents find it difficult to differentiate between the response categories “strongly agree” and “agree”, and also between “strongly disagree” and “disagree”. The data were therefore transferred into xenophobic category versus a not-xenophobic category, by collapsing the response classes “strongly agree” and “agree” versus the strongly disagree and disagree. Because of their unclear meaning (uncertain, or don’t know, or does not understand the item) the answers in the middle category were not included in the analysis.

Table 3. Xenophobic Items expressing (irrational) fear of the unknown ***

1	Immigration in this country is out of control.
2	Borders should be made more secure to prevent immigrants from entering this country.
3	Immigrants cause increase in crimes.
4	Immigrants take jobs from people who are here already.
5	Interacting with immigrants makes me uneasy.
6	I enjoy interacting with immigrants (-) ^{†††} .
7	It is OK for immigrants to stay close to their cultural roots (-).
8	I would welcome interaction with immigrants (-).
9	I worry that immigrants may spread unusual diseases.

*** Answer categories (1) Disagree strongly (2) Disagree (3) Neither disagree nor agree (4) Agree (5) Agree strongly.
 ††† (-) Means that the item should be reversed for further analysis.

10	I am afraid that in case of war or political tension immigrants will be loyal to their country of origin.
11	I trust immigrants will support my country in times of crisis (-).
12	With increased immigration I fear that our way of life will change for the worse.
13	I doubt that immigrants will put the interest of this country first.
14	I am afraid that our own culture will be lost with increase in immigration.

Out of this selection, the most reliable scale was derived by maximizing the Cronbach's Alpha score. This means that items were deleted as long as this helped to increase the score on Cronbach's Alpha. This yielded the following selection of items (see table 4). The Cronbach's Alpha scores for this 9-item scale were .77 for the US, .87 for Norway and .86 for the Netherlands sample.

Table 4. A summated rating scale with Likert-type items measuring Xenophobia

1	Immigration in this country is out of control.
2	Immigrants cause increase in crimes.
3	Immigrants take jobs from people who are here already.
4	Interacting with immigrants makes me uneasy.
5	I worry that immigrants may spread unusual diseases.
6	I am afraid that in case of war or political tension immigrants will be loyal to their country of origin.
7	With increased immigration I fear that our way of life will change for the worse.
8	I doubt that immigrants will put the interest of this country first.
9	I am afraid that our own culture will be lost with increase in immigration.

4.5.2 A cumulative scale of xenophobia

The scale presented above is a collection of items with high internal consistency. Respondents can be grouped on the basis of their score on this scale, ranging from 0 (if they do not agree on any of the statements reflecting a positive opinion on immigration) to 9 (if they agree on all of the statements, a negative opinion on immigration). The most important advantage of a probabilistic cumulative scale is that the order of the different items in the same scale is clear, thus providing more information on the content of the attitude of xenophobia.

For the following analysis the Mokken Scale Procedure (MSP) was used. The aim in using the MSP in constructing a cross-national measure of xenophobia was to investigate whether the ordering of subjects in a student population is similar in three different countries. The analysis sought to answer whether is it possible to develop a measuring instrument that meets the criteria of psychometric assessment, and has cross-national validity?

Prior to the analysis it was decided to eliminate items that contributed to a lack of scale homogeneity. Therefore items that scored lower than 0.4 on Loevinger's H (indicating the homogeneity of an item in relation to the total scale) were excluded from the analysis. The results of the MSP analysis are presented in table 5.

Table 5. Measure of Xenophobia for three national samples and the combined sample.*

Item	Netherlands (valid* n = 175)			Norway (valid n = 287)			United States (valid n = 573)			All countries (valid n = 1035)		
	Mean	ItemH	Z	Mean	ItemH	Z	Mean	ItemH	Z	Mean	ItemH	Z
Interacting with immigrants makes me uneasy	.12	.45	5.1	.06	.49	7.1	.30	.36	10.8	.21	.45	16.8
With increased immigration I fear that our way of life will change for the worse	.36	.50	10.6	.18	.63	15.5	.41	.50	17.8	.34	.56	26.8
I am afraid that our own culture will be lost with increase in immigration	.36	.49	10.4	.20	.64	15.7	.44	.47	15.8	.36	.52	25.1
Immigration in this country is out of control	.37	.43	9.0	.25	.52	12.6	.71	.43	11.1	.53	.49	22.6
I doubt that immigrants will put the interest of this country first	.56	.57	9.2	.37	.56	11.8	.54	.46	15.6	.50	.48	21.1
Scale coefficient H	.49			.57			.48			.50		
Overall Scale Z-score	14.25			20.10			22.59			35.69		
Reliability (RHO)	.76			.77			.70			0.75		

*The mean score of an item relates to the proportion of subjects that responded positively to that item. Loevinger's H indicates the degree of homogeneity in the scale. Z-values indicate discriminative power. Rho is a measure of internal consistency comparable to Cronbach's alpha.

The 5-item Mokken scales indicate a hierarchical order of the attitude items, ranging from 'easy' items to 'difficult' items. Results show that the rank order of the items is the same in the three samples, with only one exception. In the U.S. scale the order of last two items is different from the order in the Norwegian and Dutch scale. The mean scores of the scale range 0 (non-

xenophobic) to 5 (extreme xenophobic) are: 1.77 (for NL, SD=1.6), 1.04 (for NO, SD=1.4) and 2.39 (for USA, SD=1.6). The first item in the Measure of Xenophobia for the three samples (“Interacting with immigrants makes me uneasy”) is a ‘difficult’ item since a high amount of the ‘trait’ (xenophobia) is needed in order for respondents to answer positive on that item. By contrast, the last item in the scale for the Netherlands and the Norwegian sample (“I doubt that immigrants will put the interest of this country first”) is a comparatively ‘easy’ item since people can respond positively to that item when they possess only a small amount of xenophobia. This is also shown by the graphs in figure 2. The curves represent the probability of agreeing (score 1) with the specific items, and given a certain ‘amount of Xenophobia’ show that the items discriminate rather well between subjects with different ‘amounts of Xenophobia’.

The question is whether the Measure of Xenophobia presented in table 4 can be considered a good measuring instrument. Sijtsma & Molenaar, 2002; and Kingshot & Douglas, 1998 suggest the following psychometric criteria in reviewing the results of Mokken scale analysis.

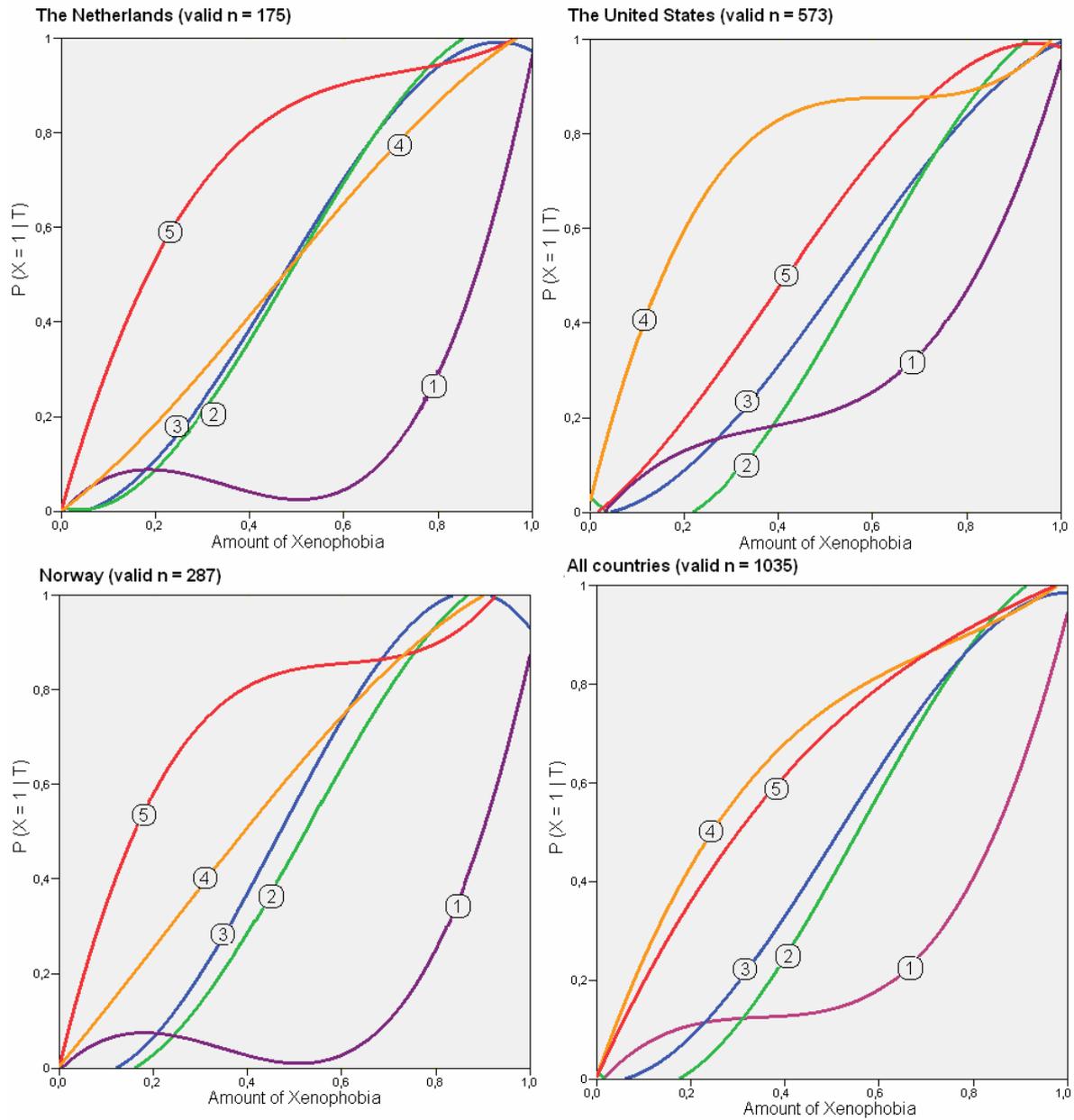
In the first place the final scale should be reliable. Scale Reliability computed in the MSP (Rho) is satisfactory (.75 for the cross-national scale). The same applies to the scales in each of the national samples.

Secondly the H-values should be high enough. In this example the H values of the different items range from .36 to .64, and an item with H of .36 is considered acceptable (Sijtsma & Molenaar, 2002: p.37). The cross-national Measure of Xenophobia can be considered strong since the scale H = .50, as it is for the three national scales.

Hence, the Z-values of the items in each of the four scales presented in table 3 and 4 indicate that all the items have good discriminative power. These Z-values (ranging from 5.1 to 26.8) are far higher than the critical value ($Z=2.73$). Therefore it can be concluded that the null-hypothesis (the items have no discriminative power) can be rejected. The same outcome is found for the overall the Z-values of the scales (ranging from 14.3 to 35.7).

A fourth important criterion for the quality of the scale is its predictive power. Note that predictive power is used here in a limited sense, namely predicting someone’s attitude for his or her score on the scale. One indication for that is the percentage of respondents that answer in accordance with one of the cumulative patterns derived from the empirical mode.

Figure 2. Graphical display of measure of xenophobia for the Netherlands, Norway, the United States, and the total sample (all countries combined).



- Legenda**
1. Interacting with immigrants makes me uneasy.
 2. With increased immigration I fear that our way of life will change for the worse.
 3. I am afraid that our own culture will be lost with increase in immigration.
 4. Immigration in this country is out of control.
 5. I doubt that immigrants will put the interest of this country first.

As noted before the Mokken model is probabilistic instead of deterministic, which means that deviations from the cumulative patterns can be expected. The Measure of Xenophobia recognizes 6 different patterns (out of all (32 possible patterns) that are in accordance with the model. To clarify these six patterns are presented in table 6 for the Netherlands and Norwegian samples.

Table 6. Six possible cumulative patterns for the Measure of Xenophobia in the Netherlands and Norwegian sample.

<i>item</i>	<i>Cumulative answer patterns 1=xenophobic; 2=non-xenophobic</i>					
1. Interacting with immigrants makes me uneasy.	0	0	0	0	0	1
2. With increased immigration I fear that our way of life will change for the worse.	0	0	0	0	1	1
3. I am afraid that our own culture will be lost with increase in immigration.	0	0	0	1	1	1
4. Immigration in this country is out of control.	0	0	1	1	1	1
5. I doubt that immigrants will put the interest of this country first.	0	1	1	1	1	1

The extent to which the respondents behave in accordance with what the model assumes indicates the usefulness of the Measure of Xenophobia. Considering the cross-national scale (table 5) it was found that 56 percent of the Dutch respondents, 67 percent of the Norwegian respondents, and 58 percent of the US respondents answered in accordance with the cumulative empirical model (one of the 6 possible cumulative patterns). Among those who answered in discordance with the model are probably several respondents with only one deviation ('error') from the pattern. Hence, the probability to make 'errors' will increase to the extent that the 'difficulty' of items, explained before, is close to each other. One may compare the cumulative scale of Xenophobia with a ruler with (only) five measuring points, and if some of these points are close to each other the measurement can at times be inaccurate.

4.5.3 A cross-national cumulative measure of xenophobia

Thus the Mokken Scale Procedure yielded a measure of Xenophobia that meets the criteria of reliability and validity, and can be considered a useful measuring instrument with cross-national utility. The order of the items in the total sample may be interpreted as reflecting different levels of threat that people experience regarding foreigners, as follows.

- item 1: personal fear;
- item 2: fear of cultural change;
- item 3: fear of cultural change/losing identity;
- item 4: fear of disloyalty;
- item 5: political fear.

According to this empirical model, those who experience personal threats are also very likely to experience cultural threats, fear of losing identity, fear of disloyalty by foreigners and fear of lack of control in the political system.

However, the measuring instrument developed in this research still needs further validation by using qualitative research. We will return to this issue in a later chapter.

Although student samples can be good starting points for scale construction (Pernice et al., 2008) further validation and possible improvement of such a measure is indispensable. Further research should include this measuring instrument in national representative samples including more countries than the ones in this example.

4.6. Measuring attitudes toward illegal immigration

The second example is based on the construction of a cumulative scale measuring attitudes toward illegal immigration and illegal immigrants. The first 20-item scale was developed by Ommundsen & Larsen (1999). The original scale consisted of items of the Likert-type, see table 7. Data for the construction of this measuring instrument was collected in two national samples in New Zealand the Netherlands.

The data from New Zealand was collected by randomly selecting 2500 respondents from the country's electoral roll. Respondents in this sample were mailed a self-completion questionnaire consisting of the above-mentioned 20 items, including also background variables including age, sex, country of birth and ethnicity. A total of 1280 valid responses were received from the survey.

The data from the Netherlands was collected by the International Social Survey Program (ISSP). The ISSP is a large questionnaire submitted to about 1500 respondents in each of over 42

European and non-European countries. The survey is carried out every fourth year, and each of the participating countries has the possibility of including their own questions in the survey. The ISSP of 2005/2006 for The Netherlands included the above-mentioned 20 items. The respondents are randomly selected and requested by mail to fill in the self-completion questionnaire.

The first step in the construction of a cumulative scale was the completion of a factor analysis. Factor analysis provides the means of discovering independent components within a set of data. This analysis was carried out using a Principal Component Analysis with Varimax rotation and Kaiser normalization, in both samples. Results showed that three factors were found (Eigenvalues >1.20) in each of the samples. The 20 items are presented in table 6 with the factors on which they load (loadings >.45) in between parentheses for NZ and NL respectively.

The 3 factors were labelled as follows: Factor 1: items related to human rights; factor 2: items related to the exclusion of illegal immigrants, and factor 3: items related to the free flow / open borders for illegal immigrants. Taken together these factors explained 37.3 and 40.8 of the variance for New Zealand and The Netherlands respectively.

Table 7. The 20-item scale measuring attitudes toward Illegal Immigrants: items* and corresponding factors in NZ- and NL-sample (Ommundsen & Larsen, 1999)

1. Illegal aliens should not benefit from my tax money R**
(NZ=2; NL=1,2)
2. Our taxes should be used to help those residing illegally in NZ/NL
(NZ=3; NL=1)
3. There is enough room in this country for everyone
(NZ=1; NL=2)
4. Illegal aliens are not infringing on our country's resources
(NZ=3; NL=1)
5. Illegal aliens are a nuisance to society R
(NZ=2; NL=1)
6. There should be open international borders
(NZ=3; NL=3)
7. Access to this country is too easy R
(NZ=1; NL=1)
8. Illegal aliens should be excluded from social welfare R
(NZ=2; NL=2)
9. NZ/NL should accept all political refugees
(NZ=3; NL=1,3)
10. Illegal aliens who give birth to children in NZ/NL should be made citizens.
(NZ=3; NL=2)
11. Illegal aliens cost NZ/NL millions of dollars/Euros each year R
(NZ=2; NL=3)
12. Illegal aliens should be eligible for social welfare
(NZ=2; NL=2)

13. Illegal aliens provide NZ/NL with a valuable human resource
(NZ=3; NL=2,3)
14. The government should pay for the care and education of illegal aliens
(NZ=2,3; NL=2)
15. Illegal aliens should not have the same rights as NZ/NL citizens R
(NZ=3; NL=3)
16. Illegal aliens have rights, too
(NZ=1; NL=1)
17. Taking care of people from other nations is not the responsibility of NZ/NL R
(NZ=1; NL=1)
18. All illegal aliens deserve the same rights as NZ/NL citizens
(NZ=3; NL=3)
19. Illegal aliens should be forced to go back to their own countries R
(NZ=1; NL=3)
20. Illegal aliens should not be discriminated against
(NZ=1; NL=1)

*Answer categories: strongly agree (1), agree (2), uncertain (3), disagree (4), strongly disagree (5)

**R= reversed item

The results of the Mokken scale analysis are presented in tables 8 and 9.

Table 8. Mokken Scale Analysis: Results for The Netherlands with dichotomized variables (n = 929; Scale coefficient H = 0.44; Scale Z = 55.92)

Item	Item coefficients		
	Mean	ItemH	Z
20. Illegal immigrants should not be discriminated against	0.40	0.44	20.18
16. Illegal immigrants have rights, too	0.50	0.53	28.26
17. Taking care of people from other nations is not the responsibility of NL(R)	0.57	0.41	23.39
9. NL should accept all political refugees	0.60	0.41	23.76
2. Our taxes should be used to help those residing illegally in NL	0.80	0.40	24.44
7. Access to this country is too easy (R)	0.83	0.41	25.65
5. Illegal immigrants are a nuisance to society (R)	0.83	0.42	26.09
12. Illegal immigrants should be eligible for social welfare	0.84	0.45	27.23
8. Illegal immigrants should be excluded from social welfare (R)	0.86	0.44	25.93
1. Illegal immigrants should not benefit from my tax money (R)	0.87	0.53	29.49

(RHO = 0.80)

Table 9. Mokken Scale Analysis: Results for New Zealand, with dichotomized variables (n = 1191; Scale coefficient H = 0.49; Scale Z = 55.17)

Item	Item coefficients		
	Mean	ItemH	Z
16. Illegal immigrants have rights, too	0.51	0.57	26.67
20. Illegal immigrants should not be discriminated against	0.62	0.50	27.31
17. Taking care of people from other nations is not the responsibility of NZ (R)	0.66	0.47	26.38
19. Illegal immigrants should be forced to go back to their own countries (R)	0.83	0.50	28.86
8. Illegal immigrants should be excluded from social welfare (R)	0.88	0.42	24.53
13. Illegal immigrants provide NZ with a valuable human resource	0.91	0.46	26.15
12. Illegal immigrants should be eligible for social welfare	0.93	0.53	28.78
18. All illegal immigrants deserve the same rights as NZ citizens	0.93	0.49	25.85
14. The government should pay for the care and education of illegal immigrants	0.94	0.51	26.08

(RHO = 0.79)

In this case the Mokken procedure yielded two unique scales measuring attitudes toward illegal immigrants that also met the criteria of reliability and validity in each sample. The 10-item scale presented in table 8 includes items that are not represented in the 9-item scale presented in table 9. Both scales are considered ideographic scales, taking into account items considered specific for the social, cultural and political context of each country.

Developing a measuring instrument with cross-national utility require a form consisting of items that are included in both instruments.

Looking at the results in table 8, item 9 can be left out of the measuring instrument because the mean is close to the mean of item 17; items 2, 7, 5, can be left out because their mean scores are nearly the same as the mean of item 12, and item 1 could be left out of the measuring instrument because the item mean is close to that of item 8. Looking now at the results in table 9, items 14, 18, and 13 can be left out for comparable reasons. Both scales have common items (printed bold in tables 7 and 8). The rank order of those common items is only slightly different between the Netherlands and the New Zealand sample. These results indicate that for comparative reasons one may use the more parsimonious 5-item scale instead of the more detailed 10- or 9-item scale presented previously for Netherlands and New Zealand respectively.

4.7 Final remarks

In the former sections a method for developing cumulative unidimensional scales that meet criteria of psychometric validity has been presented. Having assessed psychometric validity, there are still important issues. For example, are the separate items of a cumulative scale interpreted by respondents in the same way? How do the items relate to one another? Why precisely do respondents find certain items more ‘difficult’ than others? These are all questions concerning the content of the scale.

In order to assess the content validity of measuring instruments one needs qualitative methods. The Three-Step Test-Interview (Hak, Van der Veer, & Jansen, 2008), originally developed for pretesting self-completion questionnaires may be a helpful tool for this type of assessment and is described in chapter 6.

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Chapter 5

MOTIVATION AND PERSONAL DISPOSITIONS: A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF GOAL-SETTING IN HEALTH INFORMATION

Reidar Ommundsen

5.1 Introduction

Somatic illness and health used in the past to be mainly a concern of medicine where the main focus was then and still is the treatment of people who are ill. Curative medicine and scientific progress can boast many successes in promotion of health throughout the world. However, health is not just a matter of more advanced health services and therapy. Better health requires relevant interventions that prevent the development of illness. Although ill health is at times caused by poor living conditions, with the advent of health psychology it is commonly accepted that people's health-related behaviors are significant factors. The American Psychological Association's defines health psychology as including both clinical research and therapy (<http://www.healthpsychology.org>). However, the discipline's groundbreaking start was its focus on prevention and health promotion beyond therapy. Taylor (1990) defined health psychology as the use of psychological principles to promote health and prevent illness. Students of psychology may find health promotion a particularly attractive field as it is closely connected to applied social psychology. Health promotion and illness prevention are challenges where psychology students, as future professionals, can be of service to society. Trained professionals may find work in a variety of positions in schools, industry, as researchers, or as educators of health personnel. Psychologically trained professionals are in the best position to represent the applied knowledge of our discipline.

In democratic societies the value of individual freedom is regarded highly. Hence, trying to change peoples' behavior by the use of coercive authority will not be successful. Rather the priority is on influencing people's behavior by providing information that appeal to peoples' rationality (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). To change health-related behavior for the better it is necessary to educate people using relevant and scientifically grounded knowledge. Unfortunately it has become increasingly clear that when we seek to educate people about health we are faced with a host of information barriers. Often we find that health-relevant information is not reaching the intended targets or that people for various reasons do not act consistently with the vital knowledge they have received. From these concerns the question arises: How can we conduct effective health information campaigns? In the process of producing efficacious campaigns we are faced with complex methodical questions to which social psychology can yield some answers.

Let us start the discussion of health information or education by using as the point of departure the comprehensive analysis of Somers (1976). She claims that health education in its broadest sense must be seen as a process with several objectives that include providing

information about the conditions that generate illness as well as knowledge that promote health. We must convey the idea that behavior is a vital causal factor in health by:

1. Motivating people to change habits toward supporting more healthy behaviors.
2. Helping people learn the necessary skills to establish and maintain health-serving behavior.
3. Contributing to the promotion of competence in healthcare professionals
4. Promoting societal and environmental conditions that are less threatening to health, and in particular actively seek to change living conditions toward those that support and maintain health-serving behaviors.
5. Engage in research and evaluation to increase systematic knowledge informing us about how to realize these goals.

5.2 Choice of goal

Health information can have several different aims leading us to ask under what conditions is it important to inform people about health threatening behaviors and conditions. Secondly, in what situations is it more important to teach people health-related coping skills? Also when and under what conditions should healthcare professionals address the political establishment and argue for changes in the social and material environment? And finally, when and where should healthcare resources be invested in research?

The clarity and primacy of goals in the health education process must be established at the start of any health campaign. If we chose unrealistic goals for an information campaign our efforts may fail. This choice-of-goal problem is more basic in health education, than the problem of finding effective ways to design a health promotion communication. It makes little sense to hire a public relations bureau to develop attractive information material with catchy slogans, if the recipients are in need of help and support in using already existing knowledge.

5.3 Types of health information and the role of attitudes

Health information can be provided as personal communication between doctor and patient, or as education in a group setting like a school class. Further, health education can also be presented in impersonal information format in newspapers, journals, radio, TV, and more and more through information on the Internet.

Health information provided through the mass media has in the past yielded mixed results. Perhaps one reason is that less than one-third of public health campaigns use scientifically based research that identify social psychological dimensions of attitude and behavior change (Randolph, & Viswanath, 2004). In the current author's country, Norway (and probably elsewhere) large amounts of money are wasted on ineffective health communication. Health information may at times have even paradoxical unintended effects. Deeply rooted but incorrect information may backfire and reinforce peoples' preexisting beliefs (Nyhan & Reifler, 2010). For example, an early study found that warnings against sniffing solvents resulted in more young people starting to sniff (Brecher, 1972). At times perception is a barrier preventing the patient from receiving the message. Some patients may construe a doctor's order to take one spoonful of medicine three times to mean only one spoon a day to be sipped three times.

5.4 Why does health education have small effects?

There are many causes for why we fail to reach people with health messages. In the present chapter it will be argued that failure in communication occur because health communicators are not be sufficiently informed about, or do not take sufficiently into consideration, recipient variables and the situational context of the target. Furthermore it is important to consider how the message may be perceived and evaluated, and what the targeted person thinks about his or her health-related behavior and its consequences.

5.5 It is important to start with the receiver

The Danish writer and philosopher, Søren Kirkegaard revealed a significant social psychological insight when he wrote: “To be a teacher (i.e. health educator) does not mean simply to affirm that such a thing is so, or to deliver a lecture, etc. No, to be a teacher in the right sense is to be a learner. Instruction begins when you, the teacher, learn from the learner, put yourself in his place so that you may understand what he understands and the way he understands it” (Kirkegaard, *The Point of View for My Work as an Author*; 1848).

Following this point of view the health communicator must keep in mind that the receivers of information all have personal reasons for their life styles and health-related behavior. Therefore in order to improve the effectiveness of health information we have to take into account personal dispositions and the situational factors impacting the receiver and tailor the message accordingly. A more nuanced assessment of the receivers’ psychosocial situation is needed in order to choose a realistic health-related goal for intervention, and design an effective healthcare message. It is an essential methodological issue in health information to first investigate target group variables and the life situation of the intended recipients.

In face-to-face health communication it is of course possible to establish a dialogue with the target group and investigate lifestyle and the social situation. However, even when this is an option, health experts sometime forget Kirkegaard’s reminder. In mass communication dialogue is less of an option, and therefore the problem is greater.

5.6 Contributions from social psychology to health psychology

A wealth of research reports and textbooks has been published in recent years in health psychology (e.g. Conner & Norman, 2005; Taylor, 2009). Unfortunately this literature does not provide detailed maps relating various life styles of different target groups to their health related behaviors. Lifestyles and social conditions change with time and place. However, it is possible to extract from the literature a general picture of the determinants of health related attitudes and behaviors. Social psychology can offer a conceptual social psychological model with the “person-in-situation” model (Ommundsen, 1985). In turn the model can point to useful dimensions when collecting information relevant to health-related behaviors. The dimensions discussed below are thought to generalize across time and situations.

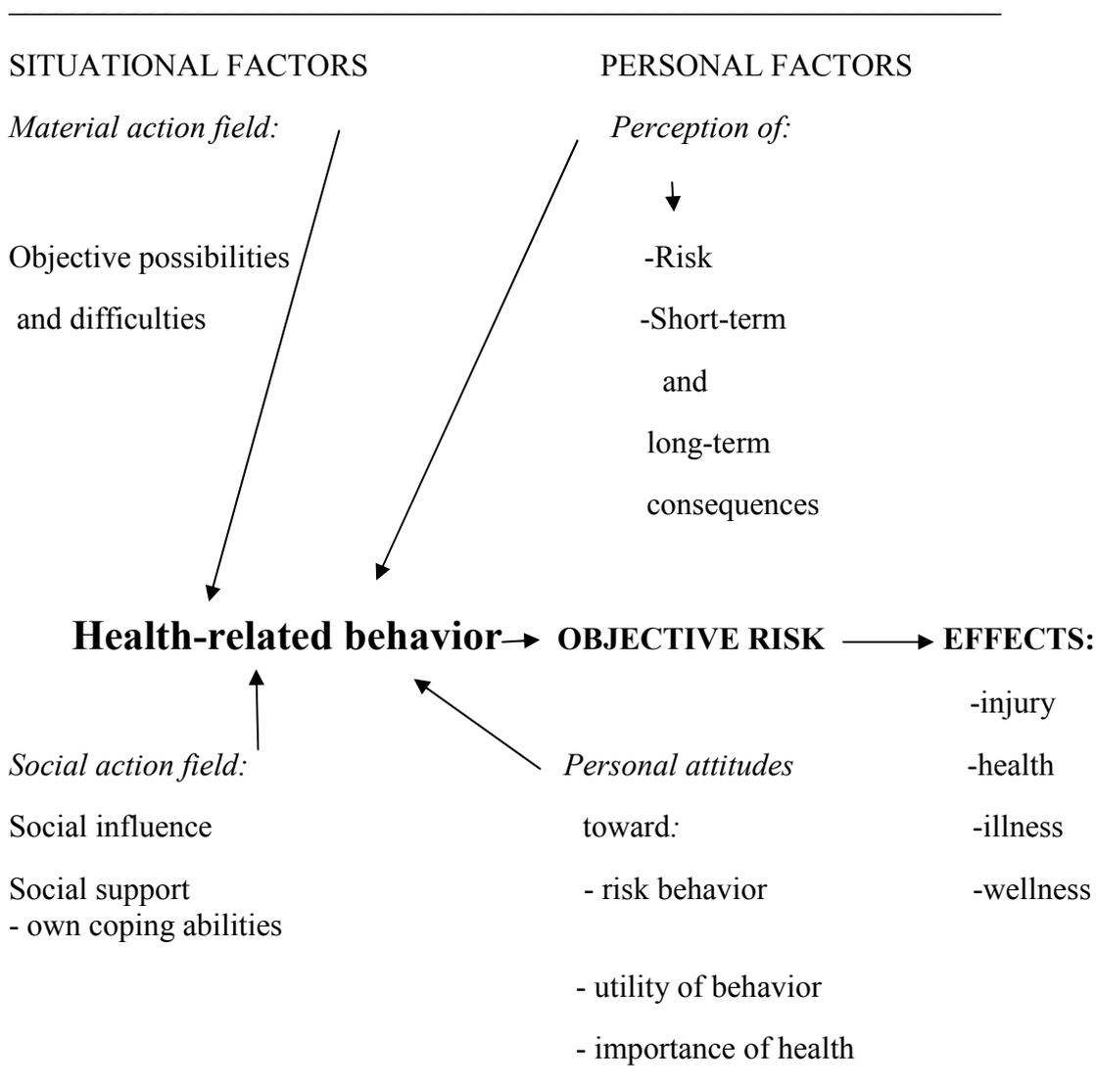
It is not the task to discuss in this chapter details of various methods of collecting information about determinants of peoples’ health related social attitudes and behavior. Some health-related informational projects use small-scale qualitative group interviews. Such interviews may identify principal risk factors in the initiation of adolescent smoking behavior

(Miller, Burgoon, Grandpre, & Alvaro, 2006). Focused interviews may also help determine how adolescents view risk behavior in consuming illicit drugs. Ross, Greene, & House (1977) identified the cognitive tendency called “false consensus” where Spanish youngsters overestimate the degree to which their drug use is shared by other people (Sur in English, 2009, April 13, p. 6). However, at times surveys on a larger scale are needed to identify factors that influence health related behavior. There are a multitude of textbooks reporting on both qualitative and quantitative research methods that discuss the pro and cons of various research methods (e.g. Patton, 2002; Ulin, Robinson, & Tolley, 2004; Reis, & Judd, 2000). However, whatever research approach is employed it is useful to have a model of the essential health related dimensions.

5.7 A social psychological model of “person-in-situation” health-related behavior

This model (see figure 1) does not claim to be complete, but builds upon a selection of concepts, theories and research findings from social psychology. The model details dimensions of the person-in-situation interaction that may have utility when choosing a realistic goal for intervention and in customizing communication information.

Figure 1. Model of health-related behavior



Health-related behavior occupies the central place in the model because practicing a certain lifestyle marked by bad health habits will affect the objective risk of developing health problems. Hence, the model stipulates that sometimes the consequences of our habits may harm us.

This focus on health-related behavior is important, because we must constantly be reminded that the risk of developing ill health is often a result of our own behavior. Since there is a relationship between behavior and objective health risk we also need to be reminded that we can do something to reduce the risk of becoming ill. With the increasing knowledge people may realize that they themselves can prevent health problems by changing their behavior. The development of health psychology as an applied sub-discipline of social psychology demonstrates the increased acknowledgement of the importance of behavior for health promotion (Taylor, 2009). Through the development of health psychology, social psychology has gained a significant life-and-death relevance that should attract the serious student of psychology.

To communicate effectively is it necessary to first investigate the target group's beliefs about the connection between health-related behavior and a certain health problems. The information campaign will fail if a significant proportion of the group believes there is no connection, and the health communicator does not take that position into account. For example a health information campaign may have chosen Somers goal 2 (motivation) or 3 (teaching skills), when instead it should have chosen goal 1 (conveying trustworthy information about the risks of certain behaviors). On the other hand campaigns may miss the target doing just that. For example a study of Danish-Pakistani families who are prone to develop diabetes because of their food habits found that these families are conscious about healthy and unhealthy foods. However campaigners may mistakenly assume that the families lack this knowledge. People who already know what is healthy and unhealthy get no benefit from information campaigns based on what is already known (Halkier & Jensen, 2012).

The model is also open in the sense that, in addition to personal consequences, a person's health-related behavior may also affect others including children in the family. Transmitting health message about tobacco consumption has undoubtedly led to an increased willingness by smokers to refrain from smoking at home and the increased acceptance in many countries of smoking bans in designated public places.

Behavior is the central focus in the model since the purpose of increased knowledge of behavior-health risk connection is to create behavior change. Can health education campaigns teach old dogs new tricks? In order that people will understand the message it is necessary to first capture the target person or group's attention. Research shows that it is possible to capture the attention of targets and increase health-related knowledge about a given health problem by means of health information campaigns.

However the challenge is to produce health information that can produce lasting behavior change. In other words health information can be distinguished from other public relation activity since it is not sufficient to increase peoples' knowledge, but rather health information must also have consequences that produce lasting behavior change.

To achieve lasting behavioral change through health information a better understanding is needed of the forces that influence and regulate health-related behavior. The model (see figure 1) illustrates that behavior is situated in a “field of forces” (Lewin, 1951). The two major factors that influence behavior are based in influence of the situation and also in the person. The model furthermore distinguishes between the “material action field” and the “social action field”. The first field component represents the actual possibilities the person has for implementing a given behavior, for example whether there is sufficient money and time to support the change. The second field component represents social influence as found, for example, in the level of emotional support from salient others.

5.8 Situational factors

- ***The material action field***

What are the practical obstacles that prevent a group targeted for healthcare persuasion from behaving in a desirable way? For example, a campaign to inform people that frequent physical exercise prevent cancer may fail if those responsible for persuasion have not investigated the material situation of the targeted group. Without taking into account the practical obstacles faced by a physically inactive target group the consequence of a relevant information campaign may just provoke antagonistic reactions. For example, to tell people that physical activity is good for them may be dismissed as moralizing. Well-planned health education on the other hand can prevent such negative reactions by investigating in advance the target’s material action field.

The health educator needs to evaluate the goals chosen for a message if a ”pre-test” indicates that a health message is too demanding for the target group. The health educator can redesign the health message with an even stronger emphasis on motivating the target (Somers 2). For example people could be encouraged to affirm their sense of personal worth in order to promote self-regulation in tempting situations (Logel & Cohen, 2012). However, another approach would be to join the target group and take on the role as an ”advocate” for the group (Somers 5). Health educators can argue when addressing the political establishment that many people do not have the time or the money to go to fitness centers. Health educators can argue for specific social changes that make it easier for people to take care of their health, for example by having safe lanes constructed for people who exercise by riding bicycles to work.

It is possible to encourage cooperation by inviting people to analyze and map the obstacles they face in practicing health-promoting behavior. The target group may be led to understand that the obstacles in the material action field make it difficult to comply with health advice. It can be more motivating to perceive oneself as being hindered, rather than seeing oneself as lacking competence or will (e.g. Freudenberg, 2005; Dorfman, Wallack, & Woodruff, 2005). There is no psychological base to support the removal of the obstacles if the individual believes he/she is incompetent.

- ***The social action field***

Human beings are “social animals”, and the social field of action contain influences from “significant others”, including family members, teachers, colleagues at work, sports heroes and leaders. A health educator may therefore find it useful to explore the social field of a target

group. Is there social support from significant others to live a more healthy life in the form of encouragement, engagement, or practical help? Absence of support will likely make healthy living more difficult for those trying to quit smoking, reduce weight, become more physically active or eat healthy. For example a wife may want to serve fish, but the husband wants meat and the children won't eat vegetables (Halkier & Jensen, 2012).

The receiver's social action field may also reveal if there is an absence of role models that practice of healthy behavior? Since action speaks louder than words health communication will find it difficult to overcome examples set by athletic coaches who smoke or drink alcohol. Therefore, instead of making the young the sole focus of health information and motivation it might be possible to change their social action field by informing and motivating sports coaches and leaders to act as role models for healthy habits (Somers 1 and 2).

Approaching the dissemination of health information in this *indirect* way may yield better and more lasting pay-offs. For example, Bandura has succeeded in changing personal and social behavior through dissonant education-entertainment or soap operas inspired by social cognitive theory (Bandura, 2002). On a more general level indirect health education can utilize the role of significant others both as sources of social support and as role models. Further, health education can provide encouragement and support in developing a social identity based on healthy and positive lifestyles (Jetten, Haslam & Haslam, 2012; Miller, Brickman & Bolen, 1975; see also Loghel & Cohen, 2012).

5.9 Personal factors

Health related behavior may also be influenced by peoples' perception and attitudes.

- ***Perception***

The discussion here is limited to two aspects of health-related perception: (a) the targets' view about the risk associated with a given health-related behavior, and (b) the target's perception of opposition to or lack of support for healthy behavior in the social action field.

- ***Risk perception***

The negative effects of health damaging behavior are often delayed by decades. On the other hand people generally react to immediate consequences of behavior, however immediate feedback seldom provides signals of health risk. On the contrary, feedback is often associated with hedonistic enjoyment and excitement that reinforces unhealthy behavior. Health education it is likely to fail in motivating needed change since it informs people about long-term health risks for example by smoking that are obfuscated by the immediate experience of pleasure. In general any information recommending healthy behaviors from which people do not get some immediate positive feedback will have minimal success.

Further, social psychological research has found that people often make a distinction between the general risk of certain lifestyles or health-related behaviors and their personal risk. A recent study found a way to reduce the distinction and get people to take health warnings about skin cancer more seriously. When men saw UV-filtered photos of themselves that revealed

skin damage this personally relevant information motivated them to subsequently use sunscreen and other protections (Novotney, 2010).

Health education should inform about the objective risks of unhealthy behavior because people are entitled to have such information, nevertheless it is not surprising that health information has little behavioral effect. It is useful to identify the psychological “mechanisms” or defensive cognitive strategies people employ to reduce perceived risk. With that information it is possible to design health messages, which directly or indirectly, counteracts some of these cognitions.

In their review Wetterer and von Trosche (1986) listed several defensive strategies:

Denying the veracity or validity of the information

Messages about risky behavior may be discounted by questioning the relevance of the information to everyday life. Personal “correlation matrices” based one’s own or other relevant experience may also support denial. For example, personal events might support denial such as having an uncle who smoked all his life but lived to reach 90, and in addition knowing another person who never had smoked, but died from cancer at an early age.

Has the intention to change behavior in the indefinite future

A person who has firm plans to quit smoking may feel less a need to defend the habit. More importantly however, good intentions to quit may compensate for the feeling of doing something risky to health since the behavior will soon be terminated. Wicklund and Rise (2008) have recently suggested that good intentions may even function as a “symbolic completion” of behavior. Good intentions therefore may inhibit actual changes needed in behavior and the old habits prevail.

The illusion of self-control

The belief that one can change behaviors risky to health as a personal decision or when it becomes necessary, may give a person at risk the false perception that harm can be avoided. With the illusion of self-control the risky behavior is seen as less risky and the required action is delayed. In addition the fear of not being able to exercise self-control may prevent a person at risk from even trying. Experiencing a failure in self-regulation may also be felt as blow to the self-image undermining self-efficacy and motivating the continuation of the risky practice.

On-and-off-behavior

This happens when people switch between health-serving and health-risky behavior. This oscillation falsely reinforces a person’s feeling of self-control: “I have demonstrated that I can change my behavior, when I want to, and I will be able to do so again”.

Minimizing risk

This cognitive strategy openly acknowledge the risk linked to a habit, but at the same time the behavior is perceived as relatively less dangerous by comparing it with some other unhealthy behaviors: “It is better to use marihuana, than to drink alcohol”. Or the individual can minimize risk by rationalizing: “ Life itself entails risks. If I determine every step of behavior by

some health criteria, I might end up doing nothing”. A recent Spanish study of drug habits among young people (Sur in English, 2009, April 13, p. 6) found that the majority of participants were aware of the risk of illicit drug use. However, many respondents said taking risks was a natural part of being young.

Delegation of responsibility

Some people may not view themselves as consciously taking risks, but behaving in unhealthy ways because of dependence. The responsibility is not theirs since with the addiction they cannot act otherwise.

The response of health education

Health educators ought to explore more closely how target groups perceive and apply cognitive strategies in defending against information about risky behavior before investments are made in expensive education campaigns. For example young people might share certain ideas that serve to support risky behavior like trying drugs. Information about target groups may help design more optimal health messages emphasizing the self-serving bias of personal correlation matrices and other cognitive defenses. Receivers of health information may come to see how self-deception prevents them from learning important facts and make the individual responsive to lifesaving health messages.

Obstacles in the social environment may be perceived by the target for health-related information as larger than justified by objective facts. For example, Prentice and Miller (1993) found in study among college students that most students disliked binge drinking at social gatherings on campus, but at the same time believed that their fellow students thought it was OK. Consequently the students did not protest, perhaps for fear of being ridiculed by the other students.

Exploring such assumptions may reveal that the significant others in the student’s circle would prefer less consumption, but falsely think no one else share their preference. In social psychology this phenomenon is called, “pluralistic ignorance”. The term describes a situation where a majority of members in a group privately reject a norm, but assume incorrectly that most other members favor it. This in turn may prevent changes in normative behavior that in fact are disliked by most people (Katz & Allport, 1931). Misperceptions and fear of ridicule foster a lack of communication and thereby prevent commonly desired behavior changes in a target group. When exploration indicates that pluralistic ignorance is present in a group education should encourage the openly sharing of opinions. In that process people at risk may find they are not alone in wanting to change behavior (Schroeder & Prentice, 1998).

5.10 Action inhibiting attitudes

There are two types of receiver attitudes that may work against a health message (Bandura, 2001). What Bandura calls “self efficacy” are the individual attitudes toward personal competence and ability to practice the recommended behavior. “Outcome efficacy” is the attitude toward the utility of the behavior to produce the intended effect. Figure 2 illustrates four quadrants constructed from a combination of the two attitudes where each is dichotomized into a positive (Yes) or negative (No) value.

Figure 2. Attitudes toward own ability and utility of behavior

	Action producing the intended effect?	
	<i>(Outcome efficacy)</i>	
Person has		
ability to perform		
behavior?		
<i>(Self-efficacy)</i>	YES	NO
YES	1	2
NO	4	3

Keeping this model in mind, health education can be targeted toward four different “existential” situations. For example quadrant 1 represent a situation where a person holds positive attitudes toward ability to perform a given behavior (self-efficacy), and at the same time has a positive attitude toward the utility of this behavior (outcome efficacy).

People who are psychologically speaking situated in Quadrant 4 may not be motivated to change in the desired direction. People in this quadrant for example believe in the utility of using dental floss after each meal to prevent tooth decay, but hold negative attitudes toward their ability to comply. Such a combination of attitudes dominant in a target group may lead health educators to instruct recipients in action planning specifying when, where and how to perform the behavior (Sniehotta, 2009) and the building of skills and routines that increase healthy behavior (Somer 3). Gradually building skills is particularly important if people are aware that consequences of negative health habits are serious. Some believe that health education has put too little creativity into how to develop self-efficacy (Somer 3). In some cases health education has to accept its limited utility, and behavior oriented programs like smoking cessation courses, or weight reduction clubs, may have better health outcomes than information.

Quadrant 2 represents an altogether different situation. In this quadrant a person may for example hold positive attitudes toward applying safety belts, or switching on headlights in the daytime as a safety measure, but feel negative about the preventive utility of such actions. In this situation the health educator is faced with the task of providing believable information about the utility of the behavior in preventing car accidents and saving lives. Such health information may be counteracted by the target’s private correlation matrices about health outcomes. While that

might tempt the educator to exaggerate outcome efficacy, in the final analysis such exaggerations however undermine the general trust people have in health information.

The situation in Quadrant 3 offers a discouraging combination of two action-inhibiting attitudes of neither believing in the self-efficacy to perform or the utility of the preventive behavior. Perhaps the choice of information goal will yield better pay-off by switching from Somers aims 1 and 2 to 5. In this case an indirect approach can increase the likelihood of positive outcome by informing and motivating the target's social action field to support and motivate the target. For example health information can motivate people to invite physically inactive friends to join on hitchhikes.

The situation in Quadrant 1 is particularly challenging as the target is confident that he or she can perform a recommended behavior (self-efficacy) and is also positive about the health-serving effect (outcome efficacy), but nevertheless does not act accordingly. In this case health education can produce the best outcomes by advocating for changes in the material action field. Salient examples are laws prohibiting smoking in public places, or fast food restaurants being required to reduce salt or fat in their products to prevent coronary problems or obesity.

Acting contrary to one's knowledge of what constitutes healthy behavior exemplifies an important finding from social psychology namely the power of situations to overcome personal dispositions. However, people may sometimes underestimate situational determinants of behavior (see Ross & Nisbet, 1991). Health education would improve in persuasive effectiveness by taking situational influences into account. Messages in health campaigns could increase people's awareness of situational factors that influence health and motivate them to seek out social support systems. For example many situational factors contribute to the abuse of alcohol and problem drinkers and alcoholics can find help in controlling their drinking by becoming a member of Alcoholics Anonymous.

Finally, it may be useful for health educators to explore the value people place on health as people vary and not all people rank health a primary value. Given this, how is it possible to choose a goal for health information? There is no answer that fits everyone because, as noted earlier, people may have different reasons for their health-related attitudes. Hence, the first goal in health education must be to identify the underlying causes and motivations. Based on this information, health educators will need ingenuity and creativity in developing messages with utility for motivating people to seek better health outcomes. At the same time health educators need to be realistic and accept that health education is not a cure for all problems.

5.11 Health information and moralism

Health education is based on the idea that people can improve their health and prevent illness through behavior change. How can health educators help people feel more responsible for exercising self-regulation without moralizing at the same time? Behavior-focused health information has been criticized for "blaming the victim" (see Ryan, 1971). When the target experiences moralizing health information the result is often oppositional behavior. In evaluating this issue it can be useful to make a distinction between (a) attributing responsibility for the *cause* of the (health) problem and (b) attributing responsibility for *solving* the problem (see

Brickman et al., 1982). Figure 3 illustrates four quadrants constructed from a combination of attributions.

Figure 3. Responsibility of the person for having caused a problem, and responsibility of the person for solving the problem (After Brickman et al. “Models of helping and coping”, 1982)

		Responsibility for solution?	
		Person	Other/Situation
Responsibility for having caused the problem?	Person	1	2
	Other/Situation	3	4

As can be seen in Figure 3 the cause of ill health and solution attributions can either be the Person, some other agent referring to the situation or someone in the person’s environment. Health messages can therefore be constructed to convey different opinions about responsibility.

Quadrant 1 represents attribution to the person as the cause of the health problem, as well as being responsible for the solution. Health messages that convey the opinion that the person is not only responsible for ill health, but also for the solution are likely to produce resentment. The recipient of this type of message may feel guilt and embarrassment, but also stubbornness and anger at attempted moralizing. Research shows that information that prompts negative emotional reactions inhibits compliance and generates opposition and reactance (Bem, 1966; Dillard & Shan, 2005). In cases where the information conflicts with the target’s deep-rooted convictions or core values (e.g. personal freedom) health information may paradoxically backfire (Brehm & Brehm, 1981; Nyhan & Reifler, 2010).

Quadrant 4 represents the diametrical opposite position. Health problems are seen as caused by persons or situations apart from the individual (e.g. my ill health is the “fault of others”). People with these attributions expect health experts or other relevant persons to solve the problem. However, health messages that attribute cause to others removes any responsibility from the person and may instead of empowering the target inadvertently create feelings of powerlessness.

Health information that conveys the message that the person is to blame for the health problem but others have to solve the issue (see Quadrant 2) may also not be effective. Health messages of this variety carry paternalistic overtones. Such attributions burden the person with the responsibility, but at the same time leaves the solution to others. In the long term messages of

this type erode people's initiative and leave the responsibility for maintaining health to the health care system or experts (see e.g. Langer & Rodin, 1976; Seligman, 1975).

Messages in quadrant 3 attribute health problems to the conditions people live in, but at the same time also trust people to find solutions. However, a major problem with these attributions is that many people are unaware that economic and political interests are manipulating or affecting their health related behavior. Corporate behavior is increasingly recognized as a fundamental cause of disease (e.g. Freudenberg, 2005; Dorfman, Wallack, & Woodruff, 2005). Public health information can help people realize how industry promotes health-threatening products like alcohol, tobacco, and junk food (e.g. Appolonio & Malone, 2008).

Attributing accurate responsibility for health problems to industry could also have political action utility. In this awareness process people may come to realize that weak character is not the single cause for obesity or smoking, but that seductive advertising also plays an important role. By informing the audience about how corporations keep silent or willfully mislead people about dangerous products people may develop healthy resentment toward corporate sources that in turn lead to support for regulatory laws and political action. Further, research shows that health information that takes a counter marketing approach help undermine peoples' unfounded trust in health damaging products leading to reduced consumption (McDonald & Malone, 2009). Messages in quadrant 4 attribute respect for people and seek to motivate them to find appropriate solutions. However, messages should not exceed the person's ability to follow up in specific ways or shame and helplessness may result (Rodin, 1986).

5.12 Conclusion

Health education is a complex responsibility and requires a choice between several goals. In some situations providing information is most useful to people, at other times better health outcomes can be obtained by motivating or instructing recipients. Advocating change in social conditions that obstruct healthy behavior may at times also have utility. The first step in health education is to understand the target population, particularly the personal and situational factors that influence how information is received and acted upon. To reach goals of optimal outcomes health education should follow the advice of Kierkegaard and listen to people. This chapter has presented social psychological concepts and models to guide this exploration and decision process. A central point is that health information designed to be non-moralizing, but still attributing responsibility to people, can prepare the ground for targets and experts working together to build fields of action that sustain healthy behavior.

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Chapter 6

THE THREE-STEP TEST-INTERVIEW (TSTI) FOR PRE-TESTING SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRES AND FOR QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWING

Kees van der Veer

6.1 About pretesting

Pre-testing is the practice of examining questions and answering categories of both modes of survey administration using either interviews or self-completion questionnaires during a pilot study. Such pre-testing is useful in order to discover possible problems in the formulation of questions and/or answer categories. Problems that frequently occur include issues with the survey form, ambiguity in questions and/or answers, when a unitary scale deals with more than one subject, or when questions/answers are formed in a way that is suggestive of bias. Methods that are commonly used for pre-testing are expert review, behavioral coding and cognitive interviewing

The Three-Step Test-Interview (TSTI) is an instrument for pre-testing a self-completion questionnaire by observing actual instances of interaction between the instrument and respondents (the response process). Because this process mainly consists of cognitive processing ('thinking') and is therefore hidden from the observer, (concurrent) thinking aloud is used as a technique for making the thought process observable.

The TSTI consists of the following three steps (Hak, Van der Veer, & Jansen, 2008):

1. Concurrent thinking aloud aimed at collecting observational data.
2. Focused interview aimed at remedying gaps in observational data.
3. Semi-structured interview aimed at eliciting experiences and opinions.

Steps 1 and 2 are distinctive for the TSTI. Step 3 is similar to other types of 'cognitive' and in-depth interviewing.

Increasingly, non-sampling data error in surveys results from problems that occur in the response process, i.e. the process of interaction between the instrument (questionnaire) and the respondent.

When a survey participant responds to a questionnaire, problems of interpretation may arise at any point in the response process producing data error. Cognitive interviewing has been developed as a method for identifying problems in the response process, error localization in the response process model or in the questionnaire, and determining their effects and their causes.

The term 'cognitive interviewing' refers to two main techniques, "think aloud" and "probing". These two techniques are different in their aims and methodological status. "Think aloud" was developed as a technique for observing the process of thinking (Ericsson & Simon, 1980; Van Someren, Barnard, & Sandberg, 1994). The aim is to make the thinking of

respondents that normally is hidden observable to the investigator. The subjects are asked to verbalize their thoughts concurrently, i.e. at the very moment of thinking. It is debatable whether subjects can verbalize without changing the process of thinking and their thoughts. However, the aim of the “think aloud” technique is to make the thinking process itself observable. “Probing”, on the other hand, is a technique for eliciting reports from respondents about their thinking. As probing starts the nature of the data is changed from observations to self-reports by the respondents. This is an important difference, which is the more pertinent since “probing” is the basic technique used by cognitive researchers (see e.g. Willis, 2005 for an overview of techniques and practices in cognitive interviewing).

The pre-testing literature makes a distinction between the actual thinking process of the respondent, made observable through “think aloud”, and self-report data which is the respondents' accounts of this process. Reports on cognitive pre-testing research rarely mention insights gained from observing respondents to the test questionnaire based on concurrent “think aloud” protocols. Instead, results of cognitive pre-testing are usually based on data produced by respondents when probed to perform *other* tasks such as paraphrasing questions, explaining definitions of terms, and expressing preferences regarding wordings or layouts. However, such reports about interpretations and preferences produced in pre-testing have a questionable relationship to the actual response process because it is unclear whether these interpretations should be considered part of the actual thinking process or just accounts of this process.

Current practice of cognitive pre-testing emphasizes the exploration of ideas through probing thereby neglecting important differences between interview and self-completion surveys. The wording of questions is tested outside their context in the questionnaire and not as encountered and experienced by the respondent. Therefore the question is not understood in its actually intended form as it is delivered by an interviewer or in a specific textual format of self-completion surveys. To assess and improve the actual performance of the instrument in the field the response process must be observed in action.

Since responding to an interview is very different from self-completion surveys the appropriate techniques for observation should logically respond to this difference. The appropriate technique of observing the response process in an interview is audio or videotaping the interaction coding the frequency of responses. This type of observation is known as 'behavior coding'.

The methodological issues associated with observational data during self-completion are very similar to issues encountered by psychologists when they started to study the process of cognition for which they developed the “think aloud” technique. Issues also resemble those encountered in usability testing. The Three-Step Test-Interview is, in many respects, similar to the “think aloud” technique employed in cognitive psychology and for the instruments used in utility testing.

Survey questions employed in an interview seem most adequately tested by means of behavior coding (followed by both interviewer and respondent debriefing). On the other hand a self-completion questionnaire should be tested by a “think aloud” technique. Therefore the questions for the “think aloud” session should be offered in a written format.

6.2 The Three-Step Test-Interview (TSTI)

The aim of the TSTI is to observe actual response behavior to a self-completion questionnaire. Much of this behavior consists of ‘thinking’ and is therefore hidden from the observer. The (concurrent) “thinking aloud” technique is used to assess the thinking when responding to the survey.

Step 1.

The first and main step of the TSTI is: Concurrent thinking aloud aimed at collecting response data. The aim of the first step of the TSTI is to collect observational data about the respondent's behavior consisting of:

- a. Observations of respondent behavior (such as skipping questions; correction of the chosen response category; hesitation; or distress).
- b. “Think aloud” data.

Respondents are instructed to complete the questionnaire as they would normally with the additional task to concurrently verbalize what they think. This is not always an easy task since recent studies suggest that the ability to “think aloud” is linked to verbal fluency (Schneider & Reichl, 2006). In some cases brief training in thinking aloud may be helpful (see e.g. Hak, Van der Veer, & Jansen, 2004).

Both types of observational data, i.e., behavior and verbalizations, are recorded and kept on audio and videotape for later analysis. In addition the researcher should make 'real time' notes of response problems indicated in behaviors and the verbalized thoughts. These real time notes are made for immediate use in the following steps of the interview.

The strictly observational nature of this first and essential step of the TSTI must not be compromised by any intervention by the researcher since that might suggest that a self-report from the respondent is required.

Two additional steps follow upon this first think aloud step: Focused interview aimed at remedying gaps in observational data (step 2) and semi-structured interview aimed at eliciting experiences and opinions (step 3).

Step 2.

After the first step the researcher and the respondent might further 'reconstruct' the reactions of the respondent during the completion process. This second step should be taken for those thoughts or actions where the observational data collected in the first step seem incomplete. This assessment is difficult since it must be made in real time based on the researcher's notes made during the first step.

The respondents should report only what they did and thought in the first step, not what they think now in retrospect. It is not the aim of this step to elicit accounts or comments.

Steps 1 and 2 of the TSTI result in two types of observational data reporting both actions and thoughts. The data is recorded in two ways using tape for later analysis or real time notes by the researcher for use in the interview itself.

Step 3.

During the third and final step, a semi-structured interview aimed at eliciting experiences and opinions, the respondent is stimulated to add secondary data in the form of accounts, reports of feelings, explanations, or preferences to the primary observational ones. In one of our pilot studies this third step took very different forms depending on the kind of questionnaire that was tested. Three major approaches can be distinguished:

Step 3.1 Respondents are requested to explain their response behavior. When specific problems are encountered in responding to the questionnaire, the participants could be asked to comment on what they think is the exact nature of the problem. Specifically they should be asked why they behaved the way they did as recorded in steps 1 and 2 of the interview. Further, the respondents could be asked about improvements in wording of questions, the layout of the questionnaire, or instructions. The aims and form of this interview will be similar to respondent debriefing occurring in other research. It is important to recognize that such comments are opinions and not necessarily factual in evaluating causes of survey problems detected in steps 1 and 2. Researchers should make their own independent analysis of problems associated with the questionnaire based on observations in all interviews from the pre-test.

Step 3.2 Respondents could be asked to paraphrase questions and comment on their definitions of terms. In other words, some form of 'cognitive interviewing' might be done in this stage.

Step 3.3 Respondents might also be probed about the substantive issues that are covered by the questionnaire. For instance, if an alcohol consumption questionnaire is used, respondents might be invited to describe their own alcohol consumption. Or, if a scale measuring attitudes towards 'illegal Immigrants' is tested, respondents might be asked to explain their attitudes to the interviewer. From our pilot studies (reported below) such data when compared to respondents' responses in step 1, were useful indicators of the validity of the data collected by the instrument. Steps 1 and 2 are very similar to usual formats of 'cognitive interviewing'. It must, however, be emphasized that data collected in step 3 of the TSTI have a very different status from those that are usually collected in such interviews. The main difference is that they are collected in addition to other primary observational data. Step three is used as an aid in the analysis of actual response behavior and on actual problems that occur in surveys. In the strict sense of the term, the TSTI is not an interview. Rather it is an observational technique consisting of two steps. The first is strictly observational and the second is aimed at supplementing the observational data followed by an interview.

Steps 2 and 3 are not only additional in a chronological sense but also in a methodological sense as these data illuminate, illustrate and explore the principal data collected in the first step.

6.3 Practicing the TSTI - some examples

The TSTI has been used in several pilot studies. In one study the quality of survey questions measuring alcohol consumption was assessed. The TSTI proved to be particularly good at identifying problems that resulted from a mismatch between the 'theory' underlying the questions (measuring the number of glasses of alcohol per day, per week assuming that people are working during daytime) and features of a respondent's actual behavior and biography (some people are working in shifts, for example off shore) (Jansen & Hak 2002).

Another study was carried out at the Department of Social Medicine, VU Medical Center in Amsterdam. A questionnaire measuring health-related Quality of Life (QoL) was validated using the TSTI (Pool, Hiralal, Ostelo, Van der Veer, Vlaeyen, Bouter, & De Vet, 2009). In another pilot study an attempt was made to qualitatively evaluate patient's understanding and interpretation of the wording used in the 17-item Tampa Scale of Kinesiophobia (TSK) (Kori, Miller, & Todd, 1990).

The TSK measured fear of movement in patients suffering from low back pain, and is increasingly used for other pain conditions. Patients with sub-acute neck pain often experience problems in completing this questionnaire and the pilot study sought to define these problems. The TSTI was used to collect data on the thoughts or behaviors of respondents while completing the TSK. The data collected in the first two steps were analyzed and categorized per survey item and the findings then compared to the qualitative interview.

Two types of problems with the questionnaire were identified. One issue concerned the meaning of specific words used like "dangerous" and "injury". Some patients interpreted this last word as "there is something wrong" or "something has been broken" or "there must have been an accident". Patient 2 said, as an example "...look, if you think about injury you think perhaps that something is broken or you have been wounded or it's really bad, but in your neck it is just 'wear and tear' and that sort of thing...". Another questionnaire problem was that the implicit assumptions made in some items which made it difficult for respondents to apply these items to the experience or current status of the patients. Take for example item 12: 'Although my condition is painful, I would be better off if I were physically active'. 'Physically active' or the word 'exercise' in a few other items of the scale were interpreted by some patients to mean that they did not exercise at all or were not physically active. Most patients reacted by saying: "I am physically active". This led to problems in choosing the appropriate response option. Item 10 ('Simply being careful that I do not make unnecessary movements is the safest thing I can do to prevent my pain from worsening') raised a lot of questions about what exactly were unnecessary movements.

It can be concluded that in the development and validation of questionnaires like the TSK not only the assessment of psychometric properties is important, but that qualitative research can make important contribution to enhance validity and applicability.

In another recent study Dutch and Norwegian versions of an attitude scale, the 20-item Illegal Immigration Scale (Ommundsen & Larsen, 1999) were validated. The way the TSTI was used may be illustrated as follows.

The main finding from testing the items of the Illegal Immigration Scale in both samples was that some respondents felt they had to choose between two possible interpretations (Hak, Van der Veer, & Ommundsen, 2006). Take the following example.

Respondent 5 NL, Item 11 Illegal Immigrants Cost the Netherlands Millions of Euros each Year

Step 1. Concurrent think aloud

R: illegal immigrants cost the Netherlands millions of Euros each year ...in first instance I don't know anything about it, so I must make an intuitive choice ... and I think that this is

the case, but I don't say that it's negative and then I don't know how I must interpret this item, because I would ... with such an item I would rather, ... well, think perhaps in a socially desirable way, whereas, as such, the item ... the item does not express an opinion, so I choose for just the literal, interpretation ... and that, yes, it's a fact that it costs millions of, millions of euros so I agree [response category 2]

Step 2. Focused interviewing

R: yeah ... here I immediately thought ... yes that's correct ... but ... I don't know whether I have said that ... but what I intuitively feel a bit ... is that if you ... if you agree strongly with it, it looks like you are very much anti-illegal immigrants

I: yes

R: but the statement as such does not say anything about attitudes to illegal immigrants ... and then I think it's their fault that they don't have formulated it differently ... I think I should respond to the statement that is actually there

I: okay ... and why have you

R: chosen the 2 (agree) rather than 1 (agree strongly)?

I: yes ... because you are convinced that illegal immigrants cost us millions of Euros

R: well, I think again that I have chosen 2 because, well, I am almost certain that it costs so much but ... well on what base?

I: oh ... so it's the uncertainty ... that you do not know the facts

R: yes

The respondent explicitly notes two possible interpretations of this item. One idea is the 'literal' one: do illegal immigrants cost The Netherlands millions of Euros each year, or don't they? The respondent thinks that they do. However, he is also aware of another possible other interpretation a political argument one in which the item is rather a hostile or friendly attitude to illegal immigrants.

Let us look at another example from the same TSTI session.

Respondent 5 NL, Item 13 Illegal Immigrants Provide the Netherlands with a Valuable Human Resource

Step 1. Concurrent think aloud

R: illegal immigrants provide the Netherlands with a valuable human resource ... I immediately think, in my opinion it doesn't make a difference whether you are legal or illegal, to be a valuable human resource, so, well, I have not ... a straightforward opinion ... so, it is uncertain [response category 3] ... because one can be valuable also if one is legal.

