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### I HAVE AN ENEMY AND I AM GLAD: AN EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTS ENEMYSHIP HAS ON THE INDIVIDUAL

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I HAVE AN ENEMY AND I AM GLAD: AN EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTS  
ENEMYSHIP HAS ON THE INDIVIDUAL

By

LAURA JANELLE GORNICK

B.A., University of Montana, Missoula, Montana, 2007  
M.A., University of Montana, Missoula, State of Montana, 2010

Dissertation

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Approved by:

Sandy Ross, Dean of The Graduate School  
Graduate School

Lucian Gideon Conway, Chair  
Psychology

Allen Szalda-Petree  
Psychology

Duncan Campbell  
Psychology

Bryan Cochran  
Psychology

Christopher Muste  
Political Science

I have an enemy and I am glad: An evaluation of the effects enemyship has on the individual

Chairperson: Lucian Gideon Conway

Despite its prevalence in popular culture, little research has specifically investigated the topic of enemyship and how it affects our lives. This research proposes to fill that gap by focusing on the effects involved with claiming to have an enemy. Specifically, this research introduces a theory of “optimal enemyship” which suggests that (1) there are both positive and negative psychological consequences for having an enemy, and (2) there are specific circumstances that maximize the positive benefits of enemyship. The focus of this research is to assess when “optimal enemyship” occurs by looking at characteristics of both the enemyship relationship and the individual. I propose that when there is a *mismatch* between the target domain of the enemy in question and the individualistic orientation of the perceiver (i.e. an individualist thinking about a group enemy, or a collectivist thinking about an individual enemy), we are more likely to optimize the positive effects from an enemyship relationship and *sidestep* the negative effects. To test this theory, I measured the individualism/collectivism of participants and primed them with either a group enemy, an individual enemy, or no enemy. Results provided mixed support for the theory: the predicted interaction between perceiver characteristics and enemy domain did not emerge for more chronically-stable measurements (life satisfaction and self-esteem), but did emerge – in a direction consistent with the theory – for more malleable psychological states (positive affect and reactance). Implications of these findings are discussed.

I have an enemy and I am glad: An evaluation of the effects enemyship has on the individual

### **What is Enemyship?**

“I never meant to be your favorite enemy, I didn't want it this way, Face to face we'll finally find a remedy, As our worlds collide tonight” –12 Stones (current hard rock band)

There are few things in life that are given as much attention in the media, politics, and social environment as the struggle to overcome an enemy. You can hardly turn on a TV or radio without being bombarded with storylines and lyrics expressly demonstrating the importance of an enemy figure in someone's life. But what does it mean to be an enemy? The Merriam-Webster online dictionary defines an enemy as “[someone] that is antagonistic to another; *especially*: one seeking to injure, overthrow, or confound an opponent.” In social science research, enemyship has been defined in a similar way as “a personal relationship of hatred and malice in which one person desires another person's downfall or attempts to sabotage another person's progress” (Adams, 2005, p. 948). Other research has expanded on this definition to view enemyship as a perception of a person or group trying to undermine another person's well-being and goals (Sullivan, Landau, & Rothschild, 2010).

### **Enemyship and Person/Goal Perception**

Sullivan et al. (2010) made an important distinction while defining and discussing enemyship. They proposed that an important element is the *perception* of an enemy as distinct from the *reality* of the enemy. The act of perceiving an enemy has potentially important consequences on an individual's cognitive processes, independent of whether the enemy is truly trying to undermine the perceiver's goals. This aspect of their definition is important to the current study, in which I am also interested in how the perception of enemyship affects the individual, regardless of whether an actual enemy exists.

Also important to note is the perception of goals being undermined. Each individual has any number of goals at one time. Some goals are of a personal nature while others have a more group focus. For example, a competitive swimmer can, simultaneously, have personal time goals (e.g., I want to swim this race faster than I ever have before) and team goals (e.g., if the team I belong to makes enough points we can win the swim meet!). The importance of goal perception is discussed in more detail below.

### **Enemyship: An Understudied Topic**

Research on the topic of interpersonal enemyship is relatively sparse in comparison to other social psychological phenomena. Adams (2005) pointed out that PsycInfo searches on enemies, enemyship, and even hatred produces a tenth of the citations related to friendship and love. Many times when authors discuss the idea of enemies in analyses of interpersonal relationships, they are using the term loosely, often referring to instances of dislike or as a mere contrast for friendship (Adams, 2005; Sullivan et al., 2010). These proportions have not changed in the past eight years. A more recent PsycInfo search suggests that there have been few additions to the literature on interpersonal relationships and the effect of having an enemy.

This current study is based on previous enemyship research and also draws from a complex combination of related topics. Some of the pooled research is seemingly contradictory. The major tension in the research lies in the effects enemyship has on the individual. One commonsense view of enemyship provides evidence that enemyship perception has harmful consequences to the self. In contrast, another set of research findings indicates that enemyship may, in fact, have beneficial consequences. Can enemyship, in particular circumstances, make you glad? This is the first question I seek to answer. To do so I will start by evaluating and expanding on both negative and positive effects of enemyship found in previous research.

Of greatest interest in the current research is the possibility of *sidestepping* the negative effects to gain the most optimal consequences of an enemyship relationship. Is it possible to *optimize* the effects of enemyship? Overall, I am interested in the circumstances that produce the more surprising, positive, effects of enemyship, which I term “optimal enemyship.” Optimal enemyship is the occurrence of positive outcomes (e.g., higher self-esteem) from a negative relationship (enemyship). After discussing both the negative and positive effects of enemyship, I consider and integrate research on the characteristics of the enemyship relationship domain (individual/group) and individual characteristics (individualism/collectivism) to gain a complex picture of enemyship that has not been considered before.

### **Enemyship: The Negative...And the Positive?**

#### **Negative Enemyship: The Commonsense View**

By definition, enemyship is negatively-valenced. Consider some of the words/phrases in both the common and scientific definitions discussed above: “antagonistic,” “seeking to injure,” “sabotage another person’s progress,” “hatred,” “malice,” “desires another persons’ downfall.” These qualities – inherent in perceptions of enemyship – are recognized by most people as substantially negative. Thus, it is hardly surprising that researchers sometimes start with the commonsense assumption that claiming to have an enemy is a negative psychological experience (for examples, see Adams, 2005; Holt, 1989; Sullivan et al., 2010; Wiseman & Duck, 1995). There is reason to suspect that people – at some level – do not like having others who hate them with malice, seek to injure them, and want to sabotage their goals.