Step 2. Focused interviewing

R: Well ... here I have ... I think, in my opinion, I lack knowledge a bit ... I have uncertain ...

well, a valuable human resource, well, what can I say about it?

I: well there might also be a kind of logical reasoning behind it ... that the item suggests a difference between illegal and legal people

R: oh right yes that's what I said I: you said if this applies to everyone, why should I confirm it here for illegal people only?

that kind of reasoning

R: yes, yes could be, yes

I: but now ... you say, you say also the facts ... you don't know the facts

R: no, you're right, the way I thought was ... indeed I thought that the distinction between illegal or normal, just a normal Dutch person ... that is not clear to me ... and if there is a distinction ... well, I don't know either whether they are valuable or damaging ... those are two things, a bit two things ... of which I don't know

In the transcript of the concurrent "think aloud" step it can be observed that the respondent recognizes the item as one in which a difference is construed between 'legal' and 'illegal' immigrants. He disagrees with this distinction. His selection of the response category uncertain can be seen as expressing an avoidance of taking sides for or against 'illegal' immigrants.

In TSTI step 2 (focused interviewing), the respondent gives another reason for choosing uncertain, namely that he is genuinely uncertain about whether illegal immigrants actually are a valuable human resource in the economy. In this reasoning, the respondent interprets the statement 'literally', not as the expression of a hostile or friendly attitude towards immigrants.

In the third step of the TSTI the respondent confirmed that he was aware that his scale score was less 'friendly' towards illegal immigrants than would have been the case if he had followed the expectations of the authors of the questionnaire. He clearly recognized that the authors expected him to demonstrate his friendly attitude toward illegal immigrants. He interpreted items as invitations to position himself politically rather than as questions about economic facts. He described himself as someone who tends to 'interpret everything always very literally'. This self-description explains how the wording of items has made it possible for this respondent to find a lack of clarity in many items and to justify a 'literal' reading of these statements.

At the end of the third TSTI step, the respondent's strategy and its implications were discussed explicitly with him (see the next extract).

Respondent 5 NL, Item 11 Illegal Immigrants Cost the Netherlands Millions of Euros Each Year. In step 1 (think aloud) this respondent had answered agree [response category 2].

Step 3. Semi-structured interviewing

I: take the item illegal immigrants cost the Netherlands millions of euros each year ... such an

item ... you take it literally

R: erm?

I: you know for sure that a couple of millions is not much so it's very likely that illegal immigrants cost us millions

R: yes

I: do you think ... so you interpret the item as a statement about facts but is it right that you assume that the designers of the questionnaire have something else in mind?

R: yes

I: now if this questionnaire is a test in logic ... you have performed very well on the test

R: yes (laughs)

I: but if it is true that ... if this questionnaire aims at measuring ... say your benevolence regarding illegal immigrants ... in that case you have been almost deliberately

R: yes on the wrong side

I: so you mislead the researchers ... so one can say that for that reason alone the item does not measure your ... what your real opinion is about illegal immigrants

R: no ... not at all

I: and you say ... well it is their responsibility to ... how they interpret the responses ... now it is possible that ... if they want to draw political conclusions ... that they as you say will interpret your response incorrectly

R: yes ... but I try to attend to what ... as much as possible ... to what is printed here ... that's in principle the only thing I have

The TSTI appeared to be uniquely productive in identifying problems resulting from different 'response strategies' (Hak, Van der Veer, & Ommundsen, 2006). The results point to two possible conclusions concerning the Illegal Immigration Scale and the TSTI. One conclusion is that positive attitudes toward immigrants might be under-represented in the Illegal Immigration Scale results. This possibility deserves further research. Further, the TSTI appears to be very productive in detecting this kind of problem that might confound subsequent measurements.

6.4 Summary

The TSTI is a technique for assessing the quality of a self-administered questionnaire. It allows for the observation of actual instances of interaction between the instrument and the response process. Further, the concurrent "thinking aloud" is an additional technique for making the thought process observable. Applying the TSTI to different measuring instruments produces 'new' data on the performance of these instruments, data that are not produced with other

methods for pre-testing questionnaires. The TSTI yielded at the same time also data that are produced with other extant methods. This suggests that, for self-completion questionnaires, the TSTI might replace the other extant methods without a significant loss of useful information. The relative utility of the TSTI should be tested in experiments in which different methods are applied to the same instrument.

* This chapter is partly based on a paper titled 'The Three-Step Test-Interview (TSTI): An observational instrument for pre-testing self-completion questionnaires' by Kees van der Veer, Tony Hak, & Harrie Jansen, presented at the International Conference on Questionnaire Development, Evaluation, and Testing Methods (QDET), held November 14-17, 2002, in Charleston, South Carolina. It is also based on Van der Veer, 2003. The example of the way the TSTI was used in validating the Tampa Scale of Kinesiophobia is a summary of the findings in Pool, Hiralal, Ostelo, Van der Veer, Vlaeyen, Bouter, & De Vet, 2009. Finally, the example regarding the assessment of the Illegal Immigrant Scale is a summary of some findings reported in Hak, Van der Veer, & Ommundsen, 2006.

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Section 2: Socialization and well-being

Section 2 on socialization and well-being starts with a discussion of socialization processes and hardwired evolutionary determinants of human development by Krumov and Larsen in chapter 7. The chapter deals with the central concerns of cross-cultural psychology and in an overview provide a comprehensive discussion of how people acquire both unique and communalities in behavior across cultures. In particular the ecological context, sociopolitical environment, and cultural customs form the framework for childrearing procedures in all societies. The chapter discussed childrearing styles, the climate of home life, and the means by which children develop attachment. Family and educational institutions and other socializing agents serve to inculcate cultural values. The chapter concludes with a discussion of cognitive and moral development and the stage theories of Piaget and Kohlberg.

Chapter 8 by Vasilev discusses human socialization from the perspective of biological helplessness. The chapter traces the history of the concept of biological helplessness from the conjectures of ancient philosophers to the role of material culture. Cognition emerged from the biological deficits and contributed by necessity to the development of culture.

Chapter 9 by Jumageldinov discusses the issues of ethnic identification, social discrimination and interethnic relations in Kazakhstan. In particular this empirical study examined the relationship of ethnic membership as related to social status and national identity. Results supported the view that the relationship between Kazakhs, Russians, and other minorities is mediated by their uneven status in society. For minorities ethnic identity is a protection against the forces of assimilation that asserts the values of origin. The chapter made a vital distinction between ethnic and national identity.

Smokova reports in chapter 10 on the acculturation strategies of immigrants as related to social group identity. The increased interest in the role of culture derived from the major international migration and intercultural interaction of recent decades. Since integration is an exception in modern life for many ethnic groups intercultural studies in acculturation and national-cultural identity takes on important salience in current social science. The study demonstrated significant differences in acculturation strategies of immigrant groups and the host population.

Speech as a predictor of the mastery of cognitive competence is discussed by Damianova and Lucas in chapter 11. The data reported supported a predictor model based on social and private speech subtypes that denote task activity, task material and inner speech. Task oriented speech of varying types predict global task performance in children and point to the important role of social speech in problem solving.

In chapter 12 Boleev outline a theoretical model that explain adolescent motivation for delinquency. A review of the literature point to the important role of maltreatment, influence of membership in groups, deindividuation that is promoted by group culture, the role of preference for risky decisions, adolescent interests, curiosity as a motive, the readiness set to engage in delinquency, and illusions and needs as a basis for a comprehensive model for the formation of delinquent youth groups.

The relationship of Bulgarian police to society is outlined in chapter 13. Since policing emerged from authoritarian practices of the past it is important to evaluate the current interaction and practices of police with the public they serve. The study examined psychological and demographic factors as related to ethical behavior on the part of the police force. The author argued for the importance of the transformation of police forces into transparent civilian controlled institutions as a gradual process that depend on objective and supportive police behavior toward citizens.

In chapter 14 Stoitsova and Snellen report on editorial responses to the experience of terror in the aftermath of 9/11. The study is based on a comprehensive analysis of the content of editorials in four prominent newspapers in the U.S., U.K., Bulgaria and Russia. While not direct actors or decision makers the editorials are influential and provide the frame for decisions about cooperation in the struggle against terrorism. The results point to both similarity and contrasting perspectives in dealing with endless terrorism. Although cold war schemas continue to influence thinking in both East and West there is also considerable evidence of new communalities expressed in the need for cooperation.

The final chapter 15 in section 2 by Larsen and Krumov discusses the influence of culture on the relationships between men and women. Many relevant changes derived from feminist struggles and changes in law have occurred over the last decades. These changes have had major impact on gender relationships and the well-being of women and their families. Still sex roles remain ubiquitous in the world. Although the division of labor emerged out of the evolutionary processes for survival this gender difference is less relevant today. Nevertheless gender stereotypes continue to influence society and women bear a disproportionately larger burden in maintaining family life. The conflict between egalitarian and traditional relationships continues in most societies. One outcome is violence toward women that constitute a particular dirty page of history and the contemporary world. The chapter discusses major issues that affect well-being in gender relationships including conformity, aggression, sexual behavior and attraction and the effects of these factors on modern families.

Overall section 2 offered theoretical papers and data analysis essential to an understanding of cultural socialization and the outcomes that affect the well-being of societies, families, and individuals.

Chapter 7

SOCIALIZATION PROCESSES AND HARDWIRED DETERMINANTS OF DEVELOPMENT

Krum Krumov & Knud S. Larsen

A central concern in cross-cultural psychology is how people acquire behaviors that we identify as culturally unique. However, while we are interested in what is different between cultures of the world, there is also the potentially larger arena of research into what we have in common as a human species. Acquiring culture is seen as the outcome of parenting styles. However, the influence of broader social institutions including the educational system and dominant religious or political ideology are considered important factors. Children also grow up with siblings and peers that have an influence on socialization. Since culture emerged out of the struggle to survive, the particular environmental contexts have produced some of the variability we can observe in the world today. Survival requires competencies that in turn vary with the ecological context (Kagitcibasi, 1996). To a large extent cultural learning is implicit, but by the time we are adults most have learned cultural rules and customs, and are so integrated that few people even notice or pass judgment on habitual rituals or behaviors. From a psychological perspective all forms of learning have played a role whether by observation of parents or through the reinforcement of operant conditioning of the educational system, or the association that occurs in classical conditioning.

Socialization has been broadly applied to explain the development of gender identity (Beutel & Marini, 1995); and child development including norm deviance of various types (Corsaro & Eder, 1995; Krohn, 1999). Cultural explanations as frames for socialization have become popular in recent years referring to persistent beliefs and values transmitted through cultural agents (McLeod & Lively, 2006). In sociology we have also seen more structural explanations for behavior which emphasize the presence and absence of the material conditions of life (Liebow, 1967). However, this chapter focuses on the psychological level of analysis through contributions of socialization and biology on human development.

7.1 Socialization or enculturation?

Psychologists investigating comparative cultures distinguish between socialization and enculturation. The issue concerns how cultures are transmitted from one generation to the next. Socialization as a concept has a long history in both social psychology and sociology. The construct refers to the process of individual development shaped by cultural values through the deliberate teaching by culture bearers and enforcers especially the child's parents. Cultural values are learned when someone deliberately shapes the behavior of children in society. However, Herskovits (1948) used the concept of enculturation to define the end product of socialization. It refers to the components of culture considered essential for an individual to adequately function in a society. Enculturation may not necessarily involve deliberate teaching,

but describe the influence of the cultural context and the possibilities offered by that environment. Enculturation refer to the subjective end products manifested in behavior and represent the psychological internalization of cultural values throughout the process of development. Although there is not a significant difference between the two concepts, socialization refer more to the actual means of how children learn the rules of their societies, whereas enculturation are the products manifested in the subjective psychology. We can think of culture as the subjective psychological experience resulting from socialization, and enculturation as the resulting society that surrounds members of the culture with an inescapable context.

Attachment has been an early concern in research as it is often seen as the basis for the development of independence (Newman and Newman, 2012). The effects of early childcare is seen by some to contribute to attachment and to children's emotional development (Clarke-Stewart, 1989). Socialization for independence produces children that value autonomy and self-reliance. On the other hand cultures that value interdependence see infant attachment as a vehicle to produce social obedience, harmony and conformity to cultural norms. The broad cultural differences that are observed in so much research suggest that socialization goals derived from attachment differ between cultures dependent on cultural values and objectives (Weisner, 2005).

The processes of socialization and enculturation are not the only determinants of behavior. The individual must also respond to the ecological environment and develop behaviors that support survival and successful adaptation. The transmission of culture is aimed at creating skills in children that support successful living. Still culture must adapt to changing circumstances and the transmission of culture is not fixed, but is an approximate transmission that prevents chaos and promotes social stability (Boyd & Richerson, 1995).

Studies on child rearing practices in various cultures have a long history. For example, Whiting and Child (1953) examined child training study archives. They concluded that in some ways child training is identical all over the world since parents everywhere confront similar problems. However, there are also cultural differences where child training differs between cultures. These observations are consistent with a joint biological perspective that is manifested by what we all have in common, but also a cultural comparative view based on enculturation and socialization. For example, according to Barry, Bacon, & Child, 1957; and Barry, Child and Bacon (1959) six dimensions of child rearing were similar in all societies studied. These included training for obedience, responsibility, nurturance, achievement, self-reliance, and independence. Sex differences were also displayed universally across cultures with girls being socialized to take on more responsibility and nurturance, and boys being encouraged to be assertive through achievement and self-reliance.

Research support the effect of harsh parental punishment in producing a higher level of aggressiveness among inflexible and emotionally reactive children, however not for children who are more flexible and lower in emotionality (Paterson & Sanson, 1999). Generally better outcomes in socializing are obtained when using more gentle and less power oriented discipline in infants who are fearful (Kochanska, Aksan & Joy, 2007); and when the mother is not overprotective but supportive in the child's struggle for autonomy (Rubin, Hastings, Stewart, Henderson & Chen, 1997).

However, other investigators found comparative cultural variations in socialization described as narrow or broad (Arnett, 1995). Obedience was emphasized in narrow transmission of a culture that required conformity as a cultural product, whereas broad socialization emphasized personal independence. The cultural outcomes are related to conformity and authoritarianism in society, and the ability to adapt to a changing world.

7.2 Enculturation and choice

The growing child develops within a niche from which he/she learns cultural values. The major components of development are the ecological environment, the socio-political context, customs of child rearing, and the psychology that motivate parents and child care givers (Super & Harkness, 1994, 2002). These niche components interact with the child's unique genetically based temperamental components. It is well to keep in mind that children are not just acted upon by the cultural environment, but are behavioral actors in their own right and by their choices influence family life and the broader cultural context of behavior. Children are not passive recipients of cultural knowledge, but dynamically interact with the choices provided (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Interaction occurs at several levels. The micro-system is the most immediate influence where the child interacts with the family, educational system, and peers. The exo-system influences development indirectly for example by the opportunities provided by parental occupation. The macro-system refers to the major normative influences that require conformity derived from cultural values, from religion, or from ideological considerations. However, according to Bronfenbrenner it is important to remember that we are not just passive observers, but contribute to self-development by the choices we make and our willingness to conform or risk alternatives.

The effect of quality of life variables can be observed in studies on child development. Technological development has been practically ubiquitous the last decades and has affected family life in salient ways (Berry, 1997). Significant differences in outcomes for family life have been found between wealthy individualistic countries compared to collectivistic countries (Georgas, Christakopoulou, Poortinga, Angleitner, Goodwin, & Charalambous, 1997). Similar differences in family solidarity have been found for ethnic groups. Although material wealth is sought after it is also associated with decreasing frequency of helping behavior among second or third generation Mexican-American children. Family closeness plays a less important role in survival for children in more affluent families (Knight and Kagan, 1997).

7.3 Parental child rearing ideology and socialization

Parents and other child caregivers have culturally appropriate ideas about child rearing. All parents have assimilated beliefs about the correct way to help a child achieve developmental goals and the role of parents in creating the best climate. Cultural values define the best way to express affection and love for the child, determine when the child should be fed and provide a time frame for weaning. Cultural values also create expectations about the right time to master the beginnings of speech, when the child should walk, and other developmental goals (Harkness & Super, 1995).

Gender socialization is an important contributor to development. In general gender roles are learned by both cognitive interpretations and also directly by socialization. Typically children

learn about their own gender stereotypes prior to learning the expectations associated with the opposite gender (Martin, Wood, & Little, 1990). The relative traditional or non-traditional basis of the family environment also influences children's cognition about gender norms and expectations. For example children who have non-traditional mothers develop more flexible gender related attitudes where more roles and activities is seen as appropriate for both genders (Serbin, Powlishta, & Gulko, 1993). Also related to gender role flexibility is the ability to differentiate between moral and social norms which are linked to less stereotyped play activities (Lobel & Menashri, 1993). The research generally supports the greater kindness and prosocial behavior in female children (Eisenberg & Morris, 2004; Froming, Nasby, & McManus, 1998).

Others however, have criticized the underlying assumption of rigid gender differences, in particular as based on socialization (Lees, 1993). Social psychological research indicates a strong influence from expectations of outcomes which tend to exaggerate differences and minimize similarities between the genders (Messner, 2000). In evaluating gender differences it would be useful to initially take a gender neutral approach to see how behaviors develop that can be attributed to gender or perhaps other differences like social power (Goodwin, 2003).

Differences in child rearing ideology were found in a study comparing Japanese with U.S. teachers (Tobin, Wu, & Davidson, 1989). For example Japanese teachers preferred larger class rooms believing the larger number of students is a more appropriate forum to teach children to get along with others. The beliefs about children's misbehavior also varied between the samples with Japanese teachers believing something went wrong in the relationship between child and mother, whereas U.S. teachers were more likely to attribute the cause to some inherent factor in the child. The attribution of either individual or relationship causes is also consistent with generally recognized differences between collectivistic and individualist cultures.

For example LeVine (1977) suggested that early childrearing practices were created by parental goals. Initially the survival of the infant is paramount and therefore parents focus on infant health. However, at some point infants in all cultures have to develop some form of self-sufficiency whether in collectivistic or individualistic cultural societies. Childrearing inculcate the cultural values of the broader society as mediated by parents. Children raised in affluent societies do not face similar struggles for survival as those raised in poverty with possible long term psychological consequences. When parents have to struggle daily to put food on the table there is not much time to develop other assets of the child, and family bonding becomes a primary goal in order to create survival security. The harshness of the environment may be so extreme that mothering is directly influenced. Frequency and length of breastfeeding also depend on the socio-economic status of society. The more advanced societies encourage the use of formula to create earlier independence between mother and child. In turn that may have consequences for attachment and later development. Infant weakness in extremely impoverished communities is conceptualized by mothers as representing a low likelihood for survival. Hence mothers are in some cases tentative in committing total affection for the child as the baby may be only a short-term visitor in the home. In other words bonding is promoted when there is a chance that it will have utility in the survival of the child (Scheper-Huges, 1992).

Parental ideology is also referred to as parental ethno-theories and describes integrated beliefs about parenting (Edwards, Knoche, Aukrust, Kimru, & Kim, 2006; Harkness & Super, 2006). The belief system about parenting is the method which directs the child to learn the

important elements of the cultural context. Parental beliefs serve as an organizing tool in governing the daily activities of the child.

Research on child rearing in the United States identified three styles of parenting (Baumrind, 1971; Baumrind, 1989). Authoritative parents provide the child with care that is firm, but also reasonable and fair. Authoritative child rearing level of control is dependent on the child's maturity, and parents typically display warm and open affection for their children. Guidelines are provided, but not rigidly enforced as children are given freedom to choose dependent on their level of development and responsibility. In the second style of parenting authoritarian parents demand obedience first and foremost. Their view of parenting emphasizes the need to provide strict control over the child. Authoritarianism may have grown out of harsh environments where parents see their role is to keep their children out of harm's way and offer protection. Being permissive was also identified in Baumrind's research as a parental style. Permissive parents allow their children to live their own lives without much interference or discipline. This style of parenting seems close to that of the uninvolved parents identified by Maccoby and Martin (1983). However, permissive parents are involved with their children and exhibit warmth in their relationships, whereas uninvolved parents are just indifferent.

The obvious question for comparative psychology is whether these styles are manifested in other cultures than the United States, or to what degree are they culturally specific? The initial results from American studies supported the superiority of the authoritative style in many studies. Children who grow up with parents that use the authoritative style develop more useful characteristics including more positive emotions, more self-confidence and self-reliance (Karavasilis, Doyle, & Markiewicz, 2003). The authoritative parenting style prepare the child well for life resulting in children that are psychologically healthy and competent, and who live with fewer anxieties compared to children brought up by other parenting styles. By contrast children of authoritarian parents displayed more anxiety and developed cognitive styles that lack spontaneity and curiosity. The benefits for children of authoritative parents are not just confined to childhood. Studies of adolescents produced similar positive results. Adolescents with authoritative parents are more socially adept, tend to have higher self-esteem and display more creativity (Collins & Laursen, 2004; Spera, 2005). The authoritative style of parenting seems to have a positive effect on the child's sense of optimism that he/she lives in a well-ordered world, and that developmental goals are attainable. These affects are carried over into university life where students from authoritative homes displayed less depression and greater social adaptability (Jackson, Pratt, Hunsberger, & Pancer, 2005).

Are the positive outcomes of authoritative parents limited to children living in the United States? Chao (2001) argued that it is important to understand the dominant cultural values before investigating parental styles. The efficacy of parental styles may well depend on underlying values to which the child must conform. The role of training in Chinese culture is unique and not covered by the Baumrind's parental styles of childrearing. However, in another study in China authoritarian parenting was related negatively to school adjustment, whereas children from authoritative homes fared better in social adjustment (Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997). Perhaps even within the U.S. the efficacy of authoritative approaches to childrearing may depend on the child's ethnic or cultural group? However, a review of more recent studies confirm the continuous advantage of authoritative approaches to childrearing independent of the larger

cultural values associated with collectivistic or individualistic cultures (Sorkhabi, 2005). It seems that parental warmth and acceptance of the child is important to positive outcomes everywhere, and authoritative parenting takes on universal value as the advantages are not limited by culture. Comparative studies have largely confirmed the advantages of authoritative versus authoritarian parenting producing more solidarity in families and better mental functioning (Dwairy, Acoui, Abouseire & Farah, 2006).

7.4 Creating the climate of home: Cultural and cross-cultural studies

Parents are the principal conduits of cultural learning. Differences in social attitudes however reflect the broader cultural values. For example, Asian parents think effort is more important in education than ability, whereas American parents believe innate ability is responsible for success (Stevenson & Zusho, 2002). These cultural attributions for success are consistent with the cultural underpinnings of collectivistic and individualistic societies.

Differences in parental values are reflected in the parent's involvement with the school system. American parents of European background are more likely to pay attention to in-school activities and the children's teachers, whereas Asian parents are more concerned with outside events like museum and library visits as contributors to the child's education (Sy & Schulenberg, 2005). Asian parents also emphasize high expectations and explicit rules about activities that interfere with learning. Since American parents believe limits are set by ability they are less likely to emphasize high expectations and are more concerned about shoring up their child's self-esteem.

7.4.1 The sleeping arrangements of childhood

The home climate is the earliest cultural influence on members of a society and the sleeping arrangements are thought to be very significant to the security of the child. Cultural studies demonstrate varying patterns as parents in societies like the United States seek to create child independence from the very beginning. Mothers in the U.S. strive to have their babies sleep through the night and in a location separate from parents. The American culture is characterized by values of individualism and early independence, and separate sleeping arrangements support these values. In place of the security and warmth of parental bodies the child is often offered a soft toy or security blanket that the child carries around for several years.

Cultural studies of other societies show that independent sleeping arrangements are not ubiquitous. For example in Sweden children often sleep with their parents through early childhood (Welles-Nystrom, 2005). This is believed by parents to provide the security essential to normal development. Likewise in Mayan cultures children often sleep with their mothers through early childhood creating bonds important to the survival of families. It is probably true that bonding through early childhood is emphasized more in societies where strong bonds are essential for survival, and sleeping arrangements have supported such collectivistic values. Socio-economic factors may also play a role as separate sleeping facilities may not be affordable in poor families (Morelli, Rogoff, Oppenheim, & Goldsmith, 1992). In some collectivistic societies parents would be amazed at the early separation of the infant from the mother's presence during the night.

The establishment of sleeping patterns is an early concern by young parents. Super, Harkness, Van Tijen, Van der Vlugt, Fintelman, & Dijkdtra (1996) found differences in regulating sleeping patterns between Dutch and American parents. Dutch parents established early regularity in sleeping patterns believing that otherwise children with inadequate sleep would be more difficult to handle. The parents in the U.S. were more likely to adopt a non-directive attitude believing that as they age children will eventually sleep properly. The child's relative alertness also varied as measured by diaries of parents. Dutch children displayed quieter arousal, whereas U.S. children were more active. Contributing to the difference was the finding that U.S. mothers spent more time talking to and touching their children. Dutch parents found it more important to organize family time for their children, whereas U.S. mothers emphasized the importance of finding special time with just the child

Ethnic groups within a society may also practice different sleeping arrangements. The United States is a multi-cultural society, and it is not surprising that subgroups have different childrearing practices. One study demonstrated that in the struggling communities of Appalachia sleeping with their children in early childhood are expected of parents (Small, 1998). Likewise in a study comparing a matched sample of white children with a sample of Latinos living in Harlem, a larger proportion of the Harlem children slept with their parents. Perhaps these studies are pointing to socio-economic differences in communities that are struggling with poverty and the acceptance of longer periods of sleeping with parents as essential for stronger bonding for survival. Sleeping arrangements reflect subliminal cultural values not articulated explicitly that still may reach into the earliest phases of life and children.

7.4.2 Attachment in childhood

Temperament is thought a genetic based trait present in infancy and related to attachment (Buss & Plomin, 1984). Many mothers observe differences in child reaction to stimuli with some children temperamentally difficult and others easy. These differences may later have personality consequences as parents respond differentially dependent on the child's temperament. Cross-cultural studies suggest some important comparative attachment differences. A study of middle-class mothers in the United States were compared to a sample of mothers from Kenya. Important similarities were found in the desire of mothers to touch and hold the child. However, American mothers talked more to their infants whereas Kenyan mothers communicated more with physical touch (Berger, 1995). Perhaps differences in the mother's verbal communication have a broader affect on cognitive development required in an industrial society, and U.S. mothers reflect in their communication style a cultural evolution to provide this advantage in the U.S. sample. An important developmental achievement in infancy is the formation of attachment, first to the mother and later to the broader extended family and community.

Some longitudinal studies have supported the importance of self-control on socialization outcomes. Children who are able to regulate emotional reactions during the toddler years are more likely to develop the cooperation and compliance essential to successful educational experiences (Tangney, Baumeister & Boone, 2004). Self-regulation is related to many positive social outcomes including better scholastic performance, fewer behavioral issues and better social functioning (Duckworth & Seligman, 2005).

The recognition of the face of the mother and members of the family are important precursors to attachment. Studies have shown that most infants form attachment to the immediate family at about age seven months, but react differentially to strangers. However, the manner that infants react in the presence of strangers appears to follow universal patterns (Gardiner, Mutter, & Kosmitzki, 1998). Some children are anxious and avoidant, others anxious and resistant, and yet others are secure and are not threatened by the presence of strangers. However, the prevalence of these types has been found to vary by cultures (Van Ijzendoorn & Kroonenberg, 1988). Secure attachment is the basis for other developmental tasks that follow.

7.4.3 Relationships with siblings

Our relationships with brothers and/or sisters play important roles in socialization. In large families older siblings may be delegated roles as caregivers (Weisner & Gallimore, 1977). When children are close in age siblings are present along with parents for the most important events of a child's life. The significance of family and cultural life is filtered through the eyes of siblings who struggle with similar family and cultural values. Cultural values including interdependence are taught via sibling relationships. Our social assessment of right and wrong develop in sibling relationships whether cultivating aggression or empathy (Parke, 2004). As time moves on appropriate sex role behavior and gender relationships are learned primarily from siblings. Of all the influences in life the role of siblings is likely to be the most enduring as parents typically pass from the scene, but relationships with brothers and sister are sustained until the end. However, the main focus of research has been on the child-parent relationship and we have only modest information on what must be the very significant influence of siblings (McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003).

7.4.4 The influence of the extended family and peers

Research demonstrates the profound influence of the extended family and peers on the development of the self. Research on the self draws on information from the fields of personality and social psychology (Yang & Bond, 1990). Triandis noted that aspects of the self are influenced by cultural values like individualism-collectivism. Childrearing and other interpersonal relationships are the means by which the self is formed consistent with cultural values. Kagitcibasi (1996) discussed the relational self based on a family model of material and emotional interdependence. Societies fostering the relational self are often pre-industrial where families have to rely on one another for subsistence and survival. Individualistic Western societies are more likely to nurture a separated self where children in the extended family live lives separate and distinct from one another. Although emotional relatedness exists in individualistic families this feeling is not extended to the rest of society or the world.

These considerations brought Markus and Kitayama (1991) to make a distinction between the independent and interdependent self. They argued that the self is construed differentially in various cultures with consequences for interpersonal relationships. In the extended family and peer relationships the child first experiences the construal of the social self that becomes the model for behavior in the larger society. In collectivistic societies the self is not separate from

others, but seen as interdependent and connected. Independent from others the self is incomplete in collectivistic societies, only in relationships is the self seen as fully functioning.

However, Matsumoto (1999) reviewed 18 studies that examined differences between Japan as a collectivistic society, and the individualistic United States on the individualism-collectivism construct. The results showed that only one study supported differences in the direction predicted. Takano and Osaka (1999) in a review of 15 studies came to a similar conclusion calling into question the validity of the existence of individualistic and collectivistic societies. Are the differences found in other studies just forms of impression management or are individuals merely following display rules in society, but not reflecting a more grounded interdependent self? However, Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunit (1997) in further studies found evidence for the utility of the construct. Nevertheless, we must exercise caution in accepting results that might be more stereotypic than evaluative of interdependent selves in a globalized world of cultural change.

Extended families are more involved in childrearing in non-European collectivistic cultures. In these societies extended families are the main source for cultural transmission. In a multi-cultural society like the United States, extended families continue to play a role transmitting expectations related to gender appropriate behavior, and emphasizing the importance of family loyalty, cooperation among family members, and duties related to childrearing (Nydell, 1998; Tolson & Wilson, 1990). Where extended families play a role children experience more frequent interaction with other family members and provide useful models for the growing child of expected duties and contributions. In polygamous extended families children are provided with mothering from several individuals, and as in other collectivistic societies the entire community takes an interest in the well-being of children and in the requirement of obedience to cultural values. In the U.S. poverty plays a role bringing the extended family into support of childrearing. Since the nuclear family has lost ground in recent decades and many children are born out of wedlock grandparents and in many cases great grandparents play a socializing role in the lives of the affected children. The grandmother is particularly important as she is often more responsive to the children of teen age mothers and is a role model for childrearing (Leadbeater & Way, 2001).

The peer group influences socialization in all societies, but probably plays distinct roles in individualistic versus collectivistic cultures. In modern society parents are often so busy with career issues that they are unable to invest time in teaching their children cultural values. When the nuclear family cannot play that socializing role, children learn from peers the common stereotypes, norms and customs of a culture. In more industrialized societies parents have little time for family life, and children spend more time with their peers (Fugligni & Stevenson, 1995).

Research on parental effects on children's outcomes has been criticized for accounting for small amounts of the variance in personality and underestimating the contribution of peers. Also research on family socialization generally does not take into account the hardwired genetic contributions that largely remain unexplored in the context of socialization. Research indicates that substantial amounts of the variance in personality can be attributed to genetic factors. Further growing up in the same shared home environment with the same parents appears to have little effect on adult personalities (Harris, 1998; Plomin & Daniels, 1987). Parental effects may

be obfuscated by the effects of temperament and other genetic components on parenting styles, and the interaction of varying styles with different children in the family.

7.5 Culture and the educational system

Same aged peers make important contributions to socialization in societies with regular educational systems. While not all cultures have formal educational systems, there is little doubt that schools are major socializing agents in the vast majority of countries. The educational system in a given country inculcates children with the dominant cultural values implicitly in conveying stereotypes or attitudes, and explicitly through music and rituals. What is taught in a given educational system is dependent on cultural values. In the United States conservative forces prohibited for a long time the teaching of evolutionary principles, so history shows that cultural values can determine the very curriculum from which students learn. In individualistic societies success is seen as a consequence of achievement that is individual and relative. Hence the emphasis in the educational system on grading and ranking of students as such presumably prepares the student for a competitive society. Although American schools have explored non-grading alternatives and cooperative learning these efforts represent decidedly minority perspectives.

When the child enrolls in the school system the influence of peers increase and the majority of waking hours are spent with school mates. Together the educational system and peers play dominant roles in enforcing cultural values through both positive learning events but also by sanctioning behavior that is divergent and non-conformist. The educational system reflects what society thinks is important to function optimally in a given culture. In some societies education is not formal as elders or other experts may teach the next generation cultural competencies and social structures. As the child grows however peer acceptance is very important, and only few children can escape the pressures of norms and customs.

7.6 Socio-economic climate

The home climate and broader socio-economic environment have primary effects on child development. Some cultural environments require the development of motor skills at an earlier age since such learning contribute to coping with harsher environments. For example the motor skills of African infants develop several months earlier than in comparable groups of white children, and different techniques are used to encourage walking (Gardiner et al, 1998). We know that birth death rates vary by culture and country reflecting different socio-economic circumstances and different social values about medical treatment for the poor and disadvantaged. When many children die at birth or in infancy mothers and family will focus their attention on creating the optimal conditions for survival and there is little time for other developmental tasks beneficial to children. In many societies there is minimal effort possible to foster the cultural or spiritual development of children as the harshness of the socio-economic environment direct parental attention totally on survival often day by day.

Although the U.S. is commonly defined as an affluent society there is a low acceptance of medical treatment as a common right, whereas the reverse holds true in Cuba a relatively poor country with equal access to medical science and treatment. Within the United States there are large differences in medical access driven by costs and socio-economic differences. These

differences in child care may well produce long term consequences not only for health, but also for the child's sense of security and view of the world as dangerous or benign.

7.7 Social identity

The individual's social identity grows from the home climate, and interactions away from the home. Research shows that children very early begin to identify with ingroups and reference groups. School children show a clear preference for their nation's flag, and identify themselves in terms of ethnic and national groups (Lawson, 1975). The cultural context enters into play, and children from individualistic societies demonstrate more competitiveness than children from other societies (Madsen, 1971). Competitive cultural values have utility where cultural values of individualism and achievement are dominant, and the welfare of the group is secondary. The effect of cultural values has been confirmed in comparative studies. For example Thailand is a country dominated by Buddhist values of non-violence and respect for others and subsequent problems of overcontrol in individuals are more commonly reported and are manifested by withdrawal from social interaction. On the other hand for parents in North America disorderly behavior and violence is a more dominant concern (Weisz, Suwanlert, Chaiyasit, & Walter, 1987).

Gender identity is the most central aspect of social identity. As such it is defined as the personally accepted sense of being male or female that is in turn related to role functioning and behavior. The categorization process is probably responsible for the initial steps in gender identity (Burnham & Harris, 1992). However, gender role socialization is ubiquitous in all cultures derived from many socializing agents including parents, peers, and the educational system. By age 2 children are aware of gender role differences from socialization agents (Witt, 1997). However, biology may also play a role in since variances in pre-birth hormones may produce gender related brain changes. Overall, prenatal hormones along with socialization contribute eventually to adult gender identity (Breedlove, Cooke, & Jordan, 1999). Socialization has lasting consequences producing boys that are more aggressive, and men that are more controlling and unemotional, and females that have more emotional empathy (Levant, 1996).

7.8 Comparative studies in child rearing behaviors

Do attachment patterns vary by culture? Studies on collectivistic versus individualistic societies suggest that the attachment experiences of childhood vary with cultural values. For example in Japan people are conceived as being interdependent defined by the idea of "amae". This concept refers to the tendency of the construing the self to merge with others (Doi, 1989). Amai is encouraged by Japanese mothers and is thought to be different from the concept of dependency in Western societies which describes the child's need for attention and approval. However, the two concepts prove to be similar in the actual descriptions used. Different labels in comparative psychology may in fact describe the same behaviors (Vereijken, Riksen-Walraven, & Van Lieshout, 1997).

Cross-cultural comparative observation studies have demonstrated further differences in creating a home climate for infants. A survey that has been frequently used is the "Home Observation and Measurement of the Environment Measure" commonly called the Home Inventory. The researcher visits the home and observes the interaction between the child and

parents and follows up with some questions (Bradley, Caldwell, & Corwyn, 2003, Bradley & Corwyn, 2005). In studies employing this inventory cultures vary along several dimensions. For example while parental warmth and responsiveness is present in the cultures studied they are not expressed the same way. In some cultures parents do not express affection physically, but rather use the voice to indicate warmth. In Western countries being responsive to a child is measured by the frequency of spontaneous and unplanned conversations with the child. In other cultures like India spontaneous conversations are less frequent since it is expected that children will respect their parents and wait for permission to speak. The comparative studies show that the home environment correspond to the broader cultural values present in society. At the same time comparative research have also yielded significant similarities between cultural groups as most parents' desire their children to develop social and emotional skills, and display similar assertion in disciplining their children for infractions. The comparative research support the presence of differences and similarities in the home climate that implicitly teaches the child during childhood and beyond.

The ethno-theories and parental goals are seen as affecting varying childrearing in Gusii mothers in Kenya compared to U.S. mothers. The cultural context of agriculture in the Kenyan sample led to an emphasis by mothers on the protection of infants, and keeping the child physically close. In the U.S. sample mothers encouraged more social engagement and more social exchange. American mothers believe stimulation begins in the earliest moments of infancy and try to talk to their babies. By contrast Gusii mothers believe such child rearing will create a more self-centered child (LeVine, LeVine, Dixon, Richman, Leiderman, & Keefer, 1994). Japanese mothers are more directly responsive when babies play with them, whereas U.S. mothers reinforce babies' behavior when they play with physical objects. A significant difference between Japanese and U.S. parenting is the amount of time spent with their children. While U.S. mothers will occasionally depend on babysitters Japanese mother will rarely leave their infants. Some believe this difference in childrearing explain the higher anxiety of Japanese children in the absence of their parents (Bornstein & Tamis-LeMonda, 1989). Consistent with the broader cultural values Japanese mothers were more concerned about lack of cooperativeness and social insensitivity in their children, compared to U.S. mothers who expressed greater worry about disruptive or aggressive behavior (Olson, 2001).

Working class parents in the U.S. and parents in pre-industrial communities believe that children can grow up by themselves, and don't need special tutoring. Obviously children raised with differences in parental ideology will develop characteristics unique to the child rearing strategy. What is required to become an adult may also play a role in the ethnotheories of parents and in child rearing practices. In the U.S. parents believe they are required to play a very active role in directing the development of their children (e.g. Goodnow, 1988). However, in other societies the focus is more on enjoying the parent-child relationship and allowing the child to grow up without excessive direction (Kagitcibasi, 1996).

Research on collectivism and individualism demonstrate the affect of these cultural values on parental childrearing. Collectivistic societies emphasize behavioral controls of children often making strict demands and providing sanctions for behavior that don't meet expectations (Rudy & Grusec, 2001). Parental authoritarianism is associated with other authoritarian cultural practices derived from social instability, lower levels of education, and socio-political

authoritarianism. For example Russian adolescents see similar efforts to control behavior by both parents and teachers, and perceive more control when compared to U.S. students (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001). Comparative differences have also been found between white and Mexican-American parents, although no differences in authoritarianism were found between white and Mexican parental childrearing styles (Varela, Vernberg, Sanchez-Sosa, Riveros, Mitchell, & Mashunkashey, 2004). Obedience has great utility in societies that are struggling with survival. Children that face difficult or harsh ecological environments are likely to be raised with strict controls (Schonpflug, 1990).

The age of mastery of various childhood skills varies by culture. Western cultures places competitive demands on a child at an early age reflected in expectations for early mastery. In a study of Dutch, Turkish immigrant, and Zambian mothers six types of skills were investigated. The skills included physical, perceptual, cognitive, intra-individual, inter-individual, and social competencies. The expected differences in age for physical skills were insignificant, supporting the common biological basis of these competencies. However, for other domains like social skills the expectations for Zambian mothers were for later development compared to the other samples. Parents and other participants in a culture transmit the rules and customs of their society when rearing their children. Their specific socialization practices reflect these cultural beliefs (Segall, Dasen, Berry, & Poortinga, 1999). Once childrearing norms are established they are passed on from one generation to the next.

Childhood represents a period of continuous growth and development. Cognitive processes develop to help the child cope with the complexities of the environment, and social skills are developed appropriate to cultural values. Concern with the child's health causes mothers to encourage their children to eat properly and nutritiously. Although eating habits can be a way for the child to control powerful parents, it drives many mothers and fathers to distraction with worries. Worries over children's nutritional health seem however restricted to cultures where food is plentiful. In impoverished cultures children are just happy to fill their stomachs and are unlikely to put up a fuss over taste or texture. Eating preferences are laid down in early childhood and affects eating habits later in life

Cultural history may also encourage competitive modes at an early age. For example Israeli mothers from European background expected earlier development of cognitive skills compared to Israeli mothers from non-European family (Ninio, 1979). Compared to U.S. mothers Japanese mothers expected earlier development of emotional control, whereas U.S. mothers by comparison expected earlier development of assertive behavior (Hess et al, 1980).

7.9 Human development is incorporation of culture

Studies like the "Wild boy of Aveyron" (Itard, 1962) call into question whether human nature exist in isolation from culture. In this early historical study Itard investigated the lack of development in a boy found in the forest of the district of Aveyron in France, a boy thought to have survived without human contact. The boy was devoid of human qualities including the use of speech or recognizable emotional responses. These and similar studies of children brought up in the wild suggest that there are no discernable human qualities apart from the interaction of the child with others. Vygotsky had that right when he argued that the origin of human cognition is social interaction (Vygotsky, 1978, see also discussion by another Soviet psychologist Luria,

1976). All cultural development occurs as a result of interaction at the social level, and later represented intra-psychologically. Biological foundations are important as we shall see, however culture is what gives us human features and variations in behavior.

Human development is a function of many influences. Culture mediates between the child and these biological and environmental factors. Cole (1996) maintained that biology does not interact directly with the ecological context but via the social environment. There is a basic distinction between the ecological context and the environment. More precisely, it is the interactions of biology, phylogenetic contributions, and culture-historical factors that determine individual development. Biological influences are not directly responsible for behavior, as it occurs through the filter of cultural mediation. Culture produces the social interactions that are eventually responsible for the internalization of cultural values.

Cultural values also play important roles in lifespan development (Baltes, 1997). Here biology and culture also interact dynamically. Evolutionary selection benefits derived from biology decrease with increasing age as the genome of older people contain increasing number of dysfunctional genes. The benefits of biological selection really have no role to play in later life, since evolutionary pressures for selection have passed with the end of childbearing age at around 30 years. Biological decline is associated with greater demand from culture for a variety of support resources that provide culturally based functioning in the later stage of the lifespan. Lifespan development through all the stages of life is dependent on the continual interaction of genetic heritage with what culture offers. Culture can help offset the lower functioning produced by aging through skills in reading or writing for example, that allows the individual to continue to function at a time not possible in the dawn of humankind.

7.10 Stage theories of human development: Culturally unique or universal

Several prominent theorists in developmental psychology have proposed stages of development thought universal for all humankind. There is evidence to support this assertion for theories describing stages of cognitive, moral and psychosocial development. Nevertheless the universality is far from established as cultural ideology and the ecological context may prove more influential.

7.10.1 The evolution of cognition

Developmental theory has been enriched by several stage theories of human development. If these theories are demonstrated in all societies investigated it would lend support to the presence of universal cultural values, and also by inference to a biological basis for development. Piaget (1963) was the most influential researcher in the field of cognitive development. Through in-depth studies of children, some his own grandchildren, led him to formulate a theory of cognitive development in four stages. Stage one is called sensorimotor where the infant learn from direct sensory engagement with the environment. This stage last from infancy to about two years. The child understands his world through sensory perceptions and motor behaviors that occur in the process of interacting with the environment. Other cognitive achievements include learning to imitate others and learning by observation. Also the child begins language acquisition at this stage an achievement significant for later communication.

Stage two from about 2 to 7 years of age is called the preoperational stage where egocentrism is supreme as children don't understand the perspectives of others. However, this stage is also fundamental to language acquisition as the child expands vocabulary and understanding. Children's thinking is dominated by conservation defined as the ability to understand that changes in appearance do not change an objects volume or weight. Centration is another characteristic of cognition in stage 2 that allows the child to focus on solitary objects or problems. The child also masters irreversibility which is the ability to reverse the process of problem solving. Egocentrism that is manifested as this stage show that children cannot see problems from the perspectives of others. Finally, animism is the child's fantasy that all objects have life. A doll is living and may take on aspects of personality as children at this stage do not operate by logic.

Stage three is the concrete operations stage and last from about 7 to 11 years of age. At this stage cognition actually increases in complexity as children are able to view problems from a variety of perspectives. Taking the perspectives of others is considered a significant cognitive achievement. Children at this stage begin the development of more abstract thinking since they can assess more than one aspect of a problem or issue.

Finally, children learn to think abstractly in the fourth stage called formal operations. That stage last from about 11 years of age until the end of life. The individual operating at this stage can think logically about abstractions like the notions of democracy and justice. As life progresses thinking become more systematic in problem solution. Formal operations is a cognitive process that allows for stage movement called assimilation where the individual fits new concepts into what is already understood, and accommodation where the individual changes his understanding to integrate concepts that don't fit the preexisting conceptual structure.

Piaget in fact believed that these stages of cognitive development were universal and followed each other sequentially. Dasen (1984, 1994) found evidence for the universality of the stage sequence across cultures. However, methodological problems make valid comparisons difficult (Gardiner, Mutter, & Koskitzki, 1998). Although Piaget valued the final stage of formal operations there is little evidence that it is a universal cognition as people can indeed have reproductive success in Western cultures and other societies without abstract thinking.

However, some support is present in the literature. The invariance of the stages was found in a study on school age children in several countries that showed that these children learned problem solving in the order predicted by Piaget (Shayer, Demetriou, & Perez, 1988). However, the ages that children achieved these stages varied by culture (Dasen, 1984). Some research indicated that Piaget's cognitive stages are not invariant as the children do not achieve the skills in the same order (Dasen, 1975). Finally, abstract thinking found in formal operations may be a cognitive development especially favored in societies that have benefited from scientific development. Islamic cultures focus more on the cultural transmission of faith less adaptable to abstract thinking required in a world of transition. To succeed in formal operations require a Western education demonstrating the dependence of the Piagetian model of cognition on cultural values (Cole, 2006).

7.10.2 The evolution of moral development

As the child develops cognitively, he/she is able to bring these cognitive skills to bear on moral judgment. Cultural values are at least partially based on how people solved problems of morality. To a large extent these values serve as a guide for behavior in social interaction. Consequently, it is not possible to understand culture without an appreciation of the underlying morality and value system.

Kohlberg (1981) proposed 6 stages of moral development thought invariable for all people. The child's perception of what is moral in the preconventional stage 1 evolved out of fear of punishment. In stage 2 the child recognizes that immoral conduct has negative consequences and moral conduct positive outcomes and the child can make choices. In the third stage the child enters the conventional level where what is good is defined by approval from significant others, the child's parents and other important persons. In stage four, obedience to law becomes dominant as lawful behavior determines good or bad. At stage five the child enters the postconventional level where morality is determined by individual rights, but also by the flexibility required by varying social requirements and circumstances. Finally, at stage six the individual becomes independent of institutions and social pressure, and moral conduct is determined by universal ethical principles. Kohlberg's theory moves in stages from initial concern with punishment when the child is very young, to stages where social institutions and conformity define moral conducts, to finally individually defined moral principles.

A review of 45 studies conducted in 27 countries evaluated Kohlberg's theory (Snarey, 1985). The literature provided evidence for the universality of the first two stages, but not the following. Others have found similar results (Ma & Cheung, 1996). These research reviews call into question whether the higher stages of moral development proposed by Kohlberg are in fact universal. However, we must keep in mind that it is also at the higher stages where culture produces the greater variability. Further, Kohlberg, like other stage theorists developed his moral stage concepts from studies of Western samples. A major complaint is that these stages seem encapsulated in Western thought, and the last two have primarily emerged from Western liberal societies. Postconventional thinking would not get people much traction in Saudi Arabia or other totalitarian societies, where people who display this level of morality would spend their lives contemplating their noble thoughts from prison cells or worse.

Others have found evidence for the powerful influence of the circumstances that cancel out any stage of moral development (Matsumoto, 1994). Chinese culture for example emphasizes collectivistic moral choices as influenced by working toward consensus, obeying law, and striving for harmony. These powerful cultural values would in most cases trump any moral stage development. Nevertheless there are probably dissidents in any culture that eventually operate by universal principles of ethics developed individually. Further, Kohlberg's theory has also been attacked for gender bias based on how males and females view relationships (Gilligan, 1982). Consequently the higher stages of moral development are not invariant, but heavily influenced by culture as one would expect when the child moves from family circles to conformity to prevailing cultural values. Edwards (1986) believed that comparative differences in moral stages pointed directly to differences in social organization and underlying cultural values. In particular to understand morality it is essential to examine the culture's social structure and the broader environment.

Kohlberg largely agreed with these criticisms (Kohlberg, Levine, & Hower, 1983). However the theory is subject to many additional criticisms. Shweder, Mahapatra, and Miller (1990) argued that Kohlberg's constructs were largely based on individualistic cultures and offered alternative moral views rooted in natural law that used the family as a model. From this collectivistic perspective morality is based on duty rather than on rights of individuals (Shweder, Minow, & Markus, 2002). Ma (1988) offered an alternative based on Chinese morality that a person should behave consistent with the morality of the majority of society. The review by Eckensberger and Zimba (1997) addressed criteria that must be met in order to accept Kohlberg's moral stages as universal. The first criterion is whether the moral stages are found in all cultures investigated. The answer is mainly in the affirmative as long as invariance is not expected as manifestations of morality may be dependent on culture. The stage invariance is supported by the .85 correlation between age and stage suggesting the sequence of moral behavior is the same for most respondents. Do the stages appear in all the cultures examined? Here the authors find support for some of the early moral stages, but not the latter. Although research support universal development of moral reasoning in the early stages, the differences in the later stages may be what really counts in intercultural relations. For example, differences in moral development and the meaning of morality are real sources of conflict today between the Islamic world and the west. Acts considered blasphemy in Pakistan and other Islamic countries are behaviors governed by free speech in the west. These same acts of "free speech" produce the death penalty or vigilante action for the "offender" in Islamic countries like Pakistan.

7.10.3 Evolution of psychosocial development

The relationship between the individual and his social environment was examined by Erickson (1950) in his theory on psychosocial development. Erickson believed that all human beings went through 8 developmental stages starting at birth and ending with death. At each stage the individual is faced with a developmental crisis which can have either a positive or negative resolution. A positive outcome in Erickson's stage theory results in a stronger ego as the individual is better able to adapt and develop a healthy personality. The positive outcome produce individuals who have hope, will, purpose, competence, fidelity, love, care and wisdom, each the outcome of facing separate developmental crises as a person moves through life. If a person has not successfully mastered a stage it was in Erickson's theory possible to reverse the outcome through psychotherapy (Erickson, 1968).

Although some evidence has been found for the presence of these stages in other cultures (Gardiner et al, 1998) the theory is vulnerable to criticism. The main criticism is that Erickson is merely reflecting the normative culture of the west. Within Christian ethics the positive outcomes in Erickson's theory can be seen as lofty goals that permit the individual to live a complete and fearless life. This ideal is not likely replicated where people are struggling for survival. When it comes to the cross-cultural validity of the theory it should be noted that many people in both the west and in other cultures have no hope for developing "competency" or even "intimacy", goals that are valued outcomes in Erickson's theory, since survival is the daily theme of life. A western college professor or other professional may struggle with issues of "stagnation" toward the end of professional careers, but for others less fortunate the dominant motivator is finding bread for the table. What Erickson calls "generativity" (finding new ways to make contributions in latter stages of life) never becomes a developmental issue for billions of

people. People living from paycheck to paycheck who have mounting immediate problems do not have the luxury to contemplate the meaning of life in maturity or achieve wisdom and will despair from just the sheer inability to find economic security. Also despite Erickson theory there is really no struggle over “identity” in many societies since these are established at birth in cultures that define identity through obedience to ideology and social institutions. The theory has applications in societies called individualistic where individuals have some freedom to choose, but as noted even in these situations choices are limited by socio-economic circumstances.

Nevertheless that human development takes place in stages is widely accepted. That there are biological influences is very likely. However, how these stages of developmental achievement take place and when they occur is dependent on unique cultural factors. Therefore there is evidence for both universal and culturally specific behavior in these stage theories.

7.11 Human development is the expression of biology: the presence of universal values

Only half of the story of cultural transmission is told in cross-cultural psychology. The emphasis in the discipline is on the transfer of culture within the socio-cultural context. This bias ignores a growing body of research that point to the essential biological basis for cultural and social behavior. The selective adaptation that has occurred over time as a result of evolution is transmitted via the genes and passed from one generation to the next (Mange & Mange, 1999). In evolution and the adaptation of humans to their environment we can understand the important story of cultural survival and the improved chances of reproductive success brought about by gene modification. Biology forms the basis of cultural transmission of over the course of our evolutionary history. The key to understanding evolution is the idea that genetic material changes over time by means of natural selection.

When a heritable trait contributes to survival and therefore to successful reproduction the frequency of that trait will increase over time. If the trait contributes to greater fitness and therefore survival members of a species that do not carry the trait disappear from the evolutionary record. Natural selection is the process where the inclusion of a trait that improves fitness leads to systematic and significant changes affecting reproductive success over many generations. In modern times these changes have been associated with modification of the gene and the essential DNA sequences. Changes in genetic material called mutations are often adverse to the organism, but given sufficient time occasionally mutations may confer benefits to those that carry the modification. Other factors that affect the presence of heritable traits include selection caused by migration and isolation from the original mating population, and social rules for mating that favor or disfavor certain biological characteristics. Specified mating rules in some cases lead to inbreeding that affect the frequency of genetic components. In some societies cousins are expected to marry, whereas in other cultures such a union is viewed as incest. Although genetic contributions to behavior is thought independent of environmental factors there is increasing evidence that environmental events can at least influence the regulatory processes of these heritable factors (Gottlieb, 1998).

Natural selection will favor those individuals who possess traits that result in improved adaptation. From the perspective of evolutionary science adaptation occur through interaction with the environment. In social science adaptation refer more specifically to changes occurring

within individuals as they cope with the environment. However, in some cases the environmental pressure is so significant that the impact causes changes in the surface of genes carried from one generation to the next. For example during the war on Vietnam the U.S. military sprayed enormous amounts of Agent Orange on Vietnam. The principal component dioxin is the strongest poison known to man (Bouny, 2007), and the spraying produced 4,800,000 victims that now span three generations (Stellman, 2003). The new field of epigenetics shows that the environment can in fact affect cellular modifications that are transmitted inter-generationally and which produces outcomes that are lasting. Although the common scientific belief in the past was that the environment could only affect the current generation, results reported by Cloud (2010) show that powerful environmental events can leave an imprint on the genetic material in both eggs and sperm and thereby short circuit evolution and pass the trait to the next generation. The change does not occur in the genetic material, but rather on the cellular material placed on top of the gene that tells the gene to switch on or off. These epigenetic changes represent the biological reactions to extreme environmental events like the poisoning by Agent Orange in Vietnam. The young discipline of epigenetics does not provide a definitive answer as to whether the genetic changes will eventually fade away in the absence of stressor, but regardless there is a cautionary tale in that our extreme disruption of the environment that may produce immediate genetic consequences that formerly took many generations (Larsen & Van Le, 2011).

Human beings are not passive in the face of their environmental challenges, but are active participants in shaping the conditions that create selective success. The environment places limits on what solutions are possible, but within these parameters human beings create a variety of cultural responses. Cultural responses to environmental challenges include in the most abstract sense also religion and cultural values. Biology has long recognized the existence of behavior traits that are relatively invariable for species other than humans and coded in the genes of the organism. As science is opening the possibilities of genetic modifications including artificial mutations we are learning more about gene based behavior. Can this science also be applied to human culture?

7.12 The evolutionary basis for human behavior: Maximizing inclusive fitness

According to sociobiological explanations all human behavior is aimed at maximizing inclusive fitness that motivates the promotion of the interests of genetically related people. The concept of inclusive fitness for humans is not limited to offspring, but includes also maximizing the interest of other kin including nephews and nieces (Wilson, 1975). The promotion of the interest of kin is central to evolutionary reproductive success for social species like humans. Sociobiology extends the argument of genetic determinants of behavior to human on a very broad scale. Wilson suggests that most of the branches of human knowledge in social sciences or humanities are reducible to the biology or sociobiology of a species.

7.13 Perspective in the transmission of culture

It is the obligation of researchers to examine both cultural as well as genetic bases in cultural transmission. The genetic underpinnings of culture are essential components in the development of cultural solutions to environmental problems. However, cultural information is then transmitted by social interaction from one generation to the next. The capacity for learning is limited by our genetic inheritance, but the cultural information channels offer the possibility to

pass on cultural knowledge to the next generation. Life teaches us what is useful to survival or social success, and that information is conveyed by parents and other cultural guardians. Social learning theory explains many of the differences found in comparative studies as people learn by observation and imitation. It is important to remember that members of society are not passive spectators in cultural transmission. People interact with their cultures for evolutionary benefit and create niches that serve the purpose of reproductive success (Laland, Odling-Smee, & Feldman, 2000). Members of cultural groups participate in creating niches that follow cultural constraints. Some population groups have dominated certain professions like medicine or the sale of jewelry as these were found over time to be successful niches ensuring survival through several generations.

7.14 Summary

How people acquire culturally unique as well as communalities in behaviors across cultures is the central concern of cross-cultural psychology. All theories of learning apply to the transmission of culture in interactions with parents, siblings, the educational system, and the ecological context. Socialization is the deliberate teaching of cultural values by parents and others whereas enculturation refer to the internalized psychological end product. In other words socialization is the means to the encultural ends. Through the transmission of culture society pass on the skills and values thought important to survival and successful living.

There are both important similarities between cultures, but also distinct differences in childrearing as some cultures emphasize obedience and other societies promote personal independence. The ecological context, socio-political environment, customs, and psychology of caregivers provide the important niche components defining child development. However, the child is not a passive observer but actively interacts with these components and in the process affect the construal of the self. Childrearing ideology describes the dominant parental beliefs in society about the best way to raise children, and how to nurture and express warmth and affection. These and other values are inculcated in all members of a culture in the process of development. Affluent societies have more resources and time to develop unique assets of the child, whereas parents in poor societies are just struggling to stay afloat and survive.

Childrearing styles identified as authoritative and authoritarian have been found to have significant outcomes. Authoritative parents provide child care that is firm, but also reasonable and fair. The context of authoritative child rearing includes the consistent expression of warmth and affection. Authoritarian parents on the other hand demand obedience and practice strict control. Research has demonstrated the superiority of the authoritative style producing more positive emotions in the child and more self-confidence with long-lasting consequences.

The climate of home life is the major context in the transmission of cultural values. Differences have been observed between collectivistic and individualistic societies in the interaction of parents with the educational system. Sleeping with the mother is the earliest form of security in the home and also varies by culture. In the U.S. parents generally try to create early independence in all aspects of childrearing, and as a substitute for sleeping with the mother the child is provided with security blankets and sleep in separate quarters at the earliest moment possible. However, parents in other societies believe that keeping the child physically close provide essential security for later development. Socio-economic factors may also play a role

also in sleeping arrangements. Bonding has more utility in societies struggling to survive and that context may favor intimate sleeping patterns. Further, poverty may prevent the creation of additional space for separate sleeping arrangements.

The means of creating attachment in childhood varies by culture. The use of physical touch and verbal stimulation are dependent on cultural values and beliefs. Attachment is considered an important psychological achievement essential for later cultural learning. Studies on the presence of strangers appear to follow some universal patterns; however, anxiety or avoidant behavior varies by culture. Relationships to siblings represent an early cultural influence. In fact the significant events of family and cultural life are sifted through the eyes of siblings, and cultural interdependence is taught by these relationships. How to act properly in social interaction and in gender relationships is primarily mediated by sibling relationships.

The extended family is also a source of cultural knowledge. Peers and the extended family reinforce the important cultural values in society. Material and emotional interdependence is particularly important in pre-industrial societies and in those cultures where people struggle to survive. By contrast interdependence is limited to the immediate family in Western countries and Western societies foster the separated and independent self. Although the research results are ambiguous it is thought that the self is construed differentially in collectivistic and individualistic cultures. Extended families are more involved in child rearing in collectivistic cultures. Ethnic groups in multi-cultural societies may continue to transmit the cultural expectation on gender related behavior and loyalty unique to their own group.

Culture is mediated by the country's educational system. Schools are major socializing agents in most societies in the world and serve to inculcate cultural values. In individualistic societies the educational system serves to prepare the student for a competitive future through the emphasis on grading, ranking, and competitive sports. The influence of peers on cultural learning increases in the school years. The socio-economic climate also affects development. In societies struggling for survival children learn motor skills at an earlier age compared to children from affluent communities. These motor skills are more salient to aid survival in harsh environments. Birth death rates vary by culture. Where the rates are high mothers must concentrate all their efforts on the survival of their infants and few parental resources are available to promote other assets of the child or provide enriching learning experiences. Eventually social identity grows out of the home climate and children learn early to identify with ingroups and reference groups. Children from individualistic societies also learn early the utility of competition for success and achievement.

Comparative studies in child rearing show that attachment experiences vary by culture as parental warmth and affection are not expressed in the same way in all cultures. In some cultures parents use physical touch to express loving feelings whereas in other cultures parents utilize their voices and intonation to express warmth. However, in all cultures parents have a desire for their children to learn emotional and social skills. Parents everywhere also use assertive behavior when disciplining their children for infractions. Parental ideology or ethnotheories play important but varying roles in different societies. These theories define play time interactions and the actual time spent with their children. Adherence to cultural values is a parental concern in all societies; however mothers in collectivistic cultures are more concerned when the child

displays a lack of cooperation, whereas American mothers are more worried about their children's disruptive behavior.

In some cultural or social groups parents have no childrearing ideology believing that their children can manage development without interference. However, in most cultures parents believe they must play an active role in raising their children. In collectivistic societies parents demand strict obedience and provide sanctions for behavior that does not meet expectations. Parental authoritarianism is related to a lack of cultural and socio-economic stability. The emphasis on competition leads Western parents to have expectations for the early development of skills.

The origin of human cognition is human interaction. In fact human "nature" does not exist in isolation from culture. Culture is the mediating variable between biological and environmental factors. Individual development is determined by the interaction of biology, phylogenetic development, and cultural variables. Culture provides the framework for the social interactions and mediates the internalization of cultural values. Culture also plays a role in lifespan development since it provides support services needed in the later stages of aging without which a person would not survive.

Stage theories in cognition, moral development and psychosocial development describe individual change in processes thought universal. Piaget's theory examines the evolution of cognition in four stages. Evidence from the comparative literature supports the universality of the early cognitive stage sequences. However, there is little evidence for the universality of "formal operations" as this type of abstract thinking probably requires a Western education. The ages at which children master the early stages also appear to vary by culture. Moral development is evaluated in Kohlberg's theory in 6 stages. Some evidence for the universality of the first two stages is supported by comparative research. However, the higher stages appear to reflect Western moral traditions. The stability of moral stages is questioned since circumstances and powerful situations may cancel any stage of moral development. Kohlberg has also been criticized for gender bias since males and females view relationships differentially. Other criticisms focus on the influence of individualistic cultures on the higher stages of moral development. Erickson believed that all human beings pass through 8 psychosocial stages starting at birth and ending with death. At each stage a crisis occurs that if solved in a positive way leads to stronger egos and better adaptability. The main criticism of psychosocial development theory is that it reflects the normative culture of the west. Psychosocial development takes a different road in societies struggling for survival, and social identity is prescribed in some societies and not the outcome of crisis. The aforementioned discussion has emphasized cultural transmission from the perspective of the socio-cultural context. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the biological underpinnings of cultural behavior.

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Chapter 8

THE EVOLUTION OF HUMAN SOCIALIZATION BASED ON BIOLOGICAL HELPLESSNESS

Nikolai Vasilev

8.1 The conjectures of ancient philosophers

When discussing a given idea scientific ethics requires its precise differentiation from the collectively created pre-history, the correct and objective reporting of the theoretical evolution of the respective problems and terminology.

The idea of the “natural” helplessness of human predecessors and of contemporary Homo Sapiens has been discussed since ancient times. However, early thinkers did not go deep into the research of this significant fact and their limitations and non-preciseness of the concept of “helplessness” were major impediments in arriving at the conclusions required by logic and reasoning.

A traditional trend in the interpretation of the human nature began with the ancient Chinese thinkers Yan Chju and Sun Tsu who contributed important ideas. For example, Yan Chju stated that man is most sensible of all living beings, but his nails and teeth are not strong enough for self-defense, his skin is not thick enough for protection, he does not move fast enough to avoid danger. Further, unlike some animals he has no feathers or fur to moderate the heat and cold. True to his defenseless nature Homo sapiens look to others for support and do not rely on his own strength (Древнокитайски мислители, 1980, p. 146). Sun Tsu also noted the physical weakness of people, compared to other living beings (Антология мировой философии, 1969, p. 233).

In Plato’s dialogues, the creation of the living beings is described. The Gods “moduled” and “shaped” the animals and human beings, after which, they asked Prometheus and Epimetheus “to sort them and distribute their qualities in the appropriate manner” (Платон, 1979, p. 364). After persuading his brother to participate in the last distribution stage in the role of “quality controller”, slow-witted Epimetheus set to work.

When distributing the traits Epimetheus acted rashly and thoughtlessly: he gave strength without speed to some animals, while he gifted the weak ones with speed. He armed some and to other animals he invented some other quality to keep them alive. For example, animals with small bodies he destined to fly or to burrow inside the earth. Epimetheus was inconsiderate and wasted the traits of animals but he also had to sort out the human genus. At this point he came across Prometheus who wanted to inspect the distribution of traits and saw that all the animals had the proper qualities for survival, but that human beings were left without covers or weapons (Платон, 1979, p. 364-365).

Without social characteristics man is a weak being said Seneca, while animals are armed with teeth and claws and seem rather stronger in the struggle for existence (Антология мировой философии, 1969, p. 507). Man is the most ill-fated and delicate in creation and this statement by Pliny was obviously liked and quoted repeatedly by Montaigne (Горфункель, 1980, p. 218).

8.2 Further interpretations of the helplessness

Kuzanski (1980) suggested that humans created his diverse culture to compensate for shortcomings and his weaknesses. Clothes, fire and the home compensate for the inability to adjust to the lower temperatures and carts and boats evolved to compensate for slow movement (Кузанский, 1980, p. 327). Pascal (1978) wrote that man is like a reed, the most delicate thing in nature (Паскал, 1978, p. 165). The animals, in the opinion of Helvetius are better armed and adapted to nature than humans (Хелвеций, 1979, p. 179). Holbach (1984) noted that nature sends man naked and helpless into this world (Холбах, 1984, p. 93).

Lametri (1981) thought that the ape was an “unsuccessful” man (Ладыгина-Котс, 1981, p. 50). Just as the ape is not adapted to the human world and in this sense is an “unsuccessful” man, so the human is not adapted to exist in the animal world and can be characterized as an “unsuccessful” ape.

Kant (1980) writes “... so the inability to resist to its power makes us recognize our physical helplessness as natural beings, but it reveals the ability to estimate our independence from it, and superiority over nature, on which is based self-preservation of a different kind ...” (Кант, 1980, p. 145).

The anatomist and anthropologist Johann Blumenbach (1951), who worked in the eighteenth century, characterized man as an “unarmed” creature noting the lack of predatory teeth, horns, claws, body fur, late appearance of teeth, and long childhood (Рогинский, 1951, p. 196).

8.3 The helplessness and the material culture

Edey (1978) claimed that the chimpanzees are not as helpless as they seem “Draw the man a couple of million years back in time take off everything that is dangerous to the chimpanzee, and the gap between him (human) and the ape will decrease. The abilities of the man will decrease but those of the ape will increase” (Иди, 1978, p. 41).

Homo Sapiens acquired certain physical characteristics over time (bipedal locomotion, lack of fur, specific teeth and weak facial muscles, total grace of skeleton, widened feminine hips (Грант, 1980, p. 362-363), and rather long biological and sexual maturity (Каданов, Мустафов, 1984, p. 13-21; Грант, 1980, 362-363; Тарасов, Черненко, 1981, pp. 101-102) that are biologically inexpedient when not combined with the elaborate technical devices developed by human culture. These human features are all transitory stages in the process of adaptation not to the natural, but to the social environment (Тарасов, Черненко, 1981, pp. 42-44, 90-91, 102-123; Андонов, 1980, p. 66; Келле, Ковальзон, 1962, . 128).

These social and adaptive devices did not appear yesterday but were rooted in the deep past (Нестурх, 1958, pp. 155-156. As Roginsky (1951) noted the helplessness of man has always to be examined in connection with the past (Рогинский, 1951, p. 196-199). Still, the

dialectical view on the human evolution suggests that at each stage there is some development related to the helplessness of man (as an important biological characteristics of his immediate predecessor and in his modern forms) and the use of tools of labor as the major social characteristics.

The use of working tools, combined with the emergence, stabilization and elaboration of all other social characteristics, is a logical and natural result of the helplessness of the human predecessor and the multiple events of the modern technical sphere is also a result of the helplessness of Homo Sapiens.

Whether in proto-human or Homo Sapiens the working tools, the social unification, mental abilities, language, and the whole material and spiritual culture of mankind developed as compensatory functions. Human beings have overcome biological inadequacy through development of their social adequacy. All specific biological characteristics of man are insufficient and even counter-indicative for an animal adaptation to the conditions of a given biogeocenosis. In essence they are developed devices for the requirements of the social labor activities and the development of technology.

According to Roginsky (1951) it is with the help of technology that the man compensates for the insufficient natural features of his body (Рогинский, 1951, p. 195). Krisachenko (1980) writes that man interacts with nature through the use tools of which replace the inadequacy in the functions of some organs in the hominids' body (Крисаченко, 1980, p. 137). By the way, let us not forget the roots of a strong scientific tradition when studying this problem. Marx (1968) writes about the problem presented by nature, which when converting labor in the hands of man "becomes an organ of his activities, an organ, which he incorporates with the organs of his own body" (Маркс, 1968, p. 191).

Human helplessness created favorable grounds for cognition. The helplessness of the human is the essential feature and the roots of his modern humanity lie in the evolutionary origins of human history. The very fact of his contemporary existence show that human beings were not biologically suited to the natural elements and is a powerful expression of human adaptation to the natural environment.

8.4 Other evaluations of helplessness

The problem of the helplessness of the human predecessor, and, respectively, the first human has been mentioned often in the specialized scientific literature. One of the founders of anthropology (Дарвин, 1947, pp. 73-75) notes that man is one of the most helpless beings in the world and that in the antiquity he was even more helpless suggesting human biological weakness is a convincing explanation of human genesis. The savage animal of big build and strength like the gorilla and ability to defend itself most probably would not become social (Дарвин, 1947, p. 74).

Efimenko (1953) follows almost the same lines of thought that our predecessors were relatively weak beings and compensating for this frailty by greater intelligence, skillfulness and group solidarity (Ефименко, 1953, p. 85). Nesturch stated our predecessors did not have any natural means of defense and attack (Нестурх, 1958, p. 232).

From the point of metabolism, Kakabadze (1970) thinks, that man differs from all other animals in that he is born comparatively less endowed with the biological means of survival (Какабадзе, 1970, pp. 59-60). Батенин (1976, p. 44) noted that it is difficult to understand why the biological helplessness of man was not included in the research on the dialectical link between the ontogenesis and phylogenesis.

Man is not linked to any specialization which can place him in an evolutionary standstill. From evolutionary point of view, man is seen as the greatest dilettante among the animals; while an animal is the professional that is doomed by its build or functions to slavery (Медавар, Медавар, 1983, p. 191). The definition of the dilettante is a man who knows nothing about everything whereas the “professional” animal” is adapted to one of the many ecological niches on the planet

According to Shaklee (1978) the lack of big canine teeth or the ability to run fast enough means that the first hominids were almost helpless (Шакли, 1978, p. 11). The small canine teeth of the Australopithecus obviously, could not have served as arms in a fight, either for attack or for self-defense. He characterizes the immediate predecessors of the hominids as “slow and unprotected” (Рогинский, 1977, p. 70). Many other anthropologists, primatologists and biologists have also written about helplessness in one or another aspect of the proto-human (Иди, 1977; Иди, 1978; Андеол, 1974; Грант, 1980, pp. 362-363; Семенов, 1964, p. 286); Engels (1967) calls the developing man a defenseless animal (Енгелс, 1967, p. 41; Енгелс, 1966, p. 181; Енгелс, 1957, p. 31).

Feinberg (1982) stresses the low speed of human locomotion and the poor natural armament of the proto-hominids and the early hominids. These inadequacies could have been compensated only through the use of special hunting instruments and flexible cooperation, through good organization and precise distribution of the functions during the chase (Файнберг, 1982, p. 76). Lewis (1969) characterizes the Australopithecus as helpless in a peculiar manner due to their inability to run fast on the grassland which they inhabited (Lewis, 1969, p. 15).

Matyushin’s (1981) original hypothesis about the origin of man included recognition of human helplessness. As he writes, “the creation of a zone of higher ionizing radiation provoked large-scale mutation in the human’s predecessors, which weakened their physical build so much that they could live only by converting to the social and labor activity” (Матюшин, 1981, pp. 148-149).

8.5 On critical ideas

In evaluating the aforementioned rationalization of anthropogenesis, it is important to remember that when speaking about helplessness, defenselessness, or apathy these characteristics do not refer primarily to the lack of physical strength, physical hardiness, or vital energy. They refer to a lack of specialized organs or devices necessary for successful adaptation in the process of the biological evolution and the impossibility of sustaining a living balance within any of available eco-systems of that time.

In an answer to the accusations of biologism referring to the biological hypotheses of anthropogenesis or what Gehlen (1986) calls the “biologically absurd theory of the insufficient

man” (Василев, 1986, p. 66). It could be argued what criticism would be, if from merciless criticism it in turn becomes uncritical!

Theoretical extremity however, is not only derived from representatives of Western scientific thought. In Marxist literature one also find examples of categorical, critical, and preemptory negative attitudes towards some non-Marxist concepts that man is predestined to activity by the specifics of his biological constitution to compensate his biological insufficiency with labor activity in order to survive in the fight for living” (Мисливченко, 1977, p. 152).

8.6 Philosophical anthropology

Philosophical anthropology reports contradictory positions, some attempts at a spiritual interpretation of the nature of man, and in other cases the biologization of his social characteristics and social activities. While the role of labor, language, and society in the development of human characteristics should be subject to criticism that should not exclude concepts that have heuristic and scientific value.

Gehlen (1940) describes the predecessor of man as biologically unfinished and non-specialized. Inadequately supplied with hardwired instincts he is poorly adapted to the natural, purely animal existence and faces the necessity of self-defining and developing, and of creating the new conditions to produce and reproduce his own life. Deprived of innate biological specialization humans developed into something qualitatively different from animals in possibilities and actions. Moreover, confined within the borders of these existential circumstances, humans were forced to action and in this way the biological non-specialization built the nature of man as a being of action.

The categorical rejection of Gehlen’s theory is unconvincing. How else can the qualitative modifications in the way of life in the biological construction be explained. A human being specialized enough to successfully adapt to the natural environment.

According to Grigoryan (1973) however, Gehlen and others emphasized the purely negative genetic prerequisites for the origin of man and the purely negative grounds of his freedom and creative abilities (Григорьян, 1973, p. 241). However, only the combination of these prerequisites with some characteristics of a more positive nature can guarantee the existence of man in the world of culture (Григорьян, 1982, pp. 83-84).

Mislivchenko (1977) notes that although Gehlen speaks about man as a being of action and the role of labor, language and thought, he interprets them in a narrow way through the biological inadequacy of man (Мисливченко, 1977, p. 154). However, the explanation of human socialization as caused by biological inadequacy does not mean an automatic biologization of social events and characteristics. How can human nature be explained if not through proto-human predecessors? Human socialization formed not so much through biological inadequacy of Homo Sapiens, but rather through the biological adequacy of the proto-human.

8.7 The explanation of the necessity of socialization

In the concrete case to avoid the reduction to biologization, we have to explain the development of human beings through something human and society through something social. How do we substantiate the necessity of the emergence of socialization? Dialectic development may explain some, but not all socialization processes. The negative grounds (the proto-human non-specialization) emphasized by Gehlen, is put into perspective by the very precise statement of Grigoryan, “is enough to put the anthropoid before the necessity to choose another way of life for his own safety. However it does not say what this way of life should be ...” (Григорьян, 1982, p. 83).

The important question is after all what do we explain by the biological inadequacy proto-human hypothesis. Only the biological inadequacy of the human predecessor (combined with the emerged impossibility to function within purely biological adaptive laws) can explain the emerged the new trends in evolution and living. From biological inadequacy of the proto-human the specifics of the qualitative peculiarity and the social nature of new forms of life and their emergence and stabilization is derived.

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Chapter 9

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION, SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION AND INTERETHNIC RELATIONS IN KAZAKHSTAN

Askar N. Jumageldinov

Kazakhstan is a country characterized by ethnic and religious diversity that distinguishes it from the other ex-Soviet republics of Central Asia. The Kazakhs as the dominant ethnic group at the political level became the majority in the country only during the last fifteen years*. Kazakhstan is an multiethnic Eurasian country based on two major cultural systems: A western Slavic-Christian cultural tradition represented by the Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Germans and others minorities, and on the other hand a Turkic-Muslim culture represented by the Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Uyghur's, Tartars, Azeri and other ethnic groups, each with a specific cultural contribution. The Russian-speaking Slavic population is strongly represented in the regions of the North and East. Overall the Kazakhstani society is a mosaic of diverse populations having different cultural traditions and their cultural rights defined in the national constitution.** It is noteworthy that Kazakhstan with representatives of more than hundred ethnic groups is one of rare post-Soviet societies that have managed to avoid serious interethnic conflicts.

For a cross-cultural psychologist, the Kazakhstani society represents an original and rich ground for research represented by ethnic heterogeneousness, cultural and religious syncretism, and the intercultural influences of social practices. As stated by the president of Kazakhstan (Nazarbaev, 1997) " Kazakhstan is a unique State in Asia, in which are interlaced European and Asian roots ". This bicultural mixture was described by the French historian Poujol (2000) as a "Russian-Muslim syncretism".

* According to the first census of independent Kazakhstan in 1999, the Kazakhs became majority with the 53.4 % while the number of the Russians fell to 30 %.

** It is necessary to distinguish the terms "Kazakh" and "Kazakhstani": Kazakh's indicate exclusively the members of the Kazakh ethnic group (including those living in China, Afghanistan, Turkey, Uzbekistan and the other countries). The term of Kazakhstani indicates all citizens of Kazakhstan, whatever is their ethnic membership.

9.1 Population and ethnic composition in Kazakhstan

According to the last national census in 2009 16 009 600 people* live in Kazakhstan. The population consists of 10.1 million Kazakhs (63.1 %) and 3.8 million Russians (23.7 %). The Russians are the biggest minority community of Kazakhstan and the most important at the political and economic level. All in all, Kazakhstan have a total of 130 ethnic groups including Uzbeks (2.8 %), Ukrainians (2.1 %), Uyghur (1.4 %), Tartars (1.3%), Germans (1.1 %), and also Byelorussians, Koreans, Poles and the others ethno-cultural groups (together 4.5 %).

In the 1990s, the socioeconomic and the political crisis affecting the USSR and therefore Kazakhstan caused the massive emigration of more than 1 500 000 Russians, 600 000 Germans, 350 000 Ukrainians and representatives of other ethnic groups. During the same time period intensification occurred in the return of Kazakhs from foreign countries like China, Iran, Turkey, Mongolia, Uzbekistan and Afghanistan. These factors and the higher birth rate among the Kazakh population compared to that of the Russians allowed the Kazakhs to become the majority ethnic group in the country. From year 1999, the economic situation stabilized and with strong economic growth migratory balance tended to favor net population growth. However, the population density in Kazakhstan remains very low with 5.5 inhabitant / km² with citizens living in urban areas in January, 2010**.

9.2 Linguistic relativity: from the dominance of Russian to the new emphasis on the Kazakh language

In Kazakhstan, the Kazakh and Russian languages are both used in communication. Kazakh is the official national language and the Russian is recognized as the official language of interethnic communication. However, not all Kazakhs have mastered the official language as most speak Russian as either the second language or mother language. Unilingual Kazakhs are rare in cities but compose a large part of the population in the countryside. According to the national census of 2009, 94.4 % of the total population speak Russian (among which 92.1 % Kazakhs, 98.5 % Russians) and 84.8 % read and write in Russian (among whom 79.1 % of Kazakhs and 96.7 % Russians). At the same time, 74 % of the total population speak Kazakh

* *Facts of the national agency of statistics of Kazakhstan.*
www.stat.kz/news/Pages/pr_04_02_10.aspx, 4/02/2010.

** *Facts of the national agency of statistics. Quoted by Wikipedia.* <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazakhstan>, in 04/02/2010.

(among whom 98.4 % Kazakhs, 25.3 % Russians), and 62 % can read and write in Kazakh (93.2 % Kazakhs and 6.3 % Russians).*

As in Ukraine, in Kirghizia and in Belarus, seventy years of Soviet government emphasizing national unity through the use of Russian deemphasized the use of the Kazakh language. The Kazakhs underwent assimilation into the Russian language as their national language in the multinational USSR. Even today, most of the Kazakhstani population speak only Russian and particularly in the cities the citizens prefer Russian in communication.

The linguistic question in Kazakhstan is at the heart of numerous debates and is considered by the Russians and the other ethnic minorities as having produced discriminatory results favoring the majority. According to the law "On the languages" (1997), every citizen has to master the Kazakh language considered as a factor in the unification of the people of Kazakhstan. However, among the majority of the population the knowledge of the Kazakh remains insufficient for communication and at present the Kazakh language cannot play an integrative role. Nevertheless, the national linguistic policies seek to impose Kazakh in all the domains of the social life in order to replace Russian in the future as the language of interethnic communication.

According to the President of the Kazakhstani Association of primary school teachers of the Russian schools, 303 schools teaching in Russian language were closed in Kazakhstan between 2006 and 2009 (Vdovina, 2008). At the same time the ex-Minister of National Education and Science (Zhanseit Tuymebayev) announced that since 1991 the number of schools teaching in Kazakh language increased to 842. This change in linguistic emphasis is based on a national policy that has as the objective to build the new nation on the basis of the Kazakh language and the Kazakh identity.

9.3 Creating or preventing national identity?

Since independence ethnic membership has become more salient particularly in the opposition between Kazakhs and Russians derived from the reversed position of dominance. With Kazakh dominance the majority obtained political power and became the privileged group while the Russians were transformed into a new less favored minority. The term "Diaspora" was

* *The population census of the Republic of Kazakhstan in 2009*. Source: <http://www.nomad.su/?A=3-201011150038>, in 15/11/2010.

even used by some Kazakhs ideologists to describe the Russian minority's relative alienation and status. These political changes created social and ethnic categorization into two unequal classes with the Kazakhs as favored and all other ethnic groups as unfavored. This new classification led to important transformations in representations of national identity and in the relationships between ethnic groups.

The new concept of Kazakhstani is intended to forge a state identity based on Kazakh language and culture. The policies seek to construct a common identity for all the citizens regardless of their ethnic origin. The problem is that the program of non-ethnic construction still insists on the dominance of the Kazakh nation in the state. For the ethnic minorities attempted integration into the new identity as "Kazakhstani" is experienced as the loss of important characteristics of their group of origin and as a threat to the collective identity of their members.

Preventing the creation of a Kazakh national identity is the insistence on the Kazakh component in its construction. The Kazakh President Nazarbaev defined Kazakhstani identity as Kazakh and emphasized that "the Kazakh culture must be taken seriously by the representatives of the other ethnic groups, as the Kazakhs seriously studied, in their time the Russian culture". Indeed, the ideological objective of Kazakhstan became that of forming a new nation on the basis of the Kazakh identity. However, this objective was opposed by Russian and the Russian-speaking ethnic groups since the tendency of assimilation or unification into this model nation-state ignored their ethnic cultures and languages. The presence of established ethnic identities causes obvious difficulties in building a Kazakh nation-state with a strong common national identity for all the citizens. The consolidation of the people of Kazakhstan depends on the acceptance and the support of the model of the national identity that is opposed by much of the population.

9.4 Identity and social categorization

Despite efforts of the government to build a common national identity in Kazakhstan, ethnic identity remains a dominant outcome of social categorization. For all citizens the division into "we" and "they" refers to membership in an ethnic group. Social categorization stresses the differences between memberships based on ethnicity that is reflected in their representation of national identity. The theory of the social identity (Tajfel (1972) suggested that social categorization is a process of social comparison between groups that allow the individual to maintain or to reach a positive social identity. Tajfel made the connection between identity and

social categorization where every individual builds social identity from membership in certain groups and from the associated emotional and evaluative meaning.

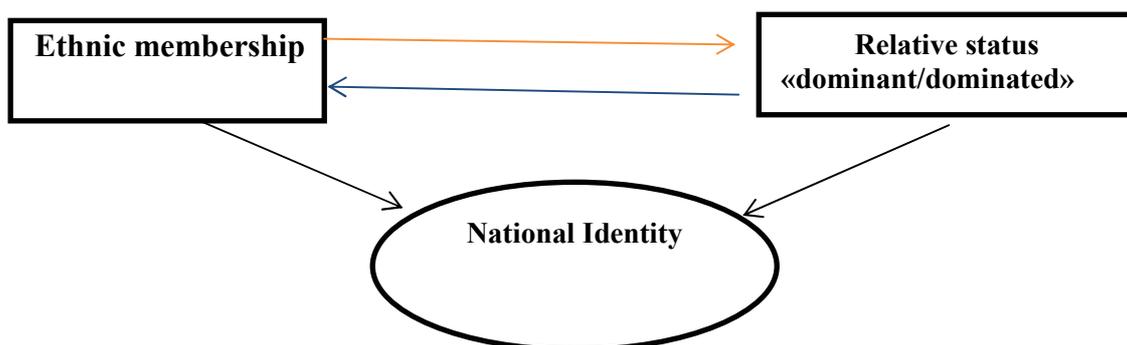
Social categorization serves to systematize and to order the social environment and more particularly plays a role in orientation for action. Tajfel suggested that social categorization is an orientation system which creates and defines the particular place of an individual in the society. Perceiving of and describing the social environment in terms of categories was pioneered by Tajfel and further developed by his associates (Tajfel, 1972; Turner, 1975; Turner, Doise, 1979).

The conflict between ethnic groups in Kazakhstan is primarily caused by the competition between the Kazakhs and the Russians. In this situation, each ethnic group creates its own behavioral models and values. The French psychologist Lipiansky (1992) characterizes ethnic strategy as coordinated group operations and actions to affect a positive self-defined objective. It is a "set of operations" that serve to avoid or reduce anxiety and social depreciation (Malewska-Peyre, 1993).

After independence the Kazakhstan society asked Russians to develop new identity strategies and to serve an apprenticeship in a new relationship with the majority through the recognition of Kazakh as the main language. The conflict in the relations between the Kazakhs and the Russians derives from this quest to redefine Russian identity in Kazakhstan. For the Russians the new Kazakh identity required a reevaluation of their self-image and the images of other ethnic groups in particular the Kazakh majority. Nevertheless since independence as Dressler (1999) noted many Russians remain convinced of the superiority of Russian culture and accepted with difficulty that Kazakhstan wanted to impose on them the new majority language in the same way as their language was previously imposed. This negative attitude was strengthened because the status of the Russians after the independence was significantly reduced. The Russians in Kazakhstan can be considered the big losers of the dissolution of the USSR. Indeed while being dominant on the Kazakh land across several generations the Russians always felt at home. Their current frustration is generated by the condescending requirement that they adapt themselves to this new minority status and being a people in Diaspora.

As a result of these socio-psychological complexities the relationship of ethnic membership and relative social status to national identity is displayed in figure 1.

Figure 1. National identity of the citizens of Kazakhstan



9.5 Objectives of research, sample characteristics and methodology

The main objective of our research is to understand the place of national identity in the identity construction of young people belonging to different ethnic groups (Kazakhs, Russians and the other minorities). The study was carried out in the city of Karaganda among young people in intercultural contact. One goal was to analyze the links between belonging to an ethnic group and the construction of the national identity. Secondly, the study sought to understand the effects of identity construction on the relationships between the different ethnic groups. Considering these research objectives and the reality of the social context of our study both qualitative and quantitative methodology were thought useful. The questionnaire was specifically developed for the study and the data were based on semi – directive interviews that sought to explore interethnic variability.

The study allowed for an ethnic membership comparison of the structure and the identity contents of the survey particularly the variability in national identity between young Kazakhs, Russians and the other minority groups (See also: Jumageldinov, 2009; 2010; 2012).

Our sample was composed of 371 young people (48.2 % men and 51.8 % women). Respondents were high school and college students ranging in age from 15 to 31 years old and surveyed during the school year 2005/2006. The ethnic origin of the sample is as follows: 95 (25.6 %) Kazakh; 186 (50.1 %) Russian; and 90 (24.3 %) representatives of other ethnic minority groups that included twenty five Germans, eighteen Ukrainians, eleven Tatars, eleven Koreans, four Byelorussians, three Poles, two Jews, two Chechens, two Moldavians, two Mordves, two Bulgarians, an Uzbek, Azerbaijdani, Daghestani, Bashkir, Armenian and a Farsi. Our sample reflected the proportion of the present ethnic groups in the city of Karaganda in 2005. The choice of this sample was motivated by the interest in the identity of youth

representing the first generation of independent Kazakhstan, having grown up in the first years of formation of the new state.

The city of Karaganda is the administrative center of the central region of Kazakhstan with a complex sociodemographic situation. The Russian ethnicity is more numerous than Kazakhs and the Russian language is dominant in the social life. The city was founded in 1934 and is an important industrial area of the country, especially known for its coal mines and steel industry. Under Stalin, the region of Karaganda was also a place of deportation for the Soviet populations suspected of collusion with the Nazi enemy. Numerous prisoners of the Gulag worked in mines as well as on the construction of the city. In the years 1950-1970 the region experienced intensive industrialization and Karaganda received thousands of nationals from all over the Soviet Union. Since its foundation this city welcomed diverse populations which explain its current original multiethnic composition.

The questionnaire was the main instrument of investigation in the study. This method allows the application of quantitative analysis useful in big samples. Secondly, survey questions permitted the comparative study between the several ethnic groups of social representations as proposed above. Thirdly, the anonymous character of the survey allowed young people to respond more honestly on sensitive questions related to attitudes toward other ethnic groups and discrimination in society. Our sixty-four item questionnaire in Russian language included both open-ended and fixed response categories. The final version of the questionnaire surveyed 6 themes: Identity and symbolic memberships; cultural and interpersonal relations; faith and denominational membership; language and linguistic membership; attitude toward interethnic relations in the country; and social representations. Given that the problem of research takes on a certain importance for the national security of Kazakhstan the confidentiality of the results was emphasized.

The semi-directive interview is useful in deepening the interpretation of the results obtained by the questionnaire. All in all, 18 semi-directive conversations were obtained with the representatives of 3 ethnic groups: six Kazakhs participants, ten Russian respondents, and two Germans answered both the questionnaire and agreed to the interview. The structure of the interview corresponded to the questionnaire and tackled similar issues. The objective was to adapt the interview to the questionnaire results of each participant in order to enrich the understanding and interpretation of the data. Unfortunately, it was not possible to interview critics the government's policy of managing interethnic relations since participants with negative views refused to leave contact data for follow-up.

9.6 Results and discussion

The analysis of the data was made by the French statistical software “Sphinx Plus²” (version 2003). This program facilitated the statistical analysis of the data from questions with fixed response categories and allowed for graphic representations and (Chi 2) tests. The current chapter focuses on the state of interethnic relations in Kazakhstan and the perception of discrimination between the ethnic groups.

It was hypothesized that the relationships between the Kazakhs and the Russians are determined by their uneven positions in society. The asymmetric relationships of “dominating/ dominated” are the primary cause of intergroup conflict in Kazakhstan. To examine that issue the following question was asked “In your opinion, what are the present relations between the young people of different ethnic origins in Kazakhstan?”.

Table 1 show that the dominant and favored Kazakh ethnic sample perceives interethnic relations in Kazakhstan in more positive terms compared to the Russian and the other ethnic groups. In fact a large plurality (46.3 %) of the Kazakh sample describes the character of interethnic relations as friendly.

Table 1. Estimation of interethnic relations in Kazakhstan.

Ethnic origin	Kazakh	Russian	Other	TOTAL
Character of Interethnic Relations				
Not answer	1.1%	0.5%	0%	0.5%
Friendly	46.3%	29%	24.4%	32.3%
Easy	11.6%	14.5%	16.7%	14.3%
Neutral	8.4%	13.4%	12.2%	11.9%
Negatives	1.1%	3.2%	1.1%	2.2%
Tense	2.1%	9.7%	10%	7.8%
Very difficult	1.1%	0%	0%	0.3%
Variable according to the situation	28.4%	28.5%	34.4%	29.9%
Other	0%	1.1%	1.1%	0.8%
TOTAL	100% (95)	100% (186)	100% (90)	100% (371)

$\chi^2 = 23.32$, $df = 16$, $1-p = 89.45\%$.

Attention, 12 (44.4 %) compartments have a theoretical size lower than 5 where χ^2 analysis is not applicable.

The values in the table are the percentages in column based on 371 responses.

The Russian and the other ethnic samples are more reserved in their responses to this question and choose "neutral" to describe interethnic relations more frequently. This impression is strengthened as the answer "tense relations" is utilized more by the Russian and the other ethnic groups and both groups perceive of interethnic relations more negatively compared to the Kazakhs. As a further example, in the "other answer" category, the Russian sample asserts that interethnic relations make them victims of "a hidden racial discrimination".

However, most respondents of all ethnic groups consider interethnic relations in positive or neutral terms. At the same time, the character of relations depends to an important degree on the concrete situation. All ethnic groups recognize that there are problems in the various domains of social life in Kazakhstan. However, each ethnic group has its own representation of these problems. For example, the Kazakhs represent discriminatory behavior as different from the other groups. The answers of the Russians and the other minority ethnic groups suggest that cultural identification of each group determines its perception of ethnic relationships.

9.7 The attitudes of youth toward national identity

An important issue is how the social representations of national identity is present in different ethnic groups. It was hypothesized that Kazakhs, Russian and other ethnic groups have different conceptualizations. It is important to remember that the survey was conducted in Russian as 98% of respondents learned the Russian language and only 2.2% understood Kazakh.

The respondents were asked "Do you agree that ethnic origin should be removed from the passport and identification documents?" Please explain your answer.

Table 2. Responses to the question of whether ethnic identity should be removed from the passport and identification documents.

Removing of the “ethnic origin”	Yes	No	I don’t know	All answers
Ethnic groups				
Kazakhs	42.1%	38.9%	18.9%	100%
Russians	31.2%	53.8%	15.1%	100%
Others	32.2%	54.4%	13.3%	100%
All groups	34.2%	50.1%	15.6%	100%

Chi² = 6.54, df = 4, 1-p = 83.75 %. Not significant.

The values in the table are the percentages established from 371 responses.

Kazakhs (42.1%) display the strongest support for removing ethnic identity from official documents and seek to downplay the significance of ethnic origin. One reason is that there is less threat to an ethnic group that is already in control and in the majority. Russians and the representatives of other groups have a greater desire to preserve ethnicity in passports and in other official documents. However, the 38.9% of Kazakhs who wished to preserve ethnicity is a substantial minority that would suggest that the integration of a common national identity will be a difficult journey for the state.

A content analysis was performed of the open-ended responses to the question in table 2. The results showed that for the Kazakh majority patriotism and ethnic identity are inseparable. Therefore as noted above the removal of ethnic origin does not represent a threat to cultural identity since the words “Kazakh” and “Kazakhstani” are synonymous. Removal of ethnic identity will not matter because Kazakhs have the same origin and Kazakhstan is considered the motherland. Kazakhs who agree with the removal of ethnicity from official documents believe that it will strengthen feelings of patriotism and will promote the integration and unification of the country. The term Kazakhstani is more patriotic and by removing ethnic distinctions all ethnic groups will be more likely to integrate into one nation and the people will be motivated toward a common future.

However Russians and other ethnic minorities consider the idea of removal of ethnic identity to be an effort toward assimilation and therefore a loss of identity. For the most part non-Kazakh minorities do not perceive Kazakhstan citizenship as a stable component in the structure of their identity. From the minorities point of view ethnicity is an important component of personal

identity since it reminds a person of the cultural roots connected with ancestral history. Ethnicity is a personal component that differs from citizenship. One can belong both to one's ethnic group and also Kazakhstan. Many people are proud of their origin as it serves to define the individual's self-concept. The content analysis of the ethnic minority responses supports the idea that ethnic origin and citizenship are two different concepts. As one Russian girl explained "...Ethnicity is a gift of birth and is a concept more broad in meaning than citizenship which is limited by the state boundaries and can be changed". Minority responses argued that they did not want removal since they were not ashamed of their origin that for many was a source of pride and they wanted all to know their ethnic identification. For Russian and other non-Kazakhs, ethnic origin is connected with the history of family and with their people and removing of ethnicity from official documents means the loss of cultural identity and a symbolical break with ancestors. The summary of the content analysis is reported in table 3.

Table 3. Content analysis summary of why respondents favor or are against removal of ethnicity from passports and official documents.

Kazakhs "for"	Kazakhs "against"
Patriotism indication	Upholding of ethnic diversity
It is good for unification	Preservation of cultural traditions
Struggle against discrimination	Pride of own origin
Prevention of interethnic conflicts	Tribute to the ancestors
International experience (France, USA)	
Russians "for"	Russians "against"
Discrimination liquidation	Preserve ethnicity
Integration of the people	Pride in being Russian
Indication of patriotism and pride	Fear of assimilation and loss of identity
	Respect for ethnic minorities
	Continue patrimonial communication with the past
Other groups "for"	Other groups "against"
Integration of citizens and unity	Reminder of ancestors and cultural roots
International experience	Appeal to respect and recognition of minorities
Equality in the country	Pride of one's ethnic origin
Liquidation of discrimination and prejudices	Defense against assimilation

9.8 Demonstration of the discrimination between the ethnic groups

The relationships between ethnic groups in Kazakhstan can be approached by asking about relative equality and discrimination. How do the young people from various ethnic groups see the issue of discrimination as perception of that issue of necessity impacts behavior between groups and may be considered an index of interethnic relations. To measure perception of discrimination the following survey question was included: “In your opinion which ethnic group demonstrates the highest level of discrimination?”

Table 4. Perception of discrimination by each ethnic group toward all other groups.

Inequality perception by ethnic groups	No answer	Kazakhs	Russians	Others minorities	All	Nobody	Do not know	TOTAL
Ethnic groups								
Kazakh	14%	15%	13%	1%	21%	11%	25%	100%
Russian	4.6%	44.9%	4.6%	1.5%	18.4%	6.6%	19.4%	100%
Others minorities	9.5%	46.3%	5.3%	2.1%	18.9%	7.4%	10.5%	100%
TOTAL	8.2%	37.6%	6.9%	1.5%	19.2%	7.9%	18.7%	100%

Chi2 = 40.82, df = 12, 1-p = 99.99 %. Significant.

The values table 4 are percentages based on 391 responses.

The Chi 2 values show that the respondents differed significantly on perceived discrimination based on ethnic membership. On the question of discrimination generally, the "Kazakhs" answer mostly "do not know" (25%) and "all groups" (21%). Since Kazakhs are the dominant majority they display less sensitivity on the issue of discrimination and they do not perceive significant disparity between groups in social life. The assumption is that if the discriminations exist, it is because all ethnic groups practice it to varying degrees. However the Russian and “Other minority” sample show substantial percentages believing that discrimination is practiced by Kazakhs toward their ethnic groups.

Among Russian respondents (44.9%) believe that Kazakhs discriminate more than other ethnic groups, further 19.4% of the Russians answered “do not know”. For 18.4% discrimination occur toward all ethnic groups, and for 6.6% there is no disparity between ethnic groups. Only 4.6 % of the answers recognized Russian discrimination.

The responses of the “other minority” ethnic groups are close to those of the Russians in most of the cases. According to their perceptions it is the Kazakhs who mostly practice discrimination (46.3%), whereas 18.9% assert that discrimination is inherent to all ethnic groups, 10.5% answer "do not know" and 7.4% answered “nobody”. Only 5.3% of the respondents assert the existence of discrimination by the Russians and 2.1% by the other ethnic groups.

In summary the majority of Russians and various minority respondents assert that the Kazakhs are more discriminatory than the other ethnic groups. However, not all respondents share this opinion. The answer "all" discriminate produced 18.4% of the answers of the Russian sample and 18.9% of the group "others minorities" suggesting that for these young people all ethnic groups practice discrimination. Kazakhs on the other hand do not think that their ethnic group practice discrimination more than the others. Most chose the answer "do not know" (25%). In defending themselves the answer that all ethnic groups practice discrimination is the second most frequent answer.

9.9 Some conclusions

In this research, we tried to show the complexity of the ethnic identity problem in Kazakhstan that is the outcome of historic, sociopolitical and cultural factors. The results suggest that the importance of ethnic identity is salient for non-Kazakhstani groups and therefore the integration of the Kazakhstani nation remains an important problem for the country. Ethnic membership is the fundamental social categorization which prevails in the identity construction of individuals in society.

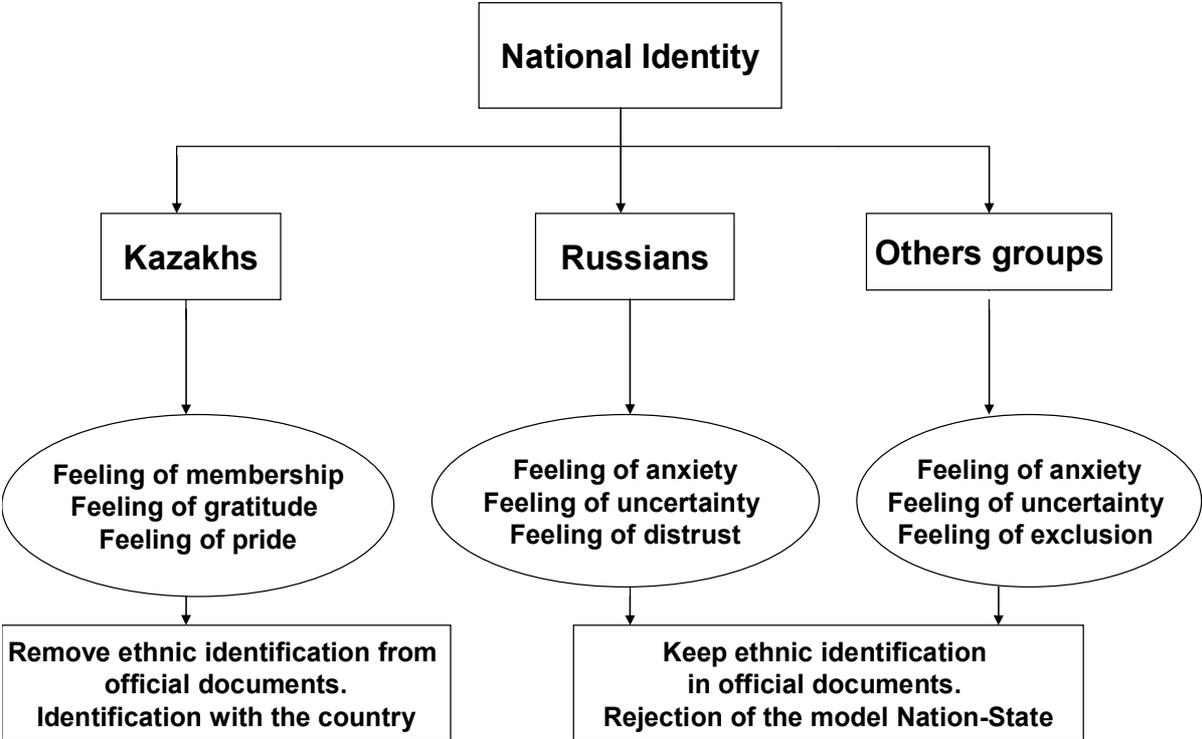
For the Kazakhs, the Kazakh ethnic criterion is the foundation of Kazakh national identity. Ethnic membership has an important value in their construction of identity and is considered an object of their pride. To be Kazakh means having a privileged status in Kazakhstan. The ethnic component for the Kazakhs constitutes a fundamental and integral part of their citizenship. For that reason the issue of removal of ethnic identification from official documents represents no threat to cultural survival.

However, Russians and the other ethnic minorities do not accept national identity based on the Kazakh ethnic criterion. For them, Kazakh citizenship has the same value as that of being

Russian or any other citizenship. Therefore the ethnic membership is more important than the national membership and should appear on official documents to emphasize their cultural roots and to maintain their identity. For the greater part, neither the Russians nor the other minority ethnic groups consider citizenship of Kazakhstan as a stable element in the construction of their identity. Some of the sample think of emigration to Russia in order to find life satisfaction and recognition. Perhaps these young respondents do not feel protected as do the Kazakhs because of their status "non-natives". The majority of the Russians and the other minorities therefore prefer to guard their "ethnic origin" on the passport and identification card.

As a result of perceived threat the feeling of ethnic membership among minorities strengthens to the detriment of the membership in the nation. Russians and the other ethnic groups elaborate similar strategies of preserving ethnic identity in confronting the construction of the nation state based on Kazakh identity. The relationships are summarized in figure 2.

Figure 2. Ethnic membership and national identity in Kazakhstan.



The interethnic relations in Kazakhstan contain an inherent conflict potential and raise issues about the existence of the national unity. Ethnocentric policies are judged by Russians and other minority ethnic groups as discriminatory and stress the ethnic and linguistic differences

between the Kazakhs and other ethnic communities that do not favor the integration of the Kazakhstani nation. The disparity that favors the majority ethnic group and the imposition of the Kazakh language in the administrative sector creates cultural phobias, distrust and rejection by the Russians and other minorities in confronting the attempts at construction of the new nation-state. Kazakh domination has created feelings of injustice and rejection.

In Kazakhstan the respect for cultural diversity is essential to hopes for integration and a necessary factor in the prosperity and enrichment of the country. For a long period Kazakhstan experienced good neighborly relations between ethnic groups. To become successful over the long run, Kazakhstan must elaborate a model of state construction that favors the integration of all the ethnic communities by protecting their political and cultural rights. Linguistically Kazakhstan has two different cultural systems: Kazakh and Russian supported by bilingual schools. For the Russian-speaking minorities, the learning of the Kazakh language will favor the integration in the country and for the Kazakhs the knowledge of Russian will facilitate the interethnic communication. The bilingual education could facilitate the exchanges and the intercultural communication essential for national integration since separate cohabitation is not viable anymore. Therefore an interest and positive attitudes toward all ethnic communities can contribute to reducing prejudice, remove negative stereotypes and stigmatization. The role of the intercultural psychologists in Kazakhstan can be useful and even necessary in the analysis of critical situations in order to understand potential conflict and look for solutions.

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Chapter 10

SOCIAL GROUP IDENTITY AND ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES OF PEOPLE FROM IMMIGRANT BACKGROUNDS: AN INTERACTION PERSPECTIVE*

Liudmyla Smokova

10.1 Introduction

Over the last two decades increased mass mobility, international migration and other forms of intercultural encounters have become frequent in many parts of the world. Every year more than half a million people using illegal channels come to EU countries, and an additional 400000 officially seek shelter on the European continent. The United Nations experts estimate that every 35th resident in a world is an international migrant, and in developed countries every 10th resident has migrated (Trends in international migrant stock, 2008). This increasing modern migration flows is a serious concern for the world social, economic and political systems (Bierbrauer & Pedersen, 1996).

The disintegration of the Soviet Union in the late 1980 led to a rapid increase of ethnic German immigrants. In the period from 1990 to 2000 1.630.031 German settlers returned to Germany from countries of the former Soviet Union, and during the period from 2000 to 2006 an additional 218708 ethnic Germans returned. Many of the ethnic Germans had only rudimentary German language proficiency and knowledge about the culture of the host society (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000). Many migrants don't feel that the host country is their home and are surprised why Germany plays that role for their parents (Kahlweit, 2003, p. 10). Migrants often want to participate in the culture of the host people, but at the same time do not want to lose their own cultural identity. This ambiguity inevitably makes it difficult for the immigrants to adapt socio-culturally and psychologically to the new country. Although immigrants may acquire language and even obtain citizenship, they often remain "Russian" to the indigenous German population (Dietz & Roll, 1998; Schmitt-Rodermund, 1997). Ethnic German immigrants in Germany experience economic difficulties, unemployment and other financial problems (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000).

Migration produces acculturation processes in both migrants and members of the host society. Acculturation is defined as "the process of cultural change and adaptation that occurs when individuals from different cultures come into contact" (Gibson, 2001, p. 19). Research has shown that acculturation proceeds both at the group (group culture change) and individual (individual psychology changes) levels (Sodowsky, Lai, & Plake, 1991; Mendoza, 1984; Kozulin & Venger, 1994). When specifically applied to the context of international migration, acculturation refers to the process of adaptation along two dimensions: (a) adoption of ideals,

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values, and behaviors of the receiving culture, and (b) retention of ideals, values, and beliefs from the culture of origin (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Acculturation can produce either cultural dualism defined as the peaceful coexistence of cultures, or assimilation where the dominance of the host culture prevails. Successful adaptation and cultural integration depends on the immigrants' acculturation orientations whether toward assimilation, integration, separation or marginalization. Successful adaptation requires the involvement of the host society in defining acculturation goals and how it can shape the acculturation orientations of immigrant groups (Berry, 2006).

In addition to acculturation cultural identity is an important issue for immigrant people (Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Phinney, 2003). Although ethnic Germans are Germans by definition, there is still a significant cultural distance between these immigrants and those born in Germany. Ethnic self-identification of immigrants is a salient and relevant topic in the field of acculturation. The social and cultural identities frame the acculturation processes (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). The purpose of the current chapter is to explore the role of social identity including ethnic and national identities on intercultural adaptation.

Personality also plays a role in the acculturation process. In particular communication competence is a major variable in cross-cultural adaptation and serves to facilitate or inhibit intercultural transformation (Gudykunst & Mody, 2001). Previous research in Germany shows that almost every 7th young German feel animosities towards foreigners and 2 out of every 3 young people have reservations about immigration. Sixty-four percent feel that too many foreigners live in Germany (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000). These statistics frame and support the importance of the level of intercultural competence by both immigrant and host community members. Interpersonal competence has a predictable effect on the relationship between acculturation processes, social identification and attitudes towards other groups.

10.1.1 The theoretical perspective of social and ethnic identity

During the last decades the issue of social identity became one of the key topics in the psychology of social cognition and at the same time a complex inter-disciplinary field of investigation, which occupies an important place in social and cross-cultural psychology. Social identity can be defined as a category which comprises the content of a person's social experience and in cognition creates a stable reference point (Andreeva, 2005).

Myers (2009) defines social identity as the aspect of "we" in our self-conception defined by our belonging to some group and responds to the question of: "Who am I?" (Myers, 2009). For Jadov (1995) social identity is one's awareness, feeling, experience of belonging to social communities, including small groups, class, family, territory, community, ethnic group, people, social movement, state, and humanity as a whole. The feeling of belonging to a social community ensures obedience to social norms and provides solidarity in defending the group and provides criteria for assessment and self-evaluation (Jadov, 1995).

Tajfel (1981) defined social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from [his/her] knowledge of [his/her] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1972, p. 255). In studies of social identity Tajfel focused on the role of the categorization processes in inter-group

perception (Tajfel, 1972). While studying inter-group discrimination Tajfel emphasized the importance of categorization, identification and comparison.

The first component, categorization, is the process of putting people, including ourselves into categories. Categorization is a method of systematizing our social environment to simplify our understanding of the world and to structure our social interaction.

The second component, identification, is the process by which we associate ourselves with certain social groups. Ingroups are groups we identify with, and outgroups are those with which we don't identify. Although most people are members of many different groups, only some are meaningful. To share a social identity means sharing features with members of the category and that events that are relevant to the group as a whole also have significance for the individual member.

The third component is social comparison. In his theory of social comparison Tajfel (1979) argued that in comparing our group with other groups we sustain a favorable bias toward the ingroup. Social comparisons largely determine our social identity and self-esteem. Social identity theory sought to explain inter-group relations in general and social conflict in particular. The theory incorporated three main points: (a) People are motivated to maintain a positive self-concept, (b) the self-concept derives largely from group identification, and (c) people establish positive social identities by favorably comparing their in-group against an out-group (Operario & Fiske, 1999).

10.1.2 The structure of social identity

According to Tajfel social identity consists of three components: the cognitive component (awareness of one's membership in a social group, termed "self-categorization"), the evaluative component (value attached to this membership, termed "group self-esteem"), and the emotional component (sense of emotional involvement with this group, termed "affective commitment") (Tajfel, 1984).

The cognitive aspects of social identity can be extensive and varied, including personality traits, social and political attitudes, and memories for identity related events. Because social identities are developed and defined within a social world, many of these cognitions are shared. Self-stereotyping suggest that one views the self in terms of a particular social category using the social stereotype of that category. However, people take on the salient associations that consensually define a category. From the general set of societal representations people may adopt some aspects as relevant while not accepting others. Thus, the cognitive contents of social identity are best conceived as a combination of socially shared beliefs and other attributes based on personal experience.

Any identification with a group has a strong affective element, which supports the cognitive meanings associated with the identity defining social identification as an affective commitment to a group (Ellemers, Kortekaas, and Ouwerkerk, 1999). Although a distinction between the cognitive awareness of one's group membership and the emotional attachment is possible these components are obviously closely related.

Social identities also have a motivational basis particularly where people choose the identification. Although the variety of functions served by social identities is numerous, it is possible to think of a few general types. First, social identity serves the function of self-definition or self-esteem helping the individual to feel better about the self. Secondly, social identification serve as social support by interacting with others who share values and goals, by providing reference group orientation and by shared activity.

10.1.3 Self-categorization and social comparison

The self-categorization theory is an extension of the social identity construct developed by Turner and colleagues (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, and Wetherell, 1987) and focuses on the basic social cognitive processes, primarily social categorization, that cause people to identify with groups, construe themselves and others in group terms..." (Hogg, 2005b).

Social categorization is defined by Turner as a "means of systematizing and ordering the social environment particularly with regard to its role as a guide for action, and as a reflection of social values". Thus, social categorization provides a "system of orientation which creates and defines the individual's own place in society" (p. 293). Self-categorization theory argues that social contexts create meaningful group boundaries and that social identities are socially construed categories that shift depending on situational pragmatics. Thus, the salience of social categories provides perceptual filters for organizing outgroups and ingroups (Brewer & Kramer, 1986; Wilder & Shapiro, 1984).

Besides self-categorization, social comparison is one additional important process involved in the forming of social identity. These identity processes produce different consequences (Hogg and Abrams, 1988). Self-categorization produces an accentuation of the perceived similarities between the self and other ingroup members, and an accentuation of the perceived differences between the self and outgroup members. This accentuation occur with attitudes, beliefs and values, affective reactions, behavioral norms, styles of speech, and other psychological properties believed to be correlated with the relevant intergroup categorization. The consequence of the social comparison process is the selective application of the accentuation effect, primarily to those dimensions that result in self-enhancing outcomes. Comparisons that result in positive distinction of one's own group also create higher subjective status or prestige, and therefore positive social (or ethnic) identity, whereas negative differences or disadvantageous comparisons result in lower prestige and negative social (or ethnic) identity. However, in the case of negative comparison outcomes it is expected that the individual will take actions aimed at restoring the situation to positive results (Mummendey, Simon, Dietze, Grünert, Haeger, Kessler, Lettgen & Schaferhoff, 1992). For example, positive outcomes can be obtained if other cognitive elements are added to the comparison situation: 1) "Comparison of the ingroup and the outgroup on some new dimension". 2) "Changing the group values resulting in the negative comparison becoming positive". 3) "Changing the outgroup, with which the ingroup was originally compared..." (Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1997). Therefore social comparisons lead to attitudes and behaviors aimed at raising self-evaluation, for example through devaluation of the outgroup members. It is believed that the categorization processes through social comparison lead to inter-group discrimination and hostility toward the outgroup (Turner, 1982). Structural variables such as power, hierarchy and resource deficiencies increase the tendency to favor the in-group compared to the out-group (Rabbie & Horwitz, 1969).

10.1.4 Ethnic and national identity

There are many forms of social identity reflecting the many ways by which people connect to other groups and social categories. For example, such categories: ethnicity, race, national, religion, gender, age, and professions lead to social categorization (Leyens & Dardenne, 1996). Group memberships are an important part of the self-concept and can affect the way in which people think and feel about themselves and others (Simon, Hastedt & Aufderheide, 1997). In the current work ethnic and national identity is a composite part of social identification. National identity is conceptualized as the identification with the larger or dominant society (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 2002). Ethnic identity is conceptualized as “a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one’s identity or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group” (Phinney, 2003, p. 63). While Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) predicts attitudes and actions towards members of outgroups on the basis of ingroup membership, ethnic identity research predicts consequences for the individual based on this membership. Ethnic and national identity among immigrants is considered independent variables.

Ethnicity is an ambiguous and evaluative category focusing on the difference of self-determination and determination through others”. An ethnic group may be defined as “a grouping of people who are generally recognized by themselves and/or by others as a distinct group, with such recognition occurring on the basis of social or cultural characteristics” (Farley, 1995: p. 14). By ethnic group, Phinney refers to individuals sharing at least one of the following elements: culture, phenotype, religion, language, kinship, or place of origin. Horowitz (2000, p.18) describes ethnicity as a “mosaic of beliefs, religions, collective memory, emotions, mythologies and language, corresponding to their common ‘ethnic culture’”. Ethnic identity is generally seen as embracing various aspects, including self-identification, feelings of belongingness and commitment to a group, a sense of shared values, and attitudes toward one’s own ethnic group (Rumbaut, 1994). Ethnic identity is composed of the same components (cognitive, affective, and evaluative) as social identity. As a dynamic construction ethnic identity develops and changes with development in response to social psychological and contextual factors (Marcia, Waterman, Matteson, Archer, & Orlofsky, 1993).

The cultural context is seen by some as of primary importance in the formation of ethnic identity (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003; Lysne & Levy, 1997; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001). Such social factors as prejudice, discrimination, cultural and social support produce different social contexts that frame the development of ethnic identity. In the situation of real or perceived discrimination some immigrants may downplay or reject their ethnic identity whereas others may assert pride in their cultural group and emphasize solidarity as a way of dealing with hostility (Liebkind, 2001).

However, some studies show that the perception of discrimination results in a decrease of the ethnic identity intensity (Ruggiero & Taylor, 1996; Mainous, 1989). Other research (Verkuyter & Nekuee, 1999) show that ethnic identity grows under the influence of discrimination. Ethnic identity is important in the acculturation process and in the psychological well-being of ethnic minorities (Berry & Kim, 1988; Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003; Phinney, Chavira, & Williamson, 1992; Sam, 1998). Research results also show that ethnic identity is related to an immigrant’s positive adaptation to the new host country (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl,

2003). In the current study the intensity of social and ethnic identity are examined a related to acculturation strategies and hostility.

10.2 Acculturation strategy

Whenever entering a new social and cultural environment an individual is exposed to the process of acculturation. Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits (cited in J. W. Berry, Y. H. Poortinga, M. H. Segall, P. R. Dasen, 2002, p.271) described acculturation as the “result of direct long-term contact of groups with different cultures, expressed in the change of patterns of the original culture in one or both groups”. Acculturation as a group level concept was later extended by psychological acculturation as a process of changes in individual self-identification, value orientations, and role behaviors (Mendoza, 1984; Kozulin & Venger, 1994; Sadowsky, Lai, & Plake, 1991). Thus, acculturation can be thought of as both individual and group social responses to inter-cultural contacts (Sam, 2006). Acculturation involves a wide range of behaviours, attitudes, and values change produced by contact between cultures (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001). In summary, acculturation is a multidimensional process that includes the individuals’ identification with both their own group and the larger society, and possibly with other ethnic groups (Berry, 1990; Oetting & Beauvais, 1991).

The consequences of inter-ethnic relations both for group and individual identity include the following categories. Integration allows for the preservation of cultural identity with the simultaneous assumption of some elements of the dominating group’s cultural identity; assimilation refers to the gradual voluntary or forced loss of cultural identity and assumption of the norms and values of the dominating group; and segregation encourages the separate development of the groups (Bochner, 1982)

The success of the migrants’ adjustment and the inter-cultural interaction depends on a number of psychological, social and cultural factors experienced during the interaction of individuals and groups in the process of migration. Constructive acculturation partly depends on the immigrants’ acculturation orientations (assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization). However, investigations of the dominating cultural groups showed that there are certain expectations about how a minority should adjust to the majority. These conceptions were described as “acculturation expectations” or “expectations of acculturation” (Berry, 2003; Sam & Berry, 2006). Further, there are certain ideas about the ways in which the minority group should change in order to interact with other groups successfully called the “multicultural ideology” (Berry, Kalin & Taylor, 1977).

The host majority may endorse five acculturation strategies: integration, assimilation, segregation, exclusion, and individualism (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault and Senécal, 1997). Those favoring integration believe that immigrants should maintain certain aspects of their culture while also adopting key features of the host community’s culture. On the other hand in advocating assimilation the host society expect immigrants to relinquish their own culture and adopt the culture of the host society. Arguing for segregation members of the host society accept that immigrants maintain their culture of origin as long as they keep their distance from host majority members.

The acculturation orientations preferred by the members of the host culture can be concordant with or contradictory to the preferred strategies of the immigrant or ethnic minorities. The correspondence between the acculturation orientations of the host and immigrants can be either harmonious, problematic or conflictive (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault and Senécal, 1997). Therefore the consequences of long-term inter-cultural contacts can be either positive or negative (Beiser, Barwick, Berry, et al. 1988; Berry, Kim, 1988). Acculturation can produce either cultural dualism found in the coexistence of cultures or assimilation into the dominant culture

Recent studies (Berry, 1997; Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder, 2006; Sam and Berry, 2006; Dovidio, Gaertner, Validzic, 1998; Zagefka and Brown, 2002) in which the integration strategy is preferred and successfully used generally promote psychological adjustment demonstrated in feelings of well-being and high self-appraisal. Integration also promotes socio-cultural adjustment manifested by competence in intercultural interaction. Further, people who choose integration are subjected to less discrimination than those who choose strategies of separation or marginalization. People who preserve the values of their own culture and at the same time respect and share the values of another culture have a higher self-evaluation and establish benevolent relations with the representatives of other cultures (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). Since the choice of integration is partly a function of the host culture functional integration requires mutual adjustability, minimal ethno-centrism and discrimination, recognition by both groups of the right for all the groups to live as culturally different entities within the framework of one society.

10.3. Intercultural communication competence and adaptation

Cultural adaptation is a very complicated multidimensional process, in which “a person becomes able to function effectively in a culture other than that in which he/she was originally socialized” (Haslberger, 2005 p. 86). Intercultural competence is the major factor in cross-cultural adaptation and facilitates or inhibits intercultural transformation (Gudykunst & Mody, 2001).

Intercultural competence is sensitivity to cultural diversity including the ability to behave in an appropriate way, and to adapt communication and interaction according to the cultural context. Intercultural competence requires the development of skills and attitudes as “the total of knowledge, will and ability, which opens a realistic chance, for successful communication and integration of a foreign culture” (Dreyer, 1997, p. 174). The capacity to identify and accept divergent cultures decrease stereotypic thinking, prejudices and conflicts and it is the key competence required in a global society. The purpose of intercultural competence is to support successful interactions between the people of different cultures and to overcome the discrepancy in communication styles (Warthun, 1997, p. 65).

Intercultural competence leads to successful interaction allowing all potential characteristic and values of a culture to be noticed and evaluated (Geier, 2000, p. 183). Multicultural competence consists of three main components: cognitive, value-affective and behavioral. The cognitive dimension consist of knowledge of own culture and other cultures, knowledge of techniques to prevent and resolve intercultural conflicts and methodical readiness to work in a multicultural classroom. The value-affective dimension refers to underlying humanistic values and value orientations that are consistent with the principles of

multiculturalism, positive ethnic identity and tolerance. Finally, the behavioral dimension refers to the formation of intercultural interaction skills, the ability to apply methods of pedagogical work in a multicultural team, and the humanistic-oriented style of pedagogical interaction (Cui & Van den Berg 1991; Sercu, 2004; Zimmermann, 1995; Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984).

Communication competence has been applied as a research construct to intercultural situations and dimensions and were found applicable across cultural contexts. Ruben (1976) developed a scale measuring seven dimensions of behavioral intercultural competence. The focus on behavioral competence was important because “even an awareness of and familiarity with relevant skills does not guarantee the ability to consistently display them behaviorally” (Ruben, 1976: p. 335). The seven dimensions included in the scale are tolerance for ambiguity, interaction posture, interaction management, display of respect, empathy, role behavior and orientation to knowledge.

Ruben and Kealey (1979) tested the predictive power of the seven dimensions on culture shock, adjustment, and effectiveness. The results showed that the display of respect dimension was the best indicator of cultural adjustment. People who were non-judgmental, respectful, more open to the views of others, and more tolerant of ambiguity were the most effective (Ruben & Kealey, 1979).

The Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (MPQ) elaborated by the Dutch psychologists Van der Zee and Van Oudenhoven’s (2000) became most popular among recent approaches to the study of intercultural competence. More broadly, intercultural effectiveness, intercultural adjustment, and multicultural sensitivity are all parts of the wider definition of a cross-culturally oriented personality.

The five traits that are part of a cross-culturally oriented personality are cultural empathy, open-mindedness, emotional stability, flexibility and social initiative. Cultural empathy is defined as the ability to empathize with feelings, thoughts and behaviors of members from different cultural groups. In other words, cultural empathy is the capacity to display an interest in others and obtain a reasonably complete and accurate sense of the thoughts and feelings of individuals belonging to different cultural groups (Ruben, 1976). Open-mindedness refers to being unprejudiced towards out-group members and towards different sets of cultural norms and values (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000). Many authors stress, that the capacity to “be free of prejudices” is a very important attitude, closely connected with multicultural effectiveness (Hammer, Gudykunst, Wiseman, 1978). Emotional Stability is defined as the extent to which individuals remain calm and relaxed in stressful situations rather than become panicked or irritated (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000). The importance of this criterion is emphasized in the works of such investigators as Abe & Wiseman (1983), Church (1982), Hammer, Gudykunst & Wiseman (1978). Social Initiative is defined as a tendency to approach social situations actively and to take the initiative in interaction rather than ‘wait and see’ (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000). Flexibility is defined by the ability to switch from one strategy to another in new cultural surroundings. Flexibility is also measured by the ability to acquire new social skills while in the host country (Furnham & Bochner, 1986).

Van der Zee and Van Oudenhoven (2002) found that these five dimensions predicted international effectiveness. Intercultural traits including cultural empathy, open-mindedness, and

flexibility influence the emigrants' reactions towards acculturation strategies. For example, Bakker (2005) found that flexibility was related to a strong desire towards participation in the new cultural environment and a dislike for the strengthening of psychological ties to the culture of origin.

10.4 Questions and hypotheses

- **Research question I**

Research in cross-cultural psychology has shown that where two interacting cultural groups that have different preferences in acculturation strategies, the dominant host majority will have problems in interaction with minority groups (Sam & Berry, 2006; Barrette, Bourhis, Personnaz & Personnaz, 2004). Research shows that the host majority members can to some degree shape the acculturation orientations of immigrant groups.

Hypothesis 1: Acculturation goals with which a sample of the host society in Germany identifies will significantly differ from the acculturation strategies adopted by the minority group.

- **Research question II**

Research in social-cultural individual and group adaptation has focused on the description of acculturation strategies. The current research adds to this tradition by including the role of social identification in the acculturation process. Previous social research has confirmed the importance of social categorization in individual adaptation to the new social-cultural conditions (Phiney, 2006; Berry, 2005; Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000). On this basis the relationship of ethnic, national and bicultural identity to differences in cross-cultural adaptation are examined across four acculturation strategies of people with immigrant backgrounds in Germany. National identity is conceptualized as identification with the larger or dominant society (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). However, ethnic and national identity among immigrants is assumed to be independent variables.

Hypothesis 2: Strong ethnic identification will be negatively associated with a strategy of integration whereas identification with the host culture is positively associated with a strategy of integration.

- **Research question III**

Results of previous surveys reveal that successful social-cultural adaptation by minority groups is accomplished through the acquisition of adequate social and behavioral skills necessary for successful interaction with members of the host culture, i.e. by choosing an integration strategy (Berry, 1997; Neto, 2002a; Schmitz, 2001). However, the success of the intercultural contact and the process of psychological adaptation of the minority depend on the involvement of the host society in the acculturation process. Both ethnic and host communication competence is essential in cross-cultural adaptation and facilitate or inhibit intercultural transformation (Gudykunst & Mody, 2001).

Hypothesis 3: It is expected that intercultural competence of the immigrant members and host majority members has an effect on acculturation strategies/goals and attitudes towards outgroups.

10.5 Method

- *Participants*

Participants were native German undergraduates from Passau University and workers in the community (N = 306; 68.3% female and 31.7% male). An additional sample of Russian-speaking immigrant undergraduates and workers in Passau, Cologne and Hamburg (N = 84; 74.8% female and 25.2% male) participated in the survey. In the present study, the age range was 18 to 55 (M = 25.53; SD = 9.56 and the median MD = 23.5 years). In the German sample 67.2% were students and 32.8% full time workers. In the immigrant sample 24.7% of the participants were students and 75.3% workers.