More specifically, there seems to be a trend in North American culture in general, and the discipline of psychology in particular, that suggests if someone claims to have an enemy, that perception is somehow pathological (Adams, 2005; Wiseman & Duck, 1995). In fact, in Adams’

(2005) research on enemyship and cultural context, many participants in the American sample stated that claiming enemies is “not normal” or “paranoia” on the part of the individual perceiving the enemy. Wiseman’s (Wiseman & Duck, 1995) study also found a negative perception in which participants attributed enemyship to the “pathological obsession or immaturity” of the enemy figure. Respondents in Wiseman’s interview-based study attributed characteristics such as the ability to make one feel uncomfortable, emotional or mental power, and the ability to give one a negative self-image to their enemies. Participants also suggested feelings of lowered self-esteem resulting from the enemy relationship. This was due to the perceived inability to resolve the supposedly abnormal situation (Wiseman & Duck, 1995). What was even more interesting in this study was the participants’ views that they themselves were somehow responsible for the others’ negative behaviors toward them (Wiseman & Duck, 1995).

All in all, this is consistent with the commonsense idea that perceived enemyship is largely negative. The negative perception of enemyship is directed not only at the “enemy” themselves as immature or obsessive, but also a certain level of responsibility is placed on the perceiver of the enemyship as well. In this way an individual might feel as if she were doing something wrong or something is wrong with her if she has an enemy. If there weren’t something wrong with her, she would not have any enemies (for discussions see Adams 2005; Holt, 1989; Sullivan et al., 2010; Wiseman & Duck, 1995).

Despite this negative commonsense cultural view of enemyship, we continue to identify and maintain enemies both in real life and in the media. Though often perceived negatively, enemyship may serve some psychological function in our lives. Below, I discuss some evidence that perceiving enemies can have positive psychological benefits for individuals, and then develop a theory of when people might be most likely to gain those positive benefits.

## **Positive Enemyship: Can Enemyship Make You Glad?**

“He who lives by fighting with an enemy has an interest in the preservation of the enemy’s life.”-  
-Nietzsche

Despite the adverse effects of interpersonal enemyship, could it be possible that some of us might *need* an enemy in our lives? Nietzsche seems to have thought so. Contrary to the bulk of enemyship beliefs, there are a few researchers who have contemplated the possible positive psychological effects of having an enemy (see Sullivan et al., 2010). For this research I propose that the possible negative effects of enemyship can sometimes be mitigated, allowing for three related positive effects on the individual: higher positive affect, higher life satisfaction and higher self-esteem. Previous research has shown these constructs to be moderately correlated with each other while still holding separate predictive abilities. I will now discuss each of them in turn.

Positive affect is more malleable than life satisfaction and self-esteem and is considered a measure of how you currently feel instead of an overall assessment about life. Although often used as separate constructs (Lightsey & Boyraz, 2011; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), positive and negative affect have been found to be highly negatively correlated (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Thus, for this research, positive and negative affect are considered opposite ends of the same spectrum. High positive affect is defined as the extent to which a person is active, alert and enthusiastic. In contrast, low positive affect is characterized by sadness, subjective distress, and a variety of aversive mood states (i.e., anger, anxiety; Lightsey & Boyraz, 2011; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988).

Life satisfaction has been viewed as an overall judgment of one’s life, while self-esteem is a judgment of one’s self (for discussion, see Diener & Diener, 1995). While separate in theory and sometimes showing different predictive abilities, I expect all of these outcomes to show



largely the same relationship with respect to enemyship. As a result, I largely treat them together as related parts of what makes people feel happy with their lives.

But how might enemyship increase positive affect, self-esteem and life satisfaction?

Various research gives insight into this question. First, these optimal effects of enemyship could be gained, on an individual level, in two unique ways: increased perceptions of control over hazards and increased purpose in life. Further, research on group level processes involving social identity also indirectly supports the idea that enemyship can have positive psychological benefits.

**Perceptions of control.** The first way enemyship might have positive effects on the individual is the cognitive perception of control over our environment. This suggested benefit of enemyship was proposed by Sullivan et al. (2010). Their research is based on an argument by Becker (1969). Becker concluded that one strategy individuals use to alleviate the negative feelings associated with perceptions of low personal control is to focus all the hazards that exist in the person's life onto a single enemy (Sullivan et al., 2010). This strategy allows for more perceived control over the chaotic environment by placing all the multifaceted sources of harm into one focal source (either an individual or a group) that can then be understood, managed and controlled. In this way, individuals are limiting the negative aspects of a non-understandable, uncontrollable environment into a positive effect of enemyship. By understanding and controlling an enemy, the enemyship relationship allows the individual to feel safer and in control of her environment.

To support this claim, Sullivan et al. (2010) assessed the complex link between enemyship and perceived control by priming individuals to believe that their lives were chaotic and then investigating the extent that participants would ascribe more control to a personal or a

public enemy figure. Over multiple studies they found that individuals with low levels of perceived personal control, when reminded of external hazards, did attribute more influence to both a personal enemy (study 1) and even a public enemy figure (study 2; Sullivan et al., 2010). Other (more indirect) support for this idea comes from Kay, Gaucher, Napier, Callan and Laurin (2008). They showed that people who perceive threats to their personal control would ascribe an increase in power to the government.

I propose that perceived control is a middle link in a longer chain of positive enemyship effects (see figure 1). One aspect both Sullivan et al. (2010) and Kay et al. (2008) did not investigate was a boost in positive affect, life satisfaction and self-esteem from perceived control over a multifaceted enemy. However, one can imagine the link. An individual who feels little control over her life is more prone to depression and anxiety, producing lower levels of positive affect, life satisfaction, and self-esteem (Agosti, Stewart, & Quitkin, 1991; Heine & Lehman, 1999; Milevsky, 2005; Milevsky, Schlechter, Netter, & Keehn, 2007; Taylor & Brown, 1988).

**Purpose in life.** Another positive aspect of enemyship, which has not been studied directly, could be the search for existential purpose in one's life. Arguably, one of the most important boosts to life satisfaction is the feeling that one has a purpose in life (Bronk, Hill, Lapsley, Talib, & Finch, 2009; Diener, Fujita, Tay, & Biswas-Diener, 2012; Heisel & Flett, 2004). This theme can be seen as the basis for many movies and stories in American culture. This is especially apparent if you look at the current popular trends in comic book movies. Each of these stories is focused on the development of, and quest to overcome, an enemy.