- *Data collection*

This survey was based on anonymous questionnaires including:

Acculturation attitudes: The scale assesses four acculturation strategies/goals of integration, assimilation, separation/segregation, and marginalization/exclusion (Berry et al., 1997).

Intercultural effectiveness: The intercultural traits were measured with the 91-items MPQ (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000, 2001). Each trait was measured by items that describe concrete behaviors or tendencies, which were considered to be indicative of the specific dimension. Participants responded on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 (*not at all applicable*) to 5 (*totally applicable*). Cultural Empathy was measured by 18 items ($\alpha = .91$). Examples of items are “Tries to understand other people’s behavior” (+) and “Finds it hard to empathize with others” (-). Open-Mindedness was measured by 18 items ($\alpha = .94$). Examples of items are “Is interested in other cultures” (+) and “Is fascinated by new technological developments” (+). Social Initiative was measured with 17 items ($\alpha = .92$). Examples of items are “Takes initiatives” (+) and “Finds it difficult to make contact” (-). Emotional Stability was measured by 20 items ($\alpha = .95$). Examples of items are “Keeps calm at ill-luck” (+) and “Suffers from conflicts with others” (-). Flexibility was measured by 18 items ($\alpha = .93$). Examples of items are “Changes easily from one activity to another” (+) and “Wants to know exactly what will happen” (-).

Hostility towards foreigners: To measure hostile attitudes towards foreigners 9-items scale with five response categories (1 = I disagree; 5 = I agree) (Strobl, & Kuehnel, 2000) was employed. Cronbach’s alpha was 0.862 for German sample, and 0.845 for the Russian-speaking immigrant sample.

Ethnic identity: The 14-item Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992) was administered. The instrument assesses three aspects of ethnic identity: (a) ethnic identity achievement (seven items); (b) affirmation and belonging, including positive ethnic attitudes and sense of belonging (five items); and (c) ethnic behavior assessing ethnic customs and practice (two items). The items are rated on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 = strongly

disagree to 4 = strongly agree. The measure was translated and back-translated into German by professional translators. Cronbach's alpha was $\alpha = .80$ for German sample and $\alpha = .77$ for the Russian-speaking immigrant group. For the five-item affirmation and belonging scale, the reliability was $\alpha = .78$ for the German and $\alpha = .79$ for the Russian-speaking immigrant sample, and for the seven-item ethnic identity achievement scale the reliability was $\alpha = .75$ for German and $\alpha = .72$ for the Russian-speaking immigrant samples respectively. The MEIM also included a six-item scale to assess orientation toward other ethnic groups (Cronbach's alpha = 0.85).

Attitudes towards other groups: Attitudes towards other groups were measured using an 11-item scale. This scale covered four facets involved in positive evaluations of an outgroup: sympathy (e.g., "I like the [outgroup] mentality"), willingness for intergroup contact (e.g., "I think it is important to be in contact with the [outgroup]"), favorable behavioral intentions towards the outgroup (e.g., "If my financial situation permitted, I would donate money to the Society for [ingroup] – [outgroup] Friendship"), and evaluation of the outgroup's difference (e.g., "I can easily accept those features that distinguish most [outgroup] from us"). All items were presented as positive evaluations except for a single reverse-coded item ("I think I don't like [outgroup] very much"). Internal consistencies were $\alpha = .77$ for German host majority and $\alpha = .76$ for Russian-speaking immigrant samples.

Identification with dominant society (national identity): was measured with social identity 16-items scale by Orth, Broszkiewicz & Schütte (1996). This scale covered three facets of social identity: ingroup identity (ethnic identity), outgroup identity (national identity) and bicultural identity (simultaneous identification with the host and the heritage culture). The items were rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree. The overall internal consistency of the scale was $\alpha = .75$ for the German host majority sample and $\alpha = .79$ for Russian speaking immigrant members.

- ***Statistical analyses***

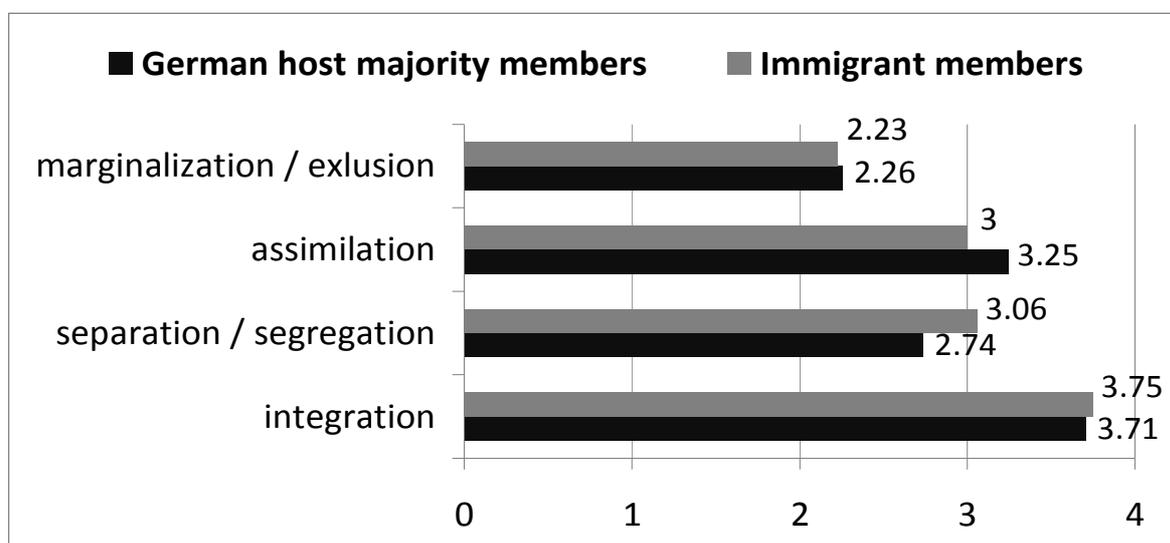
All statistics were calculated using the SPSS version 15.0 statistical package. In the initial phase of analysis, bivariate correlations were carried out for all variables. Independent t-tests were calculated to compare acculturation orientations between the ethnic minority and German majority group. A standard multiple regression analysis was applied to evaluate the main effects of intercultural competence, self-identification, ethnic identity and acculturation goals of the host society compared to acculturation strategy of immigrant members.

10.6 Results

Results show that the acculturation goals endorsed by the German host majority for immigrants are integration (M= 3.71) and assimilation (M= 3.25), while segregation (M= 2.74) and exclusion (M= 2.26) are least endorsed. In Figure 1, the order of acculturation preferences are different for immigrant. Integration is again most strongly supported (M= 3.75). Separation is moderately endorsed (M= 3.06), whereas assimilation (M= 3.00) and marginalization (M= 2.23) are the least approved orientations. However, immigrants preferred separation to assimilation ($t = -3.926$, $df = 346$, $p = .000$), while host participants preferred assimilation to segregation ($t = 3.598$, $df = 345$, $p = .001$). This result is consistent with previous research in Germany (see Zagefka, & Brown, 2002).

The correlational analysis largely support hypothesis 1. Pearson product correlations revealed meaningful negative relationships between immigrant acculturation orientation and host acculturation goals of exclusion ($r = -.809$; $p = .000$), and segregation ($r = -.728$; $p = .000$). Significant negative correlations were also obtained between immigrant acculturation orientation of separation and such host acculturation goals as assimilation ($r = -.572$; $p = .000$) and exclusion ($r = -.718$; $p = .000$). The immigrant acculturation strategy of marginalization was negatively correlated with host goal of assimilation ($r = -.513$; $p = .001$) and positively with segregation ($r = .406$; $p = .001$). In turn the immigrants' acculturation strategy of assimilation was positively correlated with the acculturation goal of the host society of exclusion ($r = .723$; $p = .001$).

Figure 1. *Acculturation strategies of German majority members and Russian-speaking immigrants?*



Pearson product moment correlations were calculated between ethnic identity, its subscales (affirmation-belonging, identity achievement, ethnic behaviors, and other group activities), national identity, attitude towards out-group, and acculturation strategies/goals. Small, but significant negative correlations were found for ethnic identity with assimilation strategy ($r = -.380$; $p = .006$) and marginalization ($r = -.280$; $p = .001$). Identification with the ingroup is associated with integration strategy ($r = -.275$; $p = .046$). National identity correlate with integration strategy ($r = .250$; $p = .026$). For Germans the results were opposite with German ethnic identity correlated with exclusion ($r = 0.230$, $p = .007$).

The results show also that in sample of the host society the integration strategy yields small, but significant correlations with positive attitudes towards other groups ($r = .306$; $p = .000$), sympathy towards the outgroup ($r = .328$; $p = .000$), willingness for intergroup contact ($r = .215$; $p = .000$) and favorable behavioral intentions towards the outgroup ($r = .150$; $p = .010$).

In the Russian-speaking immigrant sample assimilation strategy yield small but positive correlations with attitudes towards other groups ($r = .362$; $p = .007$), willingness for have

intergroup contact ($r = .346$; $p = .010$), tolerance of outgroup differences ($r = .394$; $p = .003$) and negatively with affirmation or belonging ($r = -.342$; $p = .015$). In the German sample the acculturation goal of assimilation positively correlates with sympathy towards the outgroup ($r = .302$; $p = .000$), willingness to have intergroup contact ($r = .173$; $p = .003$) and having favorable behavioral intentions towards the outgroup ($r = .168$; $p = .004$).

Table 1. *Pearson product-moment correlations between variables measuring acculturation strategies/goal and social categories (ethnic, national identity and bicultural category).*

		<i>Acculturation strategies and acculturation goals</i>			
		Integration	Assimilation	Separation/ segregation	Marginalization/ exclusion
Ethnic Identity (MEIM)	1		-0.38**		-0.28***
	2				0.23**
Affirmation or belonging (MEIM)	1		-0.34*	0.31*	
	2				
Identification with dominant society (national identity)	1	0.25*		-0.41***	
	2				
Identification with in- group	1	-0.28*			
	2				
Attitudes towards other groups	1		0.36**	-0.40**	
	2	0.31***		-0.31***	-0.39***
Sympathy towards the outgroup	1				
	2	0.33***	0.30***		
Willingness for intergroup contact	1		0.35**	-0.32*	
	2	0.22***	0.17**	-0.21**	
Favorable behavioral intentions towards the outgroup	1			-0.27*	
	2	0.15**	0.17**		-0.17*
Tolerance towards outgroup's difference	1		0.39**	-0.42**	
	2	0.26***			

Note. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$. **1**, Immigrant members; **2**, Host majority members.

The separation strategy of immigrants is correlated negatively with national identity ($r = -.412$; $p = .000$), attitudes towards other groups ($r = -.404$; $p = .003$), tolerance ($r = -.42$; $p = .007$), affirmation or belonging ($r = .31$; $p = .023$), willingness for intergroup contact ($r = -.317$; $p = .027$), and favorable behavioral intentions towards the outgroup ($r = -.27$; $p = .018$). The acculturation strategy of segregation by the German sample has low correlations with social-cultural factors of adaptation. There is also a negative correlation between segregation and attitudes towards other groups ($r = -.31$; $p = .000$), and willingness for intergroup contact ($r = -.21$; $p = .006$). Exclusion correlates with attitudes towards other groups ($r = -.39$; $p = .000$) and favorable behavioral intentions towards the outgroup ($r = -.17$; $p = .018$).

For the Russian-speaking people of immigrant backgrounds the Pearson correlation analysis between subscales of social identification shows that bicultural identity positively correlate with tolerance towards outgroup differences ($r = .755$; $p = .000$) and favorable behavioral intentions towards the outgroup ($r = .745$; $p = .000$).

Table 2. Significant Pearson product-moment correlations between intercultural competence, acculturation strategies/goals, and attitudes towards other groups.

	Cultural empathy		Open-mindedness		Orientation to action		Flexibility		Emotional stability	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Integration	0.15**		0.27**							
Assimilation	-		-0.22**			0.75*				
	0.13**									
Separation/ Segregation				-0.70*		-0.72*				
Marginalization/ Exclusion	-		-0.20**							
	0.17**									
Sympathy			0.30***		0.14**		0.21**			
Willingness for intergroup contact	0.28**	0.37**	0.42***	0.40**		0.50***		0.30*		0.36**
Favorable behavioral intentions towards the out-group	0.19**		0.40**		0.14**		0.18**			
Tolerance towards outgroup differences			0.15**	0.40**		0.33*	0.17**	0.37**		0.51***
Hostility towards foreigners		-0.28*	-0.23**						0.11**	

Note. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$. 1, Host majority members; 2, Immigrant members

The correlation analysis in German host sample shows that intercultural competence is correlated with acculturation goals. In the Table 2, cultural empathy is slightly correlated with assimilation ($r = -.129$, $p < .01$), integration ($r = .152$, $p < .001$), segregation ($r = .115$, $p < .01$) and exclusion ($r = -.165$, $p < .001$). The variable open-mindedness also show small correlations with integration ($r = .274$, $p < .001$), assimilation ($r = -.218$, $p < .001$) and exclusion ($r = -.202$, $p = .000$). The results show also that intercultural competence of host society members is correlated with attitudes towards the outgroup. Cultural empathy is moderately associated with favorable behavioral intentions towards the outgroup ($r = .388$; $p < .001$) and with willingness for intergroup contact ($r = .276$; $p = .000$). Open-mindedness is significantly associated with sympathy ($r =$

.296; $p = .000$), willingness for intergroup contact ($r = .416$; $p = .000$), favorable behavioral intentions toward the outgroup ($r = .402$; $p = .000$) and tolerance towards the outgroup ($r = .150$; $p = .028$). Orientation to action (social initiative) is slightly related to sympathy ($r = .138$; $p = .042$) and favorable behavioral intentions towards the outgroup ($r = .140$; $p = .040$). Flexibility yield small but significant correlations with tolerance ($r = .17$; $p = .015$), sympathy ($r = .21$; $p = .002$) and favorable behavioral intentions towards the foreign group ($r = .175$; $p = .01$). There is also a negative correlation between hostility towards foreigners as a whole and open-mindedness ($r = -.23$; $p = .001$), flexibility ($r = -.203$; $p = .01$) and a positive correlation with emotional stability ($r = .113$; $p = .04$).

The correlation analysis results in Russian speaking immigrants sample show smaller correlations between intercultural effectiveness variables and acculturation processes. Cultural empathy correlate positively with willingness to have intergroup contact ($r = .37$; $p = .004$) and negatively with hostility towards foreigners ($r = -.28$; $p = .034$). Open-mindedness is negatively associated with segregation ($r = -.70$; $p = .036$), willingness for intergroup contact ($r = .40$; $p = .002$) and tolerance towards outgroups ($r = .40$; $p = .007$). Orientation to the action positively correlates with tolerance towards outgroups ($r = .33$; $p = .022$), with the willingness to have intergroup contact ($r = .50$; $p = .000$), with acculturation strategy assimilation ($r = .75$; $p = .035$) and segregation ($r = -.72$; $p = .008$). Flexibility and emotional stability also shows positive correlations with tolerance towards outgroups ($r = .37$; $p = .005$ / $r = .51$; $p = .000$) and willingness to have intergroup contact ($r = .30$; $p = .026$ / $r = .36$; $p = .003$).

Table 3. Regression analysis of ethnic self-identification, national identification and psychological characteristics in acculturation process.

Predictors	Dependent variables					R ²	Sig
	Integra- tion β	Assimi- lation β	Separation/ Segregation β	Margina- tion/ Exclusion β	Hostility towards foreigners β		
Flexibility			-0.21				
Open- mindedness			-0.26		-0.89	0.40	0.009
Cultural empathy					-0.68		
Orientation to action				-0.33			
Ethnic identity	-0.31					0.32	0.02
Ingroup identification					-0.33	0.39	0.035
Ethnic behavior					-0.49	0.46	0.003
Orientation toward other ethnic groups	0.37			-0.33		0.43	0.02
Affirmation and belonging		-0.36				0.14	0.04
Emotional stability							

Simple regression analyses were used to check for predictor effects of ethnic, national, bicultural identities and psychological characteristics in the acculturation process. The results for immigrant members shows (see Table 3) the influence of the intercultural traits of open-mindedness, and flexibility on reactions towards acculturation strategy of separation ($\beta = -.253$; $p = .001$ and $\beta = -.206$; $p = .000$; $R^2 = .401$). Ethnic identity and a positive orientation towards other ethnic groups are predictors of integration strategy ($\beta = -.313$, $p = .024$) and ($\beta = .371$, $p = .021$; $R^2 = .434$). In its turn, hostility towards foreigners is predicted by lack of cultural empathy ($\beta = -.676$, $p < .01$) and open-mindedness ($\beta = -.887$, $p = .009$), ingroup identification ($\beta = -.331$, $p = .035$; $R^2 = .391$) and ethnic behavior assessing ethnic customs and practice ($\beta = -.490$, $p = .003$; $R^2 = .463$). Ethnic affirmation and belonging (including positive ethnic attitudes and sense of belonging) predicts the assimilation strategy ($\beta = -.362$, $p = .040$). Marginalization is influenced by the negative orientation towards other ethnic groups ($\beta = -.327$, $p = .031$; $R^2 = .434$).

The use of the two regression analyses supports a reciprocal influence of socio-cultural and psychological characteristics. A high degree of ethnic self-identification by Russian-speaking immigrants is a predictor of the emotional stability ($\beta = .484$, $p = .002$; $R^2 = .203$), and hostility to foreigners negatively predicts open-mindedness ($\beta = -.707$, $p = .017$; $R^2 = .401$).

In the German host group the regression analysis shows that emotional stability is a predictor of exclusion acculturation goals ($\beta = -.194$; $p = .003$) and integration ($\beta = .224$; $p = .001$; $R^2 = .216$). Hostility towards immigrant groups is predicted by flexibility ($\beta = -.206$; $p = .000$), emotional stability ($\beta = .153$; $p = .023$) and open-mindedness ($\beta = -.167$; $p = .001$; $R^2 = .483$).

10.7 Summary and conclusions

The increasing interaction and mutual influence of different cultures as a result of intense immigration and other forms of intercultural encounters is a significant component of modern life. However, integration and the successful adaptation of immigrants still remains the exception rather than the rule. Intercultural studies of acculturation and national-cultural identification therefore are becoming more relevant.

The aim of this research was to evaluate the influence of ethnic and national identification on acculturation processes among Russian-speaking immigrants and a German sample. This study supported the hypothesis that there is a significant difference between the acculturation strategies adopted by minority immigrants and that of the native majority. The German host majority preferred immigrants to be assimilated whereas the immigrants preferred a strategy of separation. Harmonious intergroup relations are most likely when members of both groups endorse integration or assimilation. Recent studies have shown that mutually endorsed integration orientations have a positive impact on the intergroup attitudes of immigrants and the host community (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Validzic, 1998; Stobl & Kuhnel, 2000; Zagefka & Brown, 2002).

The relationship between patterns of identification and acculturation was examined. The results revealed that immigrants who have identified with the dominant host society expressed preference for integration strategies. On the other hand immigrants with a high degree of ethnic identification expressed low preference for integration as well for marginalization and

assimilation. In its turn, the feeling of belonging to an ethnic group and positive attitudes towards the group promotes the segregation choice by immigrants.

The results suggest that immigrants' assimilation is possible when they have strong positive attitudes towards other groups manifested in their willingness to have intergroup contact, and by having favorable behavioral intentions towards the outgroup and tolerance towards outgroup differences. In German sample result shows that the same attitudes toward the outgroup (sympathy towards the outgroup, willingness to have intergroup contact, favorable behavioral intentions towards the outgroup and tolerance towards outgroup differences) predict integration as the acculturation expectation for immigrants.

The influence of the intercultural traits including cultural empathy, open-mindedness, an orientation to action, emotional stability and flexibility on acculturation strategies was examined. The findings show that individuals high in orientation to action favored participation in the new cultural environment and at the same time disliked the strengthening of psychological ties to the culture of origin. The results also showed many links between the components of intercultural competence and the attitudes and behaviors towards outgroups.

Intercultural competence components influence the acculturation goals of the German host majority group. In particular cultural empathy and open-mindedness were related to the German sample's reactions towards integration, assimilation and exclusion strategies. In addition, open-mindedness, orientation to action, flexibility and emotional stability were all related to tolerance towards outgroup differences.

As a conclusion, this report emphasizes the role that group identity and intercultural competence play in the interaction between minority and majority cultural groups. The understanding of the relationships between social identification and acculturation strategies can help society develop and apply adequate acculturation programs.

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Chapter 11

SPEECH AS A MEDIATOR OF CHILDREN'S MASTERY OF COGNITIVE COMPETENCIES

Maria K. Damianova & Marilyn Lucas

11.1 Introduction

In the socio-cultural approach of Lev Vygotsky individual development is conceptualized as the product of semiotic mediation. Among other semiotic systems, such as, numerical symbols, graphic representations, mnemonic techniques, schemas, diagrams and other auxiliary aids (Kozulin, 2005), speech occupies a central position because it is both a mediating means and a mediated process. Verbal mediation is in essence the ontogenetic fusion of speech with any other mental function, the foundations for which are set during the early years of the child (Vygotsky, 1997a). In the course of ontogeny, speech is progressively incorporated in the child's interactions with others, the self and the objective material and cultural reality, and becomes the intermediary of these interactions. As the developmental paths of speech and other mental functions intersect, transformations occur at both intra-functional and inter-functional levels (Mirolli & Parisi, 2011). For instance, when around two years of age the developmental lines of thought and speech intertwine, "speech begins to serve intellect and thoughts begin to be spoken" (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 82). In the course of this unification, speech makes thought processes and cognition amenable to self-regulation. Speech is employed as a tool that directs and subordinates one's thoughts and cognitive operations to particular goals, and allows for the accomplishment of these goals by activating and organizing the necessary cognitive resources.

As speech performs these mediatory and regulatory functions, it simultaneously undergoes an inward transformation (internalization). In ontogeny, the developmental progression of speech (see Damianova & Sullivan, 2011 for a comprehensive theoretical account) includes the conversion of social speech—the most expanded speech form—into self-directed, externally abbreviated and semantically condensed type of speech, i.e., private speech, which in turn gives rise to inner speech (Vygotsky, 1986). Once formed, the more internalized speech forms become gradually incorporated into individuals' psychological repertoire and differentially but interdependently enable individuals to carry out various cognitive and behavioral tasks.

Conceptualized by Vygotsky as "thought spoken out loud" (Berk, 1986, p. 671), private speech in particular has attracted much attention and its involvement in individuals' attainment of mastery over a range of cognitive and behavioral domains has been addressed both empirically and theoretically by many neo-Vygotskyans. The consensus reached (see Winsler, 2009 for a comprehensive review of contemporary research accomplishments) is in support of Vygotsky's (1986) stance that private speech plays the role of "mental orientation, conscious understanding; it helps in overcoming difficulties; it is speech for oneself, intimately and usefully connected with child's thinking" (p. 228).

In some instances, the empirical support for this formulation has been derived from exploring the role of this type of speech for task performance. Although in a variety of studies, private speech has been shown to facilitate task success (e.g., Azmitia, 1992; Berk & Spuhl, 1995; Bivens & Berk, 1990; Fernyhough & Fradley, 2005; Winsler, Diaz, & Montero, 1997; Winsler, Diaz, McCarthy, Atencio, & Chabay, 1999, 2000), other investigations have found little or no support of such an association (e.g., Berk, 1986; Fraunglass & Diaz, 1985) or have determined that the nature of the association varies with reference to concurrent versus future performance (e.g., Berk & Spuhl, 1995; Bivens & Berk, 1990). Furthermore, with few exceptions (e.g., Fernyhough & Fradley, 2005), research in this domain has predominantly focused on examining the relation between private and inner speech, and task performance (e.g., Duncan & Cheyne, 2002; Duncan & Pratt, 1997; Winsler et al., 2000; Winsler et al., 1997), thus understating the role of social speech.

Successful task performance is a reflection of the level of mastery acquired by an individual over the cognitive demands of a particular task. The dynamics of achieving a mastery of particular activities or psychological functions have been conceptualized by Vygotsky within his renowned paradigm of the Zone of Actual Development (ZAD) and the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). In Vygotsky's view (1978), the ZAD "defines functions that have already matured" (p. 86); while the ZPD "defines functions that have not yet matured but are in the process of maturation" (p. 86). Mastery occurs when an individual's competencies move from the ZPD to the ZAD, and such perpetual shifts are best represented as a developmental spiral whereby "what is the zone of proximal development today will be the actual developmental level [ZAD] tomorrow" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 87) and what is the ZAD today was in the ZPD yesterday.

In a problem-solving context, the boundaries of the ZAD and ZPD can be demarcated by the level of difficulty experienced by individuals when dealing with the demands of a particular task as well as by the task performance outcome. Indeed, a closer examination of Vygotsky's definitions of the ZAD and the ZPD, suggests that he outlined two criteria for evaluating whether a particular function or cognitive capacity falls within the ZAD or within the ZPD. The first criterion is the demonstration, or lack of such, of a capability to successfully perform the demands of a task, and the second is the execution of a competent performance either independently, with no external help, or with the assistance from a more competent other. As Vygotsky (1978) claimed, "if a child can do such-and-such independently, it means that the functions for such-and-such have matured in her" (p. 86).

On these grounds, the argument put forward in the present investigation is that the outcome of task completion allows for inferring *post hoc* whether the cognitive requirements of that task fall within the ZAD or within the ZPD of a child. The independent achievement of a successful task performance indicates that the cognitive requirements necessitated by that task fall within the mastery zone of the child, that is, within his or her ZAD. When such performance is demonstrated, task difficulty can be gauged as matching abilities situated within the continuum of the child's ZAD. In contrast, when the performance is unsuccessful, then task challenge surpasses an individual's competencies and the latter may be regarded as located within the ZPD.

In many investigations (e.g., Behrend, Rosengren, & Perlmutter, 1989, 1992; Duncan & Cheyne, 2002; Duncan & Pratt 1997; Fernyhough & Fradley, 2005), where manipulation and specific measures of task difficulty were introduced, it was verified that there is a relationship between task difficulty and private speech use. However, the exact nature of this relationship still remains unclear, as some studies identified a linear relationship in children and in young adults (e.g., Duncan & Cheyne, 2002; Duncan & Pratt 1997) while others, more recent investigations (e.g., Fernyhough & Fradley, 2005) demonstrated that the relationship is quadratic. When addressing the topic of task difficulty, it is important to take into account the consideration initially raised by Diaz (1992), that “task difficulty cannot be measured as an objective property of the task, independently from individuals’ levels of ability on the task” (p.76).

Although the conceptual and methodological significance of the ZAD – ZPD paradigm is by now well established, it is believed that Vygotsky’s untimely death prevented him from finalizing his ideas and thus, the notion of the ZPD was discussed and defined by him only in general terms, and “remained a nebulous theoretical abstraction” (Garton, 2004, p. 34). As argued by Kozulin and Gindis (2007), a problematic point in the two-zone thesis is the absence in Vygotsky’s writing of a specific methodology for a study of the ZPD. Contemporary revisions of Vygotsky’s heritage have recognized this status quo and have advocated the need for further “concretization and more detailed explication of the structure and content” (Obukhova & Korepanova, 2005, p. 14) of the ZPD. Thus, the particular mechanisms underlying the transition of individual competencies from the ZPD to the ZAD still remain in the focus of contemporary researchers.

Central to the notion of the ZAD and the ZPD is Vygotsky’s view that a developmental shift in competencies occurs in an appropriately stimulating social context when the learner is offered guidance, primarily in a verbal form, by a more knowledgeable collaborator. An important theoretical and empirical question is how the different types of speech—social, private and inner speech—mediate task mastery, that is, the transition of an individual’s competencies from the ZPD to the ZAD.

Propositions on this theme were initially put forward by Diaz (1992) who outlined a four-step progression model, in which he explicated how the level of individual task difficulty, the child’s competency and private speech enter into a complex interplay. He specifically argued that: (a) if a child possesses the competencies required by the task, then very little or no private speech will be required as he or she will complete the task successfully by means of using routinized strategies and minimal executive effort; (b) as the task becomes increasingly challenging, private speech will be used for gaining a higher level of competency and mastery on the task; (c) the use of private speech in such conditions will facilitate the attainment of a higher competency level; (d) this higher competency level will in turn minimize the need for private speech use, as by then the task demands would have become adequate to the newly gained competencies and the child will find him or herself back to the initial situation as described in (a).

Although these formulations may serve as a guideline for outlining the interface between task mastery and speech functions, the conceptual account and the empirical validation of the significance of the various speech types for advancing an individual’s competency levels are still far from complete. In particular, the use of speech as a mediator of cognitive functions and as an

instrument of thought in the context of the child's ZAD–ZPD has not been sufficiently explored. A continual quest therefore is to pinpoint and validate those particular subtypes of social, private and inner speech that are likely to mediate the successful solution of a task.

The aim of this study was to examine the ontogenetic changes in the production of task-oriented speech as a tool of cognitive processing, mental regulation and peer collaboration, and to explore the predictive role of different subtypes of task-oriented speech for successful task performance in pre-primary and primary school children.

11.2 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were formulated:

1. There will be a significant age-related difference in children's production of task-oriented speech subtypes.
2. There will be a significant difference in the overall incidence of task-oriented speech between the group of participants who performed at an average to above average level and the group of participants who performed at a below average level.
3. The task-oriented speech subtypes, namely, social and private speech denoting aspects of task activity or task material together with inner speech, will predict significantly the outcome of task performance.

11.3 Method

- *Participants*

Schoolchildren from one pre-primary and three South African Model C * primary schools were invited to participate in the present study with approval from the parents and from each of the schools. The schools were located in areas typically occupied by middle class residents. The participants were divided into the following age groups: group 1 (from 5 years, 6 months to 6 years, 5 months); group 2 (from 6 years, 6 months to 7 years, 5 months); group 3 (from 7 years, 6 months to 8 years, 5 months); group 4 (from 8 years, 6 months to 9 years, 5 months). Each age group consisted of 30 participants, comprising an equal distribution of boys and girls. Majority of the participants were of White ethnicity and all spoke English as their first language.

- *Materials*

The problem-solving experimental task used in the present study was the Raven's Colored Progressive Matrices test (RCPM), (Raven, Raven, & Court, 1998). The RCPM consists of 36 items in 3 sets (A, Ab, B) with 12 items per set. The task requires that respondents identify the item that completes a diagrammatic puzzle pattern out of options provided. In this

* Model C schools were first introduced in South Africa in 1992 and are funded both from government subsidies and from additional fees payable by parents. Typically, with the transformation of educational policies in South Africa, the historically white state-aided schools became Model C schools.

investigation, the test was not used as a measure of the intellectual capacity of the participants but rather as a problem-solving task that satisfied the criteria of presenting the participants with uniform, age-appropriate and individually challenging cognitive requisites. The three sets of the RCPM entail, among other mental capacities, the use of visual-spatial logical reasoning, the ability to identify complex visual-spatial relationships and to think by analogy (Carpenter, Just, & Shell, 1990; Raven et al., 1998). As the task was non-verbal, the production of any type of task-oriented speech was not a task requirement and would have occurred only if children needed to rely on speech as an instrument of thought and self-regulation.

- ***Design***

The study was cross-sectional and included four age groups.

Task Implementation. Task completion took place during the free activity time of the pupils in the neutral setting of the library or playroom. The research context was arranged to be as close as possible to the natural school environment. The RCPM was administered in its standard format and all the children attempted the entire series. Task completion was individual but took place in a stimulating social environment where children from the same age group worked in triads. This arrangement allowed for creating conditions where each child was able to solicit and receive ad hoc assistance from peers or from the researcher.

The participants were explicitly told that they are not completing a school task and that they should feel free to talk to each other as well as to the experimenter. Prior to commencing the problem-solving task, children were invited to participate for about 15 minutes in activities (e.g., drawing pictures, assembling puzzles and construction games) facilitating their comfort with the experimental setting. Children's task execution was video recorded and the coding of utterances was made from the video records following a procedure described below.

Coding. The unit of analysis was an utterance defined as a speech entity "containing no temporal or semantic discontinuities, where a temporal discontinuity was defined as a pause of at least 2 seconds, and a semantic discontinuity included any change of content, whether or not preceded by a pause" (Fernyhough & Fradley, 2005, p. 110). The utterances were coded with reference to the type of speech and their task-oriented semantic content into the variables Speech Type and Task-oriented Speech, respectively.

Speech type. This variable measured whether the utterances produced were social, private or inner speech types. An utterance was coded as social speech if it contained explicit external markers indicating that it was addressed to another. In line with the well-established contemporary coding practices (e.g., Diaz, 1992; Fernyhough & Fradley, 2005; Furrow, 1992; Goudena 1992; Winsler, Carlton, & Barry, 2000), the markers of social speech included eye contact or gaze directed toward another person, reference to another person by name, questions directed to another or response to a question raised by another and/or verbal turn-taking as well as intentional physical contact with another person. All other overt speech utterances which did not contain these markers were categorized as private speech. External manifestations of inner speech comprised incidences of inaudible muttering and lips and tongue movements. In accordance with the theoretical terminology and for brevity, the term inner speech was adopted for this type of speech and used throughout the text.

Task-oriented speech. Task-oriented speech comprised private or social speech utterances, which had semantic content that denoted aspects of the task material or task completion process, as well as the incidence of inner speech. The semantic content of private and social speech was defined as the “referential aspects of the utterance, that is, what the child is talking about” (Diaz, 1992, p. 67). The particular task-oriented semantic categories falling in the focus of the present study were:

Describing own task activity (past, present, future). This category included utterances in the form of statements, which referred to an agent’s own activity that had either been carried out already (past), was in the process of being performed (current) or was about to happen (future). Typical examples include: “Finished”, (past activity); “I am on number 8”, (present activity); “I will do that afterwards” (future activity).

Describing task material. Utterances that denoted, in the form of statements, various particulars and/or salient features of the task material were coded into this category.

For instance, utterances like “It is that one, number 7”, “5”, “Number 6” , all denoted elements or features of the task material and were coded into this category.

Task performance. This variable represented the outcome of individual global task performance with reference to the age-related normative standards. If the performance was equal to or above the age-related normative standard, then it was considered to have been successful, whereas if it was below the age-related standard, it was regarded as unsuccessful. It is important to reiterate that the experimental task was not conducted for the purpose of assessing the individuals’ intellectual capacity but as a standardized, age-appropriate problem-solving task, containing graded levels of complexity. Thus, the categories “successful” and “unsuccessful” performance outcome were used solely to differentiate between a result that respectively either matched or did not match the level expected for the particular age.

11.4 Results

11.4.1 Production of task-oriented speech subtypes by the age groups and the total sample

The incidence (mean utterances per minute) of the task-oriented speech subtypes by the four age groups and the total sample is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Mean frequency measures of the task-oriented speech subtypes for the age groups and the total sample.

Semantic content	Age group					Total sample
	1 5y6m to 6y5m	2 6y6m to 7y5m	3 7y6m to 8y5m	4 8y6m to 9y5m		
<i>Private Speech</i>						
<i>Utterances</i> Describing task activity	0.27 (0.30)	1.30 (1.21)	0.18 (0.26)	0.20 (0.34)		0.49 (0.80)
Describing task material*	1.75 (1.45)	0.29 (0.40)	2.24 (1.73)	0.74 (0.80)		1.25 (1.43)
<i>Social Speech</i>						
<i>Utterances</i>	0.31 (0.22)	0.91 (0.73)	0.10 (0.15)	0.18 (0.31)		0.38 (0.52)
Describing task activity	0.93 (0.71)	0.26 (0.31)	0.43 (0.40)	0.20 (0.40)		0.45 (0.55)
Describing task material**	0.48 (0.50)	1.14 (0.57)	1.58 (1.42)	2.11 (1.27)		1.33 (1.18)
<i>Inner Speech**</i>						

Note. Standard deviations are presented in parentheses. Number of participants in each age group (n = 30) and in the total sample (N = 120).

*Significant univariate age group effect, $p < .01$ (Bonferroni adjusted level of significance)

**Significant univariate age group effect, $p < .001$

11.4.2 Global task performance results obtained by the age groups and by the total sample

The global task performance results obtained by the age groups and the total sample are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Global task performance of the age groups and the totals sample.

	Age group				Total sample
	1	2	3	4	
<i>Successful performance</i>					
Number of participants	16	28	25	22	91
Percentage	53.3%	93.3%	83.3%	73.3%	75.8%
<i>Unsuccessful performance</i>					
Number of participants	14	2	5	8	29
Percentage	46.7%	6.7%	16.7%	26.7%	24.2%

Note. Number of participants in each age group (n = 30); number of participants in the total sample (N = 120).

As seen in Table 2, in the total sample (N = 120), children mostly manifested a successful (n = 91; 75.8%) than unsuccessful performance (n = 29; 24.2%). The same trend featured in each age group, although the ratio of successful versus unsuccessful performance outcome was not the same across the four age groups, $\chi^2(3) = 14.32, p < .05$. The highest percentage of children with below average performance was in age group 1 (46.7%) and the lowest – in age group 2 (6.7%), while in age groups 3 and 4, the performance rate at below average level was fairly compatible and was within a low to moderate range.

11.4.3 Production of task-oriented speech subtypes by the performance groups.

The mean frequency measures (means and standard deviations of utterances per minute) of the variables inner speech, describing task material and describing task activity content categories of private and social speech for the successful and unsuccessful performance outcome are presented in Table 3.

As shown in Table 3, in both groups, the task-oriented subtypes featuring at the highest rate were private speech utterances with describing task material semantic content as well as inner speech.

A two-way MANOVA was undertaken to reveal whether there was a significant difference in the use of task-oriented speech subtypes between the four age groups and between the two performance groups. The age group (age groups 1 to 4) and the performance group (successful and unsuccessful outcome) were the independent between-subjects variables, and the mean utterance frequency of the task-oriented speech subtypes was the dependent variable. There was a significant multivariate main effect of the between-subjects factor age group (age groups 1 to 4) on the combined dependent variable task-oriented speech,

Table 3. Mean frequency measures of the task-oriented speech subtypes for the performance outcome groups.

Task-oriented Speech Subtypes	Successful performance (n = 91)	Unsuccessful performance (n = 29)
Private Speech Utterances		
Describing task material	1.29 (1.55)	1.14 (0.98)
Describing task activity	0.58 (0.90)	0.21 (0.25)
Social Speech Utterances		
Describing task material	0.41 (0.52)	0.58 (0.64)
Describing task activity	0.40 (0.57)	0.29 (0.32)
Inner speech	1.44 (1.23)	0.95 (0.90)

* Note. Standard deviations are presented in parentheses.

$F(15,330) = 4.86, p < .001$; Pillai's trace = .54; $\eta^2 = .18$. Analysis of each individual dependent variable using a Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .01 showed that the age groups differed in terms of the category describing task material of social speech, $F(3,112) = 11.86, p < .001, \eta^2 = .24$; the category describing task material of private speech, $F(3,112) = 6.22, p < .01, \eta^2 = .14$ and in terms of inner speech, $F(3,112) = 9.78; p < .001, \eta^2 = .21$ (see Table 1). The main effect of the performance group and the interaction effect were not significant.

To compare the production of the overall task-oriented speech by the performance groups alone, irrespective of age, the various task-oriented speech subtypes were combined into one unified category, and the variable age group was not included in the analysis. It was revealed that there was a significant difference between the two groups, $t(118) = 2.10, p < .05$, where the group registering a successful performance showed a higher mean use of the overall task-oriented speech ($M = 0.83, SD = 0.45$) compared to the group demonstrating unsuccessful performance ($M = 0.63, SD = 0.35$).

11.4.4 Predicting task performance

Discriminant function analysis (DFA) was conducted to determine whether the task-oriented speech subtypes would predict task performance. Inner speech, describing task activity and describing task material utterance content categories of private and of social speech featured as predictor variables (see Table 3), while task performance (successful or unsuccessful outcome) was the dependent (outcome) variable.

The analysis indicated that the variance-covariance matrices were not homogeneous, Box's $M = 81.95$, univariate $F = 5.08, p < .001$. Considering that inference is "usually robust to heterogeneity of variance-covariance matrices but that it is likely to compromise classification"

(Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007, p. 382), the latter was run on the basis of separate covariance matrices.

The DFA results revealed that the predictor variables of the model predicted significantly task performance, Wilks' $\lambda = .90$, $\chi^2(5) = 11.62$, $p < .05$. As recommended by Tabachnick and Fidell (2007), the predictor variables registering $r > .33$ were considered eligible for interpretation. The structure (loading) matrix of correlations between the discriminant function and the predictor variables is presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Structure matrix of correlations between the discriminant function and the predictor variables.

	Function
	1
Describing task activity utterance content of private speech ^a	.62
Inner speech ^a	.56
Describing task material utterance content of social speech ^a	-.41
Describing task activity utterance content of social speech	.29
Describing task material utterance content of private speech	.14

Note. ^a Predictors with the highest correlations, $r > .33$.

As evident from the structure (loading) matrix results presented in Table 4, the best predictors differentiating between successful and unsuccessful performance outcome were describing task activity utterance content of private speech ($r = .62$), inner speech ($r = .56$), and describing task material utterance content of social speech ($r = -.41$).

Given that the probability for successful outcome (i.e., obtaining a score above the mean) or unsuccessful outcome (i.e., obtaining a score below the mean) in the population is equal (i.e., 50%), the method of equal probability was followed in the classification phase. Using separate group covariance matrices (in view of the heterogeneity of the variance-covariance matrices), 55% of the original grouped cases were correctly classified with 47.3% correct classification for the success group and 79.3% correct classification for the failure group. Thus, the classification process yielded higher prediction accuracy for the unsuccessful than for the successful performance group.

11.5 Discussion

Age-related differences in children's production of task-oriented speech subtypes

The hypothesis that there will be a significant age-related difference in the production of task-oriented speech subtypes was confirmed. The age variations in the occurrence of the specific task-oriented speech subtypes indicate that as age and task challenge change, so does the

mode of verbal mediation. The finding supports Vygotsky's (1986) view that one speech type (i.e., the private speech of a pre-school child) carries out the very same mental operations of understanding, solutions searching and planning that are later on carried out by another speech type, namely by inner speech in a school child, for whom, presumably, this problem solving had already become of lower difficulty.

Task-oriented speech as a mediator of task performance

The hypothesis that there will be a significant difference between the two performance groups in the overall incidence of task-oriented speech was also confirmed. While the performance groups did not manifest a significant difference in the use of a particular task-oriented speech subtype when age was taken into account, they differed in terms of the overall speech production. In particular, children who manifested an average and above average result, and thus had a successful task performance, manifested a tendency for a heightened mean use of the overall task-oriented speech compared to those who performed at a below average level.

The performance-related differences in the production of task-oriented speech suggest that the diversity and the extensive use of speech as a verbal tool are essential for achieving a successful solution to the task. This inference is congruent with the previous findings (e.g., Fawcett & Garton 2005; Teasley, 1995), in which the heightened use of task-centered talk was found to be associated with improved task performance.

The higher percentage of participants across the age groups who completed the task successfully compared to those who had unsuccessful performance suggests that in general the task demands were within the scope of children's mastery of the necessary cognitive competencies.

Predicting the outcome of task performance

The hypothesis that social and private speech subtypes, which denote aspects of task activity or task material together with inner speech, will significantly predict the outcome of task performance was confirmed. By identifying this prediction model, the present study expands upon the extant findings which were primarily focused on exploring solely the role of private and inner speech for enhancing task performance (e.g., Duncan & Cheyne, 2002; Duncan & Pratt, 1997; Winsler et al., 2000; Winsler et al., 1997). The result shows that task-oriented speech of various, rather than of a singular type, is associated with and may reliably predict global task performance; it points to the unique yet related functional significance of the task-oriented subtypes and draws attention to the role of social speech in problem solving. With regard to the ZAD-ZPD paradigm, the findings on the prediction model allow for the following interpretation.

Minimal incongruence between the task requirements and individual competencies would have entailed competence transitions of a small scale, i.e., from one position to another within the perimeter of the ZAD, whereas large discrepancies would have required more fundamental shifts, i.e., from the ZPD to the ZAD. A likely scenario is that if the "gaps" between task demands and competencies were minimal, children would have reached the desired cognitive equilibration with no external assistance. In such instances, the child would have used private speech as an appropriate mediatory tool that is "aimed at restoring a sense of task mastery and competence" (Diaz, 1992, p. 58) and has the potentialities to do so. If these "gaps" were of a

greater magnitude, and thus, beyond the capacity of internalized speech forms to “close” them, then an ad hoc interference or mediation by another person would have been needed and instead, the use of social speech would have been called for. For more substantial gaps however, the transition of an individual’s competencies from the ZPD to the ZAD would have necessitated much more systematic and goal-directed instruction. Vygotsky’s (1997b) formulation of the general rule governing the use of speech in problem solving, which stated that when “difficulty arises auxiliary devices enter” (p. 174), appears to have been empirically validated in the present study. Congruent with Fernyhough and Fradley’s (2005) research, the finding that inner speech and the describing task activity subtype of private speech were the variables with the highest predictive value for task performance further highlights the significance of the internal speech forms for self-regulation of cognitive processes and resources.

11.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study revealed that speech, in its various forms, is utilized by pre-primary and primary school children as a tool enabling them to deal with task challenge and to incorporate the contribution of peer collaborators in their intra-subjective cognitive repertoire. The age variation in the production of the distinct task-oriented speech subtypes suggests that at the different developmental stages, verbal mediation is primarily carried out by one or another form of speech. Importantly, the significant prediction model demonstrated that when utilizing both the self-regulatory and social communicative functions of speech, individual competencies are likely to be shifted from the ZPD to the ZAD, thus reaching a more advanced level.

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Chapter 12

A MODEL OF MOTIVATIONS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO ADOLESCENT DELINQUENCY

Talant Boleyev

The motivations that contribute to young people's delinquency and their joining as members of adolescent risk groups are complex and varied. To determine the underlying etiology, and to understand the psychological mechanism of deviant behavior, it is necessary to examine salient theories of adolescent delinquency. Sharov (2000) argued that it is important not only to understand the major characteristics of delinquent behavior, but it is also essential to examine the underlying motivation. To determine motivation of delinquency it is important to take into account three major points. First, that the natural science should be searched for explanatory models. For example, psychology and physiology reflect a scientific symbiosis and the interaction of the two levels explains a variety of human behavior. Secondly, the dynamic models offered by physiology also help us understand the essence of psychological regularities. That physiological mechanisms exist for the regulation of a variety of behavior is well established. Thirdly, Sharov clarified the importance of using the system approach in understanding behavior including deviant reactions. From this perspective all elements in a system are interrelated and interact permanently. Therefore, the analysis of adolescent delinquency is necessarily complex and must take into consideration results of the natural sciences and utilize a variety of other approaches including the system approach. For Sharov the essence of understanding the salient psychological mechanism in deviant behavior involve an understanding of these regulative functions.

The development of deviant personality in the teenage years is examined in the significant number of works. However, a clear idea about the mechanisms of deviance and a entry of teen agers into a risk group is not well worked out. The operative factors in deviance are more elementary compared to the underlying psychological mechanisms that are more complex.

The psychological mechanism underlying adolescent delinquency consists of interdependent and permanently interacting elements. These elements are connected to both

psychological phenomena and also the social environment. The entry of adolescents into the criminal environment is due to complex psychological and social factors. A young person becomes a member of a delinquent adolescent risk group because of an intricate system of components (elements) of a psychological and social nature.

12.1 Recent research on juvenile delinquency

As noted above delinquent behavior is thought to be the outcome of many complex interacting factors (Siegel & Welsh, 2011). Some research suggest that delinquent acts are deliberate choice behavior where the adolescent takes a chance on law violation after assessing his or her personal situation like the need for money and values that are important like peer approval. Some delinquents respond to home and social environments where they feel they have no control and engage in delinquent behavior to manage unsatisfactory aspects of their lives. Stealing becomes a way of obtaining things not otherwise accessible and running away from home helps the juvenile to avoiding facing unacceptable problems. From that perspective delinquency is a rational choice for those who have little chance to be successful in the conventional world. That is particularly true in social environments with a surplus of youth and few employment opportunities. The deliberate behavior perspective suggests that the shaping of delinquent choices occurs from an assessment that judges that the advantages outweigh the risks of punishment.

Social disorganization plays a major role in the context of delinquent behavior. In particular poverty with the associated frustration and hopelessness is present in many contemporary societies and exacerbated by economic crisis. Associated with social disorganization are unequal social structures characterized by significant income inequality particularly in deteriorating lower class residential areas.

Other recent research continues an interest in trait theories by suggesting that individual mental and physical make-up contribute to delinquency. For example, Siegel and Welsh point to the recent research on diet and delinquent behavior. Significant research suggests that the presence of omega-6 fats in the diet is an indicator of the prevalence of violence in society. The murder rate is 20 times higher among the countries highest in omega-6 consumption when compared to the countries with the lowest consumption. Another trait factor that contributes to deviant behavior is neurological dysfunction. For example individuals with neurological dysfunction at birth are more likely to enter a criminal career later in life. Neurological dysfunction can be expressed in learning disabilities and in attention deficit disorders. Neurological impairment is associated with cognitive deficits where the adolescent has a poor

sense of timing and is incapable of solving essential personal problems. Associated with trait theory is evolutionary thinking that for example relates the presence of testosterone to impulsive risk taking among males that has marked all societies with violence.

Other research shows that how the adolescent is treated matters to the incidence of delinquency (Ryan & Testa, 2005). For example children who are exposed to maltreatment are at risk for engaging in delinquent behavior. In a way if a child is maltreated that behavior serves as a model that the adolescent can utilize in reacting to society at large. A larger scale study demonstrated the experience of maltreatment was prevalent among offenders who became part of the criminal justice system (Colman, Mitchell-Herzfeld, Han Kim, & Shady, 2010). In effect the maltreated juvenile offender simply mediates to others what he has experienced from his home and social environment.

Together the above mediating factors in delinquency require a complex model in order to understand adolescent motivation for deviant behavior. Among other important factors are also the motivation derived from membership in deviant groups that produce deindividuation and risky decision-making. Essential to an understanding of the attraction of the group and delinquent behavior are the role of adolescent interests.

12.2 Membership in groups

Delinquency is invariably tied to group membership. The individual adolescent would not engage in deviant behavior except for the support of groups that have created a criminal subculture. The Adolescents have important needs met through group membership including needs for recognition, status and leadership. To a large extent groups serve as a form of identification between those that are like-minded and those that are not and therefore encourage the feeling of “we versus them”. Groups encourage conformity and members that do not follow group norms are shunned or asked to leave (Marques, Abrams, & Serodio, 2001). In general people with normal dispositions change toward more aggressiveness when associated with a group with hostile norms (Carnahan & McFarland, 2007).

While some groups are temporary, criminal gangs can have a long history being integrated into ethnic, ghetto and other subcultures. Such groups display cohesiveness that is strong attractions for youth with emotional deficit in their lives. Even if based on anti-social behavior strong bonds of liking produce feelings of cohesiveness that makes it difficult to break away from group influence by the alienated adolescent (Paxton & Moody, 2003).

People behave in groups in ways that they would never do without the influence of others. At times groups can be transformed into mobs bent on destruction and aggression. Le Bon (1885) believed that groups became mobs through a process of social contagion where the individual member lost the powers of rationality and moderation. Deindividuation refers to the loosening of normal social restrictions based on personal values and societal constraints. When the adolescent is deindividuated they find it easier to perform impulsive and deviant acts (Lea, Spears, & De Groot, 2001). In particular deindividuation occurs as a result of conformity pressures to obey group norms, and gives meaning to the term of “being lost in a crowd” (Postmes & Spears, 1998). In other words the power of deviant group norms overcome in most cases individual conscience. Also, groups often provide the cover for criminal behavior by promoting anonymity and a diffusion of responsibility. Group consciousness replaces positive human values that previously might have guided behavior.

Early research supported the viewpoint that groups as a collective make more risky decisions compared to individuals (Stoner, 1961). These more risky decisions are often made in the context of consensus seeking as occur in groups that emphasize conformity to group norms. Later research showed that the group influence was actually toward more polarized decision-making, in particular toward the group’s initial positions. In the context of adolescent deviants, individuals may encourage more extreme criminal behavior as that influences a person’s increased status and leadership potential with associated benefits (Miller & McFarland, 1986).

The entry of the adolescent into a risk group is partly determined by their interests. For adolescents there are several basic types of interests with one or another being dominant at any point in time. Adolescents who are dominantly egocentric display primarily an interest in the self. This type of delinquent seeks to resist social stress by obstinacy and hooliganism, by opposing and fighting against authorities. The romantic deviant personality is based on the tendency of adolescents to seek out and move toward the unknown, taking risks, engaging in adventures, and striking a heroic posture.

Elkonin (1967, 1994) outlined the symptoms of adolescent delinquent development. Deviant behavior is manifested by difficulties in the relationships with the adults in their lives toward whom the adolescent displays negativism, obstinacy, indifference to success and withdrawal from the school (finding outside activities more interesting). The adolescent search for friends leads to the organization of informal teenage groups. Subsequently, the delinquent group become the basic regulator of member behavior and cultivates sociopathic values, having a major impact on the personal development in the process of adolescents. In the dictionary of a

practical psychologist (Головин, 1998), personal interest is interpreted as an expression of cognitive needs which directs personality toward fulfillment of its goals. The delinquent group enables the delinquent to some degree in the search for satisfaction of needs and interests by misdirecting these into criminal behavior.

12.3 Curiosity as a motive

The preference of certain experiences motivated by interest makes it clear why dependence on narcotics subjectively exerts such a strong motivational influence and stimulates criminal activity. A psychological analysis of addictive behavior carried out by Chetverikov (2002) showed that heteronymous curiosity is the basic motivator of adolescent behavior and he identifies four aspects of curiosity. First, curiosity develops as a consequence of developmental sets determined partly by the age of the child. This aspect of curiosity was discussed in the phenomenological theory of personality by Rogers (1959). Further, curiosity is a natural cognitive set especially functional during the teenage years and is independent of external reinforcement. Knowledge is the autonomous motive which Rogers defined as “the characteristic tendency of an organism to develop all of its abilities in order to preserve and to develop personality”. However, from the perspective of psychoanalysis curiosity is connected to the formation of the identity of personality.

Secondly, Chetverikov, viewed curiosity within the framework of the disassociated orientation of personality. Personal insufficiency is manifested by social marginalization that in turn limits, distorts and creates negative cognitive processes. While proclaiming the desire to learn everything deviant adolescents limit their search to extreme experiences like dangerous behavior and risky drug use. The cognitive sphere of disassociated adolescents is characterized by a lack interest in mental discipline, by the absence of inquisitiveness and cognitive interests.

Thirdly, Chetverikov understood curiosity as sublimated libido. The seeking of pleasure in Freud’s theory is a basic motivator that characterizes emotionally immature personalities. These personalities are not motivated by social approval, or by intellectual or cultural motives. Finally, curiosity as a positive force plays a role in the search for the personal integration and also as a means to ending negative deviant experiences. In these situations the adolescent searches for the means and methods that can be employed to correct his delinquent mental condition (Четвериков, 2002).

The interest of adolescents to engage in criminal behavior is under the constant control of more experienced comrades. In adolescence around the age from 14 to 17 the interests and needs

of group participants dominate attention. In peer groups adolescents can associate with the likeminded, express themselves and satisfy important interests and needs. The activity of such groups is not for the achievements of any particular results. Rather membership is of interest because of the inherently valued associations and because it helps delinquents to realize personal aspirations and possibilities. Hence adolescents bestow enormous attention on various forms of contact in the deviant group and in its subculture.

Common to many criminal groups is the desire by adolescents to have contact with similar peers. The development of a desire to have contact with other adolescents clearly contributes to criminal activity. Adolescents with criminal inclinations develop unique group opinions, standards and values, a sense of mutual responsibility, and experience social pressure that are formed by the product of joint activity and relationships that are uniquely different by comparison to normal adolescents. The qualitative uniqueness of the special features of delinquent groups is also determined by the position of these groups in society, by their interests, purposes, tasks, value orientations, activity and relationships.

In many adolescents basic human needs are not met by their families producing in these children criminal inclinations and motivating their delinquent behavior. It is necessary to understand interests and inclinations in children even as early as the pre-school age. The formation of delinquent inclination is formed in the family, but also under the influence of the media and informal peer groups. The formation of criminal interests frames the horizon of behavior for the adolescent. Delinquent world views derive in part from the disagreement with the systematic perceptions about objective reality held in society. However, when introduced during the teen years to the influence of criminal groups young people form their attitudes about the use of alcohol and drugs, moral standards, and deviations in the behavior. The composite needs of the adolescent motivate the individual to act in accordance with these attitudes and contribute to the formation of a world view that encourages deviant behavior.

The needs, enthusiasm and interests of adolescents are often connected to the hope of becoming rich without much effort and to rise to criminal leadership. Intentions are formed on the basis of having significant prospect of success in achieving these deviant goals (Ростунов, 1993).

12.4 The role of group conformity processes

The adolescent conforms for several reasons to group demands to participate in deviant acts. At times conformity is a form of information seeking where the individual wants to somehow be “right” and win approval. In the context where the adolescent has emotional and other deficits he/she looks to the group for guidance as to what behavior is correct. In the process anti-social behavior is often conveyed as the right path to follow (Levine, Higgins and Choi, 2000). Looking to others for the correct behavior has even produced mass –psychogenic illness among adolescents, cases where children manifest similar symptoms for illness for which there is no physical cause (Bartholomew & Wessely, 2002). Adolescents that enter delinquent groups often find themselves in ambiguous situations where what is correct is not clear. In the process they look at leaders who have status and power in the group to provide guidance and to model the “right” behavior. The more closely connected the adolescents are to the group and its leaders the more likely they will follow directives and change not only behavior in the deviant direction but also individual psychology (Blass, 2003; Cialdini & Trost, 1998).

On the other hand normative conformity occurs when we want to be accepted and liked. This desire for social approval governs much behavior in adolescent groups (Janes & Olson, 2000). Conformity is a potent component affecting behavior especially when unanimity of group opinion is enforced. Normative conformity is also encouraged to the degree that membership in the group is important and the bonds between members are strong. The presence of healthy alternatives is also a factor. In some sub-cultures there are few options, and joining a delinquent group may offer the only obvious source of social support and secure some level of survival.

12.5 Readiness to engage in delinquent behavior

The concept of set was initially introduced into experimental psychology by German psychologists to indicate a readiness to act. Sets determine the speed of behavioral responses in a given situation and contribute to some perceptual illusions based in part on past experience. Set is also a concept indicating an unconscious state of readiness that directs different mental processes.

However, the contributions of adolescent interests, enthusiasms, and views to a set can be both conscious and unconscious. In each case there is a transformation of views that are persuasive into an automatic set or schema contributing to behavior that meets the subjective needs of the adolescent.

The concept of the set as an explanatory principle in the study of mental phenomena was most deeply developed by D.N.Uznadze and his followers (Узнадзе, 1961). Experiments on illusions of perception were found by Georgian psychologists to be caused by fixed sets in turn the outcome of a whole series of experiences. This illusionary set was understood as only a special case of the ubiquitous human state of readiness to engage in a specific activity. Experiments on the extinction of sets revealed that sets are not invariable but affected by both change and the static nature of the preparedness to respond. Sets are internal states that can be attributed to components of goal-directed action. However, overall research results suggest that sets contribute to the stability and direction of activity under changing conditions. Readiness for action implied in the concept of set is understood as an unconscious cognitive state preceding behavior and determining to some degree what follows. Uznadze divided sets into two classes of conscious or unconscious mental activity based on their relationship to necessary objectives in practical behavior. Sets are formed within individual as they appear in the process of personal human activity and cognition.

In summary cognitive sets is the basis for readiness to act. Sets according to Uznadze are defined as the readiness or the predisposition to anticipate future events and create the actions that ensure steady selective goal-directed activity. The discussion on sets outlines precisely the readiness of the individual to act (Головин, 1998).

Asmolov (1990) proposed another idea about the interrelationship between set and activity. In his opinion sets can be understood from the analysis of activity. He postulated four levels of sets regulating human activity: 1) semantic, 2) purposeful, 3) operational, and 4) the level of psycho-physiological mechanisms (Асмолов, 1990).

Sets have great functional value in producing an individual state of readiness making it possible to carry out the appropriate action more effectively. However, sets can also lead to error manifested in deviant actions and perceptions. The concept of sets occupies a very important place in psychology because it contributes to an understanding of practically all spheres of mental life. For example, the formation of sets is important to an understanding of delinquent adolescents. Пин (Ильин, 2000) emphasized that the ability to understand delinquent behavior must be based on an examination of the steady dominant needs and interests that create lasting motivational sets in adolescent life reflected in deviant social roles. The specific sets that are stable and dominant in adolescence are the social sets related to interpersonal and societal relationships. Set development in adolescents is achieved by the mastery and systematization of

knowledge, and by the formation of attitudes that determine stable sequential and goal-directed behavior.

12.6 Motivation to develop a delinquent lifestyle: Illusions and needs

The motives determining the susceptibility of adolescents to join a deviant group are formed by needs and interests. If sets determine overall strategy of behavior, then the motives are the tactics in each specific case. When deviations in behavior are common the primary realistic motivation edges toward criminality. Delinquent motives are expressed by the program of specific criminal activity. Realistic motivation of delinquent adolescents have the purpose of making money, expressing personal hostility, and achieving role and status positions in the group and secondly to live the criminal life. Thus, motivation for a criminal life is based on psychological expectations reflected in urgent needs and motives which the adolescent assigns to criminal life. The psychological attractiveness of the criminal life grows from this process that is initially unformulated, but increases in meaning as the adolescent sees the connection between needs and criminal behavior. However, that subjective delinquent schema is not created by the projection of psychological expectations and urgent needs against the background of criminal life. Rather the criminal schema is mediated and created in the course of the delinquent delusionary and compensating activities directed toward the creation and maintenance of the desired emotional state based on illusory satisfaction in one case and meeting some urgent need in another. Needs are dynamic and motivate basic human organizing, guide cognitive processes, and engage individual imagination and behavior. Needs constitute the basic motive power in human development and are not invariable but change and improve depending on an increase in the general culture available in society, and knowledge about and interaction with social reality.

Rubinstein (1999) argued that needs produce an active tendency that guides humans to create the conditions that will produce satisfaction. Need is therefore the basic motivator that produce energy and direction for human behavior (Рубинштейн, 1999). In general behavior is a result of internal needs as reflected in the methods employed to obtain satisfaction. In this chapter needs are understood as the underlying motivator that formed interests and sets and serve to determine the activity of potential delinquents. Social scientists believe that adolescents are led into sociopathic groups by natural needs that are not satisfied in family or normal social groups and it is reflected in their tendencies to reject authority, having a desire for enrichment and by expressing aggressiveness and hostility toward other members of society. The skill in satisfying these needs determine the reaction of deviant adolescents. In a delinquent group members can satisfy their need for prestige and being valued with their version of adult behavior. Adolescents at risk are also drawn to participation in deviant groups by the relative freedom of activity and independence from interference by adults that these associations offer. The

delinquent adolescent fights for freedom with a desperate rebellion through abuse of cigarettes, alcohol, and withdrawal from the home. Of course the adolescent needs to make the important decisions as he moves toward adulthood (Невский, 1981). This normal desire for freedom and independence in the delinquent however, leads to deviant activity which brings only material satisfaction through methods not very easily understood or useful to life.

The derailed struggle to satisfy needs is the internal psychological “background” that accompanies adolescents into a criminal group. Further the behavior of the adolescent at risk is liberated from social censure (Узнадзе, 1961). While the autonomy of personality grows the deviant adolescent accomplishes this by demanding the right to act regardless of consequences for the surrounding community or social values. Deviations in behavior are manifested across many situations, independent of any ethical requirements. In the process one can observe the disintegration in the direction of previously established sets. Sets degenerate into the unique psychological factors expressed by the right to act regardless of consequences. As a result adolescents at risk actively strive to become part of anti-social groups and enter over time into organized criminal structures, often becoming initially leaders of small criminal groups. Deviant adolescents gather into delinquent groups by the general desire for easy living, the fun they encounter and to pass otherwise empty time. Having joined without moral guidelines members participate in amoral misdeeds and enter into a moral blind alley. Law-breakers are formed in their interrelationships based on a complex system of expectations, mutual interest, personal hate or hostility, and different but attractive role and status positions.