Not only do we see this theme in action movies, but it is also pervasive in media for very young children. For example, the entire movie *Megamind* is permeated by the idea that an enemy gives us purpose. In this story the main character, the "bad guy," defeats his enemy and

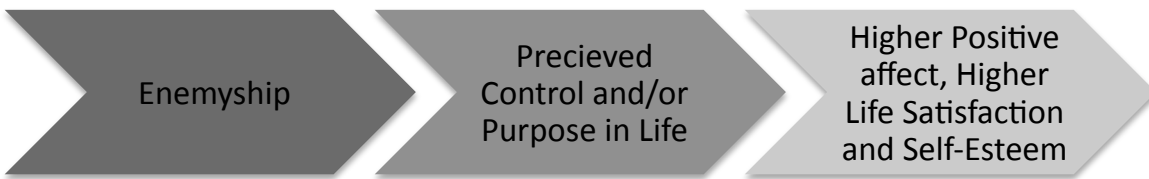
spends the whole rest of the film trying to find a purpose in his life. Removing his enemy removed his purpose. He finally decides that, if he re-creates his enemy, all his problems will be solved. This climaxes in a discussion between Megamind and his sidekick (named “Minion”):

*“Minion: Create a hero? What, what...what?! Why would you do that?”*

*Megamind: So I have someone to fight. Minion, I'm a villain without a hero. A yin with no yang! A bullfighter with no bull to fight. In other words, I have no purpose!”*

Despite how much this theme permeates our culture, no research has directly investigated the link between enemyship, purpose, positive affect, life satisfaction and self-esteem (see figure 1). Part of the current research is to consider the positive psychological effects gained when enemyship produces a purpose in someone’s life.

*Figure 1: Proposed Links Between Enemyship and Positive Outcomes*



**Social identity and self-esteem.** Further positive benefits of enemyship can be seen when considering group level processes. There is a large wealth of research investigating social identity and perceptions of out-group discrimination (Brewer, 1979; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1991; Tajfel, 1974; for review, see Rubin & Hewstone, 1998). While this research does not directly call this discrimination ‘enemyship’, it does indicate the positive benefits of perceiving an antagonistic out-group. More specifically, social identity theory proposes that group members discriminate in favor of the in-group to produce what Hogg & Abrams (1988) called ‘positive distinctiveness’ (p. 23). This positive distinctiveness has been assessed as a way to promote positive self-esteem for the individual.

Additional research in social identity has discussed self-esteem as both a dependent variable or a product of in-group behavior (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Chin & McClintock, 1993; Hogg & Turner, 1985; for a review, see Rubin & Hewstone, 1998), *and* as an independent variable, indicating that lower levels of self-esteem promote intergroup discrimination (aka, enemyship; Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Smith & Taylor, 1997; for a review see Rubin & Hewstone, 1998). In this way, social identity research suggests that we gain positive benefits from perceptions of group enemies *and* that we might produce perceptions of enemies to increase our self-esteem. In many ways, the current research study mirrors discussions on social identity and in-group/out-group conflict. However, this current study is stepping beyond social identity research to assess how perceptions of a group enemy interplay with perceiver characteristics.

### **When Do We Optimize Enemyship?**

With both negative and positive effects of enemyship in mind, the current research study is designed to directly test a theory of optimal enemyship. What circumstances will produce optimal positive effects of positive affect, life satisfaction and self-esteem? When might we sidestep the negative effects of perceived enemyship as an indicator of pathological problems (e.g., Adams, 2005) and reap the more positive psychological benefits (e.g., Sullivan et al., 2010)?

I propose that an interaction between the characteristics of the enemyship relationship domain (individual vs. group enemy) and the characteristics of the individual (individualism/collectivism) will determine which effect of enemyship will predominate in any given circumstance. Specifically, I believe a mismatch between the domain characteristics of the enemyship relationship and the domain characteristics of the individual will produce optimal enemyship – allowing for the greatest positive benefits to the individual. To understand why that

is, we need to look at issues pertaining to two different topics. First, we will evaluate different *domains* of enemyship relationships. Secondly, we need to look at perceiver characteristics through the lens of different cultural perceptions of enemies.

### **Enemy Domains: Individual or Group Enemy**

“You are enemy, you are my hated enemy, I am enemy, .....My actions make me your bitter enemy .....Your people, enemy, my people’s hated enemy, what are you? enemy”- Disturbed (current hard rock band)

As we continue assessing this complex view of enemyship and the possibility of *optimal* effects on the individual, I suggest that the *domain* of enemyship relationship is vitally important. Consider, at a broad level, two basic domains of enemyship: individual and group.

**Individual Domain.** The individual domain has been the target of most previous research on enemyship (e.g., Adams, 2005; Sullivan et al., 2010) and is expressed as a one-on-one relationship between two individuals. This could be the relationship between coworkers, ties between two sisters, classmates, and personal friendships. This domain of enemyship involves one individual perceiving another individual as an enemy based on perceived undermining of personal goals.<sup>1</sup>

**Group Domain.** The group domain involves perceptions that a particular group of people is undermining the goals of the perceiver’s group. This could be anything from a social group (e.g., cliques in high schools), a societal group (e.g. individuals in different socio-economic classes or government versus the governed), to a religious or international group.

### **Perceiver Characteristics: Culture, Individualism/Collectivism and Enemyship**

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<sup>1</sup> The perceived reason behind the enemy’s actions can be anything from malicious intent (undermining goals for the sake of undermining goals) to inappropriate competitive tactics (gaining an unfair advantage when competing for the same goal).

So far, our discussion has focused predominantly on individualistic North American perceptions of enemyship. However, valuable insight can be gained from an individual differences and cross-cultural comparison of perceptions and prevalence of enemyship. More specifically, differences in individualism/collectivism and the resulting social identity from different self-views may give important insight into cultural differences in enemyship.

For discussion purposes, I am going to talk about individualism/collectivism as a conceptually unitary construct. For example, I am considering research on both within-nation individual differences and international cultural distinctions across nations. While much of the research on individualism/collectivism has been conducted at the cross-national level, there is much that has been learned about the construct within each country itself. Within any larger culture or country there exists a lot of individual variability in individualism/collectivism (e.g., Conway, Ryder, Tweed, & Sokol, 2001, Conway, Clements, & Tweed, 2006; Conway, Houck, & Gornick, in press). Thus, although below I consider cultures in large brushstrokes, it is important to remember that even in “individualistic” countries, many persons are collectivistic.

**Individualism/collectivism and the self.** Individualism/collectivism is an evaluation of the relationship between the individual and the collective (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, 1994; Triandis, 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 1999). The difference between individualistic and collectivistic views has been the topic in a vast amount of research and is becoming more important as psychology research (historically a European and American field of study) begins to evaluate and understand social phenomena outside of a Western European viewpoint (for research on individualism/collectivism see: Chiu, Michael, Hong, & Menon, 2000; Conway, Houck & Gornick, in press; Gornick, Conway, Cvasa & Houck, in press; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Muramoto & Yamaguchi, 1997; Singelis, 1994; Triandis, 1996; Vandello & Cohen 1999).

Research on this topic has focused on both 1) an individual difference aspect of independent and interdependent self-concepts and 2) the cultural aspect of individualism/collectivism (Singelis, 1994). More specifically, Triandis (1989) discussed the interplay between culture and self-concept. He proposed that culture (either different pockets within a nation, or at a national level) affects the development of either independent or interdependent selves by encouraging particular cognitions. For independent self-concepts, the individualist culture nurtures cognitions that refer to individual traits and states, while for interdependent self-concepts, collectivist cultures encourage the development of group or collective-based cognitions. In this way, culture is able to affect self-image, social identity, and also define social situations (Singelis, 1994; Triandis 1995/1996). These cultural patterns are differentiated through many social behaviors and beliefs, such as family living arrangements (e.g. collectivists tend to have larger families and extended families in the same household) and political ideologies (e.g. individualists tend to be more libertarian; Vandello & Cohen, 1999).

*Individualism and the independent self.* Individualists view and define the self as autonomous from others and emphasize internal attributes and uniqueness of the individual. Most important, when considering enmeshment, individual goals are given priority over in-group goals. In terms of countries, most northern and western regions of Europe, North America (especially the U. S.), and Australia are considered individualistic cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis 1994; Triandis, 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 1999).

*Collectivism and the interdependent self.* Collectivists view and define the self in concert with a collective (e.g., family or tribe). Culturally they stress the importance of connectedness, social context, and relationships. Individual goals are subordinate to the goals and norms of the group, while duties and obligations regulate most social behavior. Cultures in Asia, Africa,

South America, and the Pacific Islands are all largely identified as collectivistic (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis 1994; Triandis, 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 1999).

Markus and Kitayama (1991) illustrate these differences in individualism/collectivism with the example of parents trying to get their child to eat supper. Individualistic parents are fond of saying “Think of the starving kids in Ethiopia, and appreciate how lucky you are,” while a collectivistic parent may say “Think about the farmer who worked so hard to produce this rice for you; if you don’t eat it, he will feel bad, for his efforts will have been in vain” (for discussion see: Markus and Kitayama, 1991). In this way, parents are acculturating their children to either consider a more individualistic point of view (i.e., be happy with how lucky *you* are) or a more collectivistic point of view (i.e., someone else in the community put in a lot of effort.).

*Individualism/collectivism and enemyship.* From this discussion on individualism/collectivism, one can start to imagine how these self-concepts might affect perceptions of enemyship. However, little research has looked at this directly. To begin a comparison between individualism/collectivism and cultures, Adams (2005) compared views of enemyship between a North American (U.S.; on average more individualistic) sample and a West African (Ghana; on average more collectivistic) sample of participants. To do this, they asked participants open-ended interview questions in a group setting. Each interview began by asking participants whether or not they had enemies, without giving a definition, and then again while giving a definition: “Are there people who hate you, personally, to the extent of wishing for your downfall or trying to sabotage your progress (p. 952).” This definition was derived from field research in Ghanaian settings. From these interviews, Adams (2005) found that the perceptions of interpersonal enemies were much higher and more commonplace in Ghana than in the U.S. Results showed that the West African participants were more likely to claim to have



personal enemies, thought it unwise to ignore the threat of enemies, and they were also less likely to look down upon those who claimed to have enemies than North American participants. North Americans were less likely to claim enemies, had a more negative view of individuals who claim enemies, and felt it was best to ignore the possibility of enemies.

From this, Adams (2005) points out a paradox of sorts: One might suspect enemyship would be *less* prominent among “self-effacing, interdependent-minded West African collectivists” and *more* likely among “self-promoting, independence-minded North American individualists” (p. 951). Arguably, an individualistic American might be more likely to create enemies in the striving for personal goals than a collectivistic Ghanaian who is striving for more interdependent goals. So why did the opposite occur? To try and make sense of this seeming paradox, Adams (2005) discusses cultural differences in interdependence and relational style. To begin an evaluation of independence/interdependence, Adams primed a sample consisting only of Ghanaian students to consider either interconnectedness or individualism. Results from this study provide evidence that experience of enemyship was increased when considering interdependent models of self and relationship. This comparison of participants, all from within Ghana, demonstrates meaningful usage of individualism/collectivism on an individual differences level as well as cross-cultural level (for other examples of individualism/collectivism *within* nations see Conway et al., 2001, 2006, in press; Singelis, 1994; Triandis, 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 1999). While Adams did point out various limitations to this study, it gives us a first step in evaluating the importance of individualism/collectivism and the perceptions of enemyship.

For this research, I will be looking at variation of individualism/collectivism *within* the U.S. While the U.S. is largely individualistic when compared to other cultures, there is still a

wide variation of individualism/collectivism within U.S. culture (e.g., Conway et al., 2001, 2006, in press; Vandello & Cohen, 1999). A focus on comparisons of individuals within the same cultures has been shown to have advantages (see, e.g., Conway et al., in press; Kitayama, Ishii, Imada, Takemura, & Ramaswamy, 2006, Kitayama, Conway, Pietromonaco, & Plaut, 2010), such as helping to alleviate any historical confounds that might emerge in true cross-cultural comparisons.

### **Optimizing Enemyship: Matching vs. Mismatching Characteristics**

Both *enemy domain* and *perceiver characteristics* have implications for the understanding of what makes a psychologically optimal enemy. Specifically, I suggest an interaction between enemyship domain (individual vs. group) and perceiver characteristics (individualism/collectivism) impacting levels of positive affect, life satisfaction and self-esteem. I propose that having an enemy on a domain that matches the individual perceiver's system of self-construct (e.g. individualist with an individual enemy or a collectivist with a group enemy) will create negative effects for the enemyship relationship. However, if the enemy is on a domain that is mismatched from the individual perceiver's system of self-construct (e.g. individualist with a group enemy or a collectivist with an individual enemy) the individual will *sidestep* the negative aspects of enemyship and gain the positive effects of a boost in positive affect, life satisfaction and self-esteem. Thus, a person's optimal enemy – the enemy from which she derives maximal psychological benefit – is one that is not in the domain most directly tied to her own personal focus. For the collectivist, this optimal enemy is an individual; for the individualist, it is a collective. Various sets of research give indirect insight into this hypothesis. More specifically, there are sets of research that suggest matching characteristics will produce

more negative effects while mismatching characteristics will produce optimal enmity. Both sets of research are discussed below.