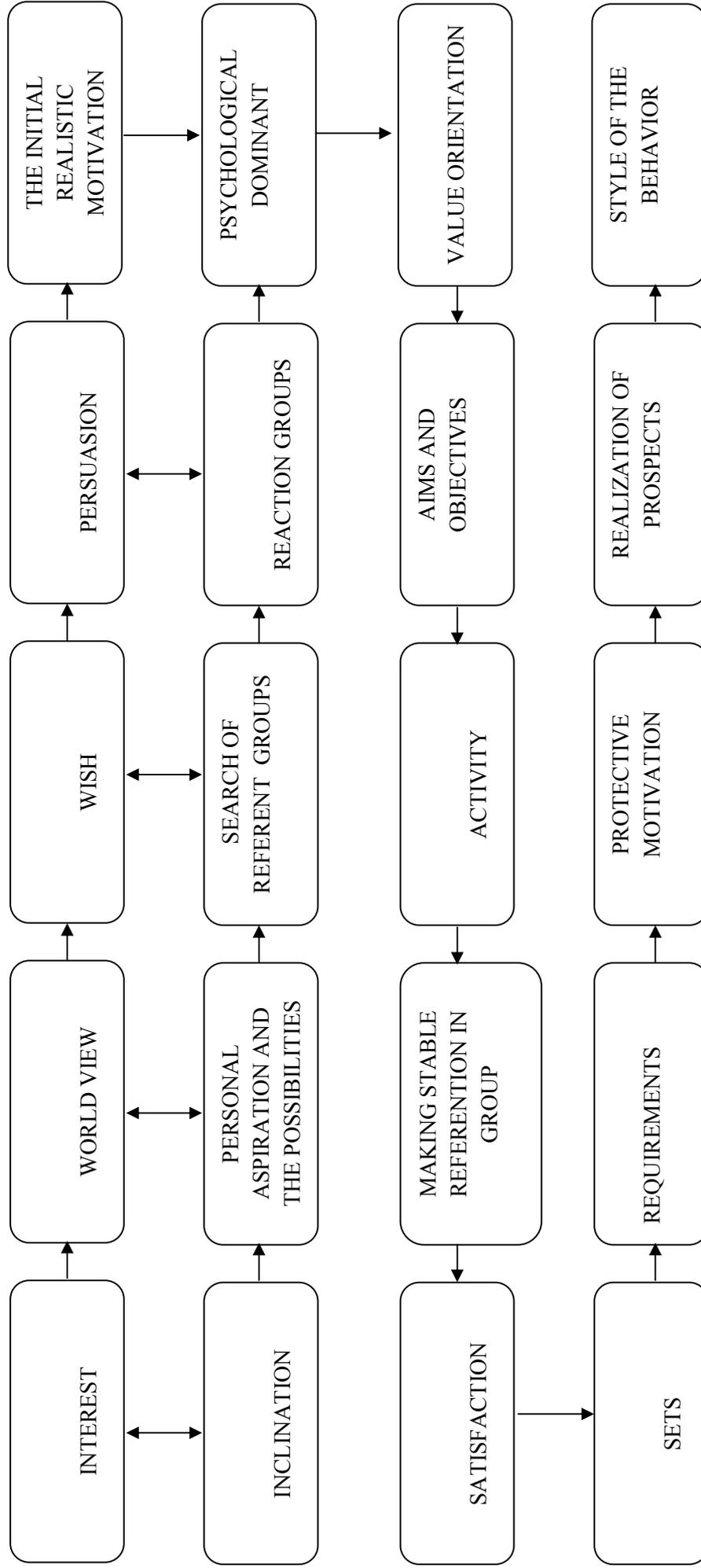
The sociopathic nature of interrelationships characterizes all interaction. The concrete content of deviant interaction acquires completely different expression depending on whether the communication occurs within the group or with other people. Adolescents join deviant groups not only for the attraction of criminal activity, but also looking for protection because of fear, and by the attraction of group standards, values, and structures. For many delinquent adolescents life seems lost and useless. Fear of unavoidable punishment, the demoralizing crash of vital goals and purposes destroys the independent will of each member (deindividuated) and makes the group more united and aggressive. The deviant group becomes a steady source of fear which acts like a magnet to keep the members together. A state of a constant anxiety and solitude follow each member which is aggravated by unsuccessful attempts to leave the difficult situation. Not having the power to leave the deviant young person is forced to justify criminal behavior. Rationalizations and other defense mechanisms change the individual and a new personality constellation appears which replaces and destroys the previous personality organization. This process is accompanied a strong feelings of anxiety. At the same time the defense mechanisms utilized preserve an illusory feeling of psychological comfort. Shielding the

psyche from unpleasant reality becomes a primary preoccupation. Here often we encounter the phenomenon that Freud called “the resistance of subconscious”, which the delinquent adolescent displays pointing to the importance of problems related to adaptation.

Leontiev (Леонтьев, 1972) in his monograph “Problems of the psyche development” spoke about the shift of motives. These are situations when a person is under the effect of a specific motive that then becomes autonomous and is carried unconsciously in effect shielding the motives from awareness (Братусь, 1974). Eventually, the adolescent obtains satisfaction from the actual purpose of the destructive behavior independent from any verbalized formal purpose. The appearance of motives that are shielded from awareness in the delinquent adolescent reflects the qualitative change in the motivation of the behavior. However, from a quantitative point shielding motives are manifested by a central motivational state, according to Morgan (1950, 1964), which is characterized by the following properties: 1) having once appeared, motivation exists without the support of sensory agents; 2) motivation is accompanied by the general activity, which is manifested by the expansion of applicable situations; 3) creating predispositions to react to some forms of stimuli and not to react to other. The central motivational state is the background, on which the readiness for deviations in the behavior subsequently grows.

Deviation in behavior is localized in the emotional sphere where its influence is enlarged to dominate intellectual functions. For example, tendency toward the freedom, the struggle for independence inherent in adolescent life, leads to the search for the “right” kind of activity but satisfying these needs become unfortunately criminal in the case of delinquents. As a result criminal behavior becomes the leading motive. The delinquent clings to the deviant group as a constant in life to meet needs and interests even as the autonomy of personality grows that in normal development is typically manifested by the loss of dependency on friends. Deviant adolescents believe their criminal behavior increases their attractiveness for others as manifested by their anti-normative and adolescent attention seeking behaviors. At the same time the illicit behavior strengthens the need of the adolescent for the social approval of the delinquent group. This dependence on social approval from the criminal group is partly a consequence of the sanction from the more normally adjusted adolescents who disapprove of delinquent behavior. In turn social rejection contributes to the increasing contact with the criminal elements, decreases social control and strengthens illicit behavior.

Table 1. Model of the psychological mechanisms in the formation of delinquent groups



During the initial manifestations of deviations it is possible to intervene and try to prevent the destruction of the psychological nucleus of personality and its leading moral and ethical values. However, when society fails to halt the progressive descent of the adolescent into criminality the outcome is systematic deviations away from social norms and the establishment of a sociopathic style of life. It is essential to address and support the healthy aspects of the delinquent's life and social associations. If interventions are not timely and effective sociopathic behavior becomes the main justifying force and the basic content of life.

The psychological mechanisms motivating delinquents is presented in the above discussion. The model of the psychological mechanisms leading to the formation of adolescent delinquency is presented in Table 1. The model demonstrates the internal mechanisms of appearance, development and functioning through the analysis of direct sociopathic activity. Using this theoretical approach makes it possible to trace the formation of informal groups, including those with a criminal orientation as the special variety of small social groups, and determine the types and levels of their development in accordance with internal characteristics, to establish the relationship of the parameters of the delinquent adolescents compared to better adjusted peers. This approach can be utilized to develop the complex procedures, which diagnose the type of groups and also the transitional types between the delinquent and the normal adolescent social groups.

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Chapter 13

BULGARIAN POLICE AND SOCIETY: A SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Boiko Ganchevski

13.1 Introduction

The 2010 National Security Strategy of Bulgaria aims at changing the relationship between the police and society and establishing in the police force norms and practices similar to those of well-developed democracies. Making management decisions and programs that support these aims requires reliable information about the status of the existing relationship. In the process it is essential to know current police resources and the barriers to change. A key element of the information needed is knowledge about the psychological characteristics of employees in the police force, their attitudes toward the planned changes in the relationship with society, and an examination of the police mindset that governs interaction with citizens when performing their official duties. The current research aim to provide valid information and create a relatively detailed picture of the psychological and social factors related to the planned change in the relationship between police and society.

The main role of police as a government institution is to secure and protect the law. However, the ways in which police fulfill these functions can vary widely in different societies. In totalitarian countries police tend to be repressive utilizing force and compulsion when interacting with citizens. However, repressive compulsion is unacceptable in societies where human rights and dignity are respected. The traditions in countries with well-developed democracies require all government employees including police to treat citizens fairly and politely when carrying out the roles of service and protection (Almond, 1998). The change desired in the role of police officers in Bulgaria require officers to maintain their law and order functions, but also pay more attention to protecting civilians and rendering assistance to society (see UN Police Declaration, EU police documents). This approach describes police as

“provider of services for maintaining public order and security” where officers strictly respect the laws and rights of the citizen (Schute, 1996). The need for greater openness and transparency in police work and for creating civilian control over law enforcement force is increasingly recognized (McDonald, 1996). In summary, the trend in modern democracies in polices that govern the interaction between police and society seek to broaden the functions of police institutions and transform police into an organization that offers specific services related to maintaining public order and security as well as protection of the laws. Essential to this relationship is the stronger supportive interaction required between the police and society in assisting law enforcement in keeping public order and security.

13.2 Design of the empirical research program

There are at least three possible approaches to describe the social characteristics of police. The first frames the police force in purely statistical terms by including the number of people, gender representation, age and qualification characteristics. This data helps police management to determine administrative aspects of work and the qualifications required. The second approach is sociological and is primarily focused on studying public opinion related to police work. This approach is especially useful in researching the influence of the media on public opinion or in examining the views of police officers about certain issues (such as the lawful regulation of their activity or their acceptance of the idea of demilitarization of the police force). The third approach is social psychological and can contribute information about attitudes and ways of perceiving social objects and assessing the readiness of the people to behave in certain ways. The social psychological orientation is of primary importance when investigating the culture of society and in helping us to understand the public behavior of the citizens (Almond, Verba, 1998). The change of relationship between police and society requires that the psychological disposition of police employees related to the performance of their duties is better known. In the current study the social psychological approach is employed to investigate the readiness of police officers to take on the role of helping and protecting citizens. In addition, the research creates a summarized social psychological portrait of the Bulgarian police officer.

13.3 Psychological factors regulating the attitudes of police officers toward society

A study of current social attitudes might help assess the readiness of police officers to change their behavior when interacting with citizens. Social disposition or attitudes produces an inner readiness to conceive, assess and act on the basis of previous experience and under certain conditions attitudes also help regulate current behavior.

The following social attitudes are relevant:

- *The preferred style of behavior by police officers toward members of the public.*

In fulfilling their law-protecting functions police officers can demonstrate different, relatively consistent forms of behavior. The performance of their lawful duties does not directly determine the police officer's behavior toward the public. From a functional point of view any duty-related behavior that facilitates effective law enforcement might be construed as acceptable. However, the changing role of police within Bulgarian society requires a new culture where police officers are encouraged to maintain a positive attitude toward citizens. The police officer is the representative of the institution in the eyes of society and therefore largely responsible for the attitudes of society toward policing.

- *Attitudes toward violating the ethics of professional behavior.*

It is expected by society that government employees, including police officers abide by the law and relevant normative regulations when fulfilling their duties. However, in Bulgaria, it is suspected by many that regulations have often been violated for example to create a positive report of work accomplished, to obtain some personal benefit, to save time and effort, and to procure illegal income. Some police officers are believed motivated by mercenary intentions when fulfilling their official duties. Society strongly condemns such unethical behavior as they often violate the civil rights of citizens. The readiness of police to be transparent in their work is one indicator about the direction necessary to achieve democratic change of police institutions.

The police as an institution are required to protect law and order in the country and promote the security and rights of every citizen. Protection of life and property demand that at times law-enforcement bodies use forceful methods in a variety of situations (e.g. controlling soccer games). While some cases of corruption occur among police officers creating derogatory or negative attitudes toward police, some law enforcement personnel try to find purpose and meaning in their work and stay ethically motivated in performing their duties. However, when police officers perceive a negative attitude among the public that is directed toward them as persons and at their profession they experience alienation from the other citizens impacting their work motivation.

13.4 Research methods

Research on a variety of scales measuring social attitudes can be found in literature. In most cases the available instruments measuring constructs of interest were not available for use in this research. Consequently, scales and questionnaires for assessing the relevant social attitudes were specifically developed as described below.

- **Appropriateness of police behavior toward the public**

This survey contained 16 descriptions of different types of police behavior when interacting with citizens in the course of their professional duties. The participants assessed appropriateness with the following response categories: 1- very inappropriate, 2 – inappropriate, 3- appropriate and 4 – very appropriate. Internal consistency measured by Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .73.

- **Scale for assessing unethical behavior**

In its original version it consisted of 28 statements, 21 of which reflected unethical behavior. Each item was assessed with response categories from 1 – strongly disagree to 6 – strongly agree (Krejei, Kvapil, Semrad, 1996). A factor analysis revealed the existence of three factors but many of the statements loaded on more than one factor reflecting a unitary scale of unethical behavior. Subsequent analysis of internal consistency yielded 17 statements forming an acceptable homogeneous scale with a coefficient Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$. Examples of the statements

included are: “It is normal to defend “professional honor” when excusing some minor “law” violations of a colleague-policeman”; or “It is not wrong for the police officer to sometimes receive small gifts from people”.

- **Readiness to serve citizens**

The willingness to serve the public in situations not directly part of police officers’ duties was assessed with 9 items. Examples of the items include “assisting a citizen to fill out a document which he/she (the officer) does not necessarily need to complete”; “doing an administrative favor for someone although risking wasting personal time meant for rest”; “finding a seat for a mother with a child or for an elderly person in public transportation”. Each statement was assessed on a 5-point scale with frequency response categories from 1 – never to 5 – always. Cronbach’s alpha coefficient was .76.

- **Scale to assess police officers readiness for greater openness and transparency**

The questions in this instrument measured the willingness of police to allow civilian control over police work and consisted of 7 statements describing different types of transparency. The participants assessed each statement on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 – strongly unacceptable to 6 – strongly acceptable. Calculation of internal consistency reliability yielded a coefficient Cronbach’s α of .72.

13.5 Citizen’s attitudes toward the police employees

This survey form contained 14 statements describing different negative reactions and behaviors of the citizens toward police. Each statement is assessed on a 6-point response category ranging from 1 – strongly disagree to 6 – strongly agree. Internal consistency measured by Cronbach’s alpha coefficient was .74.

It is important to remember that the development and maintenance of social attitudes depends partly on individual personal characteristics. People differ from one another in their temperament, in the organization and course of their emotional reactions, and in perceiving and interpreting information. Personality traits have deeper roots than social attitudes and are significantly more stable over time. They determine to some

degree the organizing of a person's internal life and the regulation of the behavior. Investigating the influence of personality on social attitudes allows an assessment of the psychological factors that facilitate or hinder changes in the relationship between the police and society.

13.6 Public behavior of the police officers

199 police officers from regional police departments in six cities participated as follows: Montana (n=19); Silistra (n=42); Pernik (n=29); Burgas (n=31); Varna (n=38); and Sofia (n=40). The mean age of the sample was 39.28 years with the age range from 21 to 55 years. The positions held by the participants were as follows: 59.7 % were officers, 40.3 were inspectors. The mean number of years employed in the Ministry of the Interior was 12.2 years ranging from 2.5 to 17.6 years. Due to data loss the sample characteristics are not available for the random public sample.

- **General Characteristics**

The prevailing opinions of the police participants are summarized in table 1. The frequency distribution of the ratings is reported across three styles of public behavior. The three styles include “optimal professional” reflecting courtesy and a desire to protect the public. The second style is the more traditional in authoritarian societies where police dominate through fear and hostility. The third style is labeled “show off” behavior where the police seek to impress the public with their authority.

Table 1. Frequency distribution of police attitudes toward varying styles of public behavior.

	Very inappropriate	Inappropriate	Appropriate	Very appropriate
Optimal professional behavior	0%	1%	11.4%	87.6%
Authoritarian hostile behavior	20.2%	60%	16.8%	3%
“Show off” behavior	9.3%	35.2%	49.4%	6.1%

Results show that the “optimal professional” behavior style received the greatest approval by the participating police officers and was seen as protecting public order and creating feelings of security in citizens. Further, results show that the authoritarian hostile attitude style is largely rejected by the sample although about 20% of police respondents (or 1 in 5) approve or find authoritarian hostility appropriate. These results support the contention that a sizeable component of the police force use fear and hostility in their interaction with the public. As noted such behavior is unacceptable in a democratic society. In the next paragraphs we will examine the factors that influence authoritarian relations.

The data regarding “show off” behavior that demonstrate the authority of police show that 55% of the police respondents find it acceptable in public. Such behavior can be perceived as challenging to bystanders and in some situations can provoke negative reactions. Perhaps police employees demonstrate such behavior to maintain their professional dignity and authority in front of the public. However, demonstrations of authority should be in forms acceptable by society.

The analysis of the correlations between the three styles of public behavior shows that the “optimal professional” behavior does not correlate with the “authoritarian hostile” style and correlates weakly with “show off” behavior ($r = .105$, $p < .01$). The correlation between the “authoritarian hostile” style and “show off” behavior is also small, but significant ($r = .261$, $p < .001$). The use of both of these styles seemed aimed at dominating and encouraging respect among citizens.

However, neither aggression nor domination need be pursued when police officers use “optimal professional” behavior in public.

In summary, the results show that the majority of police officers prefer to display optimal professional behavior in public, but a significant minority leaves a bad impression among citizens through the use of “authoritarian hostility” or “show off” dominating behavior. The latter mentioned styles represent the old-fashioned role of police in Bulgarian society. However, “authoritarian hostility” or “showing of” their authority discredits the police in front of the citizens. Change in the relationship between society and the police require a decisive removal of the tendency to use threats and dominating behavior in public.

- **Regional differences in the police preferred styles of behavior in public**

Perhaps local characteristics including historical traditions, specific cultural conditions, and the ethnic composition of the population together may influence the social attitudes of police officers. The regional preferences for the three styles of professional police behavior are shown on Table 2.

An analysis of variance was completed in order to check for mean differences. Results showed no significant regional differences in the acceptance of the optimal professional behavior ($F= 1.45$, not significant). Across all regions police displays high levels of approval and acceptance of optimal professional behavior. Perhaps the laws and regulations of police activity as well as improved management and control by the Ministry of Interior (MI) are responsible for this national consensus.

However, significant mean differences were found between regions for “authoritarian hostility” behavior ($F= 4.11$, $p < .001$) and for dominating “show off behavior” ($F= 2.75$, $p < .01$). Table 3 shows that acceptance of the authoritarian hostility is lowest in the regions of Silistra and Montana, higher in the regions of Pernik, Burgas, and Varna, and has the highest mean in the capital Sofia.

Table 2. Means and standard deviations for police preferences for the three styles of behavior in regions of Bulgaria (Montana, Silistra, Pernik, Burgas, Varna, and Sofia).

	Optimal professional behavior	Authoritarian aggressive behavior	Show off behavior
1.RDMI - Montana	M=30.14; SD=2.6	M=8.24; SD=2.34	M=10.80; SD=2.48
2. RDMI - Silistra	M=29.59; SD=2.35	M=7.83; SD=1.88	M=9.48; SD=2.51
3. RDMI - Pernik	M=30.49; SD=2.28	M=8.73; SD=2.31	M=10.40; SD=2.41
4, RDMI - Burgas	M=29.77; SD=3.26	M=8.80; SD=2.32	M=10.24; SD=2.60
5. RDMI - Varna	M=30.32; SD=1.81	M=8.51; SD=2.28	M=9.22; SD=2.54
6. SDMI - Sofia	M=30.18; SD=2.52	M=9.27; SD=2.58	M=10.17; SD=2.22

“Show off” behavior is least accepted in the regions of Varna and Silistra with the levels of acceptance in others regions relatively equal or higher. There are regional differences in these results as well but they are more complex than those described for authoritarian hostility behavior. These results support the contention that correction of inappropriate police behavior requires research of and knowledge about regional differences of police branches and their organizational culture.

- **Influence of the size of the towns and villages on the preferred style of public behavior**

The data also provided an opportunity to examine whether the size of the town/village influence police behavior. Social control in the smaller towns and villages is more visible due to the proximity of contacts between the citizens and police officers. How such proximity influence preferred styles of police behavior is presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Means and standard deviations of preferred behavior styles by police in varying sizes of town/ village.

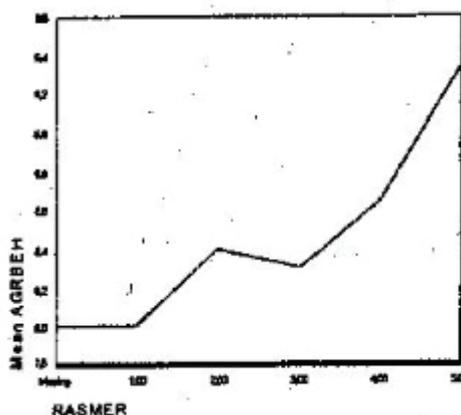
	Mean	SD
Optimal professional behavior		
1. Town with up to 10 000 citizens	30.34	1.64

2. Small town with up to 30 000 citizens	30.22	2.19
3. Relatively big town with up to 100 000 citizens	29.91	2.55
4. Big town with up to 120 000 citizens	30.08	2.86
5. Capital of Bulgaria (Sofia)	30.05	2.73
Authoritarian hostile behavior		
1. Town/ village with up to 10 000 citizens	8.00	2.48
2. Small town with up to 30 000 citizens	8.40	2.10
3. Relatively big town with up to 100 000 citizens	8.30	2.23
4. Big town with up to 120 000 citizens	8.64	2.35
5. Capital of Bulgaria (Sofia)	9.33	2.59
“Show off” behavior		
1. Town/ village with up to 10 000 citizens	9.74	2.36
2. Small town with up to 30 000 citizens	10.17	2.42
3. Relatively big town with up to 100 000 citizens	9.71	2.56
4. Big town with up to 120 000 citizens	9.72	2.61
5. Capital of Bulgaria (Sofia)	10.22	2.29

The F-test show that the size of the town / village does not significantly influence the preference by police respondents for optimal professional behavior ($F=.302$). Police officers, regardless of the size of the community, prefer to behave in public in accordance with the norms of a democratic society.

However, the results for authoritarian hostility behavior shows a significant effect of the village/ town ($F = 3.54, p <.007$). This effect is presented on Figure 1.

Figure 1. Mean acceptance of an authoritarian hostility behavior as a function of the size of the village/ town.



Note. The numbers along the x-axis correspond to the size of the village/ town according to the distribution in Table 4. Along the y-axis the means for the acceptance of the authoritarian hostility behavior are presented.

As can be seen, there is almost a linear correlation between the increase in size of the village/ town and the readiness by respondents to accept the authoritarian hostility. This result support the hypothesis that the larger the size of the town, the lower the level of social control. The complexity of big city life produces a greater probability of confrontations that requires police officers to use forceful authoritarian methods. Authoritarian hostility by police rather than remnants from the authoritarian past is more likely created by the difficulties of exercising control in larger communities. The effects of the size of the village/ town on acceptance of the “show off” behavior are not significant ($F = 1.09$).

- **The influence of professional status and the type of police activity by respondents on the preferred styles of publicly displayed behavior**

Perhaps the professional status of the officer and the type of duty performed produce varying relationships with citizens that in turn are reflected in preferred styles of police behavior. However, Table 4 results yields no differences between officers and inspectors in their beliefs about the appropriateness of the different styles. The data however, repeats the already established general preferences.

However, while positions did not produce differences in preference styles the nature of policing duties did. Table 4 show significant mean differences in the preferences for the three policing styles depending on the characteristics of the performed duties.

Table 4. Means, standard deviations and F values of the preferences of the three styles according to the types of police activity.

	Optimal behavior	Authoritarian behavior	Show off behavior
Guarding	M=30.06; SD=2.57	M=8.68; SD=2.41	M=9.94; SD=2.47
Traffic Police	M=31.05; SD=1.62	M=8.7; SD=2.02	M=10.72; SD=2.68
Operative Activity	M=29.54; SD=29.54	M=8.36; SD=2.20	M=9.42; SD=2.26
F values and Significance	F= 2.29	F=.3	F=2.00
	P <.05	not significant	P <.09

Results suggest that the responsibilities of the crime investigating officers require less “show off” behavior and also less inclination to demonstrate “optimal professional” behavior in public since interaction with the public is limited to investigations.

- **The influence of individual differences on the preferred style of police behavior**

In addition to the social and demographic factors, the research permitted an evaluation of the effects of motivation and personality characteristics on the preferred style of police behavior. The literature suggests that intrinsic motivation correlates positively with “optimal professional” behavior. Further, it was hypothesized that an external locus of control and psychopathic tendencies would influence the preferences for “authoritarian hostility” and for “show off” behavior. A correlational analysis is presented in Table 5.

Table 5. Correlations between styles of police behavior, intrinsic motivation and personality characteristics for officers and sergeants (inspectors).

Behavior Styles		Optimal Professional Behavior	Authoritarian Aggressive Behavior	Show Off Behavior

Intrinsic Motivation	Entire sample	.38**	-.13**	.07
	Officers	.42**	-.10	.13*
	Sergeants	.34**	-.15*	.02
External Locus of Control	Entire sample	-.13**	.10*	.01
	Officers	-.10	.18**	.01
	Sergeants	-.16*	.05	.00
Excitement Seeking	Entire sample	.02	.04	.02
	Officers	.07	.13*	.05
	Sergeants	-.01	-.02	-.02
Dysfunctional Impulsivity	Entire sample	.09	.16**	.03
	Officers	-.15*	.16*	.01
	Sergeants	-.03	.16*	.04
Functional Impulsivity	Entire sample	.12**	.00	.00
	Officers	.15*	.00	.03
	Sergeants	.07	.00	-.05
Psychopathy	Entire sample	-.09	.16**	.02
	Officers	-.05	.22**	.00
	Sergeants	-.12	.10	.02
Machiavellianism	Entire sample	-.24**	.27**	.03
	Officers	-.26**	.30**	.00
	Sergeants	-.22**	.26**	.05

Most of the correlations reported in table 5 are insignificant, and small to moderate in size. Excitement seeking is a temperament characteristic which has a positive role in the police work; however it does not influence the preferred style of police behavior. Functional impulsivity is positively and significantly correlated with optimal professional behavior although accounting for little of the variance. The personality traits of Machiavellianism, dysfunctional impulsivity, and external locus of control

effect preferred styles, however account for little of the variance. On the other hand intrinsic motivation has moderate and significant positive relationships to the respondent's preferences for optimal professional behavior, and Machiavellianism significant, but small negative correlations. Other personality traits yielded significant, but small correlations.

13.7 Structure of the attitudes toward the society

Social attitudes do not exist in isolation but form a system that regulates human beings in their relationship to the social environment. In this research the structure of attitudes were investigated by means of a factor analysis using Varimax rotation. The factor analysis yielded two factors that explain 47.4 % of the variance. The results are presented on Table 6.

Table 6. Factor analysis of social attitudes toward the society.

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Attitudes against representatives from minority groups	.76	
Attitudes against violating professional ethics	.67	
Preferences for authoritarian hostile public behavior	.64	
Openness toward society	-.61	
Assumed negative attitudes by the citizens	-.54	
Preferences for “show off” police behavior		.70
Readiness to help citizens		.66
Optimal professional behavior		.62
Eigenvalue of the factor	2.35	1.44
% explained variance	29.4	18.0

The first factor loads on a combination of social attitudes that contradicts the optimal professional role of police in society. Respondents who scored high on these variables demonstrate a discriminatory attitude toward minority representatives, are prone to violate professional ethics, try to instill fear through their dominant policing behavior, and perceive citizens as being hostile toward the police institution, and not surprisingly prefer no public control of their work.

Examining the standardized means respondents who score opposite can be divided in three groups: police respondents scoring one standard deviation below the mean, respondents within one standard deviation above or below the mean, and respondents scoring one standard deviation above the mean. As a result, the first group consists of police who oppose a discriminatory attitude toward society. Their percentage in the sample is 14.2%. The second group consists of 71.2% of the participants in the middle of survey responses. The third group comprises 14.6% of the participants in the survey and includes police employees who hold cynical and manipulative beliefs in their relationships with the population.

The second factor includes attitudes that identify with “optimal professional” behavior and accept the police force as employees of society. The traits in the second factor match most closely the requirements for the protecting role of police in the society. Examining the means 16.4% of the police is not ready to accept such a role. Most respondents (67.7%) demonstrate a partial readiness. The third group consists of police ready to accept the role of protector and assistant to the citizens (15.9%). This last group is characterized by a combination of adequate professional behavior in the public, responsiveness to the needs of the citizens, and aspiration for identification and self-promotion through their job.

In brief, the analysis show that attitudes toward society of a significant component of the police force do not correspond to the serving and protecting role of the police and these dispositions can in turn provoke negative reactions of citizens toward the police institution.

The number of police officers who ready act in the “optimal professional” role of assistant and protector of citizens are relatively small.

The greater part of the police force holds contradictory attitudes toward the society combining both the positive and negative attitudes toward citizens.

In summary, the survey showed that the overall willingness of the police force to accept the new and more democratically “optimally professional” role in society yielded contradictory results. The system of beliefs revealed in the study is a complex mixture of positive and negative attitudes toward society formed by opposing factors. The negative attitudes of police are perhaps produced by police being required to be

in contact with offenders and criminals, and by the constant confrontation with liars and insincere citizens, and the necessity on occasion to resort to force and violence. On the other hand the positive attitudes are motivated by the desire to protect the law and provide security for citizens, to maintain the moral values of society, and the personal dignity and self-respect of citizens.

Contributing to the change of accepting the new role of providing assistance and protection of citizens is the increase in the social prestige of the profession, the more positive change in attitudes of citizens toward police officers, the change in the management practices encouraging professional behavior, and the higher standards and requirements for police. Positive change is further motivated by the higher selection criteria and greater transparency and social control over the police activity.

13.8 The personality characteristics of police officers

The survey permitted an examination of personality traits as factors in police work. The presence of an external locus of control, dysfunctional impulsivity, psychopathic deviations, and Machiavellianism among police personnel could be dysfunctional in the relationship between police and society. On the other hand positive personal traits including excitement seeking and functional impulsivity are logically of utility in the performance of professional police tasks. Therefore, in order to get a clearer picture of the personnel resources available to the Ministry of the Interior to achieve positive changes in the role of police it is important to know the degree to which these personality characteristics are present in the police force.

In order to assess the mean personality characteristics of the participants in the survey, a comparison was been made on each of the traits compared to a random sample of not employed in the system of the MI and representative of the general population. These data is presented on Table 7.

Table 7 means show that police officers score higher on the internal locus of control variable compared to the population sample. This variable is characterized by emotional stability, an effective organization of cognitive resources, perseverance in working toward the agreed upon goals, a readiness to take responsibility, and the display of well-developed communication skills. Only 4.1% of the participants from the police sample possess an external locus of control.

Table 7. Means of the normative samples and the sample of participants from the police

	Means in the normative sample	Means in the police sample
Locus of control	M=7.07; SD=3.05	M=4.40; SD=3.10
Dysfunctional impulsivity	M= 4.31; SD= 3.68	M=2.20; SD=2.54
Psychopathy	M=6.39; SD=4.14	M=3.74; SD= 2.93
Excitement seeking	M= 11.49; SD=4.61	M=8.31; SD=3.77
Functional impulsivity	M=6.68; SD=2.58	M=7.59; SD=2.72
Machiavellianism		M=11.95; SD= 12.49
Intrinsic motivation		M= 29.28; SD= 5.74

The comparison of the means on dysfunctional impulsivity reveals further encouraging and consistent results as police officers have lower means compared to the normative sample. Only 2.7% of the police sample scored high on dysfunctional impulsivity.

The psychopathic means are also lower in the police sample compared to the normative sample. However, there are still about 2.5% who score high on this personality characteristic. The presence of psychopathic police poses a risk because of the proneness to aggressive behavior and lack of inhibitions. Psychopathic individuals show little concern for others and are more likely to violate social and professional norms.

The Machiavellianism trait mean in the police sample largely show an absence of this personality characteristic. In fact, when considering the values that are one standard deviation above the mean in the direction of Machiavellianism (i.e. equal to 0), it can be seen that 80.8% of the police respondents have no manipulative tendencies. Only 12% have a moderate tendency for manipulation with 7.2% possessing a manipulative and contemptuous attitude toward the others. However, this result still shows a minority of the police sample prone to manipulate and mislead others.

Excitement seeking is the tendency to alter stimulations through a frequent change in experiences and in the search for new and unusual situations. This personality trait when moderately expressed is consistent with the demands of police work where there are often needs to adapt to surprises, to new and unusual situations, and in the performance of dangerous tasks. However, in more extreme levels “excitement seeking” can create negative situations for example leading to traffic accidents. However, only some 2.3% of the police in the research sample possess such extreme forms of “excitement seeking”. With 53.9% of the police sample showing mean values below one standard deviation from the normative mean and 43.8% having a moderate tendency the conclusion is that most of the police officers are not excitement seekers in their work.

The tendency to act quickly though not very accurately within limited time span is called “functional impulsivity”. About 8% of the police sample can be characterized as sluggish and prone to slow action, while 56.6 % yield scores above the mean. On the whole it can be assumed that police score favorably on this personality trait as well.

Interest and enthusiasm about work is called intrinsic motivation, and for the police sample this trait is above the mean. Similar levels of intrinsic motivation were obtained in a previous research by the Regional Department of the Ministry of the Interior (RDMI). In the current police sample just 2% of the participants score low on intrinsic motivation. As a whole police officers like their work and do it readily.

The aforementioned analysis of personality characteristics of the police sample reveals two facts. First professional selection utilizing psychological research can help select police with favorable personality characteristics. Although rare, mistakes in the selection of police personnel can happen and an improvement in the professional selection procedure is required. Maintaining a new police force, with positive attitudes toward society requires the implementation of prophylactic measures preventing hiring police with unfavorable personality and social attitudes. The importance of using psychological assessments for selection is underlined, because the correlations of Machiavellianism with the other personality traits show that these traits form a consistent picture which if present among police would have negative consequences.

Further, it is important to identify the psychological characteristics that facilitate change in the role of police toward optimal professional behavior. When police are self-assured, steady, and like their job, they are also comfortable with greater openness and transparency in their work contributing to changes in the style of professional behavior, to the acceptance of the new norms of police ethics, and to respect the rights of the citizens and obey the law.

13.9 Summary and conclusions

The initiatives for a change in the interaction between the police and society should apply to all members of the force since the psychological characteristics of the police are influenced little by the type of police work or by the rank. To some degree regional differences show that these initiatives must be tailored according to the local situation.

The size of the village/town in which the police work is the most important demographic factor. Police have more unfavorable attitudes toward citizens in the bigger towns and in the capital city compared to smaller towns. Unethical behavior is higher in larger communities where police are more likely to justify authoritarian hostility when interacting with the public. The low social control in the big cities requires inner-system administrative measures to control these unfavorable tendencies. Contradictory attitudes occur in police officers between the desire to display responsible civil behavior and the cynicism that arise out of the constant contacts with criminals. Problematic attitudes among police might likely arise from their inability to distinguish between criminals on the one hand and citizens as their “clients on the other. The psychological readiness of police to carry out their new role in society depends on their ability to treat offenders in an unbiased and objective way.

Research suggests the need for prophylactic and preventive measures to control professional bias of some police officers directed against citizens. When selecting new officers, attention needs to be paid to their psychological characteristics because these traits suggest that some candidates are more susceptible to unprofessional behavior. To develop more positive relations between police and the public requires psychological knowledge about police officers, and their development of personal skills of self-observation and self-control. The police force could supplement these

efforts with the implementation of training programs focused on increasing the psychological stability of officers.

The transformation of the police force in Bulgaria into an open and transparent civilian controlled institution has to be a gradual process. The steps taken need to be carefully considered, starting with steps of transparency that police readily accept. Research reported here suggests that concrete actions must take into consideration regional conditions and the size of the village/ town. For best results police officers need to be involved in the planning as well.

Behavior change along with emphasis on professional ethics and a sense of duty and responsibility toward the citizens should be encouraged in police training. However, to some degree police attitudes and behavior also depends on the attitude of society toward the police. Many citizens are prejudiced and have negative opinions about the police shaped in part by the media, and by their own fragmentary impressions. The change of negative public opinion is a complex process but police officers can start it by demonstrating objective, honest, and supportive behavior toward citizens.

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Chapter 14

NEWSPAPER LANGUAGE AND EXPERIENCE OF TERROR: A CROSS-NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING OF 9/11

Tolya A. Stoitsova & Anne Snellen

14.1 Introduction

During the first year after the attacks of 9/11, newspapers across the western world struggled to respond to events as they unfolded. Since a terrorist attack of this scale had never occurred anywhere editorial boards were obliged to develop new language in describing the attack and historical connections to explain their context and scope. This intersection of language and history provided a means for substituting one idea for another, developing patterns of associations between what we do and do not know (Pollio, 1974; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). As writers began to describe specific angles through which they might develop some perspective on the event various situations, places, people, and organizations were framed in metaphorical and historical language. This language would ideally allow the newspaper's audience to contextualize September 11th by linking the attacks with others that have occurred throughout history with which the audience were familiar and the meaning of which were understood (Fairclough, 1995). The main attack site became known as "Ground Zero," and the subsequent war was named the "War on Terror." Though these terms became universally understood as metaphors dealing with the aftermath of September 11th, they also linked these events to ideas less obviously clear, but well within the audience's historical "prejudice" that framed their reading (Gadamer, 1976). When writers used the term, "Ground Zero," they asked readers to keep in mind both the World Trade Center site, but also indirectly the other original concept from World War II of a "Ground Zero" symbolized by the atomic attack on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. When writers spoke of a "War on Terror," they asked the readers to imagine a war of ideas and emotions as well as a more traditional military conflict. With a "Ground Zero" in New York we now have experienced a worldwide "War on Terror." These linguistic concepts that arose from newspaper reports provided a specialized language through which to discuss the meaning of 9/11.

Newspapers could provide a solid understanding of how the West (Eastern Europe included) coped with 9/11 and its aftermath. Our study administered through the Center for Applied Phenomenological Research at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville, focused on the editorial responses in American and European newspapers to 9/11 during the first year after the attacks. As an international project, the newspapers were considered to represent a broad Western response to the event including North America and Western and Eastern Europe. In North America, *The*

New York Times was selected for the study representing the city most immediately affected by the attacks. In Western Europe, *The Times* (London) was chosen, because the government of the United Kingdom was a close NATO ally of the United States representing a so-called “special relationship”. Furthermore, the UK had a long history of dealing with terror from the IRA that made 9/11 salient. In Eastern Europe, Russia’s *Izvestia* was selected for several reasons ranging from Russia’s long-standing rivalry with the West to its own battles with terrorism in Chechnya. Terror was salient because of the long war of the USSR in Afghanistan, but also its post-Cold War friendship with the United States. Finally, from Bulgaria the newspaper, *Sega*, was selected as a voice new to Western affairs, but with NATO and EU membership in sight and a border with Muslim Turkey a voice intimately concerned with the welfare of the West.

This cross-cultural project was particularly concerned with how each newspaper within its own cultural, historical, and linguistic experience framed 9/11 and its aftermath (Stoitsova & Pollio, 2005). Each of the studies reported here were based on a close, psycholinguistic and historically-based analysis of the editorials from the aforementioned newspapers discussing 9/11 and the subsequent War on Terror. The study reports implications from the content of the editorials and the historical references they included. Furthermore, novel figures of speech rated salient are discussed along with the themes derived from the content.

14.2 Content analysis and procedure

The LexisNexis database was searched for relevant content from each paper using the search criteria “terror*”. Reducing this material further for salient content required independent raters to read each editorial and score it on a (0-3) scale, with 0 defined as “not related to 9/11” and 3 defined as “most related to 9/11.” Eliminating editorials with average values lower than 1.75 other editorials were retained that rated higher and were more directly related to 9/11.* The location where these editorials appeared in the newspapers varied somewhat. In the Anglo-American newspapers, the editorials appeared mainly in a special section, while in the eastern European papers the editorials often appeared on the front page.

The results from The New York Times and *Sega* (Pollio, Arkfen, Graves, Fagan, & Stoitsova, in press; Stoitsova, Pollio, Tzvetanska, Georgieva, Hristova, & Mizova, 2004) suggested rating the style of the editorials as prescriptive, reflective, or descriptive. The content of prescriptive editorials advanced arguments about what should or should not be done in response to 9/11. Prescriptive editorials were focused

*Each paper was studied with a slightly different number of raters, and because some of the raters were closer to the project than others, there was some fluctuation in the relevance ratings, requiring at times an editorial’s relevance to be acceptable at 1.75 while accepting only editorials with a rating of 2.00 in other cases. However, all of the basic steps remained the same with each paper.

on action and were oriented toward the future. Reflective editorials tended to be oriented toward the past and typically provided a philosophical, observer-oriented and story-like understanding of the emotional, historical, and social meanings of 9/11's. Finally, descriptive editorials reported the story, were largely informational and provided readers with the opportunity to draw their own conclusions.**

In the initial analysis historical references were noted including historical events or individuals and more subtle examples ranging from a slight repackaging of the political language of John Kennedy, Franklin Roosevelt, or Winston Churchill to the use of Shakespearean language. Linguistic terms such as "harrypotterized" or "play Solomon" that have made their way into contemporary language were also identified. All references were counted in each article to gauge whether there was a change in the occurrence of historical terms over the course of the year. Finally, historical references were grouped consensually into several major categories by consultation with other members of the research team.

Content categories were determined by consensus of the research team focusing on the major components of information contained in the articles. Components included the editorial topic and the evidence or arguments it provided. Content similarities were noted and separated into categories containing the same concerns. Finally, the distribution and average of each content category was determined to evaluate which categories provide the richest sources for historical analogies, and which textual themes provided historical comparisons.

Then, raters identified all figures of speech from each of the editorials, selecting the 15 most noteworthy figures in each. From these groups of 15, only those selected by a clear majority of raters were considered for further scrutiny. Members of the team identified figural trends by linking figures that shared similar patterns of meaning across editorials. Categories were developed, establishing broad domains that explained how figures of speech were used to convey specific messages concerning the events of 9/11.

A thematic analysis attempting to synthesize the body of information already developed was performed across the editorials. Each editorial was considered in terms of the overall thematic interpretations emerging from previous coding of historical,

** These distinctions matter most in the editorials of *The New York Times*, in which 99 total editorials appear. However, within these editorials, 20 are unmistakably reflective, while 79 are unmistakably prescriptive. Because the issues of the 20 reflective editorials are highly related to the mood and recovery of New York and its inhabitants, the 79 prescriptive editorials, which are far more comparable to the other papers in this study, are the focus of observation in this paper. In other newspapers, these distinctions are far more debatable and not nearly as important. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, they do not particularly inform the results, and this index, except for *The New York Times*, was largely abandoned.

textual, and figural effects, as well as from a re-reading of the editorials. Thematic analysis focused on discovering patterns of meaning emerging from the editorials. Thematic interpretations were examined not simply to determine the frequency with which certain themes were mentioned, but rather recurring patterns of meaning and how those patterns focused the readers' understanding of the meaning of 9/11. Furthermore, thematic meaning was also related to the prior examinations of historical, textual, and figural categories. After listing all of the themes that appeared in each editorial, it was possible to discern those thematic combinations that had the strongest links and appeared most frequently across all editorials. On this basis, it was possible to understand how these themes worked together to form a coherent, developing whole that provided an overall structure of meanings for the editorials.

14.3 Results

A. Historical References

Results showed that the newspapers used historical references that their readerships knew and understood to explain the events of 9/11. Table 1 summarizes these results referencing either World War Two or the pre- or post- war period. The statistics from The New York Times and The Times yielded great similarity in historical references reflecting a shared culture and historical events. The Sega and Izvestia employed different reference points as explanatory tools. While The Times and The New York Times overwhelmingly focused on history since World War II, Sega reports were more balanced with a special focus on events from the Second World War. Izvestia on the other hand provided more references (and somewhat surprisingly) from the pre-War and post-War periods.

The differences between the New York Times and Izvestia are very apparent with 76.4% of The New York Times references derived from the post-World War II period developing a historical context for understanding 9/11 through the history of this period. Since the United States became the dominant power in the Western world during this historical period it makes sense that analogies from this these times are more salient. However, Izvestia's small focus (14.6%) on references from the Second World War is less easily understood. Given the War's place in Russian history, and given the extreme trauma of the Eastern Front on the Russian people, Izvestia's few references from that period suggests several possible explanations. Perhaps the editors felt that the Russian people's experience of the Second World War was unique and not applicable to other conflicts. Further, during the Second World War, Russia's relationship with Islam and the Muslim world was not well defined.

Table 1. Historical Reference by Time Period

	Pre-World War II	World War II	Post-World War II	Total Number of References
<i>The New York Times</i>	10.2% (16)	13.4% (21)	76.4% (120)	(N=79) 143
<i>The Times (London)</i>	18.1% (29)	15% (24)	66.9% (107)	(N=45) 160
<i>Sega</i>	27.6 % (8)	41.4 % (12)	31 % (9)	(N=43) 29
<i>Izvestia</i>	41.7% (20)	14.6% (7)	43.7% (21)	(N=33) 48

Table 2 reports the content analysis of the major historical categories. While the results of Table 1 presents World War II as an historical era compared to the pre-War and post-War periods, Table 2 considers World War II as a historical event to be measured against other conflicts. First, not surprisingly World War II was either the most or second most referenced conflict in all the papers reviewed in the study. This result reinforces the idea that World War II was the seminal event of contemporary western history against which all other conflicts are compared. Secondly, the Cold War is an especially salient period, since references to it appear among the three top categories. Finally, all papers placed a special emphasis on issues of contemporary terror, with *The New York Times*, *The Times*, and *Sega* focusing on al-Qaeda terrorism within the US and EU countries, and *Izvestia* referencing Chechnya exclusively.

The content analysis also revealed more local concerns, and reflected similar interpretations between countries with close historical connections. *Sega* and *Izvestia* both stress old history as evidenced in Table 1, and yield a similar focus on The Bible. The second similarity is based on the “special relationship” between the United Kingdom and the United States found in the comparison being made between the War on Terror and the Gulf War. The difference between *The Times* and the other three newspapers is evidenced by the fact that *The Times* by far include the greatest number of historical references within its editorials with a total of 160 (see Table 1). *The Times* utilizes a broad historical perspective through a wide variety of references.

Table 2. Historical References by Major Category

	1	2	3	4	5
<i>The New York Times</i>	Cold War 41%	World War II 15%	Contemporary Terror 13%	Gulf War I 5%	Domestic Excesses of Power 4%
<i>The Times</i>	World War II 15%	Gulf War I 10%	Cold War 6%	Contemporary al-Qaeda Bombings 6%	Kosovo 2%
<i>Sega</i>	World War II 42 %	Terrorism against the US and EU 31 %	BG History (Turkish Domination, Cold War) 17 %	The Bible and The Koran 7%	Afghanistan 3 %
<i>Izvestia</i>	Soviet Era (Including Cold War) 25%	World War II 15%	The Bible 8%	Chechnya 6%	Yugoslavia 6%

B. Salient Categories

The Times (London) utilizes the largest number of categories in the editorials, with 14 distinct topics (see Table 3). The Times also chooses metaphoric passages that compare the activities surrounding 9/11 to a broad spectrum of events including games, drama, medicine and engineering. However, The Times evaluated 9/11 primarily by referencing what was described as the civilized as opposed to uncivilized world. The Times argued that the actions of all major players resembled a dramatic stage play, and sought clarification of the tremendous change 9/11 represented in the timeline of the western world.

However, The New York Times and Izvestia utilized 8 and 9 categories that reflected similar metaphorical content. Both papers wrote about consolation and commemoration, both used specific metaphors in describing terrorists and terrorism, and argued for measures through which the western world could defend against

terrorism, and both were concerned with developing useful global alliances. The remaining issues represented in the content analysis refer more specifically to issues sensitive to each country. Izvestia's editorials reflected a concern with the position of Russia in a new world order, while The New York Times dealt at length with the leadership of the Bush Administration and the importance of balancing the needs of security against the requirements of liberty within a democratic society.

Finally, Sega appears to straddle the slight differences between the English, Russian, and American conceptual understanding of 9/11. Like The Times, Sega stresses the change 9/11 represents and how the world is now different. In the same way, Sega also underscores that Bulgaria will align itself alongside the United States in the coming war (Reflection on the Events of 9/11 in Bulgaria). However, Sega reflects similar concerns of The New York Times and Izvestia through categories describing commemoration, and our response to terror, and terrorists, and argues in favor of a new global order to fight terrorist organizations worldwide.

C. Themes identified

The themes appearing in the four newspapers (see Table 4) echo much of the language of the content categories. The themes reflect the unique cultural and political identity of the four papers. The New York Times is largely concerned with the processes of executing the War on Terror, and discusses several diametrically opposed ways of achieving success. However, The New York Times recognizes the complexity of the struggle and that there are times when unilateral action must be taken, even if the editors prefer a more cooperative approach. Izvestia explains Russia's experience with terror, its perspective on the developing global coalition, the role of mass media, and the belief that terrorism may actually represent the new world war. The editors of Sega straddles multiple perspectives, with for example themes 1 and 2 echoing an American perspective, themes 3 and 4 offering a Russian and EU perspective, and theme 5 dealing more specifically with the Bulgarian response. The Times, finally, advances themes steeped in the UK's own history, often reflecting Britain's experience during World War II and Churchill's recurring rhetorical themes (see Snellen, 2006). Theme 1 delineates the difference between the terrorists and the global coalition aligning to fight them. Theme 2 corresponds loosely with Sega's second theme, with both referring to 9/11 as a break in time. Theme 4 describes the dangers of the coming war, while theme 3 defines the civilized world's duty to fight against, and not appease, the terrorists. Finally, theme 5 deals with perspective of the past, present, and future times, as well as what we know and what we do not know (and may have yet to learn) about terrorists.

Table 3. Metaphor Domains in the Newspapers of Four Cultures

Sega	The New York Times	The Times	Izvestia
<p>People, History and Time: “After the 11th of September the world is different”</p> <p>Tragedy of 9/11 and the Nature of Terrorism: “Number of victims is unimaginable”</p> <p>Panic, Fear and Anxiety: “The infection of mass fear”</p> <p>Military Force, International Support, Struggle against Terror: “A collective counter-strike against terrorism”</p> <p>Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and Public Reactions to Them: “War is nothing but a big lie”</p> <p>Balance, Strength and Decisiveness of America: “Americans plant themselves as one person against the threat”</p> <p>Reflection on 9/11 in Bulgaria: “Bulgaria will grant its sky to the United States”</p>	<p>Consolation and Renewal: “America Enduring” (Reflective editorials only)</p> <p>Homeland Security and the Specter of New Terror: “Securing the Skies”</p> <p>Retaliation and Deterrence: “Calibrating the Use of Force”</p> <p>Mr. Bush and the Demands of Leadership: “Mr. Bush’s New Gravitas”; “An Uncertain Trumpet”</p> <p>Issues with Afghanistan, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia: “Nominal Allies”</p> <p>Terrorism and Terrorists: “The War Against America”</p> <p>New York/New York: “How to Fill the Hole at Ground Zero”</p> <p>Secrecy, Civil Liberties, Terrorism and the</p>	<p>Civilized World: “World divides into two camps”</p> <p>Language, Literature, and Drama: “Actor in a drama whose first act is still unfolding”</p> <p>Characters: “Britain has shown a deft hand. . . a resolute eye”</p> <p>Change and Time: “Transformative moment”</p> <p>Medicine: “Desire to restore life to city”</p> <p>Games: “Play by the book”</p> <p>Science and Engineering: “Refashioned structures of security”</p> <p>Vision and Shadow: “Legions are invisible”</p> <p>Body: “Trying out JFK's shoes”</p> <p>Nautical: “Terror rots the timbers”</p> <p>Rooting Out and Closing In: “Tear at roots of terrorism”</p> <p>Terrain: “Perilously</p>	<p>Position of Russia: “Create a new antiterrorist European union and Russia as its first member”</p> <p>New Doctrine of the US: “ Create a system . . . so that interests of all countries are respected equally”</p> <p>Commemoration of 9/11: “American tragedy”</p> <p>Terrorism Sponsors: “Countries that sponsored terrorists”</p> <p>Coping with Terrorism: “US soldiers have to prepare . . . for a long struggle”</p> <p>Antiterrorist Coalition: “It is impossible to live and act in isolation”</p> <p>Globalization and Security: “Refashioning the geopolitical map”</p> <p>Religious Fanaticism and Terrorist #1: “Religious fanaticism of a world majority of poor people”</p> <p>Nature of Terrorism:</p>

Commemoration, Empathy and Respect: “Sharing of mutual values”	Constitution: “Justice Deformed”	unstable launching pad” Responding to Danger: “Mount leadership campaign” Natural Disaster: “Suffered an urban avalanche”	“Terrorism is unpredictable and merciless, any military doctrines are powerless against it”
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Table 4. Themes in the Newspapers of Four Cultures

The New York Times (Prescriptive)	Sega	The Times	Izvestia
1. Secret/Open	1. America’s Struggle and Strength	1. Civilized/Uncivilized	1. A New World Architecture Involving the Consolidation of Russia and America
2.Cooperative/ Unilateral	2. Fracture and Death	2. Before/After	2.Terrorism, As a New World War
3. Measured/ Reactive	3. Fear, Anxiety, Instability	3. Duty/ Appeasement	3.Terrorism in Russia
4. Clear/ Ambiguous	4. Protests and Support	4. New War/New Enemy	4. Fear of Terrorism and Irrational Anti-terrorist Activities
	5. Impact and Consequence	5. Visible/Shadowy	5. Mass Media and Terrorism

14.4 Discussion

The results demonstrate an extraordinary similarity between the editorials particularly within the historical data. Similarities between the United States and the United Kingdom and between Bulgaria and Russia could be expected on the basis of common history and experiences. However, the results demonstrated a pervading similarity in response to 9/11 between all four cultures sampled in the editorials. While the editors from each country wrote based on their own cultural perspective, the reflections generally translated well cross-culturally.

These results suggest that in the contemporary West editors share the same basic understanding of the world. Any differences between the editorial writings lie primarily in the particular nuances of the cultural perspective. The cultural perspective is measured by how far back a nation traces its history, the closeness a nation's alliances with other nations, and what a nation identifies as the critical struggle for its contemporary identity. While such issues are significant in reflecting national identity globalization has produced an international identity shaped at least partly by the roles the nation plays in large international organizations and events, and the ways in which it understands its relationship with other nations.

The newspapers included in this study are significant public voices within their countries and throughout their region. At times when a nation's attention is fully focused on international tragedy self-understanding emerges. Newspaper editorials suggest how a nation wants to be seen in the eyes of the world, and what wisdom it believes it can share. While historical references provide the first glimpse of that identity, the categorical and thematic data from the editorials helps us understand how each of the four nations understand their own actions.

In the simplest sense, Table 1 provides a broad view of editorial focus across time from pre- to post World War 2. The New York Times and The Times from the United States and the United Kingdom appear to share a contemporary approach to history and time, influenced by a post-World War II history in which these nations were dominant powers. Conversely, Sega and Izvestia demonstrate a far different view of the world which stretches back further into history and is used to make sense of the events of 9/11. These historical and cultural differences could contribute to mutual misunderstandings in a post-Cold War world.

However, that perspective does not yet take into account the sheer numbers of historical references that appear in The New York Times and The Times editorials. With 143 historical references over 79 prescriptive editorials, The New York Times cannot be accused of taking a narrow view. Further, since New York is a city threatened with terrorism, editorial writers use the historical constructs most likely to make sense to its readers. In the United States, that would refer to relatively recent history, from World War II to the present a time when United States became a nation fully engaged internationally.

Similarly, the 160 historical references that appear in *The Times* across 45 editorials suggest that the editorial writers were searching for historical analogies that might lend meaning to the events of 9/11. The bulk of these references come from contemporary history familiar to its readers. The *Times* editorials show that initially the writers used familiar parallels then later expanded their perspective as more became known about the attacks and the attackers.* The *Times* did not seem so contemporary after all since its writers used many references from pre-World War II (29) and nearly as many from World War II (24) as *Sega* used from all eras combined (29).

However, just because *Sega* and *Izvestia* used fewer historical references does not mean that Bulgaria and Russia are disconnected from the past just that their perspective is slightly different. For example, the similarities exhibited in Table 2 demonstrate that all the editorial writers utilized seminal events in western history in comparing 9/11 to international events. In *The New York Times*, *Sega*, and *Izvestia*, World War II and the Cold War dominated their historical references, accounting for more than 40%, while in *The Times* these events accounted for over 20%. Considering that neither of these events is overtly connected to terrorism or terrorists why are these events so evocative of the concerns arising out of 9/11? Perhaps these two historical events affected modern history in comprehensive ways. To come to grips with the effects of September 11th, the newspapers compared the terror to these defining events.

However, these papers do not necessarily see World War II or the Cold War as a close analogy to 9/11. Our study suggests that although the papers used these comparisons, they described commonalities in very general ways (see also Winfield, Friedman, and Trisnadi (2002)). World War II is a useful analogy for Americans because 9/11 began with a surprise attack on a domestic target. World War II is like 9/11 for the rest of the western world because to fight the root causes of terror, the international community must build alliances and work toward common goals like they did in the world war.

However, the editorial writers are not suggesting a correlation between the fight against Hitler and the fight against bin Laden. Whereas World War II played out in set-piece battles between massive armies, the fight against terror can be waged only with flexible military force. Further, while the overall German goals were perfectly clear, the ultimate goals of the Islamic terrorist are not. As a result it is not clear what objectives the West can or should forward in the war on terror. Another important difference is that the world knew the endpoint of World War II was the surrender of the German army and the defeat of Hitler. In the fight against terror no one knows how it will end or if it will end.

* This notion is a view *The Times* explains in detail in an editorial appearing on September 11, 2006, five years after the 9/11 attacks.

The historical analogy of the Cold War may seem a better example of struggle to The New York Times because of the ideological nature of the conflict. However, even the Cold War fails to present an adequate framing for September 11th. The threat of mutually assured destruction was always a deterrent for both East and West. To Americans a comparison between East Bloc soldiers with no great desire to die compared to Islamic terrorists willing to blow themselves into oblivion is not a useful analogy. The same is true in Russia's *Izvestia*, in which historical references to the Soviet Era (including the Cold War) provided only an approximate analogy to the 9/11 world. Especially considering the significant cost to the Soviet Union of the involvement in Afghanistan, *Izvestia* neither wants nor anticipates a repeat affair. From 9/11 onward the stage is set for Russian-American cooperation rather than Soviet-American antagonism. *Izvestia* draws a closer parallel of 9/11 to Russia's ongoing fight with the separatist Chechens. In the process the editors argue that other nations in the West now have a better idea of what it means to fight Islamic terrorism, and Russia has acquired useful information from its conflicts.

Nevertheless, the fact that these comparisons are even made suggests a certain point-of-view shared between nations. When *The Times* and *The New York Times* concentrate on Gulf War I, they speak to a common history in the Middle East and the long and productive alliance between the U.S. and the UK. When both *Sega* and *Izvestia* refer to the Bible, they point to a joint understanding of ancient history and religion, and the continuing impact of even ancient events on current events. When the newspapers refer to issues of contemporary terror their perspectives begin to merge. The outlook of a Christian, secular and peaceful West binds these countries together by comparison to an Islamic, theocratic and violent Middle East. The events of 9/11 begin to shape a collective response of a righteous "us" against a villainous "them."

The categorical and thematic results further support this common understanding. One of the most noticeable features of both the categorical and thematic indices is this concentration on a collective "we" and what "we" must fight against. In Table 3 the categorical results suggest that the newspapers see themselves as part of a developing "civilized" and "antiterrorist coalition" and express sympathy for the people of the United States based on the "sharing of mutual values."

All four papers noted that September 11th represents a break with the past that it was a "transformative moment" after which the world is different and it is "impossible to exist in isolation" anymore. This breach is particularly important given that the post 9/11 world offers all western nations a new opportunity to put suspicions and antagonism of the past behind them and it allows them to fashion new alliances through an emerging set of shared interests.

There is also a shared concern about what al-Qaeda represents and how the terrorists operate. *Izvestia* notes that "terrorism is unpredictable and merciless," and that "military doctrines are powerless against it." *The New York Times* remains

concerned with “calibrating the use of force” and the need to “secure the skies” despite having to deal with “nominal allies” and the potential of allowing “deformed” justice. Sega notes the ongoing struggle for normalcy, given “the infection of mass fear” caused by the attacks and the need for a “collective counter-strike” against its perpetrators. Meanwhile, *The Times* argues that “terror rots the timbers on which civilized coexistence rests” because its “legions are invisible.” As a result, the West must “tear at the roots of terrorism” and work to build “refashioned structures of security.”

In the themes of each paper there is a further overlap, and the similarities developed in the categorical results are reinforced. Table 4 shows several narrative threads working in tandem. The strongest of these is the sense that after September 11th, the “civilized” world must “cooperate” as best as possible to build “a new world architecture” that eliminates the old American-Soviet divide and “support” the mutually-held values of the West. In this shared set of themes, the crossover of ideas between the newspapers demonstrates the special emphasis on the reorganization of alliances after the attacks.

The Times call for reorganization and a change in how western nations regard each other and how they perceive outside threats. *Izvestia* names the end goal of this to be “a new world architecture.” *The Times* and Sega name the underlying cause for the change—“Before/After” and “Fracture and Death.”* *The Times* and *Izvestia* together identify what will happen in the “New War/New Enemy” and in “Terrorism, As a New World War.” *The New York Times* suggests how the new era ought to unfold with actions being transparent and cooperative and with clear goals arrived at through measured means.

What the West is fighting against? Sega refers to this new kind of enemy as “fear,” “anxiety,” and “instability”. The attacks produced fear of the unknown, anxiety about the future resulting in international instability. *Izvestia* follows the same lines, but broadens our understanding of the danger by citing “fear of terrorism” and a fear of “irrational anti-terrorist activities.” The second part of *Izvestia*’s theme connects especially well to several of the categories emerging from *The New York Times* and the more negative polarities referred to in each of the themes. These negative behaviors include overly secretive actions performed unilaterally, with ambiguous goals, and through “irrational” and reactive means. In a slightly more metaphoric way *The Times* distinguishes between the enemies of the past who were visible, and enemies of the present who operate in the shadows. Finally, *The Times* defines how the West ought to behave after September 11th urging resistance to the urge to appease the enemy in the face of these threats and carry on with “our very Churchillian duties”.

* *The New York Times*, in the themes of its reflective editorials (see Pollio, et al., In Press), also deals extensively with the idea that 9/11 represents a “before” and “after.”

14.5 Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research

The editorial pages of the four newspapers illuminate western politics by spotlighting the shared history and values. The results also illustrate the similarities that arise from old alliances and international status. The post-Cold War perspectives of the United States and Russia are revealed and The New York Times and Izvestia provide very similar perspectives. The main difference between the two papers is related to the perspective that develops from spheres of influence. Editorial writers from both countries believe their nation represent a major power and have ideological and practical wisdom useful to others. The editorial writer from the New York Times and Izvestia also contend that the key to limiting contemporary terror rests on a new form of détente and sanctions that contain countries that sponsor or have ties to terrorists. The issue can be raised: How can the United States and Russia begin to influence nations effectively outside their traditional Cold War spheres of influence? More practically how can they cooperate to achieve this new détente? Neither of these newspapers has direct influence on policy in their countries, nevertheless they have a large influence on public consciousness.

At the same time, the post-Cold War perspectives of the United Kingdom and Bulgaria are also represented in the editorials. In the editorials of The Times and Sega the “special relationship” between the United States and the United Kingdom are discussed and also the clear connection between Bulgaria and Russia. Of greater interest are the concerns exhibited by both papers that cross former Iron Curtain boundaries. The permeating theme of civilization in The Times clearly connects to Izvestia’s argument about the need for a “new world architecture.” Likewise, Sega’s concern about “America’s struggle and strength” is remarkably similar to the anxiety expressed by The New York Times. The editorials support the idea that the European Union is quickly and permanently eroding the old east-west divide in Europe. The post-Cold War Europe’s common voice about international affairs can influence the American and Russian discussion about the War on Terror in ways that Cold War Europe never could. That leads us to the on-going discussion about Europe’s role in world affairs in the post-Cold War era, and how Europe can best influence a relationship still thawing. How can European countries most effectively facilitate communication between the United States and Russia?

In the future these questions provide a direction for a continuing discourse analysis of newspaper commentaries. This type of cross-cultural investigation utilizing editorials can supply salient insight into understanding the new West and its relationship with the rest of the world in ways that the official governmental discourse may not. The aforementioned content analysis and similar efforts in the future could provide a design for more effective diplomatic, economic, and cultural communication between all nations.

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Chapter 15

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN: CULTURE, SEX AND GENDER

Knud S. Larsen & Krum Krumov

15.1 Introduction

Many changes have occurred in the past few decades that have influenced the relationship between men and women. The developments that emerged out of the women's movement in the United States and Europe have had a profound influence on important social institutions including marriage, but also in opportunities for women in academia and athletics. While women and girls have made great progress in the Western world the dynamic changes in women's lives have also brought confusion and a higher divorce rate. Because of globalizations these social forces have to a lesser degree also influenced gender relations in other parts of the world. In this chapter we shall discuss many of the variables that result from the relationship between culture and gender including sex role stereotypes, gender related behaviors, and gender ideologies that define traditional or egalitarian relationships. The chapter will also discuss the impetus for change in gender relations, and the historical prejudice and discrimination toward women. Finally, in a changing world what are the consequences these evolving relationships for mate selection and marriage.