**Matching characteristics and negative outcomes: support from previous research.**

As stated above, I propose that claiming to have an enemy in the same domain as one's predominant personal characteristics will produce primarily negative perceptions. In the case of an individualist, having an individual enemy gives the impression of something wrong with the individual perceiving the relationship; while a collectivist might view a group enemy as evidence of something wrong with her group. This negative association may be stronger than the positive effects of life purpose and control over hazards. In the case of matching circumstances, effects on the individual should conform to the commonsense belief that enmity confers negative effects – producing lower self-esteem and life satisfaction.

Most of the previous research on enmity has been conducted in the category of an individualist with individual enemies. Other than the Adams' (2005) sample of Ghanaian participants, this paper has been talking about the perceptions of individual enemies in a predominantly individualistic setting. However, these studies have not directly tested the link between individualistic individuals, individual enemies, and positive affect, life satisfaction or self-esteem. Also sparse in previous research is an evaluation of group enemies on collectivistic individuals. While other factors may be involved, Adams (2005) did point out that Ghanaian participants, when asked to describe an enemy, did not have group enemies in mind. These participants focused on the mismatched individual enemy. This idea is consistent with my theory to the degree that people are more likely to generate enemies that meet their psychological needs.

This negativity in matching characteristics of the enemy domain and personal orientation is also consistent with research and theory on the definitions of self. As stated earlier, Markus

and Kitayama (1991) express the differences between individualism and collectivism as a striking contrast in the construal of self-image. Notably, they point out that individualists view and understand the self as an independent person consisting of stable internal attributes that are unique to the individual. Because of this, the emphasis is placed on the individual to express her positive differences from others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Thus, the realization that an individualist has an individual enemy may create a dynamic that negatively reflects on the individualist's personal qualities (i.e., What is wrong with you that makes someone your enemy?).

In contrast, the collectivist's view of self in a relational and contextual perspective creates a tendency for collectivists to make group-serving attributions on group relations rather than self-serving attributions on the individual (Chiu et al. 2000; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Muramoto & Yamaguchi, 1997). Further research on self-esteem has indicated that collectivists have more esteem invested in in-group identity than in individual identity (see Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994). Because of this, perceiving an individual enemy may be less problematic for a collectivist, while having a group level enemy may produce greater unease for that individual (i.e. What is wrong with your group that makes this other group your enemy?).

**Mismatching characteristics and optimal enemyship: support from previous research.** In concert with the matching hypothesis, I propose that a mismatch in perceiver characteristics and enemy domain create the correct circumstances to gain optimal benefits from enemyship. In many ways, this mismatch allows individuals to sidestep the negative perception that enemyship indicates something wrong with the individual (for individualists) or the group (for collectivists) and focuses the positive effects of purpose in life and control on the domain that is not as directly relevant to their self-concept.

Although no direct evidence exists that I know of, this claim is supported by anecdotal evidence from both Adams (2005) and Sullivan et al. (2010). Adams (2005) suggests that instead of enemyship being absent from North American cultures, enemies are experienced there in ways that were not addressed in his research. He continues by stating that their method of data collection could be priming the concept of interpersonal relationships, which I propose has a different effect on individualists and collectivists. This was further supported by the results of Adams' interview studies tentatively suggesting "to the extent that people in North American worlds imagine enemies, they may be likely to do so in terms of intergroup conflict or hatred from outsiders rather than animosity in close relationships" (p. 963). It is also worth considering how *many* individuals in these studies claimed (despite the prime) group enemies. Only six participants discussed group level enemies, all of which were Americans. Adams concluded that if the framing of the questions was more group orientated, American participants might have been more likely to claim enemies (Adams, 2005). Other support for individualists' focus on group enemies is anecdotal evidence suggesting that Americans were more likely to perceive themselves as having enemies in the weeks following the September 11 terrorist attacks (for discussion see Adams, 2005).<sup>2</sup>

Sullivan et al. (2010) give indirect support for my mismatching theory when discussing perceptions of control. Arguably, an individual sensing threats to control will construct an enemy that she sees as powerful enough to control all extraneous hazards. Many times this enemy is in the form of the government. Whitson and Glinsky (2008) support this idea when considering the

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<sup>2</sup> This is not to say a collectivist country would not respond in the same way. It is quite possible that they too would perceive more enemies after an attack. However, this does give some support to one portion of my theory, indicating a greater acceptance of a group enemy on the part of individualists. The tentative nature of this suggestion further illustrates the need for more research on enemyship.

perceptions of conspiracy theories. These perceptions of conspiracy could be individualists' ways of creating enemies as a means of control without targeting the individual domain. While this anecdotal evidence is interesting, Sullivan et al. (2010) did not have participants spontaneously construct an example of an enemy; instead their focus was solely on the individual level.

**Putting it all together: an example.** As an example, let's say Jo, an individualist, claims that a coworker is an enemy and perceives that she is undermining her personal goals. With this claim, Jo perceives that this is implicating there is something wrong with her, lowering her personal self-esteem. However, if Bill, a collectivist, claims that a coworker is an enemy, undermining his personal goals, this perception does not have a large effect on his focal group-based self-esteem. The group focus of collectivist self-esteem, in a sense, might allow Bill to *sidestep* the negative effects of claiming an individual enemy. Thus, Bill can optimize the positive benefits of enemyship (purpose, control) without interference from negative psychological detriments – an optimization process that makes him feel better about himself and his life.

However, let's say both Jo and Bill also believe that, due to numerous conflicts over land and resources, the sworn enemy of their own country (called Florin) is the country of Gilder. This domain of enemyship will have a greater negative effect on Bill due to his collectivistic focus; a focus from which he derives greater self-definition from the group. Individualistic Jo is more likely, in this case, to *sidestep* the negative consequences and optimize the group level enemy. This suggests the rather paradoxical idea that, in terms of maximizing the positive psychological benefits of enemyship, the optimal enemy for an individualist is a group, and the optimal enemy for a collectivist is an individual.

**Other considerations.** In order to demonstrate my theory, this discussion has characterized an extreme either/or approach to positive and negative effects. However, in reality, both positive and negative effects could co-exist. Indeed, in a sense, the guiding theory of this research assumes that both kinds of effects can exist simultaneously and proposes that there are particular situations in which either positive or negative effects are more likely to predominate. This is one meaning of the *sidestep* theory. In essence, both positive and negative effects are occurring together, but the interaction between enemy domain and individualism/collectivism will either produce more negative effects (matching) or allow for the positive effects to predominate (mismatching).