Many events around the world have brought into a focus gender relations that express discriminatory practices toward women. This week a woman was decapitated in Saudi Arabia for supposedly practicing sorcery. It reminds us of the many thousands of women, most probably mentally ill, who in medieval times were burned at the stake in Europe for practicing witchcraft. Societies around the world display significant differences in gender related attitudes and discriminatory behavior toward women. In some parts of the world societies are still practicing female genital mutilations signifying the transition from child to adult. It seems on the surface hard to justify such mutilation practices that are supposedly related to the roles that women play as wives and mothers, but one is left to wonder if these rituals are not aimed more at the control of women by men (Lightfoot-Klein, 1989).

Any consideration of gender related behavior must provide a narrative that describes the complexity of the interrelated variables that produce reliable differences between the sexes. Typically, this begins with an acknowledgement of the biological differences between the sexes as a platform for different socialization patterns that appear to be universal and similar in all cultures. Although the sexual platform

(physiological differences between females and males) are the same in all cultures, the socialization practices that define gender are culturally determined. For example it is generally acknowledged that females are socialized to be more dependent, nurturing, obedient and socially responsible. On the other hand boys are reinforced positively for assertive behavior in an effort to promote independence and self-reliance. Gender related socialization practices do not occur in a vacuum, but are in turn related to ecological factors like the presence of a subsistence economy, and the social and political context of society.

The biological platform of sex differences include the obvious different sexual organs, but also physical differences as males are larger, and sex hormone differences are present that encouraged a division of labor. The evolution of the division of labor in turn encouraged gender related cultural practices. Culture to a large extent demanded differential child rearing for males and females, assigned the sexes to different roles in reproduction and determined gender roles in the home or as providers. These consistent patterns over generations also produced gender based sex role ideologies and gender stereotypes thought to be typical of all members of the gender category. These factors are all complex and interacting, and because of globalization are also dynamic and in some parts of the world are rapidly changing.

Most people's common conception of gender refers to the anatomical differences between the sexes. The different psychological experiences of being male or female are rooted in this biological platform. While these biological differences are important, significant culture plays an important role in interpretation of appropriate roles and behavior (Eagly & Wood, 1999). In some societies like Saudi Arabia women cannot drive cars or travel without male family members. In other cultures such gender based limitations would seem absurd and if attempted would meet with strong resistance by the generations of women who have achieved a better status over the struggles of the last century. The stereotypes and values we attribute to sex are largely culturally determined. The preference for the male sex that has produced infanticide in countries including India and China is an expression of cultural values. In turn these attributions determine to a large extent psychological traits including compliance, aggression or assertive behavior.

The term opposite sex is a misnomer. Both genders are in fact similar in so many ways caused by our common human evolution. Even our physiology is similar with sexual structures carrying complementary rather than opposite functions. It is culture that has chosen to emphasize the differences and create ideologies that support gender stereotypes. These powerful, but largely unconscious processes have to a large extent determined gender self-concepts and behavior. Even how we think is a cultural artifact of gender based roles that is ubiquitous in the world. The women's movement in the United States challenged the way women were described in the literature and in education that seemed degrading and hostile. Psychology as a discipline underwent a profound change over the past decades through the participation of women that provided a balance in psychological research, since previously most previous research

was based on male participants. The opportunities that opened up for women produced important contributions by female psychologists in the pursuit of a more gender balanced view of what it means to be human. Rather than assuming that women are small men research now report routinely on sex and gender differences as vital components to research.

15.2 Culture and gender

Apart from mono-sexual religious groups or cults, men and women live and work together in all cultures of the world. As we have discussed the sexual differences between males and females are universal, however gender differences are the psychological outcomes of sexual roles and are culturally dependent. Sex roles refer to the common activities of the two genders as related to their biological differences and the behavior related to reproduction and physiology. The division of labor between the sexes must have emerged out of the need for survival that found reproductive success when women attended to the needs of children, and men worked as providers of shelter and food. Recently men in the United States and Europe are taking on more child caring roles however, only women can breast feed their babies. On the other hand gender roles are rapidly evolving and perhaps some will think changing to the point of absurdity. For example ABC News (Elliot & Francis, 2011) reported that 5 million men in the U.S. are now "stay at home Dads" who care for children and other house duties while the wives go to work.

Obviously the rapid social changes in some parts of the world have profoundly affected gender roles in contemporary societies. Men and women have had to adapt to many changes as society has changed gender role expectations and therefore also stereotypes. Many of these changes have justly benefitted females whose lives have historically been blighted by discrimination. In their eagerness to convince society of the reality and permanence of these changes new stereotypes of the "aggressive female" have emerged that have become mildly laughable. In some television programs in the U.S. we often see small women pushing around much larger males showing a masculine toughness that is not emerging clearly from the obvious physical and corresponding psychological differences. In any event when speaking of gender differences we are not speaking of biological sex, but rather of the culturally based behaviors and feelings associated with the social perceptions of gender. While we have much in common as human beings males and females also differ. However, these differences are largely culturally based constructions that have evolved over the course of the history.

15.2.1 Sex roles, gender stereotypes, and culture

The biological differences between the sexes are assuredly the basis for the evolution of division of labor and corresponding sex roles. Sex roles are ubiquitous in all societies and define what men and women are permitted to do and how they are

expected to behave. In more rigid societies sex roles also define what the genders should or must do as part of daily interactions. Women are obviously the only sex to give birth and breast feed babes. Nevertheless with the advent of formula baby food, men are taking on feeding responsibilities in some societies. Having noted that exception the genders because of their differences may be uniquely placed to perform complementary gender related tasks in child care. However, both sexes can perform many of the same home and work related tasks. Nevertheless women take on most of the obligations related to child care in many societies, and in the modern world where women also work they hold up more than “half “of the heavens to expand the quotation of Mao.

Children develop their sex role information from the models in their lives, often the parents and other models in the extended family. Other socialization agents reinforce such views in the educational system and the ubiquitous models in the mass media (Kohlberg, 1966). Some researchers like Bem (1981) have criticized the sex role terms of masculinity and femininity as have little meaning. However, do these objections describe any reality other than Bem’s preference for a genderless world? In later research Bem also acknowledged the obvious impact of gender although she still likes to change and challenge what is perceived as negative outcomes (Bem, 1993).

Sexual identity contains three components (Green, 1987). Gender identity is the sense of the person’s selfhood being defined as either male or female. As we know gender identity is distinct from sexual orientation which refers to preferred gender for sexual fantasy and erotic behavior. Finally, gender roles are the cultural expectations of gender that typically is demonstrated as in research as sex differences. In nearly all cases the three components are harmonious with for example the typical male having a male core identity oriented toward the female and masculine in gender role behavior.

The presence of transsexuals in society is suggestive of hardwired biological sources of gender identity since their situation is often painful and unrewarding. Research does not indicate any differences in socialization that account for opposite gender identification. Hormonal differences in transsexuals are minimal however some reports exist of elevated androgen in females with male identification (Bosinski, Schroder, Arndt, Wille, & Sippel, 1997). It is still speculative whether such hormonal abnormalities begin in early development or perhaps prenatally. Studies of female rhesus monkeys have demonstrated that prenatal exposure to androgen increases the level of typical male behavior including higher levels of rough-and-tumble play (Goy & McEwen, 1980; Goy, Bercovitch & McBair, 1988). Brain differences between men and women have been observed for the stria terminalis (BSTc). This brain locus also differ between males with typical male gender identity and male transsexuals who feel psychologically feminine (Zhou, Hofman, Gooren, & Swab, 1995). These findings hint at different neural organization, perhaps linked to prenatal hormonal influences that may affect gender identity.

Biological explanations run counter to feminist preferences since such concepts have been used in the past to perpetuate inequality (Sayers, 1982). Nevertheless it is not possible to ignore biological explanations that must account for some of the variance in gender-related behavior. Brain differences between the genders have been suggestive of subsequent behavioral difference. Exposing the prenatal male brain to androgens is thought to produce some specializations in the male brain. For example, the right hemisphere is dominant in males producing according some views greater emphasis on visual and spatial abilities, whereas in women the specialization in the left hemisphere is thought to enhance verbal abilities. The brain specialization is thought to produce the typical gender differences in behavior and abilities (Moir & Jessel, 1989). However, any biological contributor of necessity interacts with cultural expectations that start at birth since the first question is typically whether the child is a boy or girl. That ubiquitous question suggests that expectations of the child are structured from the beginning by gender (Bem, 1993).

Sexual differences in core gender identity and sexual orientation has occupied a great deal of attention by researchers. In addition research also support relative differences in libido with males possessing higher levels of sexual interest and motivation compared to females. Males' fantasy and masturbate with higher frequencies in turn related to post pubertal androgen changes. In adults with normally functioning gonads the administration of androgen supplements can increase sexual interest and the satisfaction in sexual behavior (Bancroft, & Wu, 1983; Meston, Trapnell, & Gorzalka, 1996). There is also some research to indicate that that for women who had the ovaries removed the administration of androgen or androgen along with estrogen restores libido (Sherwin, Gelfand, & Brender, 1985).

Although children recognize the physical differences between being male and female around age two, expectations of gender related behavior proceed from socialization and cultural expectations (Ciccarelli & White, 2013). It is the combination of the expectations of culture and biological factors that determine what is commonly referred to as gender identity. Gender appropriate behavior include a broad range of differences in attitudes, personality traits and behavior that emerge out of child rearing and parenting styles as well as hardwired biological differences (Tobach, 2001; Reiner, 2000). The hardwired biological component is not easily ignored as demonstrated in the study where 25 genetically male children who possessed ambiguous genitalia were surgically changed and reared as girls. Later in life these children preferred male play activities and identified themselves as boys (Reiner, 2000).

Sex role theory might also explain ubiquitous gender differences in the expression of emotions. A comparative study of 37 cultures found the same general pattern of gender based emotional expression in both Western and non-Western societies. Typically men express more anger when aroused whereas women tended to express more fear or sadness compared to males (Fischer, Mosquera, van Vianen, & Manstead, 2004). These differences are consistent with the higher level of aggression

expected of men and boys, whereas girls and women are expected to be more compassionate. The research shows that females express emotions more openly than men except in the case of anger. Women seek to foster care-taking and affiliation and are therefore more likely to express feelings of love, sympathy, guilt, and happiness, whereas men do so to a lesser extent for fear of being vulnerable (Brody & Hall, 1993). Men in traditional cultures seek to restore honor when they have been shamed by aggressive or retaliatory behavior, whereas women will react to shame by submissive behavior (Abu-Lughod, 1986).

Culture encourages over time gender based stereotypes that produced unique social roles. A common finding in Western cultures is the perception of females as weaker, more emotional and more compliant. Males on the other hand are typically viewed as assertive, more dominant and independent. The masculine traits produce in men a greater willingness to confront danger and seek adventure that is the basis of the human migration story. The most important study done on gender stereotypes was carried out by Williams and Best (1990). They submitted a 300-item adjective check list to respondents in twenty-seven countries from the major regions of Europe, Africa, Asia and North and South America. The respondents were asked in a forced choice situation whether the adjective was more descriptive of males or females.

Culture appears to be more rigid in the framing of masculine behavior particularly in Western societies. There is generally more condemnation for a boy who does not demonstrate masculine behavior than for girls who are less feminine. In particular fathers are more worried about their sons male gender related behaviors than whether their daughters show expected feminine traits (Lytton & Romney, 1991). Gender role rigidity is related to collectivistic cultures that have less material wealth. The most gender traditional behaviors can be observed Asia and Africa particularly in countries like Nigeria and Pakistan (Best & Williams, 2001).

The results showed large differences in the perceptions of what men and women were like in all countries surveyed. However, even more importantly research supported a broad consensus between countries and cultures on gender stereotypes. Adjectives like active, adventurous and aggressive were associated with males, and affected, affectionate and anxious with females. The consensus in gender stereotypes support these concepts as universal psychological constructs present in all societies. However, some cultural differences were reported. A factor analysis found three meaningful factors labeled favorability, activity and strength. The first factor represented an overall evaluation of the two sexes. While there were no overall differences in male compared to female favorability when combining scores from all countries, the male stereotype was found to be more favorable in Japan and South Africa, whereas the female stereotype was more favorable in Italy and Peru. From the study it is not clear what cultural or historical factors were responsible for these favorability results. However, on the factor of action orientation males were considered significantly more active. On the third factor of strength there was again a very large mean difference with males scoring higher on the stereotype of being

stronger. We can conclude that males and females possess very different gender stereotypes within countries, but a remarkable similarity in how these gender differences were maintained across cultures.

The extent of the pancultural agreement is so large that some researchers have suggested that gender stereotypes are the equivalent of psychological universals, accepted practically in all societies and by both sexes (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992). Such universal stereotypes lead logically to considering a possible evolutionary basis that originates in anatomical differences and the subsequent historical division of labor. It is possible that reproductive success demanded a division of labor, and that those who adapted had an evolutionary advantage of survival. Over the eons of time since early human societies these stereotypes have become a part of cultural history that has been internalized for many people.

The sharpness of the gender differentiation depends on cultural values (Hofstede, 1980). Countries that are conservative with hierarchical social structures and with lower socioeconomic development and where education are valued less for women also display a more significant demarcation between the sexes. On the other hand countries that value egalitarianism as an ideology and social harmony and with less traditional sex role orientation have lower levels of strict gender stereotype differences. When rescoring the Adjective Check List according the Big Five Model of Personality (that is also thought universal) males were seen has having higher scores on all traits except agreeableness where females scored higher (Williams, Satterwhite & Best, 1999).

These stereotypes are incorporated at a very early time in a child's life. Williams and Best found gender stereotypes present also in children. Gender stereotypes existed cross-culturally in children and were virtually similar to those found for the adult sample. The results suggest that children are inculcated at a very early time in gender stereotypes, in nursery schools, the home and other social institutions. Probably children's stories and the media also played a role in producing such broad agreement on female and male characteristics. The fact that there is cross-cultural agreement on children's gender stereotypes support the universal nature of these conceptions and the long evolutionary roots of gender based differences. Nevertheless the role of culture in reinforcing sex roles is supported by the research of Albert and Porter (1986) who reported that gender stereotyping become more prevalent with the increased age of children. Others have noted the important role of the media in socializing children in gender stereotypes and with the mass media often showing manifestly demeaning stereotypical images of women (Fejes, 1992). However, since the media in the U.S. and Western Europe were confronted by the women's movement the most blatant and offensive stereotypes have been removed. Of course culture is persistent and some stereotypes may still exist in the modern world.

These stereotypic conceptualizations are obviously the result of anatomical differences between males and females and reflect therefore a genetically based physical reality. However, culture also plays a role by socialization practices that evolved over historical time into a sex role ideology that obfuscates the real differences and keep these expectations rigid even when they don't make sense in the modern world. In the new globalized world of computers women can perform the same work related tasks as men, and should not be delimited by culture because of a sex role ideology that grew out of the need for survival in the early history of humanity and the division of labor that placed females only in the home. Today women are approaching equity and equality in many arenas in the United States and Western Europe, and in the universities women are in some cases out-competing their male counter parts. This independence has led to new relationships between the genders and today only half of adults in the United States get married. What the outcome for family life is difficult to estimate in the intermediate or long term future.

15.2. 2 Gender and families

While men and women can perform many of the same home-related tasks, women typically carry a disproportionate burden. Most of the work within the home is the province of women who do the majority of childcare, cooking and cleaning. Georgas, Berry, van de Vijver, Kagitcibasi, & Poortinga, (2006) examined family functioning in thirty countries around the world. In all countries examined women carried a disproportionate amount of the home-related work. Of course there are still many societies where the father remains the chief bread winner and works long hours outside the home. The injustice to women comes from countries where both parents work outside the home, but the mother still has to do the bulk of home maintenance. The researchers focused on three types of functioning performed in the home that included expressive behaviors in creating a home atmosphere that is pleasant and emotionally supportive. Financial functioning refers to the role of the bread winner achieving the necessary income to look after the needs of the family. Childcare includes the cooking nutritious food, encouraging children's progress in school, and looking after their emotional needs.

Motherhood is seen as the major component of womanhood and female identity all over the world. Many women feel their identity is expressed in motherhood and those women who are not mothers often feel it as a deficit or failure in their lives. Many mothers have impossible high standards for what constitutes good mothers where the child's needs are always primary and come before the needs of the mother. In Western cultures the ideal of motherhood requires the mother to practice self-sacrifice and endless love (Wilson, 2007). Although traditionally the emphasis on motherhood placed the mother at home with her children, today in many societies mothers also work outside the home leading to a divided and burdensome effort.

The survey showed that fathers were primarily looked to for financial support of the family, followed by emotional support and last in providing actual childcare.

Mothers on the other hand were primarily concerned with childcare, at least in the more poor countries. However, in more affluent societies mothers were like fathers are concerned with all three roles although motherhood and domestic responsibilities are still considered the primary function for women in the family. A recent study showed that men over the time period from 1965 to 2003 and studied in 20 countries spent an average of only 14 minutes each day on child care. Unless women want totally dysfunctional families a great deal of domestic work and child care is left in their hands (Hook, 2006). Women are also the primary caregivers for the elderly and ill or disabled members of their families (Forseen, Carlstedt, & Mortberg, 2005). That expectation is present despite personal exhaustion and typically women fill these roles and responsibilities and put the needs of family members who need help first.

These demanding family responsibilities have negatively influenced the role women can play in economic activities producing lower wages for women and less opportunity for promotion and advancement. While such discrimination is not necessarily overt mothers often make less money than women who are childless. Family responsibilities may not allow mothers to work fulltime or overtime which give mothers less work experience. Often women end up in lower paying jobs because these fit better with their children's needs for childcare limiting their occupational choices (Sigle-Rushton & Waldfogel, 2007). One study on the status of women showed that in five countries only (out of the 117 countries surveyed) did women hold 50 % of managerial or legislative positions (United Nations Statistic Division, 2011).

Therefore although men and women have the same educational possibilities in much of the world today (except some places in Africa, Arabia and Asia) women are often segregated by occupation and tend to be hired for less powerful jobs and lower remuneration (Cunningham & Macan, 2007). Since the responsibilities associated with motherhood are not placed on men they are often preferred as employees and are perceived not only as more available but also more competent compared to women who have family responsibilities (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004).

15.2.3 Traditional versus egalitarian sex role ideologies

Sex role ideology refers to basic values and beliefs about how men and women should function in life. In many societies there is a basic conflict between those that believe in the traditional roles of men and women related to home and work compared to more egalitarian perspectives. The traditional ideology views the role of women to be that of a home maker, and men as breadwinners. Likewise the traditional viewpoint sees men as the head of families and chief decision makers about all matters related to family functioning, whereas the mother is considered the heart of the family in being supportive and looking after the family's emotional needs. Traditional values are expressed in gender roles that sharply demarcate the differences in the function of males and females, whereas egalitarian roles deemphasize the differentiation between males and females.

When young adolescents were asked to describe the characteristics of the ideal man or woman the most important psychological characteristic was not sex typed as both genders preferred someone who was honest and kind (de Silva, Stiles & Gibbons, 1992). At the same time there were gender differences as being attractive and good looking was mentioned more often for women and good employment seen as more important for men. Another study (Gibbons, Stiles and Shkodriani, 1991) supported the idea that girls hold less traditional views than boys. At the same time adolescents from poorer and collectivistic countries were more traditional compared to adolescents from richer and more individualistic countries. Globalization and modern technology are changing traditional ideology even in traditional societies as television, the Internet, and modern education show alternative possibilities for girls. Religious beliefs and practices are powerful traditional forces in many cultures resisting the forces of modernity and social development.

Williams and Best (1990) examined sex role ideology in another study among respondents in fourteen countries including representation from Europe, Asia, North America, Africa, and South America. The results showed significant differences between countries in sex role ideology partly related to socio-economic status. Countries that scored higher on the socio-economic index, had a higher proportion of protestant Christians along with a low proportion of Muslims, had a large proportion of women working outside the home, and who were more individualistic, scored higher on egalitarian sex role ideology. The countries that scored lower on these indexes were more likely to endorse and favor traditional sex roles.

Since women are often the victims of sex role stereotyping it is little wonder that research show that males and females have differences in sex role preferences. In the Williams and Best study the sex role ideology opinions of males and females were examined in fourteen countries, evaluating the beliefs about how men and women should be and act in their relationships. In all countries (except two) males showed a stronger preference for the traditional sex roles and women scored higher in the direction of egalitarian relations. Since males benefit by controlling women in the traditional household there are strong male incentives in favor of the status quo. On the other hand women have become more conscious of the injustice of traditional sex role functioning and therefore favor a more egalitarian sex role ideology.

That this remains a continuous hot topic for researchers can be seen in the number of published reports. The Larsen and Long (1988) sex role ideology scale measuring egalitarian versus traditional attitudes toward sex roles have appeared in 83 published studies and hundreds of student theses and dissertations. That alone would indicate that the issue is far from settled in Western countries, and is a source of continuous conflict as men and women seek to find balance in a rapidly changing world that challenges traditional thinking.

15.3 Gender stereotypes and discrimination against women

Gender stereotypes have had many negative consequences for women. It has caused women in modern times to become obsessed with their bodies seeking to reach impossible standards of thinness with health consequences that include anorexia and bulimia. Further violent behavior by men toward women found broadly throughout Western and other cultures in the world is promoted by gender stereotypes where women are seen as having no independent and valuable existence.

15.3.1 Dissatisfaction with body image

Many gender based stereotypes are maintained through discrimination against women and girls. The differential gender roles played by women and girls lead to an obsession with their physical bodies and attractiveness. The high standards of physical beauty create significant and demoralizing pressure on women who compare themselves upward to beauty standards that are impossible to reach. This has led women to undergo millions of costly cosmetic surgeries in the United States every year and supports a large cosmetic industry the total function of which is to meet ideal cultural standards of beauty (Gangestad & Scheyd, 2005). In recent decades the preoccupation with thinness has produced anorexia in many young women with untold damage to women's health and self-esteem. Ironically in less affluent societies thinness is associated with poverty and larger women are preferred. However, the results of globalization affect women even in the developing world who are buying into thinness as an ideal body type (Grogan, 2008).

Why are women dissatisfied to such a high degree with their physical appearance? There are of course many sources of influence that determine self-images including family, educational institutions and the media. The media in particular has been criticized for portraying women who are very thin as ideal. Models from the catwalks to popular magazines strive to portray extreme thinness to the point of looking anorexic and ill. The average woman in society compares herself with such socially prestigious models and is disappointed with her body image (Leahey, Crowther & Mickelson, 2007). As a result of globalization these extreme models of thinness are accepted now as ideal in many parts of the world.

There are many negative health consequences for women who are dissatisfied with their body image. We have already noted the relationship of body image to eating disorders such as anorexia and bulimia. At the psychological level dissatisfaction with body images lead to mental health related problems including depression and low self-esteem. These negative factors may also have consequences for physical health including anemia, low blood pressure, kidney failure and heart related problems (National Institute of Mental Health, 2008). A partial correction of the negative modeling effects would be to ensure that a broader range of women's body types appear in both the printed and visual media. Social learning by observing

healthy models of all body types would reduce the pressure women feel to comply with the absurd challenges of super thin models.

15.3.2 Equal work equal pay?

Whether women work outside the home depends somewhat on egalitarian and traditional cultural values. In Muslim countries like Saudi Arabia only few women are economically active outside the home. However, in most of the world more than half of the women contribute to family income by participating in the economy and holding jobs. As we have seen this generally means that these women carry both the burden of the larger share of housework and child care, and also in many cases a fulltime job. Women are still paid only a fraction of the income that men make. Here again cultural values of egalitarianism or traditions play a role. In the Scandinavian countries women experience the smallest gender gap in pay by earning 77 % of men's wages in Norway and 81 % in Sweden. By comparison women earn only 67 % of men's income in the U.S. However, that compares favorably with women's income in countries where gender roles are circumscribed by traditional religion. For example in Yemen women earn only 30 % of men's wages (Hausman, Tyson, & Zahidi, 2008).

It should be remembered that even in the advanced countries women are not paid equally for equivalent work. Some of the reasons may be women's additional role in home making that allows less time for outside work and less experience or opportunity customarily rewarded by larger salaries. On the other hand these gender discrepancies in pay are also likely the consequence of discrimination and a devaluation of women's work. Although women have progressed significantly in recent years, particularly in Northern Europe and North America, there are still very large gender gaps in the rest of the world. This is especially disheartening to report since where men are absent due to death or delinquency the woman may be the sole breadwinner for the family. Discrimination in pay results in children growing up under conditions of hardship and poverty.

15.4 Violence against women: A dirty page of history and contemporary society

Violence toward women takes many forms from husbands or lovers physically abusing women, to rape in intimate relationships or in war. As a result of norms that support male dominance women are often sexually exploited in prostitution, pornography and other forms of servitude. The struggle of feminists in the past century was to create laws and policies that support equality and equity in access to resources and power. Personal empowerment is not a free gift but the outcome of men and women working and struggling together across many decades.

15.4.1 Intimate violence: The ubiquitous nature of rape

Recent surveys show that 1 out every four females in the U.S. have been assaulted over the past year (CNN, December 15th, 2011). A study sponsored by the

World Health Organization found that between 15 % to 71 % percent of the women interviewed in ten countries said they had been sexually or physically abused over their lifetimes, and between 4% and 54 % claimed the abuse had occurred over the past year (Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise, & Watts, 2006). The rape figures are consistent with the cross-cultural abuse statistics with one out of every five women claiming she had been raped over the course of her life time (Parrot & Cummings, 2006). It is hard to believe that these rates of violence by men toward women could occur unless there are culturally supportive values that view such behavior as more permissible when directed toward women. Women who are especially at risk for rape are those living in cultures that emphasize male dominance and strict separation of the sexes along with a high degree of interpersonal violence (Sanday, 1981). Some argue that it is the higher status attributed to men in a given culture that provide the support for intimate violence.

Rape statistics show that rapes are not isolated instances of abuse, but assaults may indeed occur over long periods of time by men who are acquainted with the victims, and the victims are often blamed for the occurrence of the violence. Recent news tells about a young woman by name of Guinaz who was raped by a cousin in Afghanistan, and then given a 12 year prison sentence. She was placed in prison with the child produced by the assault for the crime of adultery. It was put to her that the only way she could leave prison was if she would marry her rapist (Zakaria, 2011). Such cultural norms are incomprehensible to people who grow up in the West, although the rape figures in the West also show terrible and frequent violence toward women.

Women are also often the victims of rape in war, and these assaults have been used historically in male to male violence to demoralize an enemy population. During the genocide in Rwanda about 25% of the women were raped, and in the wars in the former Yugoslavia tens of thousands of women were raped. When women are raped during war it is often used as a means of humiliating enemy soldiers and populations. During the Second World War probably millions of women were raped and exploited. When the enemy population is demonized in the discourse of hostility it provides the excuse and rationality for men to later take out the enmity on women who don't have the means to defend themselves.

One of the most disheartening forms of violence occurs in cultures where women are considered property to be controlled by men. In some societies the culture permits and encourages the murder of women who have somehow transgressed against cultural norms of propriety and thus brought "dishonor" to fathers or husbands. In some conservative male dominated societies such cultural transgressions may occur simply by the woman going out with men not approved by the male hierarchy, and in more extreme cases having intimate relations with or marrying a man not approved by the family. According to the United Nations Population Fund (2000) about 5000 women are murdered each year to uphold this idea of "family honor" in countries like Pakistan, Egypt, Turkey and Israel. The tragedy of these

killings are compounded by the intimate nature of the murders that are often a close relative like a brother, and the fact that they are often treated lightly by society with little sanction. Honor killings are the most extreme examples of intimate violence against women that grow out of cultural norms of male dominance and women as submissive.

15.4.2 Sexual exploitation

The sexual exploitation of women is another nefarious form of gender based violence. For example it is estimated that some 800000 women and girls are trafficked internationally every year for reasons of exploitation (U.S. Department of State, 2008). What facilitate these statistics are deeply grounded cultural norms that consider women as property of men to be used for their pleasure. The fact that women in many societies have few resources makes the practice of exploitation more probable and the women who are recruited often participate in the false hope of making a better life for themselves and their families or under duress and false pretenses. Pornography is now ubiquitous in the world and in many cases women are subjected to humiliation and direct violence by participating in graphic sexuality. That pornography plays a strong role in shaping unhealthy images of women cannot be overlooked. The role of pornography can also desensitize men to violence toward women as participants falsely claim that women enjoy dominance and humiliation.

15.4.3 Gender justice and the empowerment of women

Sexual violence has severe health consequences for women who experience emotional stress and the need to be constantly on guard. Violence directly impacts the victims causing self-blame and low self-esteem (Matud, 2005). Where violence against women is common it is difficult for women to move about in a normal way and it limits their possibilities for career development and other types of social progress. The threat of violence itself is a powerful way to control women who seek the protection of family and therefore restriction within the home. Gender based violence is not an individual or intimate matter as it grows out of cultural norms that seek the control of women and correction therefore require public policy in order to end these abuses. An important step forward was the passing of legislation in the U.S. called Title IX that prohibited gender based discrimination in any programs funded by the federal government. This legislation opened up many possibilities for girls and women in academics and in athletics that now operate with criteria of equal funding for both genders.

Although women are stereotyped as less powerful and dominant some aspects of this attitudinal domain are changing. Some of these changes in the American visual media take on the sentiments of the semi-comical as producers try to affect women's cultural images by have them perform as physically powerful police officers in television roles subjecting men to female dominance. However, beyond such blatant invasion of male roles women can achieve other sources of power that are more

meaningful. When women achieve and use public power the negative impact that characterize women as unfeminine power seekers (often shared by both men and women) can be defused when women emphasize the communal aspects of their leadership and that such is motivated by more altruistic concerns (Parks-Stamm, Heilman, & Hearn, 2008).

Although only a handful of governments are headed by women in the world some regions are more culturally prepared to accept women's leadership. Again in Scandinavia women in business and government are near equity in occupying leadership positions. On the other hand in countries like Saudi Arabia or Yemen women have practically no say in public affairs in the community. It would appear that these latter cultures are dominated by male hierarchies and gender inequality is supported by strong cultural norms. Women must have political and cultural support to function in public leadership positions. In developing countries in Africa objections to female leadership have been overcome when women call themselves "mothers of their country" appealing to the broad cross-gender acceptance of their fundamental role in life (Anuradha, 2008).

A great deal of attention has been devoted recently to the concept of empowerment of women. In the most fundamental sense empowerment refer to women's abilities to live their own lives, by choosing self-relevant goals and making all important decisions related to their lives. Women have sought empowerment through feminist activism over the past century. Initially in the United States and Europe this led women to seek the vote and struggle for universal suffrage. The struggle for equity in academics was largely won with the passage of Title IX. As a consequence a large number of women have entered and achieved in fields that were formerly considered men's domain including science and law. In recent years the struggle is still to achieve pay equity for equal or equivalent work. That struggle has not achieved complete success although here again the gender disparity is caused by cultural values that support inequality. In the final analysis gender equity depend in a large measure on law and policies that ban discrimination with penalties for violations.

15.5 Gender differences and the role of culture

Research on gender differences as influenced by culture has produced many interesting studies in several fields. An early area of research was based on the common gender stereotypes in the U.S. that males are superior on spatial abilities and numerical tasks. Associated with that stereotype is also the further contention that females are superior in verbal abilities as evidenced by verbal fluency, memory, and perceptual speed. Such differences could easily have developed from the pressures to survive produced in the evolutionary division of labor. Another area of research on gender differences is in the domain of social conformity. That too is based on a gender stereotypes that expresses the belief that females are more anxious and therefore more likely to conform. Finally, the third area of research reports the results

of gender differences in aggression. Here the common stereotype is that women are more empathetic and compassionate and therefore less willing to aggress.

Beliefs about gender differences have consequences for girls' sense of self-efficacy. For example female undergraduates in psychology typically estimate their IQ's to be lower than their male counterparts. Likewise females view their intelligence as similar to their mothers who are also estimated to have lower IQ's compared to their fathers (Beloff, 1992). Research with science teachers showed some bias against females including beliefs that girls are not as competent on technical abilities compared to boys (Spear, 1985). However, these views are largely being discarded as more and more girls enter scientific endeavors, and in some cases show higher achievement scores than boys.

Behavioral outcomes are linked to gender. For example the bystander effect varies by gender where women are more likely to be recipient of assistance if the bystander is a male. On the other hand women are not more likely to help other women compared to men when they are bystanders to situations of need. Thus behavioral difference may well be linked to the socialization of males as protectors of women, and perhaps hardwired to evolutionary imperatives (Richards & Lowe, 2003). An overall meta-analysis on helping behavior (Eagly & Crowley, 1986) indicates significantly more helping behavior among men. However, the experimental studies investigated in social psychology are typically narratives centered on brief interactions with strangers that produce chivalrous role related reactions by males. In routine everyday situations helping behavior is more central to role expectations of women. Given the ubiquitous role changes and introduction of women into leadership roles in society gender differences in leadership has been thoroughly examined (Eagly & Johnson, 1990). A major outcome was that in field studies of actual organizations only small gender differences were reported.

Depression also varies by gender as it is diagnosed twice as often in women as in men a difference that is consistent across cultures (Blazer, Kessler, McGonagle, & Schwartz, 1994). Although hormonal differences between the genders have been proposed the research is not clear cut. Perhaps depression is related to social factors including the social roles and demands made on women and observed differences may change as equality in social life is achieved (Blehar & Oren, 1997). Some research point to marital status, career pressure and size of family as major contributors to female depression (McGrath, Keita, Strickland, & Russo, 1992). A well-established behavioral difference is in sociopathic behavior. Men are three to six times more likely to be impulsive, self-centered and manipulative as compared to females (Paris, 2004).

A serious criticism of research on gender differences is that the literature ignores the similarities between the sexes. Social science in general constantly looks for and reports differences, and not the unreported research that would demonstrate the more significant results of human communalities. The published research reflects

a disproportionate outcome on gender differences, but does not report on the large number of studies where no differences are found (Unger, 1979). If samples are large enough it is almost certain that the researcher will observe differences, but typically even these outcomes infrequently account for more than five percent of the variance (Deaux, 1984). This caution is especially appropriate given the large gender role changes of the past decades.

15.5.1 Culture and Gender differences in spatial and other traits

Gender stereotypes have supported the idea that men are better at spatial and mathematical performance and women perform better at tasks associated with verbal comprehension. Early research in the U.S. supported these gender intellectual specialties as males performed better at experimental tasks that required a comprehension of spatial relationships (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). More recently evidence suggested that differences in spatial and mathematical abilities occur only in some subcategories. Meta-analyses have also found evidence for personality differences where nurturance is (not surprisingly) higher in women and dominance higher in men (Feingold, 1994). Another unsurprising result is the higher activity level recorded for boys (Eaton & Enns, 1986).

However, are these differences biologically hardwired as a result of evolution that required men and women to play different roles in hunting and childcare? Division of labor as an evolutionary imperative required that men develop an understanding of spatial relationships in the pursuit of prey and in the building of structures to house families? The etiology question can probably not be answered; nevertheless the role of cultural socialization cannot be overlooked as it plays a significant role. For example Berry (1966) found that females performed as well as males in Inuit (Eskimo) culture where spatial abilities were required of both genders in the pursuit of survival.

Whether females perform as well as males on spatial problems may therefore be a result of the type of cultural organization. For example some societies are loosely organized and promote independence in socialization whereas others like have “tight” organization that rewards interdependence. Male superiority appears to exist in tight, agricultural and relatively sedentary societies but not in more nomadic hunting or gathering cultures. Berry (1976) examined spatial abilities in 17 cultures and the results showed that whether males or females did better was culturally dependent. In summary, males do better on spatial tasks in relatively tight and sedentary cultures that are based on agriculture, whereas females are equal or better in relatively loose and nomadic cultures where they play a role in hunting or gathering that require spatial skills. In a meta-analysis (Born, Bleichrodt, & Van Der Flier, 1987) the researchers noted that while there are no reliable sex differences in overall intelligence, there are persistent differences on some subtests including verbal ability where females perform better and mathematical tests where males perform better.

However, the fact that these abilities vary by culture suggest that these aptitudes are not hardwired, but related to the function that the genders perform in a given culture.

15.5.2 Current research on gender differences in mathematical abilities

An analysis of six major national surveys on female and male performance on intelligence tests showed that seven times as many boys scored in the top 5 % on science tests and twice as many on math tests compared to girls (Hedges & Nowell, 1995). At the same time boys were inferior to girls on reading comprehension, perceptual speed and memory. Since there were very little fluctuations in these gender differences it was believed that they were caused by biological hardwiring produced by how male and female brains evolved over time. However, in recent decades social changes in the U.S. had largely achieved equality in education and resources between males and females, yet these social changes had not produced any changes in gender math scores. Of course these research results that support male superiority in math abilities do not address the subtle yet powerful expectations of stereotypes and sex discrimination. In the end girls and boys might both behave in ways that are consistent with expectations, and in the case of math and science these expectations may have little or no relationship to biology.

Recent research reported by Begley (2012) adds some further light on the nature versus nurture origin of gender differences in mathematical abilities. Recent attempts to explain gender differences suggest that women on the average are as competent as men, but there is a greater variability or spread in the boys and men's mathematical score. In other words while a large proportion of men score low on mathematics tests an equal number score very high thus explaining the gender difference that favor men in top science and engineering positions. The variability hypothesis would argue that there is something about how the male brain develops that explains the mathematical gender difference. A recent study on math performance in 52 cultures however, that test the variability hypothesis of math scores in boys and girls found little support. For example in elite mathematical competitions they found that the scores of males and females vary widely by culture. In some countries the variability scores are roughly equal, and in other societies the male scores vary widely, and in some cultures female scores vary more widely. Since scores of the genders vary by culture with no consistent pattern across cultures it seems clear the lower achievements of females in some societies cannot be explained as a biological mechanism. To draw that conclusion would require us to argue that biology varies by culture.

It seems more reasonable to conclude that cultural factors are responsible for any gender gap. Some clues are delivered by the correlation of the Global Gender Gap (measuring gender inequality) index with the ratio of boys versus girls scoring in the top 5% on an international math competition. The results showed that the larger the gender inequality the larger the gap favoring boys. Also results showed that the ratio of boys versus girls scoring high on college entrance quantitative exams is narrowing

in the U.S. and fell from 13 to 1 in the 1970's to 3 to 1 in the 1990's. What is at work in narrowing the gender difference is the greater equality of females in American education (with enforceable mandates to ensure equality) that is the historical contribution of the feminist movement. While not completely definitive these results strongly suggest that any difference in mathematical abilities are directly a function of the equality of resources of females compared to males in any given society.

15.5.3 Gender and conformity

The stereotype of greater female conformity was supported in a number of studies in the U.S. (Eagly & Carli, 1981). However, the overall difference was small and seemed related to situations that produced direct group pressure to which females yielded more. Since direct pressure is precisely what is meant by conformity the gender difference is not trivial (Becker, 1986; Eagly, 1987). In traditional society men were viewed as head of households making the major decisions affecting the family. In that society females played little or no role in decision making, but in the division of labor looked after children and the welfare of the household. However, these divisions of labor are in a flux given the growing emphasis on gender equality. Part of the conformity difference appears to be related to whether the issue is related to gender expertise. The males conform more on issues considered female like child rearing and women yield more on traditional male issues like science or politics (Sistrunk & McDavid, 1971).

Research that tends to support gender differences in conformity is trivial unless it involves behavior in public. When the responses required by the experiment are made in the public eye women tend to be more conformist (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Carli, 2007). Feminine socialization encourages females to be cooperative and congenial which may explain the difference, although in any event gender conformity differences are not large. As is well-known researcher bias may influence outcomes. In a meta-analysis Eagly and Carli (1981) demonstrated that the male gender of the researcher was related to findings of conformity in women. However, that can work both ways, so that lower incidence of conformity in women in some studies may be the preferred findings of women researchers. It is of course essential that conformity tests have the same meanings for both genders to come to any overall conclusions (Jacklin, 1983).

Berry (1976; 1979) using the same samples employed to investigate spatial differences discussed above also found culturally dependent differences in gender on conformity. Again females were found more conformist in cultures considered tight and less conformist in so-called looser samples. Cultures that were described as tighter (as defined above) fostered greater conformity in females since they also required greater conformity to traditional gender roles by both males and females. Therefore it is clear that the greater conformity of females is not a hardwired psychological characteristic, but rather a product of cultural organization. The role of child rearing and gender socialization are important in understanding gender

differences as well as understanding why women occupy lower ranks in the social stratification of society. However, since all cultures are in flux gender-related conformity is an area of research that may well yield new outcomes and a reduction of gender differences.

15.5.4 Gender and aggression

A common stereotype suggest that males are more aggressive, an understanding that is broadly shared in the world and by history. In fact this stereotype is present in all cultures investigated and probably for good reason (Brislin, 1993). Research supports gender differences as the vast amount of aggressive acts are committed by adolescent males (Segall, Ember, & Ember, 1997). In the case of aggression there are no culturally specific differences based on types of culture (tight or loose), and both industrialized and non-industrialized countries demonstrate the same pattern with males more aggressive (Goldstein, 1983; Bacon, Child & Barry, 1983).

Various reasons are provided for the differences in aggression between genders. Male adolescents experience a rise in testosterone levels that may explain the dominance behavior typically linked to male adolescence, and also anti-social behavior among male delinquents (Dabbs & Morris, 1990; Mazur, 1985). However, despite this apparent hardwired aggressive tendency culture also plays an important role. Some cultures encourage aggression and provide social learning models in the media for the expression of aggressive tendencies. For example in the U.S. a considerable amount of time is devoted to violent crimes on television and that type of social modeling can desensitize viewers to more readily accept violence in human interaction.

Gender differences emerged partially from different socialization experiences. For example Barry, Josephson, Lauer, & Marshall (1977) found a gender difference in the teaching of aggression in hundreds of cultures, but noted that this produced higher aggression in males in only a few very violent cultures. These results would suggest the importance of other factors in addition to hormones and the direct teaching of aggressive behavior. Some have suggested that aggression is a form of gender marking or assertion as the child begins the journey toward adulthood. In fact both genders can and do commit aggressive acts toward their partners in developed or Westernized nations (Archer, 2006). However, the magnitude of the gender differences in aggression depends on the nature of the culture. Where cultures are more individualistic and empower women there is less female victimization. The division of labor between the genders has created different expectations of what is considered appropriate gender related behavior, and solving problems through violence became an accepted pattern for males in many parts of the world. We can conclude by saying that since considerable differences exist between cultures in aggression such behavior is best understood as the outcome of the interaction of

biological and cultural factors combined with individual psychological predispositions.

15.6 Sexual behavior and culture

Culture determines to a large extent attitudes toward women who participate in premarital sex. Traditional and conservative cultures still view chastity as having a great value for women. This value has caused real conflict between conservative Muslim societies and the more globalized societies in Europe and the United States. The gate keepers of Muslim culture seek to prevent what they see as corruption of modern society and Western cultural influences brought through movies, television and books. Typically attitudes toward sexuality in traditional societies are connected to concepts of family honor where the woman commits serious transgressions by having intimate relations with a man not approved by the family, or marrying a non-believer. As noted in some cases this perverted sense of honor has produced honor killings, the ultimate form of male control over female family members.

Male control in conservative cultures is also exerted in other sexually related behaviors especially in the case of female genital mutilations. When a child reaches puberty many societies in Africa, Middle East, Asia and other cultures practice mutilation or removal of external female organs. Often these “surgeries” are performed under very painful and unsanitary conditions. The objective is obvious, by removing genital organs society expects that women will not enjoy or participate in sex except for child bearing reasons. Sexual mutilations along with enforcement of the veil are means used to keep female sexuality under male control. Yet because the practice is connected to “family honor” in some societies failing to perform the mutilation can affect the girl’s chance for making a good marriage. Even among Egyptian student nurses some 60% favored genital mutilation of their own daughters (Whitehorn, Ayonrinde, & Maingay, 2002; Dandash, Refaat, & Eyada, 2001). For people raised in more egalitarian cultures that practice seem not only belonging to a dark past, but barbaric in the suppression of natural sexual behavior of females.

It is difficult even under egalitarian conditions to obtain true estimates of gender differences in sexual behavior. Even though society has changed significantly in the Western world sexual permissiveness for females is not as acceptable as for males. That fact causes females to be less than truthful on surveys that seek information about premarital or extra marital sexual behavior. For example men typically report engaging in sexual behavior at an earlier time and more frequently and more promiscuously compared to females. Research shows that the differences between the genders may not be as large as those reported, because females do not always give truthful answers since the behavior in question may be considered embarrassing or shameful. In one study about sexual behavior the experimenters told the participants that a lie detector test would detect untruthfulness in their responses to a survey on sexuality. The responses of the women in this study closely paralleled that

of the men in the lie detector condition, whereas under other conditions there were large male-female differences in reported sexuality (Alexander & Fisher, 2003).

15.6.1 Mate selection

While we often focus on differences between cultures there are also many similarities in how men and women respond and behave cross-culturally. Attractiveness in women is associated with kindness, understanding, emotional health and intelligence in a variety of cultures. Women tend to get more distressed when their male partners kiss another woman a similar reaction that occurs across all cultures. The reason for the distress is the same for women everywhere because kissing represents a higher level of emotional commitment in women than in men. Flirtation also appears to be ubiquitous in all cultures as a preliminary step in courtship and mate selection (Aune & Aune, 1994). A study of 33 countries showed similarities in the preference for characteristics of potential mates. For example, universally men prefer physical attractiveness (that signal fertility) and females prefer financial stability and achievements (that protect any offspring), (Buss, 1994). However, there are also cross-cultural differences to note. For example in some cultures same and cross-sex touching are entirely normal, whereas in other cultures they are taboo. Two Arab men walking hand in hand in their countries simply manifest a common tie or friendship, but in the U.S. such behavior would likely be considered homosexual.

Differences in sexual behavior are thought to originate in adaptive pressures from our common evolution. From this perspective sexual behavior produced different strategies for men and women unconsciously motivated by the need to pass genetic material to the next generation. Men seek out a variety of young fertile partners whose youth and health support the impression of successful reproduction. On the other hand women are interested in the survival of their offspring and therefore are more interested in stable and monogamous relationships with men who can support their children. This pattern of fidelity differences appears universally, but there are also gender differences in jealousy that appear to be ubiquitous in all societies. Sexual infidelity occurs when a person has multiple partners, whereas emotional infidelity occurs when the partner establishes strong emotional bonds with another person. Both types of infidelity bring about jealousy in both men and women, but the gender difference is pronounced in the greater jealousy produced by the woman's sexual infidelity in men, and the greater jealousy in women produced by emotional infidelity by men (Fernandez, Sierra, Zubeidat, & Vera-Villaruel, 2006). The logical explanation is evolutionary since sexual infidelity in women threatens a man's ability for reproductive success and carries the possibility of using resources to support another man's offspring. Emotional infidelity in men threatens a woman's ability to secure the well-being of her children, and for the man not to be present to lend economic support.

Norms for sexual behavior varies across the world especially with regard to premarital sexual behavior and homosexuality (Widmer, Treas, & Newcomb, 1998). In many non-western cultures chastity is valued very highly, whereas in western European countries and North America premarital sexual behavior produces little or no negative evaluations. Cultural variables reflecting stress and economic insecurity affect sexual behavior within marriages. Research shows that economic frustrations and having few economic resources are related to insecurity in romantic relationships and counter intuitively to higher birth rates. Typically, when countries become more secure economically fertility rates drop (Schmitt, Alcalay, Allensworth, Allik, Ault, & Austers, 2004).

The affluence of a society also affects the relative acceptability of homosexuality. A large scale study carried out in 24 countries examined attitudes toward homosexuality, extramarital sex, premarital and teen sexual behavior. Results indicated that premarital sex is broadly accepted today, however the samples showed less acceptance of extramarital and teen sex (Widmer, Treas, & Newcomb, 1998). Homosexuality was found to be more acceptable in industrialized and affluent cultures (Inglehart, 1997). Some sexual norms are universal however, including the common taboo on incest (although the definition of incest may vary widely), and adultery that is universally condemned. Finally, we can state with some certainty that sexual norms are changing in response to the pressures of globalization, and as the world becomes more homogeneous so will sexual behavior and norms.

15.6.2 Attractiveness and culture

Research documents cultural differences in what is considered to be attractive in a potential mate (e.g. Wheeler & Kim, 1997). The saying “beauty is in the eye of the beholder” holds some validity as culture affects some aspects of physical attractiveness. However, there is a growing body of literature that also supports the universality of physical attractiveness. When groups of cross-cultural judges were asked to evaluate the faces of European Americans, Asian, and Hispanic stimuli persons the results showed very high correlations between the judges in ratings of attractiveness. Attractiveness ratings were based on similar facial characteristics that evaluated the eyes, nose, and smiles. A meta-analysis examined the results of 1800 articles supporting cross-cultural similarity in physical attractiveness ratings both within and across cultures supporting universal standards for beauty and attractiveness (Langlois, Kalakanis, Rubenstein, Larson, Hallam, & Smoot, 2000). The result may however be partially a response to the ubiquitous modeling of women displayed in Western movies that are viewed around the world, and the increased convergence of norms for a variety of behaviors and perceptions including the evaluation of physical attractiveness.

The universal norms of attractiveness appear to be related to evolutionary gender differences in the preferences of mates. For example Buss (1994) in his comparative study of attractiveness in 37 cultures found support for interesting

differences in gender preferences for mates. As noted earlier in nearly all cultures females appreciated the financial factors as more important than males in mate selection, and consistent with these preferences evaluated more highly the industriousness and ambition in prospective partners. On the other hand for males the physical attractiveness of potential mates was seen a more important than for females. Since the comparative gender agreement across cultures was so high Buss suggested the universal basis was related to different evolutionary pressures for survival and reproduction experienced by males and females. On the other hand social constructivists researchers emphasizing the affects of culture found that despite the noted gender differences there are also gender similarities in mate preference. For example both genders appreciate honesty, kindness and a sense of humor in prospective mates (Goodwin, 1990). The emphasis on culture also explain the aforementioned cultural differences in perception of attractiveness, although the evolutionary pressures in the final analysis are probably more dominant leading men to appreciate female beauty that signal fertility, and women to look for the financial security that ensures the future of their children.

15.6.3 The future of love and marriage

In all cultures men and women have developed love relationships that typically include marriage, except in the industrialized countries over the past several decades. It is now common for partners to live together without marriage in Europe and the United States as the formal endorsement of society seem less important and sexual satisfaction is offered without commitment. These attitudes have created problematic situations in the development of single parent families many of which struggle economically in the absence of a father (and in fewer cases) an absent mother figure. Finding a mate has been historically important since it helps create a support system that helps the partners in the struggle of life.

However, attitudes toward love also vary by culture. Although love is universal it is valued differentially by culture and is complex in its many forms (Hatfield & Rapson, 1996). Actual commitment to love relationships also varies by country. In one study the French and American participants rated more highly love commitment compared to Japanese respondents. A key factor seems to be whether society is organized individually and around the nuclear family, or is composed of extended kinship networks. Love is valued highly in individualistic cultures where there are few extended family ties, perhaps because in these situations the individual really has to rely on the relationship and mate for economic security (Simmons, Vom Kolke, & Shimizu, 1986). However, since women have found economic independence in many societies the mutual support function of marriage may have less relevance to today's relationships.

Nevertheless most people in the world still get married suggesting that there is a universal desire to make such a commitment. Almost 90% of people in the world are in relationships that we would describe as married with supportive mutual

interdependence (Schmitt, Alcalay, Allensworth, Allik, Ault, & Austers, 2004). However, there are cultural variations on the role of love in marriage. In some cultures there is pressure to have a woman marry before a certain age to be followed by having babies and building a family. In the U.S. that pressure has decreased in recent decades and women and men have delayed marriage or have opted to have children without marriage. The lack of commitment typified in these modern relationships is in stark contrast with the strict norms of Muslim countries or those societies that rely on tradition as a source of normative compliance. In some societies romantic attachment is the only reason to progress toward marriage, whereas in other cultures marriage is seen as a strategic alliance between families where love is secondary to fulfilling expectations of the extended family. Individualistic culture considers love an essential precondition for marriage. If love disappears that condition alone is seen as sufficient for divorce (Levine, Saro, Hashimoto, & Verma, 1995). In the traditional cultures arranged marriages are the norm and a practice that goes back thousands of years. In the case of arranged marriage it is really two extended families that are getting married rather than a singular union of two people. Nevertheless a part of modernization and globalization is the refusal of potential mates to marry in many traditional societies unless the commitment is based on self-selection and romantic love (Arnett, 2001).

Due to globalization the possibility of partners falling in love and marrying from different cultures has increased markedly. These relationships face many potential conflicts since the partners may have very different views on marriage and varying attitudes towards the role of love. All marriages require adjustments since even partners from the same cultural backgrounds may have different expectations. However, when in addition to these more normal conflicts cultural difference and values must be taken into account the marriage may contend with many additional issues. For example the expression of love is not universally the same in all cultures. Also the specific characteristics of the marriage commitment may vary by society, and how to raise children may also bring conflict (Cortrell, 1990). Especially difficult is the balance that must be achieved if one partner is raised with traditional expectations, and the other comes from an egalitarian culture. The traditional partner could view marriage as an extension of kinship groups, whereas the egalitarian partner may be quiet content with his/her nuclear family. Obviously for a successful intercultural marriage to work the partner must be willing to compromise and use creative approaches that allow for the integration of the family unit. For example if different holidays are celebrated a creative solution is to respect all holidays from the two cultures. Ultimately whether “love conquers all” depend on the willingness to find compromises, and the commitment of the relationship. Negotiations about potential conflicts should of course be discussed long before marriage with the optimistic hope that there is a solution for all problems.

15.7 Summary

The past decades have produced many changes in gender relationships derived partly from the feminist activism and laws mandating gender equality in the West. These changes have had positive consequences for girls and women as they have provided more equal opportunities and better treatment in the workplace. Still sex roles remain ubiquitous in the world defining the distinct and common activities of the two genders. Gender roles reflect biological differences that emerged from the separate reproductive functions of males and females based on our physiological inheritance. A division of labor between the genders developed due to evolutionary pressure to survive. Today that division is less rigid since many women are now in the workforce, and labor does not just require physical strength. In fact men can also perform many of the household duties in two-earner families.

Sex roles are supported by gender stereotypes and largely explain differences between the sexes in emotional expression. Men typically express anger more easily, whereas women seeking harmony express more sadness or fear. The large gender differences in emotional expression are accepted by both genders as valid reflections of underlying variations in male and female psychology everywhere in the world. However, the sharpness of the distinction in sex roles depends on cultural values. Cultures that are conservative, hierarchical, with lower socio-economic development, and where women's education is not valued produce stronger demarcation between genders.

Women continue to bear the disproportionately larger burden in maintaining family life. In countries where both genders work women still do nearly all the housework. This unfairness is the result of the influence of sex roles and social expectations. Also contributing to the unfairness is the value that women place on motherhood as the main source of identity and therefore childcare and domestic responsibilities. Men are still looked to for financial support. The double burden makes it difficult for women to play significant roles in the economic sector and therefore provide them with less opportunity for advancement and equity in remuneration.

Sex role identity refers to the commonly accepted values or beliefs about how men and women should behave. A basic conflict in many parts of the world is between the traditional perspective and egalitarianism that favor equal treatment of the genders. Girls are more in favor of egalitarian sex roles because of the negative consequences of traditional sex role ideology. Globalization is having an impact on how sex roles are viewed particularly in traditional societies. However, research on the Larsen-Long sex ideology scale show that the conflict between tradition and egalitarianism is far from over even in advanced Western cultures.

Gender stereotyping is related to discrimination toward women. The stereotypes provided in the media often serve as unhealthy models causing women to

be obsessed with their bodies and the state of their attractiveness. Women compare themselves upward toward a high standard of thinness and beauty that causes permanent dissatisfaction. In particular preoccupation with thinness is responsible for the large increase in eating disorders we now find among young women including anorexia and bulimia. There is a strong need for society to correct this problem emerging from the modeling in the visual and printed media by including women of all types as role models in magazines, movies and on television.

Another serious form of discrimination is inequities in pay as women are only paid a fraction of men's remuneration for equal or equivalent work. However, here again the values of egalitarianism affect outcomes as women from Northern Europe, particularly Scandinavia (and the U.S.), are approaching equity in pay and opportunities.

Violence against women is a dirty page of both history and contemporary society. The victimization of females occurs with regrettable frequency in a variety of cultures. Rape as an extreme form of violence is ubiquitous in the world and is also used as a sadistic weapon in wartime. Women are especially at risk for intimate violence in societies that emphasizes male dominance and enforces the strict separation of the sexes. The most extreme form of violence against women are honor killings in traditional societies, a form of male control of women who are seen as transgressing propriety in relations with men not approved by the family. Sexual exploitation is ubiquitous in the world using hundreds of thousands of girls and women each year. The trafficking of women to serve the sexual pleasure of men is supported by cultural norms that define women as property. Another chapter in the sexual exploitation of women is pornography that humiliates women and is also ubiquitous in nearly all societies.

The struggles of feminists against all forms of gender injustice and for positive programs to empower women have produced better conditions for girls and women in recent years. Changes in law and in the workplace that mandate equal opportunities and treatment have improved the conditions for women the past several decades in the Western world. Political power is seen as unfeminine by many people and is achieved by relative few women. Women can however achieve success as leaders by emphasizing the communal and altruistic motivations of their leadership.

Research has over the years focused on various intellectual abilities of the two genders. The general stereotype about males supports the idea of their superiority in spatial and mathematical tasks. At the same time women are seen as superior in verbal fluency and comprehension. Some researchers believe these differences to be hardwired outcomes of how male and female brains develop. However, current research suggests that cultural expectations play a large role and relative superiority in any area of accomplishment depend on the type of culture. Evidence for equal hardwiring abilities can also be observed in the ratio of male superior test outcomes in

mathematics to female results that have significantly decreased in the past few years as girls have had more educational opportunities.

Research has also examined gender differences across salient social behaviors. Social stereotypes supported by many early studies found that females were more conformist. However, with gender relations in a flux in many cultures and with a less rigid division of labor in society overall conformity differences appear to be small today. Males are more likely to conform in female areas of expertise, for example how to handle childrearing, and females more likely to yield in what is considered male areas of superiority. The main factor in cultural conformity appears again to be the traditional cultural organization. Males consistently more aggressive in all societies investigated. Reasons for the higher aggression levels point to hormonal differences particularly in testosterone that are hardwired biologically. The ever present violence in the media also has a relationship to violence, particularly for the social learning provided by male modeling of violence. In some societies aggressive behavior is also viewed as a form of gender marking and assertion. Women are less likely to be victims of aggression in individualistic cultures that empower girls and women. However, in many cultures violence is an accepted behavior used by males in solving problems.

An understanding of sexual behavior is basic to tranquility not only within society, but also between cultures. Real differences exist within and between societies about the value of chastity, particularly for girls and women. These different sexual values are at the root of conflict between Muslim and more globalized cultures. In traditional societies sexual behavior is connected to the concepts of family honor which in the extreme case justify so-called honor killings by male relatives. Genital mutilation is another means of male control over female sexuality. To a Western observer that practice appears to be a particular brutal suppression of natural female sexuality and enforcement of male control. Actual gender differences in sexual behavior are difficult to determine as females do not always give truthful answer for reasons of embarrassment or shame.

Males and females are confronted in all societies with the issue of mate selection. Research support the differential criteria used by the genders in finding an acceptably mate and these gender differences appear to be cross-culturally consistent. Selective adaptation and motivation to achieve successful reproduction put different pressures on males and females. Women were interested in the welfare of offspring and therefore look for stable and financial promising partners, whereas males are more likely to seek a variety of fertile and attractive women. Of course the male reproductive strategy through promiscuity is circumvented by society that emphasizes monogamy or creates other forms of social pressures. The varying reproductive strategies also produce different types of jealousies in men and women. Women tend to be more threatened by emotional infidelity and men more by sexual infidelity.

Attraction is the stimuli by which the two genders make initial approaches to one another. Although there is some evidence for marginal differences in the criteria of attractiveness in women, the stronger result is the universality of physical attractiveness. The model for female beauty is converging along with the increasingly globalized world. The many changes in gender relationships in recent decades make the future of love and marriage uncertain. In all cultures men and women live together and the large majority has a desire for marriage. Recent decades have however produced many changes in gender relationships in the Western world. Many partners now live together without marriage and sexual satisfaction is not dependent on social sanction. This libertine atmosphere that co-evolved with the ability of women to control reproduction has a dark side. A very large proportion of children are now born to mothers without the assurance of fathers taking responsibility. Still the majority of people eventually marry although what constitute marriage is culturally dependent. Intercultural marriages produce special challenges because of different cultural expectations of marriage itself and childrearing. For such relationships to be successful would require patience and careful planning in order to cope with the different expectations.

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Section 3: Organizational behavior

This final section of the book provides some salient chapters related to the contemporary workplace. Krumov, Larsen and Hristova discuss in Chapter 16 factors important to organizational management and effectiveness. In particular the relationship between professional stress and leadership styles is evaluated. Overall results support the preference by the respondents for transformational leadership that is seen as a source of inspiration and as satisfying the search for meaning in work. Leadership style also affects the strategies for coping with professional stress and the authors outline five models of coping strategies.

In chapter 17 Radovic-Markovic, Markovic and Spasic provide an important discussion on the increased use of technology and the establishment of virtual organizations. Communication is important in any setting, but is particularly significant to virtual firms. Although technology is central in virtual firms, it is not possible to ignore the human factor. For optimal success a virtual organization needs to balance the ubiquitous use of technology with face-to-face interactions. Virtual firms have many advantages and with the continuous development of new technologies such enterprises must continually adapt and modify and encourage employee awareness of upcoming relevant changes.

In chapter 18 by Atanassova the discussion focuses on the relevance of education to the integration of marginalized groups. Education and skill development is central to successful employment, yet certain parts of the workforce show little participation in learning activities so critical in a changing world of technology and social changes. The author proposes policies in light of the research that emphasizes the importance of knowledge and skills as prerequisites for successful employment.

Pay satisfaction as related to motivation and job-related attitudes is discussed in chapter 19 by Ivanova. In particular Ivanova found in her results a lack of transparency and objectivity in existing pay systems. Procedural justice in the workplace depends on transparency and is directly related to employee morale. The final chapter in section 3 and the book is authored by Tutu on the topic of professional matching based on job competencies and individual values. In particular the study examined the predictive power of job competency matching indices and extra-role (citizenship) performance and the role of personal values. Results demonstrated different value profiles for poor and superior performers.

Chapter 16

ORGANIZATIONAL MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

Krum Krumov, Knud S. Larsen & Plama Hristova

16.1 Organizational effectiveness

Research in the organizational sciences represents a rich kaleidoscope of varying topics but the central concern remains organizational effectiveness. From a historical perspective the organization was viewed during the first decades of 20th century as a rational unit and effectiveness was defined by the successful attainment of organizational goals. This mechanistic approach was later criticized in part by the results of the Hawthorne studies that suggested that organizational effectiveness should take into account the needs and interests of the individual employee as well as the organization (Mayo, 1949).

The concept of bureaucratic structures was advocated by Max Weber (Weber, 1947; Weiss, 1983) during the early years of the discipline. However, the idea that organizational effectiveness is a consequence of the perfection of organizational structure was opposed by many authors, including Simon, Pfeffer, and March (Simon, 1979, 1984; March, 1991, 1993; Pfeffer, 1981, 1994, 1997). These authors argued that an organization is not a rational unit that functions exclusively by bureaucratic means since managerial decisions depend on the often conflicting needs and interests of various subgroups. Rather, the organization can be considered a political arena where groups with conflicting interests contest for dominance. Organizational effectiveness is therefore dependent on which of the conflicting political coalitions makes the decisions or has an opportunity to influence the outcome.

In the 1970s what constituted effective organizations became more complex with 30 different criteria identified including productivity, professional satisfaction, quality, cohesion, control, planning, informational sufficiency, training and qualification. Thomas Peters and Robert Waterman (Peters and Waterman, 1982) studied more than 40 leading companies and found eight general characteristics or basic principles of management as criteria for organizational effectiveness:

1. A bias for active decision making moving efficiently in 'getting on with it'. Management facilitates quick decision making and problem solving while avoiding bureaucratic control.

2. Staying close to the customer by learning to improve from the people served by the business.
3. Autonomy and entrepreneurship by fostering innovation in employees and nurturing 'champions'.
4. Productivity through people by treating rank and file employees as a source of product quality.
5. Hands-on and value-driven as a management philosophy that guides everyday practice where management shows its organizational commitment.
6. Stay with the business that you know (“Stick to the knitting”) and have mastered.
7. Simple and lean staff structure since some of the best companies have minimal HQ staff.
8. Simultaneous loose-tight properties defined by autonomy on shop-floor plus centralized management values.