Another important distinction to note involves enemy domain versus the goals targeted. One would expect that, generally, a single person would be perceived as undermining individual goals, and a group would be perceived as undermining group goals. However, this might not always be the case. Theoretically, it is possible for a group to undermine individual domain goals, and an individual to undermine group domain goals. To clarify, imagine that three high school best friends Donna, Stephanie, and Crystal decided that they do not like a girl named Jessica. Together they do all that they can to make Jessica's life miserable. Because of this, the three of them could be considered Jessica's *individual* enemy due to their targeting of her *personal* goals. The reverse could also happen. Now, imagine that Jessica is trying to undermine everything that Donna, Stephanie, and Crystal do as a group. Jessica can then be considered a group enemy as she is undermining the clique's goals.

Theoretically, what are important are the goals being targeted. For any enemy to be on the individual domain, they must be targeting the perceiver's personal goals, and for any enemy to be on the group domain, they must be targeting the perceiver's group's goals. In this way, it is

possible for a group of individuals to be in the individual enemy domain, and an individual to be in the group enemy domain. While this brings out an interesting distinction, it is expected, for the most part, that an individual will be perceived as an individual enemy and a group will be perceived as a group enemy. Because of this, in this research I do not distinguish the number of separate people considered the enemy (i.e., group or individual) from the goals being targeted (personal goals vs. group goals). Since this issue is outside the purview of this research project, further research will be needed to evaluate the different effects of enemy size (individual or group) on enemyship perceptions. Arguably, perceiving one's personal goals being targeted by a single individual will be different than perceiving one's personal goals being targeted by a group.

**Filling the gaps in previous research.** As I hope is apparent from the above discussion, there is a large gap in what we know about enemies. Very little research directly looks at positive benefits of enemyship; and no research that I am aware of has directly examined the interaction of relationship characteristics (individual vs. group) with individual characteristics (individualism/collectivism). The current project continues to evaluate enemyship by investigating the possibility of optimal enemyship. To do this, I primed participants to consider either individual or group enemyship, evaluated their preexisting level of individualism/collectivism to see if a mismatch combination (individualist/ group enemy, collectivist/ individual enemy) produced more positive responses on positive affect, life satisfaction and self-esteem measures than a matched combination (individualist/ individual enemy, collectivist/ group enemy). I also asked participants questions on perceived control, life purpose, and reactance.



## Hypotheses

Specifically, I hypothesize the following:

H1) An interaction between enemyship domain and individual characteristics, so that matching characteristics produce lower levels of positive affect, life satisfaction, and self-esteem and mismatching characteristics produce higher levels of positive affect, life satisfaction, and self-esteem, relative to a control condition.

1a) For Individualists: Individualists who are primed to think about an individual enemy will have a lower level of positive affect, life satisfaction, and self-esteem than individualists who are primed to think about a group enemy (see figure 2).

1b) For Collectivists: Collectivists who are primed to think about a group enemy will have a lower level of positive affect, life satisfaction, and self-esteem than collectivists who are primed to think about an individual enemy (see figure 2).

1c) For Control Conditions: I included a control condition to assess a baseline of positive affect, life satisfaction, and self-esteem. Participants in these conditions will have moderate levels of positive affect, life satisfaction, and self-esteem for both individualists and collectivists.

Table 1:Hypotheses

	INDIVIDUALIST	COLLECTIVIST
INDIVIDUAL ENEMY FOCUS	<b>Match</b> <i>Low Life Satisfaction</i> <i>Low Self-Esteem</i> <i>Low Positive Affect</i>	<b>Mismatch</b> <i>High Life Satisfaction</i> <i>High Self-Esteem</i> <i>High Positive Affect</i>
GROUP ENEMY FOCUS	<b>Mismatch</b> <i>High Life Satisfaction</i> <i>High Self-Esteem</i> <i>High Positive Affect</i>	<b>Match</b> <i>Low Life Satisfaction</i> <i>Low Self-Esteem</i> <i>Low Positive Affect</i>
CONTROL CONDITION	<i>Moderate Life Satisfaction</i> <i>Moderate Self-Esteem</i> <i>Moderate Positive Affect</i>	<i>Moderate Life Satisfaction</i> <i>Moderate Self-Esteem</i> <i>Moderate Positive Affect</i>

## Methods

### Participants

208 participants (106 males, 96 females) were recruited through *MTurk's* work force with monetary compensation for their time (all participants received \$0.60; for discussion of *MTurk* research, see Mason & Suri, 2010). Participants filled out questionnaires using online survey software (Qualtrics). Various research studies suggest that web research is as valid as any other medium of collecting data (Gosling, Vazire, Srivastava, & John, 2004). However, I ensured the validity of the web questionnaire using recommended methods typical in web research (see, e.g., Benet-Martinez & John, 1998; Gosling et al., 2004; Johnson, 2001). First, participant data was automatically removed for failing to correctly answer a skip question (8 cases). Second, incongruencies between two sets of items were evaluated; all remaining participants “passed” this test.<sup>3</sup>

Demographics consisted of a wide range of ages from 18 to 66 with a mean age of 34 (sd=12.14). This sample, although primarily white, also included various different ethnicities (153 white (76%), 17 African American (8.5%), 13 Hispanic (6.5%), 9 Asian American (4.5%), 1 Native American (0.5%), 1 Arab (0.5%), and 6 other (3%)) and religious orientation (57 Protestant (28.5%), 41 Agnostic (20.5%), 39 Catholic (19.5%), 26 Atheist (13%), 5 Buddhist (2.5%), 3 Jewish (1.5%), 3 Hindu (1.5%), and 26 other (13%)). Participants had varying levels of political ideology, ranging from very liberal (1) to very

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<sup>3</sup> Specifically, to assess participants' attention to the online survey, I looked at expected congruency on two sets of questions: (1) Convergence on two items where divergence was expected (reversed-scored items “All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure” with “I take a positive attitude toward myself”), and (2) divergence on two items where convergence was expected (“Based on what I know about politics, I am ‘liberal/conservative’” with “Based on what I know about myself, I am ‘Democratic/Republican’”). Incongruent answers on both sets would have resulted in participant's data being removed from further analysis.

conservative (9), however the largest portions of participants were slanted toward the liberal end of the spectrum (mean=3.9, sd=2.12). On these demographic characteristics, my sample is fairly similar in most respects to the general U.S. population, although it under-represents some minority groups (see Census.gov) and over-represents liberals.

### **Independent Variable 1-Enemyship Domain Prime**

To show the effect of enemy domain characteristics on positive affect, life satisfaction and self-esteem, I primed participants to consider an *individual enemy* domain, a *group enemy* domain, or no enemy at all (*control* condition). In this way I focused the participants' thoughts towards a particular domain of enemy and measured the effects that information had on individuals' positive affect, life satisfaction and self-esteem, compared to a control condition that did not focus on enemyship at all. These methods are similar to priming methods typically used in social psychology (for examples see: Conway et al., 2009; Sullivan et al., 2010)

Specifically, to prime enemyship domain, I presented participants with one of the following paragraphs via random assignment:

**Enemyship prime: individual enemy.** "Enemyship is defined as a personal relationship in which one person desires another person's downfall or attempts to sabotage another person's progress. In the space below please describe a time in which you felt you might have had a personal enemy. Please describe the person, the situation and why you believed this individual to be an enemy. If you don't think you have ever had an enemy, please think of the closest thing you have ever had to an enemy and write about that person. These answers are anonymous and we will never identify your packet."

**Enemyship prime: group enemy.** "Group enemyship is defined as a relationship in which one group desires another group's downfall or attempts to sabotage another group's

progress. In the space below please describe a time in which you felt that a group you belong to had a group enemy. Please describe the enemy group, the situation and why you believed this group to be an enemy. If you don't think your group has ever had an enemy, please think of the closest thing to an enemy and write about that group. These answers are anonymous and we will never identify your packet.”

**Control condition: no prime.** For the control condition I presented participants with the same surveys as the other conditions excluding the enemyship prime paragraphs.

To assess the extent that these primes were successful and that participants were, indeed, able to think of both individual and group enemies, their open-ended responses to the prime were coded on a 1-9 scale for the degree to which the participant wrote about an individual or a group enemy (1=individual enemy, 9=group enemy). This coding was mirrored in a 9-point likert style question asking participants if they wrote about an individual or a group.

Further, to ensure that participants were at least minimally involved in the writing task and to test for potential differences across conditions, research assistants coded the open ended responses in two other ways: 1) how much thought the participant seemed to put into their response (1=none, 9=a lot), and 2) how intense the enemyship relationship seemed to participants (1= not intense, 9=very intense). (Intensity was also asked in a likert scale item, described below). Two research assistants coded the open-ended responses independent of each other and achieved satisfactory inter-rater reliability (enemy type *Cronbach's alpha*=.98; thought *Cronbach's alpha*=.90; and intensity *Cronbach's alpha*=.71).

### **Independent Variable 2- Perceiver Characteristics: Individualism/Collectivism**

There are numerous measures of individualism/collectivism currently in use. Each measure has a slightly different focus and target. In this research, to evaluate participants'

preexisting levels of individualism/collectivism, I used two different measures: the Self-Constraint Scale from Singelis et al. (1994), and Cheek and Tropp's (1994) Aspects of Identity Illx Questionnaire. These measures are both widely used and, in this data set, were moderately correlated ( $r=.36; p<.01$ ). This level of correlation indicates that, while relatively related, each scale is assessing different aspects of individualism/collectivism. For the purposes of this research I was looking for an individual's overall tendencies and thus combined these scales together.

Singelis et al.'s (1994) measure asks participants to indicate on a likert scale how much they agree or disagree with various statements (e.g. "It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group," "I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects;" See Appendix D for the full measure). This scale contains two sub-scales: the interdependent scale that focuses on more collectivistic traits and the independent scale focused on individualistic traits. To use this scale, I reverse scored the independent subscale items so that higher scores on all items indicated higher collectivism. I then created a composite score by averaging all the items together.

Cheek and Tropp (1994) take a little different approach and evaluate an individual's individualism/collectivism on three different identity domains by asking participants to indicate how unimportant or important a statement is to their identity. Each domain is slightly different and offers unique information: personal identity subscale ("My personal values and moral standards"), social identity subscale ("My reputation, what others think of me"), and collective identity subscale ("My race or ethnic background;" see Appendix A for the full measure). I reverse-scored the items on the personal identity subscale so that higher scores indicated more collectivism. I then created a composite score by averaging the (reverse-scored) personal identity

subscale and the collective identity subscale. I left out the social identity subscale as it is not clear how it truly relates to individualism/collectivism.

Since I was looking for an overall sense of individualism/collectivism, and each of these scales (Singelis and Cheek & Tropp) captures a different aspect of the construct, I analyzed these measures together by creating a single composite from the averaged scales above (after converting each scale to a  $z$ -score). This created an overall measure of individualism/collectivism that is not idiosyncratic to one specific scale or subscale.

### **Dependent Measures-Positive affect, Life Satisfaction and Self-Esteem**

Positive affect was measured using questions that were similar to those used in prior research (e.g., Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988; for prior use of these items, see Conway, 2004). Participants were presented with items asking them to rate where they fell between two extremes on a likert scale (i.e. 1=sad, 9=happy).

As a measure of life satisfaction, I used the Satisfaction with Life Scale. This 5-question scale asks participants to evaluate how happy they are with their life circumstances on a 1 to 6 scale from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree” (e.g. “I am satisfied with my life”; for further discussion see Diener, Emmons, Larson, & Griffin, 1985; Plaut, Markus, & Lachman, 2002). To measure self-esteem, I asked participants to fill out Rosenberg’s (1965; 1989) General Self-Esteem Scale. Participants are asked how strongly they agree or disagree with ten statements relevant to their global view of themselves (e.g., “I feel that I have a number of good qualities”). This scale is by far the most commonly used measurement of global self-esteem.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The 1989 revised edition of Rosenberg’s 1965 paper has been cited 811 times.

## **Perceived Control and Purpose in Life**

For exploratory purposes, I included measurements of both perceived control and purpose in life. This allowed me to evaluate the relationship of both these variables to enemyship domain and Individualism/collectivism. To assess perceived control, I utilized the same measure that Sullivan et al. (2010) used. In their studies, they presented participants with Duttweiler's (1984) Internal Control Index (ICI). This is a 28-item scale measuring locus of control. Scores on the ICI range on a 5-point scale where higher scores indicate greater perceived internal locus of control (Duttweiler, 1984; Sullivan et al. 2010). To measure an individual's perception of having purpose in life, I presented the participants with two statements: "I believe that my life has purpose," and "For the most part, I believe that I make a difference." Ryff's (1989) questions on perceived control were also used in conjunction with these new questions.

## **Other Measures**

To further assess the relationship between enemy domain and individualism/collectivism, I included the following measures and questions. First, to mirror the main scale of life satisfaction, I also asked participants to fill out the Psychological Well-Being scale by Ryff (1989). This is an 18-item scale that can be separated into 6 sub scales (environmental mastery, purpose in life, self-acceptance, positive relations with others, autonomy, and personal growth). This scale was used as a dependent measure to give a complementary additional measurement of well-being, and also allows for further investigation into purpose in life and control over one's environment.