These eight principles are probably most useful in large international corporations but cannot be universally applied. Since organizations that may vary in significant ways including the goals of the business, in business activity, structure, organizational strategy, and in size and staff requirements it is not possible to apply one set of effectiveness criteria to all. Other researchers have argued that organizational effectiveness can be measured by the four basic criteria of goal accomplishment, resource acquisition, effective internal processes and satisfaction of strategic constituencies (Cameron, 1980; Kreitner and Kinicki, 1989). The ideas discussed here demonstrate different viewpoints about effective organizational functioning and that organizational effectiveness is a complex phenomenon that depends on the combined and interacting influences of many factors.

Contributing to organizational effectiveness are the personalities of leaders and members, the organizational strategy and structure, and the goals and means. Further, organizational effectiveness is a matter of balance, flexibility, harmony and consistency between two types of interactions: The internal organizational interactions (IOI) and the outside organizational interactions (OOI).

The internal organizational interactions (IOI) are mainly between the following dyads: the manager’s personality and the group member’s personality; between group goals and group means; and between organizational strategy and organizational structure. The outside organizational interactions (OOI) are between the organization as a whole and the elements of the environment, or to put it a different way between the organization as a unit and everything that is beyond its borders. From this perspective both types of interactions are salient to organizational effectiveness that in turn depends on the flexibility, harmony and consistency between

the *internal organizational interactions* (IOI) and the *outside organizational interactions* (OOI). Organizational effectiveness does not exist as an independent phenomenon, but rather it is a *relational product* and a derivative of the two types of internal and outside interactions. In brief, this dependence could be expressed as follows:

$$\text{IOI} \rightleftarrows \text{OOI} \Rightarrow \text{balance, flexibility, harmony, consistency} = \text{OE}$$

Organizational effectiveness is a “relational product or derivative” of actually existing personal, organizational and social phenomena and exists only in relation to three types of phenomena: the personal including motives, individual cognitions, and attitudes; the organizational including goals, organizational strategy, and organizational structure; and the elements of the environment which is everything beyond the borders of the organization. These are “primary” phenomena which are the antecedents of organizational effectiveness.

However, these three primary types of variables do not directly impact organizational effectiveness. The complex interaction between the variables produce a series of “secondary” personal, group and organizational phenomena including professional stress, leadership style, and organizational culture. It is these secondary organizational variables that in turn directly influence organizational effectiveness. In the following section we will briefly discuss these “secondary” phenomena that have a direct impact on organizational effectiveness including organizational culture, leadership style and professional stress.

Conclusions concerning organizational effectiveness:

First, that organizational effectiveness does not exist as an independent, separate phenomenon but its characteristics can only be determined by certain primary antecedents that include personal, organizational and environmental variables. The interaction between these antecedents produce “secondary” phenomena as found for example in organizational culture, professional stress, and leadership style.

Since the primary personal, organizational and social phenomena do not directly influence organizational effectiveness performance can be at a very low level even when optimal characteristics conducive to organizational effectiveness are present. That is because it is the secondary variables like organizational culture, leadership style and organizational stress that directly influence organizational effectiveness. It is when an organization has a supportive organizational culture, suitable leadership styles, and manageable professional stress that organizational effectiveness can be expected. Since organizational effectiveness derive from secondary variables the characteristics of persons, the structural characteristics of an

organization and the specific characteristics of the organizational environment have little predictive value for organizational effectiveness. However, when organizational culture, leadership style and professional stress are positive values one can predict effectiveness outcomes.

16.2 Organizational culture and effectiveness

Organizational culture is a result (1) of the interaction between the participants included in the organization (IOI), (2) of the interaction between these individuals and the structures of the organizations (IOI), and (3) of the interaction between the individual and the organizational structures and the variables beyond the borders of the organization (OOI). Therefore organizational culture is dialectically reflected in the characteristics of both the members of the organization and the organization itself, as well as the characteristics of the environmental context of the organization.

Daft (2001) identified several classical approaches used to understand organizational effectiveness including goal, resource based, and stakeholder approaches. In the internal process approach effectiveness is estimated from multiple internal processes within the organization (Daft, 2001). Among “internal processes” the greatest significance is attached to organizational/corporate culture. Many researchers underline the interdependence between organizational effectiveness and internal processes and more specifically the importance of organizational culture for the effectiveness of the organization (Barney, 1986; Wilkins, & Ouchi, 1983). Organizational culture is a “secondary” variable that influence organizational effectiveness directly. However, what are the attributes of organizational culture that contribute to organizational effectiveness?

Many attempts in the literature have sought to define organizational culture and identify the essential components (Daft, 2001; Hatch, 1993; Martin, 1992; Schein, 1990). However, because of the complexity of the interaction of organizational cultural variables there is no unified theory or a commonly accepted definition of organizational culture. Summarizing the viewpoints of different authors Luthans (2011) suggested the following specific components:

1. Observed behavioral regularities. For example, in everyday interactions, organizational members often use common language and rituals showing consideration and respect for co-workers and management.

2. Norms. These are commonly accepted standards and guidelines of employee behavior in the organization.

3. Dominant values. The organization promotes and expects from its members that certain major values will guide employee behavior including values of efficiency, product quality and low absenteeism.

4. Philosophy. Through specific policies the organization communicates how employees and customers should be treated.

5. Rules. These are strict guidelines for new employees helping them adapt their behavior in order to become fully integrated organizational members.

6. Organizational climate. This is the atmosphere created by the interactions of the organizational members and their communication with customers and outside people (Luthans, 2011).

Schein (1992) reduced organizational culture to the main conceptions about the organization shared by the employees about the organization and its major activities. Some of the main components have been identified by Luthans above. Further, each organization also emerges and develops in a broad sociocultural context. Organizational culture can therefore be defined as the vision of the employees about the organization viewed through the lens of the organizational phenomenon and embodied in the member's specific behavior and activity. Defined in this manner organizational culture corresponds to the proposition previously stated that it is a product of the ongoing internal (IOI) and external (OOI) interactions. This proposition is also supported by Schein when he argues that the two functions inherent to organizational culture are outside adaptation and internal integration (Schein, 1992).

The literature supports the relationship between organizational effectiveness and components of organizational culture. For example, Shekshnia shows that organizational culture is a major factor for organizational success (Shekshnia, 1998). Further, Hatton and his colleagues demonstrated a relationship between organizational culture and job satisfaction (Hatton, C., Rivers, M., Mason, H., Mason, L., Emerson, E., Kiernan, C., Reeves, D. & Alborz, A., 1999). Overall the research supports the importance of organizational culture for the survival and prosperity of the organization in times of economic crises (Luthans, 2011).

The components identified by Peters and Waterman and discussed in the first section are attributes of organizational culture. Further, the organizational values shared by the employees are also attributes of culture within organizations as suggested by the research of Hofstede (1980). Attributes of organizational culture can also be found in various models of human relations based on different approaches ranging from the humanistic theory to the utilization of cross-cultural research. In this regard, the two different views postulated in Theory X and Theory Y (McGregor, 1960) also contribute to our understanding of organizational cultures.

The attributes of organizational culture discussed above have contextual characteristics. Even universal cultural attributes are viewed through national mindsets and dialectically reflected within specific regional and organizational frameworks. In this respect *Theory Z* (Ouchi, 1981) proposed that the attributes of organizational culture should take into consideration the cultural context of the organization.

During the last two decades, we have observed an interest in the relationship between organizational culture and organizational effectiveness, and also an attempt

to understand the specific components that directly influence effectiveness (Denison and Mishra, 1995). More recently many international studies have investigated the relationship of organizational cultural components to effectiveness (Fey & Denison, 2003; Denison, Haaland & Goelzer, 2003; Denison, Lief & Ward, 2004; Mobley, Wang & Fang, 2005; Furnham & Gunter, 1993; Inkpen, 1996). Influential studies include the work-value studies by Hofstede (Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohayv, & Sanders, 1990), the research of Denison and Mishra (1995), Gupta and Govindarajan (2000), Park, Ribiere, and Schulte (2004), Wilderom, Berg, and Peter (2004), and Van Muijen, Koopman, De Cock, De Witte, Lemoine, Susanj, Papalexandris, Bourantas, Spaltro, Branyicski, Neves, Jesunio, Konrad, Pitariu, Gonzalez-Roma, Peiro and Turnipseed (1999). Despite the important contributions of these studies, there is no universal agreement about which dimensions of organizational culture directly influence organizational effectiveness.

The problem of understanding organizational effectiveness can be reduced the idea that it is the secondary variables that contribute directly to organizational effectiveness. In this chapter we will discuss research on two further secondary components that affect effectiveness in particular leadership and professional stress.

16.3 Effective leadership

Leadership is the ability to influence others and change relevant attitudes, feelings and behavior of followers. It is a process of interaction with followers that influences them to structure and motivate behavior toward important organizational goals and to develop a broader vision of the future. It is relevant to note that management is not the same as leadership, since managers may structure activities, but they do not necessarily motivate the organization or inspire its members. On the other hand the hallmarks of leadership are persistence in pursuit of valued goals, to never give up, and never give in to failure (Elliott, 2009).

A main criterion to ensure the ongoing prosperity of an organization is the development of effective leadership. The traditional understanding of the leader is a person gifted with special traits by which he/she differed from other people. However, this traditional view has largely been discarded (Yukl, 2002). Nevertheless recent research has pointed to important leader traits. Smith and Foti (1998) emphasized the importance of dominance, self-efficacy and emotional intelligence as critical to leadership functions. Others (David & Zaccaro, 2004) also emphasized the salience of emotional intelligence since the ability to lead depends on correct emotional readings of others. Recent meta-analyses (Judge, Bono, Illies, & Gerhardt, 2002) found that effective leaders scored high on emotional stability, openness to experience, and conscientiousness.

Fiedler's contingency leadership model (Fiedler, 1964; 1967; 1995; Fiedler, Chemers, and Mahar, 1976) argued that the qualities and traits of a leader means almost nothing independent of specific situational influences or the dynamics of

interpersonal relationships in the organization. The situational perspective emphasizes that it is the requirements of the situation that must be met by the leader. However, the situation is not the only factor as leaders must at times find a way to overcome extreme situational pressures. It is not an either or effect as in most cases leadership emerges out of the interaction of situational demands and individual attributes.

The Ohio State studies yielded a reliable distinction between two styles called “initiating structures” and “consideration”. Leaders who emphasize initiating structures tend to be task oriented and define clearly group objectives and then organize the group toward the attainments of specific goals. On the other hand leaders who are high on the consideration style feel a responsibility toward subordinates and are concerned about their well-being, and seek to promote harmonious relationships between group members. Although these leadership roles may be met by different persons in fact the same leader could be high on both initiating structure and consideration (Fleishman, 1973; Stogdill, 1974; Sorrentino & Field, 1986). In the end the effectiveness of leadership depends on the amount of control a particular situation gives to a leader, which in turn depends on the affective relationship between leader and followers, the extent to which the task to be performed is clear and well-structured, and the actual legitimate authority offered by the position occupied by the leader.

The attributes of leaders can explain some of the effectiveness of leaders, but not all. There are no leaders without followers, and research supports the idea of a dynamic two-way interaction (Hollander, 1985; Chemers, 2001). The leader-member exchange theory explains this interactive relationship. High quality exchange relationships are defined by situations where the subordinates receive valuable resources from leadership in exchange for loyalty and performance. Resources offered by leaders can be of a material nature, but psychological rewards in the form of expressions of confidence and trust are also valued by employees (Liden, Sparrowe, & Wayne, 1997). The resources provided create organizational benefits in terms of higher performance, job satisfaction, and organizational citizenship.

We suggest that effective leadership is found in the presence and dynamic interaction between three dimensions.

The first dimension refer to certain leadership qualities including charisma, cognitive abilities, managerial skills, motivating behavioral styles, communicative skills, the management of self-control and sufficient achievement motivation. Secondly, whether the leader knows in detail and succeeds in controlling or managing the constantly changing external and internal organizational environment. The third dimension is whether the leader manages a successful relationship with individual members as well as the entire organization. Leadership must be directed both toward adequately meeting the individual needs and interests of members and also provide capabilities to manage the group’s interests.

Effective leadership depends on the leadership style employed in interaction with followers.

Leadership style is defined in many different ways. Some authors define it in terms of behavioral models (Verderber & Verderber, 2004). Others relate it to certain needs and motives that determine a leader's behavior in different situations (Chapman, 1975). Some researchers argue that different leadership styles are created by specific combinations of attitudes, values and beliefs (Casimir, 2001; Johnson, & Klee, 2007).

In recent decades special attention has been paid to two types of leadership called transactional and transformational (Bass, 1985, 1990; Bass, Avolio, Jung, & Berson, 2003). These two styles reflect different philosophic visions and different interaction approaches of leaders toward the members of the organization. Each of these styles leave a specific imprint on organizational goals and values, on the ways of making managerial decisions, on group norms and on organizational culture as a whole.

Transactional leaders practice a form of contingent reinforcement making it clear to followers what is expected in terms of performance and also the rewards that follow from compliance. This leadership style is consistent with career goals since employees are shown how they can grow in the organization in the process of reaching organizational goals. In transactional leadership the leader concludes a specific agreement with his employees, he offers them his managerial resources and rewards, and in exchange requires loyalty, task performance and attainment of organizational goals. In other words, the transactional leader is not interested in the personal dimensions of his followers, but to what extent their behavior is oriented toward attainment of the organizational goals and satisfies his managerial ambitions (Donaldson and Dunfee, 1994; Bass, & Steidlmeier, 1999).

In recent decades the ideas of transformational leadership has evolved and become popular in organizational psychology (Bass, 1998; Bass & Avolio, 1994). Traits connected to transformational leadership include charisma, intellectual stimulation of followers, inspiring motivation and individual consideration. Transformational leaders are challenged by change and seek to lead organizations toward needed organizational modifications. In the transformational style, humane treatment of subordinates is considered important and the needs of employees and the organization are not viewed as mutually exclusive. The leader's function is not limited to rewarding or punishing subordinates, but rather transformational leaders seek to engage and inspire employees to the attainment of shared goals based on mutual trust. In this way, organizational development and attainment of the organizational goals is related to the career development of the individual employee and form the basis of moral imperatives in the organization that are based on justice, equality and consideration of other people's rights.

The transformational leader changes an organization by motivating and enlisting the commitment of followers (House & Aditya, 1997). In the process they provide visions of the future and show by example the courage to face change, support innovation and demonstrate their dedication to work. Leaders that are transformational also produce psychological changes in followers that include increased self-esteem and identification with the leaders' values. Transformational leaders encourage critical thinking, problem solving and creative processes (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999). (for further details see Bass, Waldman, Avolio, & Bebb, 1987; Bass, 1997; Bass., & Steidlmeier, 1999; Burns, 2003).

These two fundamental leadership approaches influence both individual behavior as well as outcomes for the organization. Stress is another factor affecting organizational effectiveness. Whether it is motivating or dysfunctional depend on leadership dynamics as discussed in the following section.

16.4 Stress in the organization

We live in a rapidly changing world where uncertainty dominates employment and social interaction. Moreover, we have gone through a period of unprecedented greed and speculation resulting in a dog-eat-dog competition where more powerful companies are constantly eating up smaller and weaker competitors. Downsizing and the loss of jobs is a typical outcome of the globalized world. More and more factories are relocating in the third world taking advantage of cheap and compliant labor. In the process investors and owners are destroying the institutions that union workers in the West have relied on in the past for protection and security.

Stress is an objective condition of all work, however when excessive it may push the worker beyond his ability to cope. When stress becomes dysfunctional it negatively impacts worker well-being and also organizational functioning. Stress is the conditions of work that lead to strains in the worker in turn impacting health (Bhagat, Allie, & Ford, 1995). For the worker chronic stress may produce a variety of illnesses, and for the organization resulting strains may be reflected in increased absences, turnover, and poor performance.

Work stress has an impact on the worker's sense of well-being and on the development of negative moods (Fuller, Stanton, Fisher, Spitzmuller, Russell, & Smith, 2003). Coercive and punitive work environments produce stress and negative emotions (Brief & Weiss, 2002). Dysfunctional work-related stress lead to feelings that the psychological contract between employee and the organization has been breached (Rousseau, 1997) with resulting job dissatisfaction and negative organizational outcomes.

Such perceived unfairness is costly to the organization and may produce negative consequences for production or employee withdrawal like increased absenteeism. Successful companies require good citizenship in workers defined by their willingness to taking the extra steps needed to make the company successful.

Dissatisfied employees are most likely to engage in counterproductive behaviors (Lau, Au, & Ho, 2003). Frustration with the workplace is central to a variety of negative behaviors (Spector, 1997). Job satisfaction is an important factor not only for the well-being of the individual worker, but indeed for the efficient functioning of the workplace.

Central to the stress experienced by the worker are imbalances between work-related demands and inadequate decision latitude or control of outcomes (Karasek, 1990). Studies have consistently demonstrated relationships between low levels of worker control and undesirable physiological and psychological outcomes. These negative outcomes produce exhaustion or burnout, depression, coronary heart disease resulting in job dissatisfaction and absenteeism. Other researchers have also more recently pointed to the lack of control as a central variable in job stress (Galinsky, Kim, & Bond, 2001). Workers who perceive a lack of control or decision making latitude in the workplace often feel overworked, and experience anger toward co-workers, suffer from insomnia, and are troubled by other work-life conflicts.

Although most models assume a direct relationship between job stress and worker experienced job strain, the link is in fact mediated by personality. It is not only the objective reality that matters, but also how the worker construes the situation that contributes to stress (Jex & Beehr, 1991). The amount of organizational support obviously also is important, as stress can be reduced with a supportive network. Other personal factors also play a role including the workers perception of self-efficacy, and whether an internal or external locus of control is dominant. Internals believe that their behaviors and decisions contribute to the outcomes in life, whereas externals believe that authority, fate or dumb luck will determine results. In turn these individual differences mediate the consequences of stress that generally occur in three categories. Physiological symptoms like headaches, psychological symptoms including anxiety and job dissatisfaction, and behavioral reactions including turnover, lower productivity, or absenteeism.

Another major source of stress is found in the employee's relationships with co-workers and supervisors. In some organizations the competitive culture is of such large dimension that it is difficult to establish cordial relationships with co-workers. A non-supportive competitive atmosphere is poisonous and creates stress and strains for many workers. Having a poor relationship with a supervisor is even more stressful, as that relationship more directly determines not only personal progress, but also whether the worker has a future with the company.

Unfortunately, there are many additional sources of stress derived from the workplace itself. The demand that people work flexible hours (Quinlan & Bohle, 2009), transfer to jobs overseas, competition from immigrants willing to work for low wages, and the constant pressure of technological change, have all produced new challenges for workers, and are sources of stress affecting employees perception of well-being and the evaluation of their jobs.

Many companies are international in scope requiring the worker to be familiar not only with his own culture, but also the changing company culture. All of these factors combine to create stress and challenges requiring continual adjustment to a changing world. Adding to the stress is the constant company emphasis on the quality of work, and the necessity for the worker to continually learn new skills. Globalization of business has also created mergers that require adjustment to new business cultures, and functioning in a more diverse workforce.

16.5 Research on Leadership Style and Professional Stress: The current study

Research dedicated to understanding the influence of transformational and transactional leadership styles on organizational stress demonstrate that, in general, transformational leadership is considerably healthier for the employees compared to the transactional style. Transactional leadership correlates with the experience of chronic stress while the transformational style promotes the establishment of a stress preventing framework for everyday work (Rowold and Schlotz, 2009). Seltzer and his coworkers found in their research that transformational leadership was negatively correlated with symptoms of stress and burnout (Seltzer, J., Nomerof, R. E., & Bass, B. M., 1989). Transformational leadership had positive consequences for the health of employee's as well as improving effectiveness and therefore the financial prosperity of organizations.

The aforementioned discussion demonstrated the profound impact of leadership styles on the stress experienced by employees. The goal in the current study was to examine correlations between professional stress and leadership styles in a Bulgarian sample. Furthermore, the study sought to ascertain the utility of strategies for coping with professional stress.

In addition it was thought useful to examine the relationship of demographic variables to coping with chronic stress. For example while the genders may be equal in the ability to withstand stressful conditions there may be coping differences based on varying leadership styles. Likewise other demographic factors may facilitate or mitigate stress. For example education may provide more tools for the employee that in turn can be applied to mitigate stressful conditions. The socio-economic status of the family also provides differences in resources that may be linked to coping behavior. The number of children may increase overall stress depending on family dynamics. If stress is chronic the length of service may also prove a factor that increases strain. The relationship of these demographic factors is not well researched in the literature, and therefore the first hypothesis discussed below is exploratory in nature.

***Hypothesis 1:** The demographic characteristics (gender, age, education, status of family, number of children in the family and total length of*

service to the organization) will influence strategies for coping with chronic stress.

Hypothesis 2: *There are correlations between the leadership style and perceived stress of the employees in organizations.*

Hypothesis 3: *There are correlations between the leadership style and the strategies for coping with professional stress of the employees.*

Hypothesis 4: *The respondents' perceived stress and the leadership style of managers determine strategies for coping with professional stress.*

16.6 Method

To examine these hypotheses a survey instrument was developed that consisted of the following three instruments:

Sheldon Cohen's Perceived Stress Scale is standardized for use in Bulgarian populations (Найденова, В., Илиева, С., 2006) and consists of 14 items that examine the degree to which the described life situations are perceived by the respondents as stressful. Response categories are based on a five-point Likert-type scale where 1 is "Never" and 5 is "Very Often". The scale yielded high internal reliability ($\alpha = 0.80$).

Strategies for Coping with Job Stress Measure was developed by Latack (Latack, 1986) and was standardized for use in Bulgaria. It studies actions and cognitive reappraisals directed at avoidance or control of stressful situations utilizing an active coping strategy. Response categories are on a five-point Likert-type scale where 1 is "Never" and 5 is "Always". The measure consisted of 28 items which yielded seven factors in Latack's study as follows:

Factor 1 is called "Increase of efforts related to work". It contains 6 items that illustrate proactive behavior and cognitive reassessments aimed making efforts to better cope with the challenges at work.

Factor 2 is called "Escape from the situation". This factor has 6 items describing passive behavior and cognitive reassessments directed to escape from tension.

Factor 3 is entitled "Confidence in success". Here 5 statements are included which interpret the stressful situation as an opportunity for the acquisition of new experience as a way to improve performance.

Factor 4 is "Looking for advice and support". The four statements in this factor describe the desire to obtain social support in situations of professional stress.

Factor 5 is named “Striving to change the situation” and contain 2 items that describe the coping to change a stressful situation.

Factor 6 is called “Distancing and organization of time”. This factor consists of two items representing withdrawal from people who contributed to the stressful situation in a way that is favorable for the respondent.

Factor 7 is “Reconciliation with the situation“. Here, the two items describe ways to adapt to the stressful situation. The instrument has overall acceptable reliability, with Cronbach’s Alpha of 0.70.

The Leadership Styles Questionnaire is based on the multifactor leadership Questionnaire of Bass and Avolio (Bass, & Avolio, 1990, 2000) and contains 18 statements about the leadership styles described in the Full Range of Leadership Model. The scale response categories is five-point Likert type that vary from 1 (Never) to 5 (Always).

The questionnaire measures three leadership styles (laissez faire, transactional and transformational) representing the three main factors produced in this instrument.

The laissez faire factor consists of three items representing the surrender of leadership expressed in avoidance of leader obligations and responsibilities.

The transactional leadership factor consists of three statements. This style defines the relationships of leaders with the employees as a transaction where the leader defines expectations, explains remunerations to employees and negotiates in order to reach mutually satisfying agreements. In the process the leader praises and rewards employees for successfully completing assignments and sanctions the employees who fail.

The transformational leadership style produces a profound change in followers as they are inspired by the leader to reach beyond their own achievements. This leadership style is expressed in four components measuring idealized influence (charisma), individualized consideration, intellectual stimulation, and inspirational motivation of the followers (Илиева, 2006). The questionnaire yielded high internal reliability ($\alpha = 0.92$).

16.7 Respondents

The sample consisted of 119 participants from different organizations found by using an online version of the survey and a paper-and-pen version. The percentage of valid completion was 88%.

Forty percent of the respondents were aged between 20 to 30 years, followed by 32 percent between 31 and 40, 16 percent between 41 and 50, and 7 percent older than 51. Eighty percent of the sample was females. Forty-seven percent of the

respondents were married and 53 percent unmarried. Among the unmarried 50 percent of the total sample was single and 3 percent divorced or widowed. In our sample 51 percent had no children. Twenty-five percent of the sample had 1 child whereas 24 percent were parents of 2 or more children. The majority of the participants (78 percent) had higher education followed by 14 percent who completed college education and/or bachelor's degree, and 8 percent had a primary or secondary education.

Twenty-three percent of the respondents reported a length of organizational service from 3 to 5 years, followed by 16 percent with length of service from 6 to 10 years. Fourteen percent reported a length of service from 11 to 15 years, and 14 % of the sample reported service from 16 to 20 years. Respondents with more than 20 years of service constituted 16 percent of the sample. The respondents with total length of service from 1 to 2 years represent 11 percent and 6 percent had less than 1 year work experience.

16.8 Results and discussion

The descriptive statistics will first be reported followed by a consideration of the data analysis testing the several hypotheses.

A. Descriptive results.

Results show that the participants favored the transformational leadership style. The most preferred transformational trait is intellectual stimulation ($M = 9.88$; $SD = 2.98$). This result is consistent with the high level of education by the large proportion of the sample. Inspirational motivation ($M = 9.70$; $SD = 2.86$), individualized consideration ($M = 9.58$; $SD = 3.19$) and idealized influence ($M = 9.56$; $SD = 3.43$) also all have high mean values. The participants like transformational leaders who stimulate untraditional thinking and inspire them with a captivating vision of the future.

The transactional leadership style received a lower mean value ($M = 9.32$; $SD = 2.80$) as did the laissez faire style ($M = 9.12$; $SD = 2.53$). It is not surprising that employees prefer be treated as valuable and competent persons and want to be inspired, rather than considered a component of a transaction utilized for increasing profits.

The level of perceived stress for the whole test is high ($M = 39.52$; $SD = 7.30$) as women ($M = 39.93$; $SD = 7.48$) compared to men ($M = 37.92$; $SD = 6.42$) report they experience higher stress.

Results for the strategies for coping with professional stress showed that the most preferred strategy is to increase work-related efforts ($M = 26.38$; $SD = 3.58$). Confidence in success ($M = 18.02$; $SD = 3.05$) and escape from the situation ($M = 17.91$; $SD = 4.48$) also have high mean values. The least preferred coping strategy is reconciliation with the situation ($M = 6.10$; $SD = 1.60$). These results could be

interpreted in the light of the theory of Cannon (Newton, 1995) concerning fight or flight responses to danger that is part of hard-wired human responses as people seek to adapt to the challenges of the environment.

The significance testing of the four hypotheses:

B. Influence of the demographic characteristics on the strategies for coping with professional stress

The aforementioned discussion explored the effect of these variables on strategies for coping with professional stress. The following will summarize the tests of significance.

Hypothesis 1: That demographic characteristics (gender, age, education, family status, number of children in the family and total length of service in the organization) influences strategies for coping with chronic stress.

This hypothesis was partially confirmed by the results for gender. A one-way between group analysis of variance (ANOVA) yielded a significant result for gender and education both influencing strategies for coping with stress. In particular gender differences were statistically significant different for one of the coping strategies, “reconciliation with the situation” ($F = 4.481$; $p = 0.04$). Surprisingly, the analysis of means demonstrate that men ($M = 6.71$; $SD = 1.90$) rather than women ($M = 5.95$; $SD = 1.48$) are more likely to reconcile with the situation and accept it as it is.

Hypothesis 1 also examined the influence of education on the strategies for coping with professional stress. The subjects were divided into 3 groups (group 1: primary and secondary education; group 2: some college or bachelor’s degree; group 3: higher education). The results showed that the level of education produced significant differences in the coping mechanisms called “change of the situation” ($F = 3.768$; $p = 0.03$) and “reconciliation with the situation” ($F = 4.531$; $p = 0.01$) (See Table 1).

The Tukey HSD test yielded significant differences between group 1 (primary and secondary education) with $M = 6.10$ and $SD = 1.66$, and group 3 (higher education) with $M = 7.28$; and $SD = 1.34$ with a mean difference of -1.18 . Further, statistical significance at .05 or better, was also found between group 1 and group 2 (college or bachelor) with ($M = 7.41$; $SD = 1.06$ and with a mean difference of -1.31 for “change of the situation”. These results demonstrate that the respondents with a college degree or better degree use a strategy related to the “change of the situation” more than respondents with primary or secondary education. In this sample people who graduated from college or other higher education strive to introduce some change in the stress situation at work reflecting their self-efficacy.

Table 1. The *F* values for strategies in coping with professional stress by educational levels significant at $p < 0.05$

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Change of the situation	Between Groups	13.490	2	6.745	3.768	.026
	Within Groups	207.670	116	1.790		
	Total	221.160	118			
Reconciliation with the situation	Between Groups	21.797	2	10.898	4.531	.013
	Within Groups	278.993	116	2.405		
	Total	300.790	118			

For “reconciliation with the situation” significant differences were observed between the respondents with primary or secondary education with $M = 7.50$ and $SD = 1.65$ and higher education with $M = 5.95$; $SD = 1.45$ and with a mean difference of 1.55. These results suggest that in this sample people with lower educational degrees are more likely to reconcile to stressful situations compared to those who graduated with higher education degrees. This finding is consistent with the influence of higher education on striving “to change the situation” and the higher self-efficacy of the well-educated.

C. Relationship between perceived stress and strategies for coping with stress

Hypothesis 2: There are significant correlations between leadership style and perceived stress of the employees in organizations.

The correlational analysis partially confirmed the existence of a relationship between leadership styles and employees’ perceived stress. A significant but small (Cohen, 1988, in Pallant, 2005) correlation was found between perceived stress and “laissez faire” leadership style ($r = -.213$, $p = 0.20$). In other words the more liberal the leader, the lower the levels of perceived stress in the employees. Since the laissez faire leader makes few demands on the employee the stress level is logically lower.

The finding can also be thought of as a validation of the leadership construct described by the laissez faire items.

D. Relationship between leadership styles and strategies for coping with professional stress

Hypothesis 3: There are correlations between the leadership style and the strategies for coping with the stress by the employees.

The correlational analysis partially confirmed the relationship between leadership style and strategies for coping with professional stress. In three of the seven coping strategies, statistically significant correlations with the leadership style were found for “increase of efforts”, “confidence in success” and “looking for advice and support” (See Table 2).

Table 2. Pearson’s correlations (r) between leadership styles and strategies for coping with stress in organizations

Leadership styles	Strategies for coping with professional stress		
	Increase of efforts	Confidence in success	Looking for advice and support
LAISSEZ FAIR		.224*	
TRANSACTIONAL		.257**	.181*
TRANSFORMATIONAL	.280**		.269**
Idealized influence	.247**	.189*	.187*
Inspirational motivation	.263**		.215*
Intellectual stimulation	.369**		.331**
Individualized consideration		.187*	.267*

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

All significant correlations are positive although accounting for only small amounts of the variance. The correlations between intellectual stimulation and “increase of efforts” (r = .369) and between intellectual stimulation and “looking for

advice and support” ($r = .331$) are more moderate in size. The coping strategy “increase of efforts” correlates with the transformational leadership style and with its component measures. The highest value is observed for intellectual stimulation, followed by inspirational motivation and idealized influence. This lends some support to the idea that transformational leaders are able to inspire and motivate their followers as predicted thereby encouraging employees to go beyond their own interests or rewards for the sake of the well-being of their team and organization (Bass and Avolio, 1994).

The highest correlation value for “confidence in success” is with the transactional leadership style. Since the transactional leader explicitly rewards successful and well-coping employees success becomes predictable for the employee thereby increasing self confidence in success. Also, the finding lends some support to the validity of the transactional construct. The significant correlation with the “laissez faire” leadership style and “confidence in success” is an unexpected finding taking into consideration that the laissez faire leadership style is in practical terms the absence of leadership. However, perhaps some employees interpret the laissez faire leadership style as a vote supporting the employee’s self-efficacy. Smaller correlations are observed for “charisma” and “individualized consideration” that are consistent with the findings of research literature.

The construct “looking for advice and support” correlates most highly with “intellectual stimulation”, “individualized consideration” and “inspirational motivation”. Weaker, but still statistically significant correlations are found for this coping strategy with “idealized influence” and with the “transactional leadership” style. Also, charisma has correlations with all three coping strategies. These findings confirm the value of the hiring of charismatic leaders as a means of increasing organizational effectiveness.

Finally, for the coping strategies expressed in “escape from the situation”, “change of the situation”, “distancing and organization of time”, and “reconciliation with the situation” no statistically significant correlations were observed.

E. Leadership style and strategies for coping with stress.

Hypothesis 4: Perceived stress and leadership style determine the desirable strategies for coping with professional stress.

The last hypothesis also received partial support. The stepwise method of multiple regression analysis was used to test the relationship. Independent variables were the leadership styles and perceived stress of the employees and the dependent variable the strategies for coping with professional stress. The regression analysis produced five models of predictors for coping strategies.

Model 1: This coping strategy is related to increase of efforts at work, is determined mostly by intellectual stimulation ($\beta = 0.578$; $p < 0.001$) and to a smaller

extent, by individualized consideration ($\beta = -0.274$; $p < 0.05$). These two subdivisions of the transformational leadership style explain 15% of the variance of this coping strategy ($\Delta R^2 = 0.15$).

Model 2: This coping strategy is expressed in escape from the situation and has a single predictor which is the respondents' perceived stress ($\beta = 0.293$; $p < 0.001$), and accounts for a modest 7% percent of the variance ($\Delta R^2 = 0.07$).

Model 3: Confidence in success is predicted by the perceived stress ($\beta = -0.331$; $p < 0.001$) and the transactional leadership style ($\beta = 0.255$; $p < 0.01$). Together the predictors explain 16% of the variance of confidence in success ($\Delta R^2 = 0.16$).

Model 4: The strategy of "looking for advice and support" is a function of intellectual stimulation ($\beta = 0.331$; $p < 0.001$). This model explains 10% of the variance ($\Delta R^2 = 0.10$).

Model 5: Finally, the strategy of "reconciliation with the situation" is determined by the perceived stress ($\beta = 0.201$; $p < 0.05$) accounting for only 3 % of the variance. ($\Delta R^2 = 0.03$).

No significant relationships was found for the coping strategies "striving for change of the situation" and "distancing and organization of time" with perceived stress and leadership styles.

16.9 Conclusion

The research reported above reveals important relationships between professional stress and leadership styles. However, the sample was relatively small encouraging replication work with larger samples in the future.

The descriptive statistics supported the preferences of the respondents for the transformational leadership style. Intellectual stimulation yielded the highest preference within the transformational style. Transformational leadership is followed in preference by the transactional and laissez faire styles. Employees search for and feel a need for transformational leaders who can inspire and provide some meaning to employment. The level of perceived stress in the respondents is high, and women compared to men, are more likely to report that they experience stress in employment. In coping with professional stress the most preferred strategy is to increase efforts related to work. Confidence in success and escape from the situation are also preferred, whereas the least preferred coping strategy is reconciliation with the situation.

The analysis of variance confirmed partially the hypothesis on the relationship between some of the demographic characteristics and strategies for coping with professional stress.

The correlational analysis yielded one statistically significant negative correlation between perceived stress and the laissez faire leadership style. A liberal leader as defined by the laissez faire leadership style is not threatening to his/her employees and may reduce stress levels in the workplace. The results provided partial confirmation of the relationship between the leadership styles and the level of perceived stress.

Partial confirmation was also found for the relationship between the leadership style and the strategies for coping with professional stress. Among the seven coping strategies, three demonstrated statistically significant correlations with leadership style, in particular those defined as “increase of efforts”, “confidence in success” and “looking for advice and support”. The “increase of efforts” correlates with the transformational leadership style and its constituent dimensions with highest values produced for “intellectual stimulation”, followed by “inspirational motivation” and by “idealized influence”. The correlation between “confidence in success” produced the highest values with the transactional leadership style, a finding that is not surprising since the transactional leader explicitly rewards his successful employees. Smaller correlations were observed for the laissez faire leadership style. Lower correlational values were also observed for “idealized influence” and “individualized consideration”. The results also found that “looking for advice and support” correlates most highly with the transformational attributes of “intellectual stimulation”, “individualized consideration” and “inspirational motivation”. The data revealed smaller correlations for “idealized influence” with the transactional leadership style. However, one important finding was the statistically significant correlations between “idealized influence” and all three coping strategies. These findings are consistent with the practice in large organizations to attract charismatic and transformational leaders to develop effective organizations with inspired employees.

The multiple regression analysis partially confirmed the relationship between leadership style and perceived stress as predictors of strategies for coping with professional stress. The results of the analysis produced five models of coping strategies to which “striving for change of the situation” and “distancing and organization of time” did not contribute. It is worth noting that in two of the models both perceived stress and leadership styles contributed to the variance. These models explain both an “increase of efforts at work” and “confidence in success”. Laissez faire leadership is not a constituent part in any of the models. In the case of the transactional leadership style only “confidence in success” contributes. The transformational leadership style contributes through two dimensions of “intellectual stimulation” and “individualized consideration”. At the same time “intellectual stimulation” is the only predictor of “looking for advice and support”. In four of the regression models “perceived stress” contribute to the variance. The results support the idea that the subjective evaluation of stress matters to the functioning of an organization. For optimal organizational life it is increasingly important to find leaders who have the necessary competencies and leadership skills to create a healthy

work environment and an organizational culture favorable to professional achievements, development of employees, and improvement of the productivity.

16.10 A final word

Although much attention in organizational behavior has been devoted to the merits of transformational and charismatic leadership the literature also contain a warning. Ego-based charismatic leaders may lead companies to disaster as we have observed during the recent economic crisis. In fact companies not led by ego-based charismatic leaders do better than the average on the stock market over extended periods. These leaders often have a humble disposition, a sense of responsibility, competence and understand how to work with teams (Tosi, Misangyi, Fanelli, Weldman, & Yammarino, 2004).

In fact employees can also lead themselves if they are trained properly by the leader. For example the employee may be encouraged to set individual goals within the context of organizational objectives. Self-leadership is more likely in organizations that value initiative and where the organization fosters a supporting work environment. Leaders should understand that people are capable of taking on responsibility in developing self-leadership, and taking appropriate initiatives.

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Chapter 17

VARIOUS COMMUNICATION MODALITIES IN ORGANIZATIONS WITH FOCUS ON VIRTUAL FIRMS

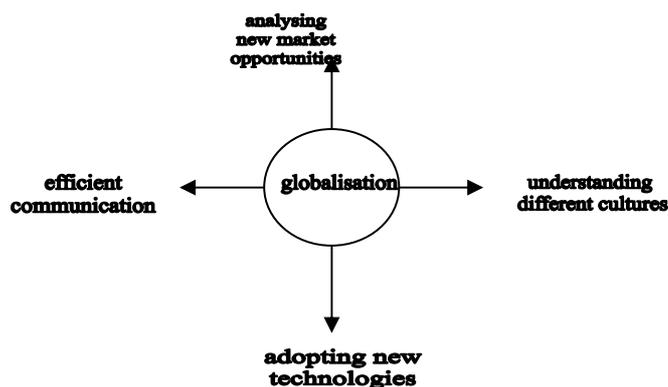
Dušan Marković, Mirjana Radović-Marković, & Žarko Spasić

17.1 Introduction

Virtual organizations are becoming increasingly important in modern economies. The cause for the increasing popularity lies in the need to disperse jobs to reduce the costs of business operations as well as to improve the organizations' competitive competencies in the global marketplace.

In order to achieve these goals, virtual organizations are forced to formulate a business strategy that would include all the preconditions of an efficient business enterprise under the ever changing global conditions (Radović-Markovic, 2011a), (Figure 1).

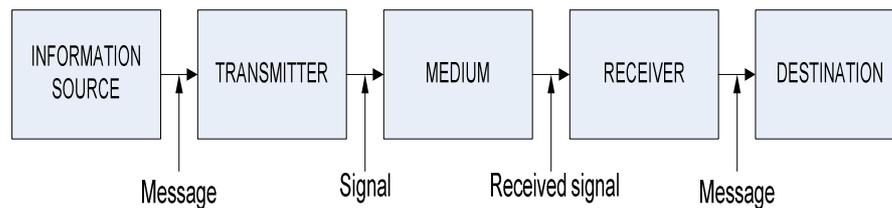
Figure 1. Globalization requirements facing virtual firms under new and changing business conditions (Radović-Marković, 2011a)



17.2 Theoretical background

Communications can be viewed as consisting of three dimensions: technical, contextual, and contractual. The technical view is based on the information theory. Shannon, Claude E., & Warren Weaver (1949) defined communication as a mechanical information transmitting system (see figure 2).

Figure 2. Communication as a Shannon and Weaver mechanical system (1949)



The Shannon and Weaver system transmits information from the source to the destination with minimum distortion and error. The implementation of a mechanical approach to communications is identical today. This technical view of communication persists as a common basis for the discussion about communication in any organization.

The contextual approach to communication does not focus only on the contents (e.g., the accuracy of exchanged information or the adequacy of the conveyed meaning). This information theory approach has a broader communication context as it focuses on both the verbal contents and the non-verbal signals. Further, the contextual approach takes into consideration the relationships between the sender and the recipient within social, organizational and cultural explanations. For example, conversation analysis observes the entire communication process including formal and informal communication and any type of verbal and written communication. The goal of such an analysis is to establish relationships between a model of conversation and a model of social relationships. Such an analysis can help explain how social relationships are created and maintained through conversation (Mening, 1992; Pirs, 1994, 1995; and Cronen, 1991, 1995). The organization can use the analysis to define, shape, determine and mark the boundaries of actual communication processes.

Lazega (1992) studied the manner in which the context of conversation is self-adjusting, rather than the manner in which conversation create and maintain social relationships. The assessment of appropriateness of information and the knowledge of technically satisfactory requirements are crucial in virtual organizations. The contextual approach is employed in elaborating and understanding the interactive

components of feedback information. The exchange of feedback information can be viewed as a process of conversation among people.

17.3 Different aspects of communication

The communication in the organization can be observed in several different dimensions:

1. Communication levels
2. Formal and informal communication
3. Communication flows (vertical, horizontal and diagonal)
4. Internal and external communication

- ***Communication levels***

Communication can be categorized into the following levels:

- a) Communication between individuals
- b) Communication at the group level
- c) Communication at the organizational level
- d) Inter-organizational communication
- e) Mass communication

Research supports the conclusion that frequency of communication occur mainly at lower levels between individuals. Thus the initial attention in communication research in organizations focuses on the communication between individuals (e.g. the managers) in their speech and writings. As organizations over time became increasingly dependent on communication, more attention was paid to improve the communication skills between individuals and indeed between all the members of the organization (Rogers and Roethlisberger, 1952, Argiris, 1986, Kiesler, 1986).

- ***Modalities of communication between individuals***

- Sending and receiving messages
- Verbal, in writing primarily through electronic messaging.

Over time communication studies within organizations focuses increasingly on higher level communications at the group level, at the organizational level and inter-organizational communication. Shifting from lower level to higher level communications results in messages that can be further differentiated such as formal, informal, vertical, horizontal, diagonal (as well as internal messaging as related to external communication).

- ***Formal vs. informal communication***

In the past communication studies focused mainly on formal top-down communications. Informal communication refers to communication between

individuals also called horizontal communication that in the past was viewed as a likely obstacle to efficient organizational performance. However, that view is no longer accepted as in modern society dynamic and informal messaging along with formal communication is necessary to ensure that the job is done efficiently (D'Aprix 1996).

- ***Vertical, horizontal and diagonal communication***

Vertical communication. Vertical communication is between hierarchically positioned individuals and may include bottom-up as well as top-down information flows. As might be expected the top-down information flow occurs more frequently. Larkin and Larkin (1994) noted that the top-down information flow is most effective if managers communicate directly with immediate supervisors, and the supervisors in turn communicate directly with their staff. Such direct communication results in improved satisfaction and performances among employees. Since this was first noted by Donald Pelz (1952) it is called the Pelz effect.

Horizontal communication. Horizontal communication refers to communication between individuals not in a hierarchical relationship. Communication horizontally contributes to a high level of satisfaction among the human resource managers (Frank, 1984). The current horizontal tendencies are primarily communication between the team members focussing on team assembling and team work. Horizontal communication between the dislocated workers and geographically dispersed work groups engaging in similar types of job is oriented towards learning and knowledge exchange.

Diagonal communication. Diagonal communication is communication between managers and employees in different functional divisions (Wilson, 1992). While vertical and the horizontal communication continue in modern organizations, they do not entirely reflect the communication needs and flows in a majority of organizations. The concept of diagonal communication is introduced to describe other forms of communication in new organizational types, e.g. the matrix and project organizations. Similarly, with the spread of the organizational network, the communication flows can no longer be limited to only vertical, horizontal and diagonal as other modalities are also introduced.

- ***Internal and external communication***

Internal communication is within the organization and includes cross-level communication among employees. External communication consists of messages that are sent beyond the organizational framework. Externally oriented communication becomes especially important when the organization extends its activity from information developed by interaction with customers, with suppliers, as well as with students, teachers and other sources.

17.4 Virtual firms, virtual culture and communication

Information systems play a vital role in the e-business and e-commerce operations, in enterprise collaboration and management, and in the strategic success of businesses that must operate in the global environment. Internet services, in conjunction with the existing and more widely used communication media, provide the broadest enhancement of information and communication resources (Radović Marković, 2011b).

17.4.1 The concept of virtuality

The term “virtuality” was first used by Venkatraman & Henderson (1996) in their definition of organizational enterprise. They defined virtuality as follows:

“Virtuality is the organizational ability to consistently obtain and coordinate critical competencies through its design of business processes and governance mechanisms involving external and internal constituency to deliver differential products in the marketplace“.

This definition shows that the organization cannot declare itself virtual solely on the basis that it uses information and communication technologies, but that virtuality also includes the very manner in which the organization is managed.

Different definitions of virtual organization include the major attributes of every virtual organization that can be considered different attributes of virtuality (Grimshaw, Kwok & Sandy, 1998) as follows:

1. Uniting to achieve mutual goals
2. Implementation of information and communication technologies
3. Vertical integration
4. Globalization
5. Collaboration

These attributes provided the basis for the most widely adopted and quoted concept of virtual organization in the literature (Byrne, 1993):

“Virtual organization is a temporary network of independent business units – suppliers, customers, and even rivals – linked by information and communication technology to share skills, costs and access to different markets. This organizational model is flexible – groups of collaborators quickly unite to exploit a specific opportunity. In its most elementary form, the concept depicts any organization that interacts with other organizations to create a virtual corporation and that contributes only within the scope of its core competence. Central in the development of virtual organization is technology. Teams of people in different companies work together, via a computer network in real time“(Byrne, 1993)

This definition provides a clear structural perspective and a detailed picture of what makes a virtual organization.

17.4.2 Characteristics of virtual organizations

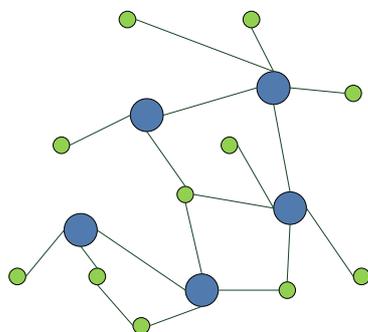
Virtual organizations are characterized by (a) highly dynamic processes, (b) contractual relationships among entities, (c) edgeless, permeable boundaries, and (d) reconfigurable structures (DeSanctis & Monge, 1998).

A virtual organization can consist of a network of independent companies each contributing core competencies to the common effort. The organization initiating the cooperation defines the most relevant business processes that are complementary with the business skills of other participating firms. Combining all the core competences creates a synergy effect that meets the customer requirements in a flexible manner.

According to Aken Aken, Hop and Post (1998), a virtual organization has to have its own identity. A “loosely coupled virtual organization” is present when the identity of a partner organization remains visible alongside the identity of the virtual organization. On the other hand a “tightly coupled virtual organization” would appear to customers as an integrated joint organization. The development of information and communication technologies permits differences between component virtual organizations to be solved so they can work together efficiently.

The partners in a virtual organization are often equal on important dimensions and hence without hierarchy. A favorable effect of such an architecture is improved organizational efficiency and responsibility (Bultje & van Wijk, 1998). The organization consists of a network of autonomous companies and also known as network architecture. It differs in communication from hierarchical architecture by a large number of lateral messages that make this organizational structure highly coordination-intensive (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Matrix structure (Mowshowitz, 1999)



There are different virtual organizational networking modalities that depend on the needs of participants and the possibilities for creating collaboration and management, and hence also different types of information to be shared.

Essential information to be shared in a manageable virtual organization on an e-level is as follows:

- **Planning (P):** information used in defining a common purpose, in determining the scope and orientation of work of the entire virtual organization.
- **Operational (O):** information on the activities to be performed on a daily basis for each member.
- **Coordinating (C):** information flows to ensure that operational activities achieve their goal effectively.

17.4.3 Virtual culture as a basis for effective communication in virtual organizations

An organization that has a large proportion of employees working in the virtual workplace faces distinct challenges related to building an organizational culture. However, when building a culture within a virtual firm, managers have numerous tools at their disposal to compensate for the lack of social context, geographical proximity, and the normal supportive behaviors of a non-virtual firm. Managers are faced with special conditions and responsibilities in virtual companies. In virtual firms managers need to focus on the results since they are not able to see all of the work being done. They also need to be able to delegate and keep track of projects and work. Managers of a virtual firm should not be micro-managers as this style will most likely not be effective for employees that work independently.

Another requirement for a manager in a virtual organization is that he or she needs to be able to motivate his or her employees to go online for information and communication. Since the majority of the firm's work is online it is important that employees have the necessary competencies to access information required to perform their jobs. This can be facilitated by managers placing important news and updated online information in a location where the employees will also find other job-related information. If the majority of the firm's work is online it is important to have an easy-to-use computer system as employees will be reluctant to go online or use systems that are difficult and absorb too much time. Therefore, when building an online system it is important to get opinions about its utility from the people who will be using it.

In addition, with all of the tools and systems in place for a virtual firm, it is important that the employees have the "know how" of when and how to use these assets. Sometimes it makes better business sense to meet a contact face-to-face rather than try to communicate via e-mail. This fact needs to be understood by everyone in a

virtual firm especially when dealing with clients. Managers also need ability to communicate through multiple channels at both formal and informal levels.

There are a number of features essential to a virtual firm. Trust is a component that must be considered a central value in the culture of successfully run and managed firms (Van de Bunt-Kokhuis, 2000). Since a manager cannot always directly observe employees at work they must be able to trust in their performance. However, it should be noted that since the majority of work is done online, this work can be easily monitored. Another salient feature of a virtual firm is leadership. It is important that a company's leaders model the behavior that they want their employees to exhibit. The leaders of virtual organizations are role models who will set the tone for the entire company. Tolerance and acceptance in a virtual company are important values which mean that it is OK to be different and to do things differently. Virtual companies operating online will always be different from the traditional company and the organizational culture needs to accept that reality.

In a virtual company employees are often required to do boring work, for example working in a call center or at a help desk (Van de Bunt-Kokhuis, 2000). Rewards and incentives for such work must be considered in order to reduce turnover and increase efficiency since these employees typically receive low pay. All employees of a virtual company also need to have good communication skills, including in upper level management. In a virtual company, employees do not have the possibility of stopping by a coworker's office to quickly discuss a project. Instead, employees will need to pick up the phone or send an e-mail that will not communicate with the same effect as in a face-to-face meeting. It is particularly difficult to communicate emotions with e-mail or over the phone since facial and bodily gestures are absent. Because of this deficit, employees need to learn to express themselves effectively and listen carefully to the message conveyed.

A virtual company has a special need to establish connections between employees within the organization. Since employees do not see each other regularly as they would in a traditional company, it is important to find ways of integrating workers. Organizational culture that promotes the sharing of values may improve motivation. This is even more important in a virtual company since the company's values cannot be reinforced on a daily basis as in the traditional company due to the lack of physical proximity. Also in virtual companies different jobs exist in comparison to the traditional firms. For example, the traditional secretary may be replaced by a virtual online assistant. In addition larger number and more varied IT responsibilities may be required and employees may be needed to command knowledge in more areas.

17.4.4 Communication in virtual organizations

Communication plays a key role in the work of virtual organizations. Without communication, the boundaries of operations of a virtual entity would be impossible to determine at any level (DeSanctis and Monge, 1998). Electronic communication

allows for the connectedness of employees regardless of geographical distance, time, culture or language differences contrary to traditional organizations where all the jobs are performed at the same place and at the same time (Figure 4).

Electronic communication facilitates fast and easy flow of information between distant organizational entities, and among different stakeholders in the business chain including distributors and customers. Furthermore electronic communication contributes significantly to the business enterprise through its varied modalities and by innovation processes in the virtual firms operations (DeSanctis & Fulk, 1999; Karsten, 1995, Lucas, 1996; Orlikowski & Robey, 1991; Wheeler & Valacich, 1996).

17.4.5 Implications of electronic communication upon virtual organizations

Research into the six areas of electronic communication (see table 1) has ensured better insight into the four major aspects of the virtual organization: (a) as a highly dynamic process, (b) in contractual relationships between entities, (c) with permeable boundaries, (d) in reconfigurable structures (DeSanctis, G. and Monge, P., 1998).

Figure 4. Communication at any place and at any time

O'Hara-Devereaux and Johansen (1994).

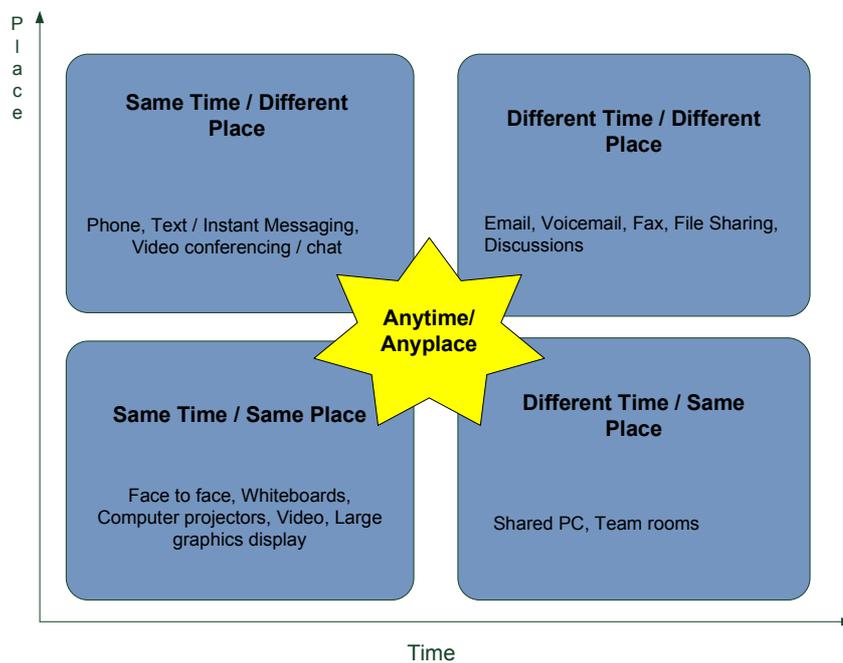


Table 1. Major aspects of the implications of electronic communication upon virtual organizations

Research into electronic communications	Impact of electronic communication upon virtual firms
<p>1. Scope of communication and effectiveness: In electronic communication the scope tends to increase continually, whereas effectiveness tends to decrease.</p> <p>2. Understanding message: It takes longer time to get an impression of the message since the social context is critical.</p>	<p>Highly dynamic process: Managing communications become more complex and difficult under conditions of rapid changes in business processes. Understanding messages may therefore become less accurate.</p>
<p>3. Virtual tasks: Certain tasks are accomplished less efficiently when performed in an electronic manner. One example is reaching consensus.</p>	<p>Contractual relations among entities: Certain tasks cannot be performed randomly and without constraints set by the manager; each new task requires a new contract; contracts are task dependent.</p>
<p>4. Lateral communication. A larger number of participants in communication where the hierarchical structure is less present.</p> <p>5. Norms governing the implementation of electronic communication and new technologies: Manners in which electronic communication is used by individuals, by groups and by organizations.</p>	<p>Permeable boundaries: Broader opportunities of communications among various groups of people. Conflicts may arise if norms of communication among various localities are not harmonized.</p>
<p>6. Developmental effects on interpersonal relations: the norms of use of new technologies change and develop over time.</p>	<p>Reconfigurable structure: It is difficult to develop norms for implementing modern technologies in the conditions of rapid changes in the business processes.</p>

Source: DeSanctis, G. and Monge, P., 1998

A majority of the findings reported in table 1 were obtained from the study of electronic mail and e-conferencing. Other forms of electronic communication including group voting, documentation management systems, or electronic data exchange were not included. Furthermore, a large amount of research compares the modalities of electronic communication with oral speech, especially with direct, face-

to-face communication, despite the fact that electronic communications have more in common with written forms of communication (Ferrara, Brunner and Whittemore, 1990). However, electronic communication is also interactive in a way similar to face-to-face communication. The result is that behavior in electronic communication takes on the characteristics of both written documents and informal speech (Wilkins, 1991).

For the communication to be successful, it is necessary that the communicators possess roughly equal levels of knowledge which is difficult to achieve without a physical and linguistic context. The lack of face-to-face contact in electronic communication may have a negative impact upon message comprehension although the literature is ambiguous. The research on electronic communication comprehension has identified a number of difficulties in understanding the meaning of information as well as in managing feedback information in the course of a discussion. Further despite the advantages of speed in the exchange of information and communication across larger geographical distances, electronic communication does not always solve tasks more rapidly. On the other hand Marshall and Novick (1995) found that the lack of visualization did not significantly reduce the control of conversation or its comprehensibility in synchronous communication via discussion groups. Visualization is necessary, however, in resolving certain conflicting situations and complex activities, as well as in overcoming certain social and cultural differences.

The inter-organizational communication among virtual organizations assumes that the major portion of communication is conducted through transaction exchange within the network, which allows for a faster and larger information flow, especially in task setting, whereas a smaller amount of information is related to hierarchal flows. The communication among the departments of equal rank within the organization is conducted via synchronous technologies. In case more consensuses among the participants are required on different levels, and in case non-synchronous communication is pursued, the result may be a highly intensive exchange of messages in order that a more detailed harmonization and understanding should be achieved.

17.4.6 Differences in the control of employees between traditional and virtual firms

In some traditional firms employees learn to trust one another through direct personal contact while managers control and supervise their work from proximate offices. Supervision means most frequently checking whether employees spend their assigned hours in their offices and whether they perform their duties correctly and on time. In virtual firms, however, the classical model of control and governance by managers is discarded. The managers' task in virtual firms is to supervise projects performed by geographically dispersed employees. Several ways of supervision is available. Managers can require that employees be permanently accessible during their working hours, either via telephone or via the Internet (e.g., from 9 o'clock in the morning till 5 o'clock in the afternoon). Alternatively supervision can be by

contractual deadlines for employees to complete assigned projects and other tasks (Radović-Marković, 2007).

17.5 Conclusion

Communication is fundamental to any form of organizing, however, it is especially central in virtual organizations. Virtual communication processes are expected to be rapid, customized, temporary, larger in volume, more formal, and more relationship-based when compared to traditional organizations (DeSanctis & Monge, 1998). While technology is an important aspect of a virtual firm, there is still a vital human component essential for appropriate judgment and decision-making. With these components there is definitely a shift in the structure of a virtual firm that varies somewhat from traditional companies since there is less middle management within a virtual firm by comparison with a traditional firm. Some virtual firms have developed employee orientation tools to guide them through the virtual work. These instructions can include written guidelines, training, and networks for colleagues. Virtual firms should consider establishing a computer-based chat room, where employees can work on projects with other team members and obtain the necessary information. Further, virtual firms should develop a social protocol for employees and teams with information on common cultural values. In addition to email, a virtual firm needs access to video and audio conferencing. This allows employees and managers to work with one another from large geographical distances and have the effect of working from the same location.

A virtual firm needs to be able to balance the virtual with face-to-face communication. Managers need to ensure that the organization can manage schedules online and require employees to work as scheduled on time even though they are not physically proximate. In addition to attendance, it is important to ensure that employees participate in meetings and in the work in virtual settings. Many virtual firms share important corporate and financial information with their workers. Such transparency facilitates trust and ensures a better relationship between the upper level management and employees. Virtual firms also encourage a more even division of power linked to the virtual culture of empowerment and self-control. While a virtual company needs a technology infrastructure, a solid cultural infrastructure is also essential for survival.

With the development of new technologies communication in virtual enterprises will continue to be modified by radical changes within modalities of communication. It is not possible to predict in advance the direction of these changes, however change will occur not only in technology but require also change in employee awareness. In particular change depends on the ability to overcome the present differences (gender, language, emotional, cultural, perceptual and other) and create efficient communication in a globalized world. The human factor will play an important role in improving communication in virtual firms certainly as important as the development and improvement of the present technologies.

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Chapter 18

EDUCATION AND MARGINALIZED SOCIAL GROUPS: PERSPECTIVES ON EMPLOYMENT

Margarita Atanassova

18.1 Introduction

Participation in learning activities is viewed as a major factor in improving the qualities of the workforce and is also important for increasing opportunities in the labor market and in social integration. Learning activities center on both formal education and training as well non-formal training and informal learning*. The processes of skill improvement are discussed in this chapter from the perspective of effectiveness and the value of ensuring equal access to training by people of varied backgrounds. Research shows that a certain part of the workforce is distinguished by relatively low levels of participation in learning activities. For example, since 2000 there has been a steady increasing difference in the EU in participation in education and training between the highly educated segment (International Standard Classification of Education, ISCED levels 5-6: tertiary education) compared to the less educated (ISCED levels 0-2: pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education) workforce. Highly educated people have increased more in the participation of training activities (from 14.3% in 2000 to 18.1% in 2008), whereas with the less educated the change is insignificant (from 2.8% in 2000 to 3.8% in 2008).** The relatively low participation in education and training of the less educated is related to problems in their chances to improve their employability as a prerequisite for a successful development on the labor market.

* Formal education and training is conducted in the education and training institutions and leads to receiving officially acknowledged documents. Non-formal training is an organized form of learning outside the education and training institutions which does not usually end with the granting of an officially acknowledged document but leads to increasing the personal, professional and civil competences (the results from the non-formal training can be validated and certified and can lead to receiving officially acknowledged documents). In the case of informal learning one acquires knowledge and skills on one's own through carrying out their everyday activities, at the workplace, in the family or through independent search for information, *National Strategy for Life-Long Learning for the Period 2008-2013*, p. 5.

** Indicators for monitoring the Employment Guidelines including indicators for additional employment analysis, 2009 Compendium, European Commission, Brussels, November 2009.

The main purpose of this study is to describe the participation in learning activities on the part of certain socially marginal groups that are distinguished by relatively low levels of inclusion in both formal and non-formal training: the unemployed, employees with elementary and lower education, and employees in flexible types of employment. The participation of marginalized groups in learning activities along with problems and obstacles are outlined and guidelines for improvement suggested.

This chapter is composed of several parts. The first section presents the theoretical context of labor market marginalization and its relationship to employability. The second section analyses participation in learning activities by some marginalized groups. Using the results from that analysis, the third section provides policy recommendations aimed at overcoming the problems identified.

18.2 Labor market marginalization and employability

The problem of the relatively low levels of participation in learning activities on the part of socially marginalized groups is studied within the context of labor market marginalization theory (Doeringer & Piore, 1971; Leondaridi, 1998; Osterman, 1975).

Marginalization theory analyses and justifies the existence of parts of the workforce who characterized by low employability and mobility. The existence of non-competitive and marginalized groups is related to the two main segments on the labor market. The primary and secondary labor markets differ mainly in terms of the conditions of work (the characteristics of the working environment and the content of labor) and the conditions of employment (the contractual relations with the employer, employment stability, salary and social insurance levels, professional development possibilities). Employment in the primary labor market is marked by relatively high levels of remuneration and social insurance, possibilities for professional and career development and employment security. The primary labor market usually encompasses the highly educated part of the workforce that receives by far the best working and employment conditions. Employers invest in the development and improvement of the workforce in the primary labor market and have incentives to retain them in the organization. The attractive working and employment conditions are an additional factor which explains the relatively low turnover in the primary labor market. Employment in the secondary labor market is marked by relatively low levels of payment and social insurance, limited opportunities for professional and career development and barriers to be employed in the most dynamic part of the organization. The secondary labor market is composed of the less educated workforce and provided with generally unattractive working and employment conditions. The working tasks in the secondary labor market do not demand high levels of education or training and can usually be accomplished after a short preparation period. Research shows that the less educated workforce is engaged in activities with lower cognitive requirements that do not offer many opportunities for learning at work. The less

educated compared to the people with higher and secondary education work under conditions requiring fewer standards, opportunities for independent work and for learning new skills.

Workforce turnover in the secondary labor market is high due to two main reasons. On the one hand, jobs and employment conditions are unattractive. Further employers are unlikely to invest in a temporary workforce. The main result of marginalization in the labor market is relatively low chances for employment, especially one that provides opportunities for stable and decent remuneration, adequate social insurance and professional development. The surveys dedicated to labor market marginalization identify several groups who are in danger of falling into the secondary labor market segment specifically people with lower education, employees in flexible types of employment, the youth and older workers and people with disabilities.

Restricted access to participation in learning activities impacts the chances for improving the workforce's qualities and prevents the successful development of the labor market. In the context of increasing economic insecurity and dramatic changes in organizations and business environment, employees try to obtain knowledge and skills in order to be included in the internal (within the organization) and external labor market. In this respect people are motivated "...to receive or retain a job as a result of the interaction between their personal characteristics (knowledge, skills, experience, mobility, etc.) and the labor market." (Bollerot, 2002, p.34). The complex nature of employability is demonstrated through different dimensions showed in Table 1.

Table 1. Dimensions of employability.

Dimensions of employability	How dimension helps employability	Methods of achieving employability
Competency	The wide range of competences increases the individual's readiness for changing his/her position and job.	<p>Training in different activities (structural units).</p> <p>Constant updating of competences.</p> <p>Ensuring the transferability/applicability of competences into a different environment.</p>

Networks	<p>Access to more information.</p> <p>Access to learning opportunities.</p> <p>Cultivating reference persons for when applying for a job.</p>	<p>Establishment of varied contacts within and outside the organization.</p> <p>Participation in formal organizations and professional associations and in informal discussions.</p>
Team working	<p>After reorganizations and lay-offs the workload is increased and workers need to help one another.</p> <p>Teamwork leads to the creation of social networks, skills and learning possibilities.</p>	<p>Demonstrating positive orientation to teamwork and flexibility.</p>
Technical excellence	<p>The result is more visible and more tangible.</p>	<p>Maintaining technical perfection in one area without the effort to become an “expert in everything”.</p>
Above-average performance	<p>Workers with above average performance usually remain in the organization after the organizational changes and lay-offs.</p>	<p>Assumption of additional work tasks.</p>
Retraining	<p>Workers are trained to work in a different profession.</p>	<p>Participation in employer-funded trainings.</p> <p>Seeking training outside the organization.</p> <p>Ensuring the transferability/applicability of training in a different environment.</p>

Geographical relocation	Access to more employment possibilities.	Demonstrating willingness and readiness to work in other geographical areas.
Feedback from employer	Allows the individual to change his/her performance after having received the manager's instructions.	Searching for feedback on work performance at regular intervals.

Source: Garavan, T., Morley, M., Gunnigle, P. & Collins, E., 2001, Human capital accumulation: the role of human resource development, *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 25 (2-4), p. 53.

The development of these labor force qualities calls for both active participation in learning activities and sustainable integration in employment, which creates preconditions for constant improvement and enrichment of people's knowledge, skills and competences.

Employment dynamics in the secondary labor market is studied in connection with CEDEFOP's forecasts for workforce demand over the coming years.* The results demonstrate that labor market development in EU countries is marked by a decrease in demand for the less educated workforce until 2015. According to these estimates, the demand for high-educated workforce will increase by 44.2% by 2015 as compared to 2000 whereas only by 9.5% for less educated. Within the variety of participants measured with this indicator there are also some countries in which the demand for the less educated workforce will actually decrease in particular in Sweden, Spain, Greece, Poland, and the United Kingdom.

Equal opportunities to employment provides conditions for a decent existence and development and represent a fundamental human right as described in the European Social Charter. Employing the capability approach people's well-being and development should focus on their ability to function, to obtain desirable objectives and reach their human potential. Such achieved functioning represent the value of life including work, rest, literacy, health, inclusion in public life, and respect for the individual.

The meaning of the term functioning is described by the person's doings and beings, while the person's capability refers to different combinations of functioning that a person can achieve. Therefore a person's capability is a prerequisite for functioning. Individual capability is the key to achieve desirable goals and objectives. At the same time, employment is the means for reaching the goal of well-being and

* "Future Skill needs in Europe", Medium-term forecast, Synthesis report, CEDEFOP (European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training), Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2008.

development that require certain resources. Resources such as goods and services turn into functioning through personal characteristics (age, sex, skills, and intelligence), institutional or societal characteristics (public policies, social norms, legal rules) and environmental characteristics (physical surroundings, technological infrastructure). “If labor is viewed as a component of functioning, then a number of other social characteristics should be considered: participation in group activities, evaluation of working and living conditions, enriched social relationships” (Salais, 2004, p. 286). In this sense, the secondary labor market employment can be viewed as a prerequisite for access to resources, opportunities for improving employability and sustainable employment.

18.3 Participation of marginalized groups in learning activities

Several social groups have been identified as characterized by relatively low levels of participation in education and job training based on information about participation in formal and informal education and training in the Bulgarian population aged 25-64 (Table 2).^{**}

Table 2. Participation in formal education and informal education and training of the population aged 25-64 in Bulgaria in 2007 by sex, age, level of education and employment status.

		Participation in formal education or non-formal training	
		Participants	Non-participants
		%	%
Sex	Total	36.4	63.6
	Men	37.9	62.1
	Women	35.0	65.0

^{**} The analysis of the state and features of participation in trainings is based on the data from the Eurostat’s latest periodic survey – Adult Education Survey, which covers Bulgaria with data for 2007.

<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/education/data/database>

Age	25-34	44.7	55.3
	35-54	39.7	60.3
	55-64	20.3	79.7
Employment status	Employed	50.2	49.8
	Unemployed	7.1	92.9
	Economically inactive	6.5	93.5
Highest degree of education completed	Elementary and lower secondary	15.1	84.9
	Secondary education	39.2	60.8
	Higher education	52.7	47.3

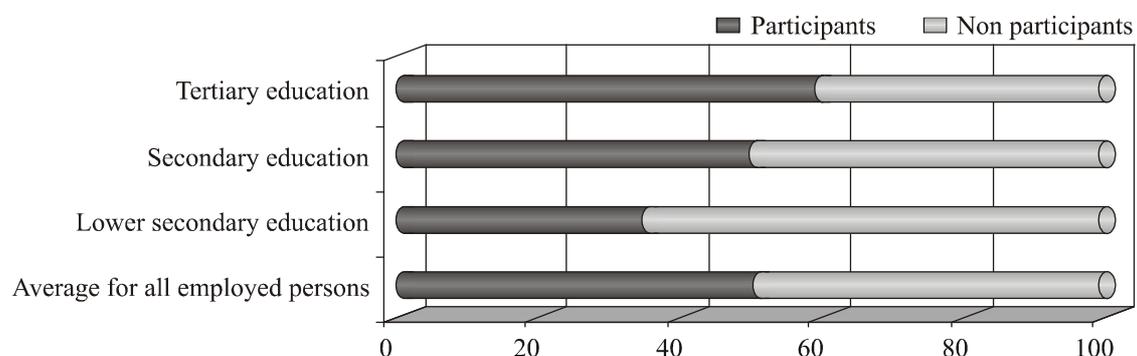
The research support the low educational and training activity by people with elementary or lower secondary education as only 15.1% participated in education and training compared to the 39.2% and 52.7% respectively of people with secondary and higher education. The data also show that 35% of the women participated in education and training, with men's participation somewhat higher at 37.9%. Among the unemployed and economically inactive in 2007, only 7.1% and 6.5% respectively participated in education and training. The relative share of those who participated in education and training is lower among the employed who have less educational experience. (See Table 3)

Table 3. Participation of employed persons in Bulgaria (aged 25-64) in formal education and non-formal education and training in 2007 by levels of education.

		Participation in formal education or informal training	
		Participants	Non-participants
		%	%
Total average for employed persons		50.2	49.8
Highest level of education completed	Elementary and lower education	34.6	65.4
	Secondary education	49.9	50.1
	Higher education	59.0	41.0

Among the employed with elementary and lower education less than 35% participated in education and training compared to 59% among the higher-educated employees (See Figure 1)

Figure 1. Participation of employees in Bulgaria (aged 25-64) in formal education and informal education and training in 2007 by levels of education.



The employed without secondary education show relatively low levels of participation in formal and informal education and training activities. This finding should be examined in the context of the educational dynamics and structure over the last years in Bulgaria. Although during this period the share of people without secondary education decreased the data demonstrate a relatively stable absolute number of the employed in this group of 447,000 in 2003 and over 445,000 in 2008. This finding combined with the low participation in lifelong learning by those with

only elementary and lower education makes it important to apply specialized efforts and measures to improve their knowledge and skills.

The results from Eurostat's survey in Bulgaria show that the majority of people with elementary and lower education do not see their participation in education and training as a factor that prevent unemployment, or that it leads to successful professional development or helps in coping with everyday problems. These negative attitudes toward education and training are reflected in the relatively low levels of participation in self-training including vocational learning through electronically based training resources. Only 2.7% of those with elementary and lower education have participated in self-training compared to more than 1/5 of the employed in Bulgaria. The higher the educational level the greater the participation in self-training. The comparison with the average EU levels show that the less educated in Bulgaria have significantly less participation in self-training that other countries with only Romania producing less participation.

The results from interviews conducted at the beginning of 2010 among employers and employees in the State Employment Agency demonstrate that the majority of employers prefer to train workers who have achieved higher educational degrees and the less educated participate in work-related training less often (Atanassova, 2010). A higher share (71.4%) of the employees interviewed support this finding, which confirms that the less educated workforce experience restricted access to further training. Further, 77.7% of the workers interviewed state that people with elementary and lower education should mainly participate in training offered by the state.

The dynamics of the educational structure in Bulgaria after 2000 are consistent with the main trends in the EU Member States. (See Table 4)

Table 4. Percentage of the population and the age group 25-34, and the age group 55-64 with less than secondary education in the EU and Bulgaria for the period 2000-2008.

	2000	2008
EU 27	35.6	28.5
Women	38.8	29.7
Men	32.5	27.2
Age group 25-34	25.7	20.1
Age group 55-64	51.9	39.6
Relative proportion of people with average to very good computer skills		28

Bulgaria	32.5	22.5
Women	32.5	22.5
Men	33.4	22.4
Age group 25-34	23.9	19.5
Age group 55-64	53.3	31.5
Relative proportion of people with average to very good computer skills		0

The relative proportion of people with less than secondary education within the age group 25-64 has gradually decreased in Bulgaria from 32.9% in 2000 to 22.5% in 2008. These positive changes are consistent for men and women, the young and the people in the age group 55-64. Particularly worrying is the explicit deficit of computer skills by people with elementary and lower education in Bulgaria, which must be considered a serious obstacle for inclusion in the labor market since the economy is marked by a constant infusion of information technologies.

A survey* carried out in Bulgaria in 2009 shows that among the age group 15-34 who left the educational system, 19.9% had acquired higher education, 55.3% secondary education and 24.8% only elementary or lower education. It appears that the number of people with elementary and lower education is maintained through the inflow of new early school dropouts. This finding emphasizes the prevalence of lower education among a significant number of the population and the importance of increasing the effectiveness of activities aimed at activating these marginal people and promoting their employment.

The family environment has a profound influence on the subsequent education of children. Results show that the parents' educational level is an important factor in the child's prospect of achieving a higher level of education. Among people with elementary and lower education, 84.1% originate from families in which both parents are also less educated, with only 15.0% having one parent with a secondary education (and the other parent with the same or lower education compared to the child). Among the less educated only 0.8% have a parent with higher education. The high proportion of young people without secondary education may produce serious problems in the creation of future families since the results suggest that parents with less education reproduce a family and social environment that does not encourage youth to achieve higher levels of education.

* "Young People Entering the Labour Market", Main results from the additional module to the Workforce Survey in 2009, NSI, 2010

The results also demonstrate that the number of employed persons with elementary and lower education in the EU has gradually decreased since 2000, from 48.8% in 2000 to 46.2% in 2009 (See Table 5). The difference coefficients between the levels of employment of people with elementary and lower education and the total employment numbers in the EU increased from 13.4 in 2000 to 18.4 in 2008. In Bulgaria, a slight increase occurred in this group's employment level from 30.4% in 2000 to 32.3% in 2009, but the lesser educated employment levels in Bulgaria still remains lower than the EU average (46.2%). During that period in Bulgaria, too, the distance coefficient between the levels of employment among people with elementary and lower education and the total employment increased from 20.4 in 2000 to 30.3 in 2008.

Table 5. Employment and unemployment of the persons in the EU and Bulgaria in the age group 25-64 with less than secondary education for the period 2000-2009.

EU 27	2000	2009
Employment	48.8	46.2
Distance from the total employment	-13.4	-18.4
Unemployment	10.8	12.8
Distance from the total unemployment	+2.1	+3.5
Bulgaria		
Employment	30.4	32.3
Distance from the total employment	-20.4	-30.3
Unemployment	23.3	14.3
Distance from the total unemployment	+6.9	+7.5

The data show that since 2000 there has been an increase in unemployment among persons with lower than secondary education in the EU countries from 10.8% in 2000 to 12.8% in 2009. The distance coefficient between the level of unemployment of the people with less than secondary education and the total unemployment also increased from 2.1 in 2000 to 3.5 in 2008. In Bulgaria, the unemployment of people with less than secondary education decreased from 23.3% in 2000 to 13.6% in 2008, but in 2009 increased to 14.3% and unemployment continues considerably higher than the average overall EU levels. Meanwhile, the distance

coefficient between the unemployment level of people with less than secondary education and the total unemployment in Bulgaria increased from 6.9 in 2000 to 7.5 in 2008.

The data demonstrate that marginal groups with elementary and less than secondary education are strongly represented among unemployed people and also the long-term unemployed. Even during the years of economic growth the long-term unemployed were a difficult-to-hire group and while their numbers are decreasing they still constitute one-third of the total number of the registered unemployed. This marginal group includes poor and less educated people with a high probability of remaining inactive or impoverished. In studies on long-term unemployed proposals to improve their situation include the need to acquire or improve literacy, acquire key professional skills, provide opportunities for subsidized employment, and offering specialized job mediation for the Roma population. (Lukanova, 2010).

The results from a survey conducted in 2007 indicated that “among the working age population aged 18-65 only 46.9% of the Roma had a job during the last week”. Particularly significant is the so-called “genderfication” among the Roma where the proportion of employed women is almost twice as low compared to employed men. Consistent with the preceding results discussed the Roma’s employment is directly related to education: the higher the educational degree, the higher the level of employment. Further, the survey showed that 23.5% of the employed Roma work without a labor contract in the so-called grey economy without contributions to social security.* Particularly worrying are the trends in the Roma population’s educational position. According to the data from a World Bank survey, only 13% of the working age Roma has at least secondary education.** The lack of education is reflected in the relatively low employment coefficient of the Roma population in Bulgaria of 41%.

The results from a May 2010 survey in Bulgaria demonstrated that people with elementary and lower education have more difficulty in finding a job and also lose their employment more quickly compared with people with higher or secondary education. Just 37.6% of people with elementary and lower education found a job after they had registered at the labor office while with 70 % the people with higher and 68.3% secondary education found work. (See Table 6) (Kotseva, 2010).

* “The Picture of Employment in Times of Crisis”, *Politiki*, issue 06/09 based on data from “Multipurpose Survey of Households in Bulgaria”, June 2007, BBSS Gallup/World Bank/Open Society Institute-Sofia.

** “Economic Costs of the Roma Exclusion”, World Bank, April 2010.

Table 6. Summary from a survey on employment office services.

Educational degree	Percentage who found a job after registration at the labor office	Percentage of those who preserved their employment
Higher	70.0%	90.1%
Secondary	68.3%	84.8%
Lower than secondary	37.6%	71.1%

Almost 30% of people with elementary or lower than secondary education who found a job were unable to keep it. However, among people with higher education (9.9%) and secondary education (15.2%), the failure to retain jobs was significantly less.

The State Employment Agency's data recorded that the number of registered unemployed in the first quarter of 2010 increased by 51% compared with the one from the first quarter of the previous year and has reached 374.2 thousand people results that are consistent with the worldwide economic crisis.^{***} More than half of the registered unemployed are people with elementary and lower than secondary education.

The number of the registered unemployed in the first quarter of 2010 increased by 40.7% among people with only elementary and lower than secondary education compared to the same period of 2009 and reached 188.4 thousand people which is more than half of the registered unemployed in the country. The majority of the unemployed (107.8 thousand is the monthly average) are people with only primary and lower education. The long-term unemployed with only primary and lower secondary education increased to 35.9 thousand people in the first quarter of 2010.

During the period 2005-2008, the resources for active labor market policies in Bulgaria decreased in both total budget expenditure and as a relative share to the GDP. The data show that in the EU the costs for passive policies prevail. In Bulgaria active policy costs are significant with the costs for subsidized employment substantial and relatively fewer resources dedicated to vocational qualification. The active job related policy in Bulgaria assign resources primarily to subsidized employment although this component gradually decreased from 71.8% in 2005 to 66% in 2008. A relatively smaller share of the budget is devoted to the vocational training with only 15.2% in 2005 and 13.2% in 2008 (Lukanova, 2010).

^{***} Employment Agency's Newsletter on Unemployment and Active Employment Policy for the Period January-March 2010.

In the current crisis period from January to March 2010 the active policies of subsidized labor in the Bulgarian labor market covered workers with elementary and lower education as the country experienced a significant cut in the financial resources for the national Employment Plan for 2010. During the first quarter of 2010 the number of new workers included in employment and training programs was 25 613, decreasing by 33 504 (or more than twice the number) compared to the same period of 2009. The limited financial resource allocated by the National Employment Action Plan for 2010 produced a reduction in the number of workers employed or who were included in employment and training programs and measures.*

Among the employed the activity of certain groups depend on their employment status and conditions, for example the type of the contractual relations with the employer, the length of the working hours, whether members belonged to a professional group, and the size of the organization.

Not surprisingly among the employed those who participate more actively in education and training are from the age group 25-34 (55.3%) and the lowest levels are the employed aged 55-64. (Table 7)

Table 7. The participation of employed people in Bulgaria in 2007 aged 25 to 64 in formal education and informal education and training by sex and age.

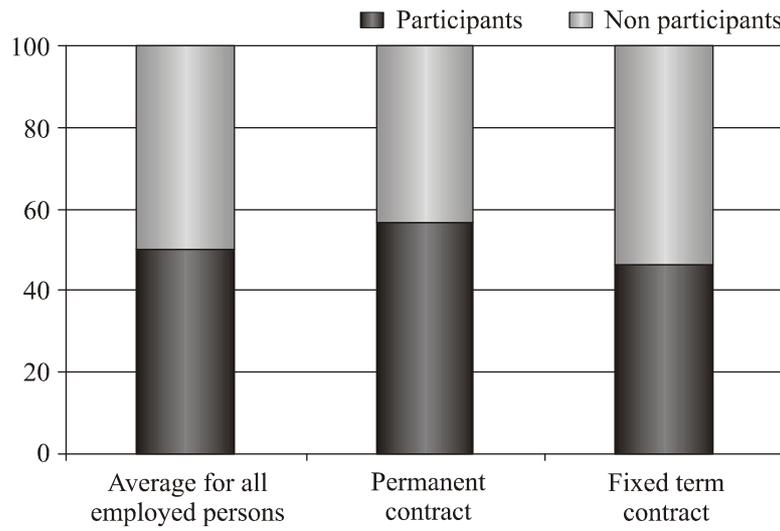
		Participation in formal education or informal training	
		Participants	Non-participants
		%	%
Sex	Total average for employed persons	50.2	49.8
	Men	49.6	50.4
	Women	51.0	49.0
Age	25-34	55.3	44.7
	35-54	49.0	51.0
	55-64	45.4	54.6

The results show that a relatively small proportion of those who have participated in education and training are found among groups employed in flexible types of employment who work with a fixed-term contracts and work irregular hours. Studies of flexible employment show that workers with non-typical types of employment including part-time and fixed-term contractual employees participate less frequently in various types of training programs (Otero, 2007). According to the 2007

* Employment Agency's Newsletter on Unemployment and Active Employment Policy for the Period January-March 2010.

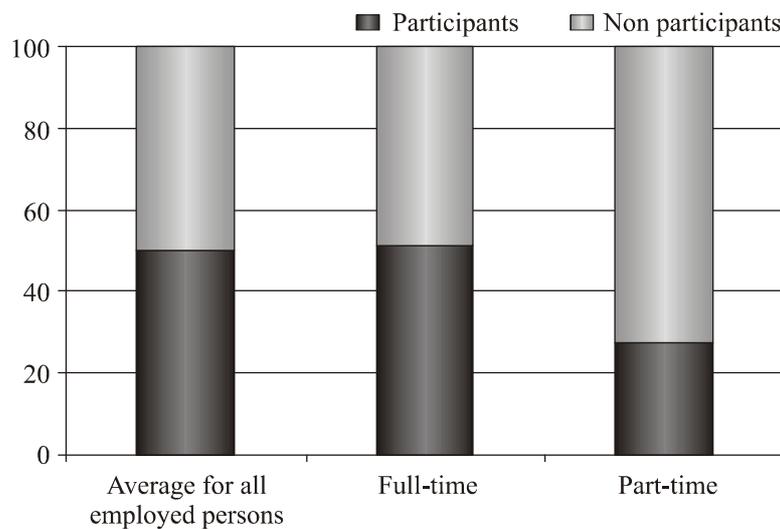
survey 46.5% of the temporarily employed participated in education and training whereas 56.5% of the workers with permanent contract employed participated (See Figure 2)

Figure 2. Participation of employed persons in Bulgaria in 2007 aged 25 to 64 in formal education and informal education and training by type of labor contract.



The part-time employed have very low levels (27.5%) of participation in education and training (See Fig.3)

Figure 3. Participation of employed persons in 2007 in Bulgaria aged 25- to 64 in formal education and informal education and training by working hours.



The results from an interview conducted in early 2010 with employers and employees by the State Employment Agency showed that over 85% of employers indicated a preference for including only permanent contract and other full-time workers in training programs. Similar results were obtained in interviews among the labor office employees with more than 77% indicating that employers preferred to include primarily workers and employees on permanent contracts and working full-time in the training programs (Atanassova, 2010).

Table 8. Enterprises provided training in 2005 in Bulgaria according to the number of the employed.

(In % of all enterprises)

Groups of enterprises by number of employees	Enterprises provided continuing vocational training			Enterprises provided other types of training
	Total	CVT courses (internally organized)	CVT courses (externally organized)	
Total	28.7	12.3	16.7	23.8
10-49	23.7	8.1	12.0	20.0
50-249	44.0	24.3	30.7	34.8
Over 250 employees	61.4	43.7	51.2	51.6

In small and medium-sized enterprises the opportunity for training is significantly lower compared to the big enterprises. In 2005 23.7% of the enterprises staff with a workforce up to 50 people offered trainings while 61.4% of the enterprises with staff more than 250 people offered training opportunities (See Table 8)

To summarize the above results certain marginal social groups are characterized by relatively low levels of participation in lifelong learning activities:

- The workforce with only elementary, primary and lower secondary education both among the group of the employed and unemployed and the economically inactive.
- Unemployed persons
- Older workers from the age group 55 to 64.
- Women from the age group 25 to 64. However, employed men are characterized by relatively lower levels of participation in education and training compared to women.
- Workers employed in small and medium-sized enterprises.
- Workers employed in flexible types of employment including those working part-time and on fixed-term contracts.

People with elementary and lower education participate least in learning activities and there is a steady trend towards less participation among workers from higher age groups. The unemployed in particular show low levels of participation in learning activities. A notable problem is the low level of computer and information

technology skills in all age groups. This must be viewed as a troubling issue in the case of young people with high expectations for a long upcoming career. Finally, the results demonstrated the relatively low participation in learning activities on the part of workers in flexible types of employment.

18.4 Policies promoting the activation of marginal workers in the participation of learning activities

The improvement of people's knowledge and skills is a prerequisite for their successful professional and social development and integration. Knowledge and skill improvement is a traditional element in the strategic EU documents in the field of employment, education and training, including of the flexicurity (flexible security) policies. The complex strategies to encourage lifelong learning are key components of the European flexicurity policy along with developing worker-employee contractual relations, an active labor market policy and the modern social security system. The policy objective is to counteract marginalization and thereby increase opportunities for improving the workforce.

The results from the comparative studies on the participation in job training by employed workers in Bulgaria and the EU are the basis for identifying the major challenges for Bulgaria. A major objective is to decrease the noticeable marginalization of certain social groups who are characterized by low participation in work-related training. This goal can be partially met by creating suitable conditions for activating the employee's individual educational efforts as a key factor in the process of learning and improving knowledge and skills. The successful management of the challenges discussed above is important both in the context of the current economic crisis and also by the crucial role of ongoing skills update in the new European strategic development program "Europe 2020".

These problems have been taken into account in formulating the mid-term policies and measures for overcoming marginalization in learning activities envisaged in the Bulgarian "pathway" for achieving better flexicurity in the labor market* through the following main policy directions.

First, widening the opportunities for participation in different forms of education and training. Such a program would lead workers to acquire certified achievements in knowledge, skills and competences through the introduction of appropriate institutional mechanisms for validating competences as a result of informal training and formal learning. Further, widening opportunities should ensure periodic participation in the education and training system at each phase of employees' lives and work careers.

* Bulgarian "pathway" for achieving better Flexicurity on the Labour Market, 2009-2011, Sofia, MLSP, 2009.

Secondly, the measures envisaged support the idea that education and training give rise to further efforts at development. One of the main barriers to increasing participation in lifelong learning is connected to workers initial low level of education and qualification. The creation of opportunities for wider participation can be a catalyst for motivating improvement in people's knowledge and skills. Further, validating the competences acquired will have a positive impact in a number of ways. On the one hand, this will create opportunities for workers with a relatively low degree of education, to receive a certificate documenting knowledge and skills in demand in the labor market. Also, validating competencies is a motivating factor for increasing the participation in informal training and learning.

The measures proposed will increase the possibilities for workers to make personal choices for skill improvement and will create conditions for active participation in learning by young people, women, people from the high-age groups, including those employed in flexible types of employment. In the future it is important to enhance the quality and attractiveness of both vocational education and training and also the higher education system by modernizing the curricula and syllabuses. Further, activation will be promoted by increasing the proportion of practical training, by validating previous learning and by introducing mechanisms for quality control and maintenance.

One of the main purposes of the measures envisaged is to widen the access to formal education and training, including early school dropouts. Individuals who drop out of school will become a serious problem for social integration and development policies due to their relatively low levels of education and qualifications. Apprenticeship is a form of training for young and marginalized people that has proved its efficiency in the past and is a major component in the Bulgarian "pathway" as it is considered a part of complex lifelong learning strategies. In this regard the policy measures envisaged have a serious potential for opening up new possibilities for a more active involvement in formal education and training by persons characterized in the past by low levels of participation.

Future labor policies should seek to improve the correspondence between demand and supply on the labor market by enhancing the approaches and tools for estimating the labor force needs and by also researching employers' needs. On that basis it would be possible to offer curricula and syllabuses that would better reflect the expected labor market dynamics.

Information from periodic surveys and forecasts about workforce needs requiring specified qualification in Bulgaria is seen as a main component for effective management solutions by helping to define the scope and content of the national education and training system. Such information can enhance the effectiveness and efficiency education and training programs and lead to a number of beneficial effects impacting complex lifelong learning strategies. These positive outcomes include increasing the interest and motivation for participation in both formal and informal

education and training. Further, useful information may help activate employers and trade unions as partners in improving knowledge, skills and competencies.

The introduction of a voucher system may prove an effective tool for improving the access to learning activities through the regulation of the duties and responsibilities of employers and employees in the process of improving knowledge and skills as well as the key competences. In essence, the measures in this direction contain significant financial support a prerequisite for increasing the participation in learning activities. A voucher system and the efforts to improve key competences can lead to a more active involvement in formal trainings by marginalized groups. While the voucher system involves an increase in opportunities it also is based on personal responsibilities for the improving individual qualifications. Some of these workers will need competent counseling at this stage of their development. In this sense a significant prerequisite for effective solutions for qualification updating are the measures for widening the range of services in professional orientation, motivational training and career development that is envisaged in the “pathway”, including the effective acquisition of key competences.

18.5 Conclusion

In conclusion the aforementioned problems related to activating the participation in learning activities of marginalized groups become the basis for a number of recommendations for improving policies:

- Activating the participation in learning activities of people with elementary and lower secondary education and the unemployed who have been previously marked by low levels of inclusion in lifelong learning activities;
- Ensuring support of workers from the marginalized groups through professional orientation, motivational training and career development to activate their participation in lifelong learning;
- Offering the possibilities for certifying knowledge and skills acquired during the informal training process thereby stimulating the interest towards lifelong learning.
- Widening the opportunities for learning offered in small and medium-sized enterprises which register extremely low levels of training offered, and yet represent the majority of the enterprises in Bulgaria.
- Activating the participation in training on the part of employees in flexible types of employment also characterized by low levels of continuing vocational qualification courses as well as other forms of training.
- Accelerate improvement in computer and information technology skills especially for the youth age groups.

Successful activity in these directions would help reduce and remove the barriers to the participation in learning activities by people who belong to marginalized social groups and help develop their employability and capacity for successful social integration.

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Chapter 19

PAY SATISFACTION AMONG EMPLOYEES IN BULGARIAN PRIVATE COMPANIES

Silvia Ivanova

19.1 Introduction

The amount of pay employees receive for work is a key factor in job satisfaction. The role of money is also considered to be a substantial factor in attracting, motivating and keeping employees even though the amount of salary is not the primary motivating factor.

A number of researchers argue that remuneration influence employees' attitudes and behavior and therefore has an impact on the company's effectiveness (Dulebohn & Martocchio, 1998). The specific role of pay in motivation, job satisfaction and effectiveness of employees is subject to some dispute among scholars. Indeed each of these job-related variables is complex and influenced by other factors in addition to pay. However, it would be unwise for employers to underestimate the importance of overall compensation and pay in particular. Living in a world of intense competition pay is considered one of the more powerful management tools to help a company to become and stay productive and effective (Dulebohn & Martocchio, 1998).

Pay satisfaction can be described as the overall positive or negative affect of the employee toward job compensation (Miceli & Lane, 1991). Pay satisfaction research is important for at least two reasons: (1) pay is a significant organizational expense; and (2) pay is a valued individual outcome. The compensation people get for their work is on one hand an instrument for needs satisfaction, and on the other hand it serves as an indicator of a company's priorities and practices. Remuneration is a signal to the employee of his/her value and contribution to the company and a comparative measure for social status and success. Hence, pay serves many functions and the employees' attitudes and behavioral responses towards their compensation are crucial for their engagement with the company (Shaw, Duffy, Jenkins, Gupta, 1999).

19.2 Evolution in the conceptualization of pay satisfaction

The conceptualization and the approach towards pay satisfaction have evolved over time. Early research viewed pay satisfaction as a unidimensional construct (Miceli, Near & Schwenk, 1991). However, other researchers argued that pay satisfaction is multidimensional consisting of from 4 to 7 components (DeConnick,

Stilwell, & Brock, 1996; Heneman & Schwab, 1985, Williams, Carraher, Brower, & McManus, 1999).

A) Pay satisfaction as unidimensional construct.

Pay satisfaction as unidimensional construct suggest that employees develop certain attitudes towards the compensation received and this attitude determines their job-related behavior (Lawler, 1971). Early research visualized pay as a form of reinforcement (Skinner, 1953). According to Skinner people learn from experience that they can satisfy primary needs like the requirement for food through money and therefore money becomes a drive and even a goal itself. Expectancy theory suggests that pay can be a motivator if it is valued and desired by the individual (Vroom, 1964).

A significant contribution to the understanding of pay satisfaction is discrepancy theory (Lawler, 1971). Discrepancy theory is based on social comparison processes where pay satisfaction is a consequence of the discrepancy between expected and the actual pay. Perception of job-related discrepancy is connected to a variety of individual and job characteristics (Heneman, Greenberger, Strasser, 1988). An employee is satisfied when the actual pay corresponds to the expected pay. Correspondingly dissatisfaction arises when the actual pay is lower than expected remuneration. On the other hand if the actual pay exceeds expected pay the employee will experience dissonance and feel a measure of guilt. The employee's reaction to discrepancy between expected and actual pay is moderated by the valence of the pay. Where pay is valued by the individual the employee will try to reduce the dissonance perhaps by working harder, however if the pay is not perceived as important there is no motivation for change in work-related behavior.

B) Pay satisfaction as multidimensional construct

Locke (1969) suggested that pay satisfaction is a multidimensional construct that should be studied separately from overall job satisfaction (Locke, 1976). This position is supported by the research of Heneman & Schwab (1985) who differentiated four dimensions of pay satisfaction:

1. Satisfaction with pay level where the individual is satisfied with the actual amount of money received.
2. Benefits satisfaction, pay also includes intangible compensation like paid leave, sick leave, and pensions.
3. Pay raise satisfaction, satisfaction with the increase in pay level.

4. Pay structure satisfaction, satisfaction with the hierarchical relationship between pay levels for different position in the organization.

Additional research identified a fifth dimension, the fairness in the administration of pay. Employees can be satisfied or dissatisfied by the administration processes in the company (Heneman, Schwab, 1985). These five dimensions influence different aspects of employees' behavior and hence the satisfaction of each dimension should be managed carefully by the employers.

19.3 Pay satisfaction antecedents

Although pay satisfaction is seen as a consequence of variety of factors, the most important are age, sex, level of education, skills, performance, and the pay system specifics (Gruneberg, 1979).

Age

Some demographic studies report age as a predictor of pay satisfaction (Berkowitz, Fraser, Treasure & Cochran 1987; Cappelli & Sherer, 1988; Lawler & Porter, 1966; Judge, 1993). However, the research has yielded somewhat ambiguous results since some studies show moderate to no relationship between age and pay satisfaction (Dreher, Ash & Bretz 1988; Rice, McFarlin, & Bennett 1989). Since the results are inconsistent, the impact of age on pay satisfaction is likely to be complex and may affect some but not all pay satisfaction dimensions.

In general, the relationship between age and pay satisfaction is based on the life span concept and the analogy of passing through career stages. Each career step is connected with specific priorities, responsibilities, values and needs. In the early stages of career development employees experiment with different roles that often involve change in job and company. In this stage of uncertainty it is expected that the individual is less worried about benefits and compensation (Balkin, Griffeth, 1993). With the growth of the career the employee gets more engaged with the company and eventually invests more in the organization. This typically also occurs at a time when the employee has a need to take care family responsibilities. This change in the priorities makes compensation more important and so, we could expect that older and more experienced employees will have bigger expectations (due to larger inputs), compared with their younger and less experienced colleagues (Balkin, Griffeth, 1993).

Gender

In general the majority of scholars accept that women tend to demonstrate higher pay satisfaction than men when the pay levels are comparable. Still it is hardly a universally acknowledged conclusion, since empirical results show different interrelations between gender and pay satisfaction.

A possible explanation of higher pay satisfaction of women is based on social attitudes that underestimate women's professional achievements especially when it

comes to women in managerial positions. It is possible that women themselves as a result underestimate their own contribution, and consequently have lower expectations and therefore are more satisfied than men who receive comparable pay.

Experience

Job-related experience is a potential predictor of pay satisfaction. Seniority has an impact on the power and benefits an employee receives in the organization. Employees with longer tenure tend to have more rights in choosing work tasks, the scheduling of working hours, and the prestige of the office setting. As a result experienced employees have higher expectations about their compensation and especially the benefits they receive, compared to less experienced workers (Balkin, Griffeth, 1993).

Tenure is considered a factor with moderate impact on pay satisfaction. Research results are contradictory. Lawler and Porter (1966) for example argue that tenure influence pay satisfaction level. A wide number of studies show small or no correlation between pay satisfaction and tenure (Dreher, 1981, Heneman et al, 1988, Dreher at all, 1988).

Education

According to human capital theory, people invest time and money in education in order to get something in return. People who invest more expect bigger compensation. Consequently we would expect that employees with a higher comparative educational levels to assess their contribution as more valuable and therefore have higher expectation about job benefits (Balkin, Griffeth, 1993).

19.4 Pay system and individual perceptions

The actual pay received is one of the most reliable predictors of pay level satisfaction (Schwab & Wallace, 1974; Dyer & Theriault, 1976; Dreher, 1981, Lawler & Porter, 1966; Rice, Phillips, & McFarlin, 1990; Ronan & Organt, 1973; Schwab & Wallace, 1974). Research supports the contention that actual pay level is a predictor for all dimensions of pay satisfaction.

The company's compensation policy is another factor that influences the pay satisfaction. According to expectancy theory, employees will work harder if they believe that their efforts lead to better results, and better results will be compensated with higher pay. Employees' perceptions of performance-based pay are considered a crucial factor in overall pay satisfaction (Miceli & Near, 1987; Heneman, Greenberger, Strasser, 1988). Motowidlo (1984) stress the idea that if the pay level is "frozen" employees with higher self-appraisal of their work have lower pay satisfaction than employees with lower self-appraisals.

The transparency and the clarity of the company's pay policy are antecedents of pay satisfaction (Brown & Huber, 1992; Dyer & Theriault, 1976; Heneman &

Judge, 2000). Research conducted by Brown and Huber (1992) indicate that if employees who are not informed and don't understand the logic of the pay policy/system are less satisfied.

Another predictor of pay satisfaction is perception of pay justice. Research supports the importance of distributive justice compared with the procedural justice (McFarlin & Sweeney, 1992; Williams et al, 2007). However, benefits satisfaction in particular is more strongly influenced by procedural justice (Tremblay, Sire & Balkin, 1999).

However, the interrelation between justice and pay satisfaction is not clarified completely. Some research indicates that perceived justice is a predictor of pay satisfaction (for example Folger & Konovsky, 1989; McFarlin & Sweeney, 1992). From another point of view pay satisfaction is a prerequisite for perceptions of pay justice (Dulebohn & Martocchio, 1998).

19.5 Pay satisfaction outcomes

Regardless the strong interest in pay satisfaction outcomes there are not sufficient research evidence to evaluate the consequences (Dreher, Ash, & Bretz, 1988; Heneman & Judge, 2000; Judge, 1993). Research is primarily focused on the factors that contribute to satisfaction with compensation and on varying approaches to investigate pay satisfaction (Heneman & Schwab, 1985; Heneman & Judge, 2000; Heneman & Schwab, 1985; Jones & Wright, 1992; Judge & Welbourne, 1994; Tremblay, Sire & Balkin, 1999).

Using a sample of 2000 managers Miceli, Jung, Near & Greenberger (1991) studied the positive correlations between pay satisfaction, overall job satisfaction and the intentions to stay with the company. Motowildo (1983) focused on the indirect relationship between pay satisfaction and turnover and found that pay satisfaction was connected with the intention to leave or stay with a company. Logically intention to leave is a strong predictor of turnover (Motowildo, 1983; Mobley, 1977).

19.6 The current research

This chapter presents results of a survey on pay satisfaction with the ultimate goal of examining some salient issues and developing practical and business oriented principles for a pay system that would be perceived as just by the employees.

Instrument

The Pay Satisfaction Questionnaire/PSQ of Heneman and Schwab (1985) was utilized. The instrument includes five dimensions of pay satisfaction: 1) pay level, 2) benefits, 3) pay raise, 4) pay structure and 5) the administration of pay. Each dimension contained 4 items with Likert type response categories. A subsequent factor analysis led to the exclusion of two of the initial items and the final version of the questionnaire had 17 items.

Sample

191 respondents participated, 77 men (40%) and 111 women (58%). The survey information collected included gender, age, education, specialty, current position held, tenure at the current position, overall tenure, department, net pay and family status information. The sample included employees from several Bulgarian private companies with managerial responsibilities or positions of expertise and recipients of different levels of net pay. The majority of the respondents were employed by 4 companies (in the services sector, transport and logistics, security and software development. The majority of the respondents had professional experience of more than 5 years). The pay level was mostly between 500 and 1500 BGN net.

Figure 1. Demographic profile of the respondents' pay level.

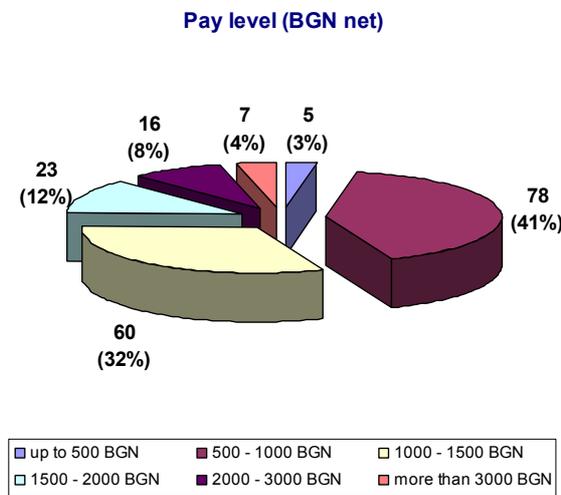
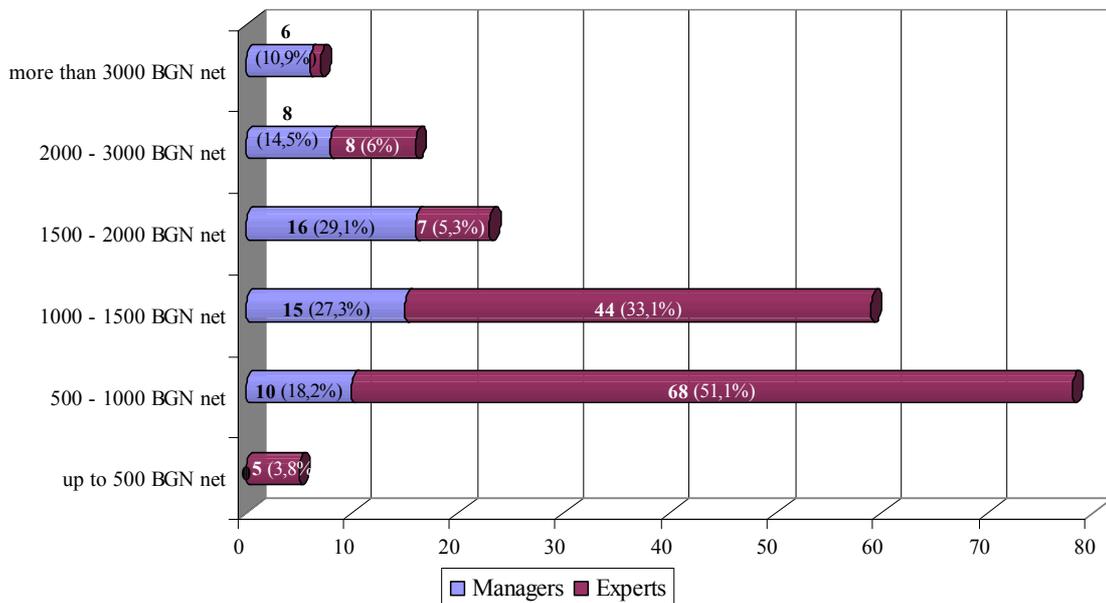


Figure 2. Position (managers and experts) and pay level distribution.



The survey yielded a high reliability coefficient alpha (.85).

Procedure

The study was conducted through a web-based instrument allowing the respondents to answer at a convenient time and place. This web-based approach also guaranteed the confidentiality of the responses.

19.7 Pay satisfaction results

Table 1. Item analysis of pay satisfaction, item means and standard deviations.

Pay Satisfaction					
Item	N	Min	Max	Mean	Stand. Dev.
Consistency of the company's pay policies	191	1	5	2.57	0.99
The rules and criteria for defining pay levels in the company	191	1	5	2.57	0.96
Differences of pay among jobs in the company	191	1	5	2.60	0.86
How clear the company's pay structure is to me	191	1	5	2.63	1.17
How my raises are determined	191	1	5	2.63	1.04
My most recent raise	191	1	5	2.68	1.14
The number of benefits I receive	191	1	5	2.84	1.05
The raises I have typically received in the past	191	1	5	2.86	1.14
My take-home pay	191	1	5	2,87	1,12
Influence my supervisor has on my pay	191	1	5	2.90	1.06
My current pay	191	1	5	2.91	1.12
Size of my current salary	191	1	5	2.92	1.12

Pay of other jobs in the company	191	1	5	2.92	0.79
The value of my benefits	191	1	5	2.93	1.02
My overall level of pay	191	1	5	2.94	1.09
My benefit package	191	1	5	2.98	1.13
Rules and practices for administering pay	191	1	5	3.41	1.08

The lowest level of satisfaction are derived from the administration of pay from lack of consistency (M=2.57) and to rules and criteria (M=2.57). Since this part of the analysis does not include significance testing our conclusions are hypothetical. Perhaps the private companies that participated in the study have not implemented clear principles and consistent practices in pay policy.

The results yielded a large number of “Don’t know” responses about pay differentials between different positions in the company, rules and criteria for defining pay, and equality in pay definition. That result point to a lack communication about internal rules on pay structure. Such a lack of clear and unambiguous information could also have a negative impact on satisfaction and could produce disagreement and resistance to pay rules and procedures. The majority of respondents were dissatisfied since they perceived company rules to be inconsistent in pay and lacked objectivity in pay decisions.

Table 2. Percentage responses on the items with lowest means.

Pay Satisfaction					
Item	I don't know	Strongly dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Completely satisfied
Consistency of the company's pay policies	90 (47%)	37 (19%)	38 (20%)	23 (12%)	3 (2%)
The rules and criteria for defining pay levels in the company	88 (46%)	35 (18%)	41 (21%)	26 (14%)	1
Differences of pay among jobs in the company	108 (56%)	29 (15%)	36 (19%)	18 (9%)	0

Table 3. Percentage responses on the items with highest means.

Pay Satisfaction					
Item	I don't know	Strongly dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Completely satisfied
My overall level of pay	38 (20%)	18 (9%)	59 (31%)	69 (36%)	7 (4%)
My benefit package	46 (24%)	20 (10%)	51 (27%)	61 (32%)	13 (7%)
Rules and practices for administering pay	36 (19%)	14 (7%)	27 (14%)	95 (50%)	19 (10)

Results in table 4 show the means for the four pay dimensions. The difference between the means appear insignificant. Additional comments by the respondents indicate that during the recent years they have received only symbolic pay raises if any at all.

Table 4. Means and standard deviations for four pay dimensions.

Pay Satisfaction			
Scale	N	Mean	Stand. Dev.
Administering pay	191	2.76	0.76
Pay raise	191	2.80	0.96
Benefits	191	2.90	0.90
Pay level	191	2.91	1.06

19.8 Influence of net pay on pay satisfaction

Results yielded statistically significant differences on the effect of all four dimensions on the level of pay satisfaction, with F values all highly significant.

Table 5. Influence of net pay on pay satisfaction.

		ANOVA				
Influence of net pay on pay satisfaction level		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
PSQ Pay level	Between groups	47.029	5	9.406	10.930	.000
	Within group	157.476	183	.861		
	Total	204.505	188			
PSQ Benefits	Between groups	19.965	5	3.993	5.583	.000
	Within group	130.881	183	.715		
	Total	150.846	188			
PSQ Pay raise	Between groups	18.860	5	3.772	4.542	.001
	Within group	151.966	183	.830		
	Total	170.827	188			
PSQ Administration	Between groups	9.820	5	1.964	3.701	.003
	Within group	97.106	183	.531		
	Total	106.927	188			

Survey results reported in table 6 show that the most satisfied employees are those earning more 3000 BGN net per month. Least satisfied are respondents with a month salary up to 500 BGN net.

Table 6. Tukey HSD examining the influence of net pay on pay satisfaction.

(A)

PSQ Pay level

Tukey HSDa,b

Net pay	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05			
		1	2	3	4
up to 500 BGN	5	1.7500			
500 - 1000 BGN	78	2.5064	2.5064		
1000 - 1500 BGN	60		2.9667	2.9667	
1500 - 2000 BGN	23		3.4239	3.4239	3.4239
2000 - 3000 BGN	16			3.7031	3.7031
more than 3000 BGN	7				4.1786
Sig.		.323	.136	.353	.325

The differences in pay satisfaction between respondents with a net pay of up to 500 BGN net and the pay satisfaction of respondents with net salary above 1500 BGN net are statistically significant. Since there is no significant difference in pay level satisfaction between employees with salary of 500 BGN net compared to those earning a salary between 500 and 1500BGN net it is possible to infer that for these enterprises employees will be satisfied with net pay that is at least 1500 BGN net per month. Different companies may have varying comparative pay bases that influence pay satisfaction.

(B)

PSQ Benefits

Tukey HSDa,b

Net pay	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05		
		1	2	3
Up to 500 BGN	5	2.1500		
500 - 1000 BGN	78	2.7083	2.7083	
1000 - 1500 BGN	60	2.8958	2.8958	
1500 - 2000 BGN	16		3.1406	3.1406
2000 - 3000 BGN	23		3.2717	3.2717
more than 3000 BGN	7			4.1071
Sig.		.239	.554	.052

As seen above pay level also emerges as a factor in benefits satisfaction. Significant differences in benefits satisfaction were found between respondents with a net pay of up to 1500 BGN net and the respondents with net pay above 3000 BGN net.

(C)

PSQ Pay raise

Tukey HSDa,b

Net pay	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05		
		1	2	3

Up to 500 BGN	5	2.0000		
500 - 1000 BGN	78	2.6923	2.6923	
1000 - 1500 BGN	60	2.7056	2.7056	
1500 - 2000 BGN	23	2.9565	2.9565	
2000 - 3000 BGN	16		3.1458	3.1458
more than 3000 BGN	7			4.0952
Sig.		.096	.813	.100

As seen above significant differences in the satisfaction of pay raises were found between respondents with the highest salaries and all other groups (except the group containing employees with a net pay 2000 to 3000 BGN net). The data provide a floor for pay raise satisfaction as it is expressed only by employees with higher than 2000 BGN net salary.

As can be seen in the table above significant differences in satisfaction with pay administration were found between 2 groups of respondents: Employees with a salary of 500 to 1000 BGN net and respondents with a salary of more than 3000 BGN net. It is not a surprising finding that employees with high net pay are more satisfied with the criteria for pay allocation and the pay system compared to those with less pay.

(D)

PSQ Administration

Tukey HSDa,b

Net pay	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05	
		1	2
Up to 500 BGN	5	2.5429	
500 - 1000 BGN	78	2.6575	
1000 - 1500 BGN	60	2.6786	
1500 - 2000 BGN	23	2.8385	
2000 - 3000 BGN	16	3.0446	3.0446

more than 3000 BGN	7		3.7551
Sig.		.517	.147

19.9 Conclusion

The current results suggest that the private companies whose employees took part in the research have not yet developed or implemented a transparent and objective pay system. In summary the respondents display moderate pay satisfaction. Dissatisfaction occur when the rules for allocating pay and benefits to employees in the same company are not consistent particularly in defining criteria for allocating pay. The results suggest that in order to have more satisfied and eventually loyal employees the organization should consider the importance of developing clearly communicated, consistent and transparent compensation systems.

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Chapter 20

THE IDEAL CANDIDATE AND THE GOOD PERFORMER: FROM THE MYTH OF PROFESSIONAL MATCHING BASED ON JOB COMPETENCIES TO THE PERSONAL VALUES WE BROUGHT TO WORK

Andreea Țuțu

20.1 Introduction

Modern literature abounds in definitions, models and methods for the assessment and understanding of job performance. Theories and practices were developed to enable human resources professionals to enhance job performance (Holton & Yamkovenko, 2008). Consistent with many researchers (e.g. Robertson, Callinan & Bartram, 2002; Campbell, McCloy, Oppler, & Sager, 1993), job performance is considered in this chapter as the sum of employee behaviors in the work-place context that are crucial in reaching planned individual outcomes and objectives, and relevant to the organizational objectives (Bartram, 2000; 2002; Schmitt & Chan, 1998). However, determinants of job performance are difficult to estimate and few studies provide percentages of job performance variance explained by predictors (Viswesvaran, Ones, & Schmidt, 1996).

The current report aims at understanding relationship of job performance to job competency and extra-role performance. Since employee values may play a role in performance are there different value profiles for the individuals who perform at the highest level in organizations?

Job competencies are „causal-related to the efficacy and/or superior performance” (Boyatzis, 1982, p. 23), important prerequisites of job performance (Lucia & Lepsinger, 1999; McClelland, 1973), observable dimensions of performance (Athey & Orth, 1999) and dispositions that can partially predict performance (van den Berg, 1998). In this paper a behavioral definition of competencies, as sets of behaviors that are instrumental in the delivery of desired results or outcomes, is adopted (Bartram, 2005)

That competencies are necessary in order to be able to perform in a professional task is acknowledged. However, this general assumption can cause confusion at times, and whether competencies are sufficient to predict high job performance is evaluated (Woodruffe, 1992). Further, whether the general recruitment practice of matching current job competency with a required competency standard would predict high performance is to be investigated.

The influence of extra-role performance also called organizational citizenship on job performance may prove important. The literature promotes the distinction between in-role performance, understood as work performance driven by formal requirements of the job, and extra-role performance referring to informal expectations about employee's behaviors. Extra-role behavior contributes to organizational performance, but is not formally required by a job description. For example helping colleagues, promoting the organization in a personal or informal context, and developing self competencies are complementary to job formal requirements. The literature refers to it as contextual performance and organizational citizenship behaviors, prosocial organizational behaviors, or organizational spontaneity (Smith, Organ, & Near, 1983; Bateman & Organ, 1983). Previous studies have shown that extra-role performance also influence the actual job performance, and scores for global performance (MacKinzie, Podsakoff, & Fetter 1991; Nikolaou & Robertson, 2001; Tutu, 2012). In the current research extra-role performance is linked with the personal value system to individual performance through analysis of the values profiles of good and poor performers using the ten human universal values defined by Schwartz (1992, 1994, 2006).

20.2 The present study

Traditional approaches relate performance to IQ and personality traits, whereas the more current theoretical trends suggest that performance is function of individual capacities and motivation. Campbell (1993) proposed a multidimensional model of performance with declarative knowledge, procedural knowledge and motivation the main performance determinants. Based on Campbell's theory, the first research objective was to investigate the influence of job competencies on the job performance.

Consistent with the latest studies of predictors of job performance the current study sought to replicate whether extra-role performance predict job performance (MacKinzie et al., 1991; Waldman, 1994; Nikolaou & Robertson, 1999; Tutu, 2012). Additionally, the study examined whether motivation as predicted by Campbell would impact job performance. The Schwartz's theory of human values served as the framework for the third research objective where values are defined in terms of needs, priorities and motives that can predict behavior in any context in a professional organizational context (Schwartz, 2006).

The following hypotheses are proposed:

Hypothesis 1: The job competency matching index (calculated as the difference between current job competency level and standard required job competency) is a predictor of job performance.

Hypothesis 2: Extra-role performance will predict higher levels of job performance.

Hypothesis 3: High performers will display a different value profile compared with poor performers.

In other words the study investigated whether high performers possess high competency matching indices. Secondly, whether extra-role behavior contributes to good performance, and thirdly if personal values differences can be identified depending on job performance levels.

20.3 Method

- **Sample**

The subjects were employees of eight medium size Romanian based companies. A total number of 298 employees were involved in the study (participation rate was 86.2%). The mean age was 42.2 years.

- **Procedure**

Letters of invitations were sent to all participants by e-mail. The invitation included a brief study explanation and a description of the associated benefits for participants. Ratings for competencies levels, job performance and extra-role

performance were collected. A feedback assessment procedure was used and ratings from boss, peer and self for each employee were obtained. The Schwartz Values Survey was self-rated. The research was endorsed by management and the participation was voluntarily. Data were collected personally by the author.

- **Measures**

For competency assessment ad-hoc checklists, based on the data collected by the Competency Elicitation Interviews (Faix et al., 1991) were developed. During special management meetings in each company, the management team collectively defined a checklist with competencies for each position/level in the company. In this study it is called the standard required competency and contains 12 competencies clustered in three categories (technical, methodological and social competencies), and scored on four points bars. The management was also invited to assess the employees' current competencies. A total overall job competency score was calculated which was compared with the previously calculated standard required competency level for each position. Based on the differences from these two comparisons the competency matching indices were defined.

Job performance was assessed using Robertson's Performance Scale. This measure was successfully used in other studies (Robertson, 1999, 2000) as an assessment of overall job performance score reporting high internal consistency reliability ($\alpha=.86$). The scale has 6 items (e.g.: "Achieves the objectives of the job"; "Demonstrates expertise in all aspects of the job") and the assessor indicates whether he/she agrees or not with the behavior described on a five-point scale.

For extra-role performance measurement a scale developed by Smith (1983) was used. It consisted of 16 items (e.g.: "Helps other employees with their work when they are absent" or "Does not take unnecessary time off work") which the assessor rated on a five-point scale. Some studies (Organ & Konovsky, 1989; Becker & Randall, 1994) have identified two factorial dimensions of extra-role performance: altruism and generalized compliance.

Finally, Schwartz Value Survey (Schwartz, 1994) measured ten human values with universal content: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, conformism, tradition and security.

The data collected were statistically analyzed with SPSS 19.0 for Windows.

20.4 Results

Table 1 shows the prediction models testing the first hypothesis. Results show that the third model that contain the variables: manager competencies matching index (calculated as difference between the current manager competencies ratings and the standard competencies ratings for each employee), peer competencies matching index (calculated as difference between the current colleagues competencies ratings and the standard competencies ratings for each employee), and self-assessed competencies matching index (the difference between current self-assessed competencies ratings and standard competencies ratings for his/hers specific position) together best explains the global job performance score. Thus, employees with high manager and peer competencies matching indices ratings and low self-assessed competencies matching index ratings tend to have the highest job performance ratings. In case of third model, we have an R^2_{adjusted} of .291, which means that this model explains 29.1% from the variance of the global job performance score calculated as mean of all assessors' ratings for each employee.

Table 1. Prediction models based on competencies matching indices.

	B	SE B	β
Model 1			
Manager competencies matching index	3.35	.33	.51**
Model2			
Manager competencies matching index	1.85	.70	.28**
Peer competencies matching index	1.77	.74	.25*
Model 3			
Manager competencies matching index	2.18	.70	.33*
Peer competencies matching index	2.99	.82	.43**
Self-assessed competencies matching index	- 2.34	.72	- .27**

Note. $R^2 = .259$ for model 1; $\Delta R^2 = .014$ for model 2 ($p < .05$); $\Delta R^2 = .025$ for model 3 ($p < .01$); * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

These results could be viewed as theoretically significant (Cohen, 1988). However, further analysis examined which variables could explain the almost 70% of job performance variance that remained.

To test the second hypotheses a series of statistical measures were applied to investigate the relationship between extra-role performance, matching competencies indices and job performance.

In this case the prediction model containing the variables manager competencies matching index and extra-role performance (ERP) accounted for 81.8 % of job performance variance explained ($\Delta R^2 = .818$, $p < .01$).

However, no evidence was found to support the results from other studies that gender determine significant differences in extra-role performance levels displayed ($M_{\text{males}} = 3.86$; $M_{\text{females}} = 3.82$) (Nikolaou & Robertson, 1999).

Finally, taking into account the predictive power of extra-role performance the values profiles of high and poor performers were analyzed. This decision was theoretically justified by the behavioral approach in the current study of measuring competencies, job performance and extra-role performance and by the research strategy of using behaviors rating scales for all concepts measured except the values measurement.

When testing the third hypothesis it was expected that high performers (the individuals with highest ratings on job performance and ERP) would display a unique hierarchy of values.

The correlations between job performance, ERP and personal values were calculated (Table 2 and Table 3).

Secondly, we analyzed the top 3 personal values, based on self-rated importance level of the high and poor performers.

Table 2. Correlation coefficients Pearson r between job performance (global score, manager, peer, and self-assessed ratings) and personal values.

	Global score job performance	Manager job performance ratings	Peer job performance ratings	Self-assessed job performance ratings
Conformism	-	-	-	-
Tradition	-	-	-	-.138*
Benevolence	.115*	.118*	.144*	-
Universalism	-	-	-	-
Self-direction	-	.120*	-	.158**
Stimulation	-.226**	-.236**	-.253**	-.117*
Hedonism	-	-	-	-
Achievement	-	-	-	.114*
Power	-.245**	-.225**	-.296**	-.147*
Security	-.127*	-	-.126*	-.145*

Note: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Table 3. Correlation coefficients Pearson r between job ERP and personal values

	conformism	tradition	benevolence	universalism	self-direction	stimulation	hedonism	achievement	power	security
ERP manager ratings	-	-	-	-	-	-.261**	-	-	-.292**	-
ERP peer ratings	-	-	.129*	.132*	-	-.259**	-.141*	-	-.325**	-
ERP self-assessed ratings	-	-	-	-	-	-.256**	-.127*	-	-.246**	-.128*
Global score ERP altruism factor	-	-	-	-	-	-.228**	-	-	-.213**	-.126*
Global score ERP compliance factor	-	-	.117*	.154**	-	-.280**	-.182**	-.117*	-.370**	-
Global score ERP	-	-	-	-	-	-.270**	-.128*	-	-.306**	-

Note: All correlations mentioned above have statistical significance $p < 0.05$; all correlations above value .150 have statistical significance $p < 0.01$.

As expected the top three most important values reported by the poor performers were different from those reported by the high performers. For the poor performers the top three values hierarchy were formed by security (1st place), conformism (2nd place), and achievement (3rd place), while the best performers top three values hierarchy is: achievement (1st place), conformism (2nd place), and self-direction (3rd place).

20.5 Discussion

The present study investigated the predictive power of job competencies matching indices and extra-role performance (ERP) in relationship to employees' job performance. This chapter examined research findings from Romania, an Eastern European country and a member of the European Union, where none of these research questions have been previously explored.

The results highlight the importance of extra-role performance as valid predictor of employees' job performance, and indirectly personal values as factors of individual behavior (Schwartz, 2006) at work.

The hypothesis that job performance would be affected by job competencies matching indices was partially supported; however the initial prediction model was improved by adding the ERP. Results suggest that a combination of manager, peer and self-assessed competencies matching indices predict 29.1% of job performance variance. However, when ERP is added to the model 81.8% of job performance is explained.

Prior research (Mackenzie et al., 1991; Lowery & Krilowicz, 1996; Nikolaou & Robertson, 1999; Tutu, 2012) has provided evidence that ERP influences the supervisor's ratings when evaluating employees' job performance. The results of the present study replicated the previous findings, and extra-role behaviors proved to be a valid and powerful predictor of job performance. Some authors (Organ, 1988; Lowery & Krilowicz, 1996) suggested that extra-role behaviors influence job performance evaluations because these behaviors actually contribute to individual and/or organizational performance. Another valid reason could be that managers may have a preconceived concept of high performers, and extra-role performance is part of this concept. In the present study engaging in prosocial extra-role behaviors is seen as

an important aspect of job performance for managers, peers, and self, sometimes contributing more important to the overall assessment than job competencies alone.

The existence of two different values profiles for the poor and for the best performers is an important result. Achievement as a personal value is a central motivator in personal success by employees demonstrating competency and mastery of job-related standards. In a professional environment mastery and competency are judged by professional and organizational standards. The presence of achievement at the top of the values profile of high performers validates their status. Maslow (1959) and Rokeach (1973) supported the idea that achievement is performance based developing competencies that generate survival resources for individuals as well as resources for achieving objectives for organizations.

The second most important value for high performers is conformity. Employees that value conformity control actions and impulses that violate social (and professional) expectations or norms. In the work place conformity frames the requirements of self-censorship and self-direction. This value could be seen more as a functional conformity due to its adaptation element.

The third value self-direction emphasizes the independence of thought and action. Schwartz (2006) suggested that it is derived from the need for control and expertise, and from the social requirements promoting autonomy.

High performers have in third place self-direction as a leading motivating value, whereas poor performers do not but rather value security. Security as a value reflects needs for social harmony and stability. This value serves both individual needs such as the need of social inclusion, but also group interests such as protecting national security. The presence of this value in the profile of poor performers and not in high performers profile reflect the importance some employees place on harmony, non-conflictual and stable professional environment against the self-direction among high performers that implies independence in action, thought and risk-taking.

These findings suggest the need to evaluate the impact of competency assessment as a human resource activity compared to the criteria of recruitment procedures, performance management strategies, human capital development policies, and overall organizational efficacy. Brockbank, Ulrich, & Beatty (1999) showed that human resources activities positively impact business performance by approximately 10%. Moreover, Wright, McMahan, McCormick, & Sherman (1998) found that human resource professionals are not the only ones who see value in practices such as

competencies and performance assessment, as since high level executives also believe that a number of human resource activities are critical to a firm's competitive advantage.

If personal values systems do have an influence on behaviors, and on performance of professional behaviors (in role and extra-role) it is important that values are taken into account by human resource practices. What the employees bring to the organization in terms of personal values is stable in time and very hard to change. On the other hand competencies can be learned and improved by training. The strategy of professionally matching an individual with a position, role or organization has produced some results. However, why not develop a strategy that maximizes performance? That would require evaluating the difference between an ideal candidate and a good performer? When good candidates have the potential and the skills to perform a job, how can we explain if they never reach the optimal performance level? Obviously values and other personal dispositions must also play a role.

The current recruitment and assessment practices from the Romanian organizational context rely almost exclusively on matching individual competencies with professional competency requirements, ignoring to a large extent the individual difference effect.

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