Second, to measure the strength of the enemy relationship participants chose to write about, I asked a number of different questions on threat and intensity. Two closed-ended questions asked participants to rate how intense the enemy relationship was to them and how

threatened they felt from this enemy. As described above, I also assessed strength by coding participants' open-ended priming responses for intensity.

Third, along with positive affect, I assessed another construct that might be impacted by the enemyship prime: reactance. This measure was included as a complement to positive affect, as it is also a more malleable measure than life satisfaction and self-esteem. Reactance has typically been characterized in prior work as a transient, negative emotion-based state that is directed at a specific target (see Conway et al., 2005, for a discussion). Therefore, in this study, reactance can be categorized as an affect-related measure that is more specific to the particular enemy in question. Reactance was measured by asking participants, "To what degree did this enemy make you feel as if they were trying to take away your freedom to act exactly as you wished?" from 1=not at all, to 9=very much (adapted from Conway et al., 2009).

Finally, I asked various other questions related to enemyship perception. These items included questions on how much the enemy undermined the participants' moral values, how threatened they felt from the enemy, the extent to which the participant saw the enemyship relationship as their fault, the importance of one's in-group, whether the enemy was a member of their own social group, and how long ago this enemy relationship occurred. All subsequent questions can be viewed in Appendix D.

## **Procedures**

As mentioned earlier, data collection for this research was conducted online through *MTurk*, an online system of recruitment through Amazon.com. Individuals were given each of the above measures in the following order: 1) enemyship prime: each participant was randomly assigned to one of the two priming paragraphs or the control condition (this was done through Qualtrics block randomization, which uses the Mersenne Twister method of randomization), 2)



life satisfaction, psychological well-being, and self-esteem, 3) perceived control and purpose in life, 4) individualism/collectivism, 5) other measures, and 6) common demographic questions. The scales of individualism/collectivism were as far from the priming paragraph as possible to avoid any effect the prime may have on participants' preexisting levels of individualism/collectivism.<sup>5</sup>

## Results

### Manipulation Checks

As mentioned before, each participant's open-ended responses were coded for 1) amount of thought, 2) enemy type, and 3) intensity of enemyship relationship. Two of these coding systems were used to investigate the general effectiveness of the enemyship manipulation. First, open-ended scoring of the amount of thought participants put into the task suggests that, on average, they put a moderate amount of thought into their responses (min=1.5, max=9.0, mean=5.2, sd=2.16). This suggests that participants were at least moderately engaged in the task.

Further, as a manipulation check on the group versus individual enemy prime, I ran an independent samples *t*-test using the open-ended coding of enemy type to see if participants in each experimental group did, indeed, write about the correct domain of enemy (individual enemy mean= 1.12, group enemy mean=7.75,  $t(105)=-18.82$ ,  $p<.001$ ,  $d=3.67$ ). This was further verified using the same *t*-test on the self-report question asking participants what type of enemy they wrote about (individual enemy mean= 2.29, group enemy mean=7.67,  $t(105)=-11.51$ ,  $p<.001$ ,  $d=2.25$ ). The coding of participant responses supports the validity of the priming manipulation.

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<sup>5</sup> There was no difference found between conditions on levels of individualism/collectivism (Means: Control=2.62, Individual Enemy=2.64, Group Enemy=2.59;  $p=.794$ ), suggesting that the prime had no effect on individualism/collectivism.

The open-ended measure of intensity was analyzed as a dependent measure and is further discussed below.

### **Hypotheses 1, 1a, 1b: Individual and Group Enemy Primes**

I assessed the moderating impact of enemy domain via standard procedures for testing moderators using regression techniques (e.g., Aiken & West, 1991; for examples, see Conway & Schaller, 2005; Conway, et al., 2009). For the first set of analyses I excluded the control condition and focused on the interaction between enemy domain and individualism/collectivism. To do this, I (1) converted both the individualism/collectivism variable and the enemy domain variable (individual and group, dummy-coded originally as 1 and 2) to  $z$  scores, (2) created an individualism/collectivism X enemy domain interaction term, and (3) ran a linear regression entering individualism/collectivism, enemy domain, and the interaction term as independent variables. These analyses were run separately for the three different dependent variables: positive affect, life satisfaction and personal self-esteem. This regression analysis allowed me to test directly whether the predicted interaction between individualism/collectivism and enemyship domain emerged. I further evaluated the data to assess the general pattern and direction of the results. This was done by turning individualism/collectivism into a dichotomous variable via a median split and obtaining the means in each cell of the 2 (enemyship domain, excluding the control condition) X 2 (Individualism/collectivism) design.

When looking at positive affect, neither main effects of enemy domain (effect size  $\beta = -.07, p = .490$ ) nor individualism/collectivism (effect size  $\beta = .00, p = .996$ ) were statistically significant. However, there was a significant interaction between enemy domain and individualism/collectivism (effect size  $\beta = -.29, p = .003$ ). This relationship was further investigated by looking at the mean pattern (see Table 2). This analysis is consistent with my

original hypotheses, indicating that matching conditions produce negative effects on the perceiver. When an individualistic participant was primed with an individual enemy, and a collectivist participant was primed with a group enemy, this produced more negative affect than participants in the mismatched and control conditions (more on control conditions below).

For life satisfaction, this analysis showed no main effect for either the enemy prime (effect size  $\beta=-.09$ ,  $p=.340$ ) or individualism/collectivism (effect size  $\beta=.12$ ,  $p=.230$ ). Furthermore, the enemy prime X individualism/collectivism interaction was also non-significant (effect size  $\beta=.07$ ,  $p=.510$ ). Similarly, for self-esteem, there was no effect for enemy prime (effect size  $\beta=-.02$ ,  $p=.833$ ) or the interaction (effect size  $\beta=.17$ ,  $p=.081$ ). There was a main effect of individualism/collectivism on self-esteem (effect size  $\beta=-.20$ ,  $p=.039$ ). This indicated that, in my sample, individualists have higher self-esteem than collectivists.

Table 2 shows the mean pattern of these interactions. It is interesting to note that the mean patterns of life satisfaction and self-esteem show a slight trend in the opposite direction from my hypothesis. This suggests that perhaps perceiving an enemy on a matched domain in fact *increases* life satisfaction and self-esteem.

*Table 2: Individual/Group Enemy*

DV	Individualist With Individual Enemy	Individualist With Group Enemy	Collectivist With Individual Enemy	Collectivist With Group Enemy	Interaction Regression	Main Effect: Individualism/Collectivism	Main Effect: Enemy Domain
Positive affect	5.5	6.0	6.1	5.2	$p=.003^{**}$ effect size=-.29	$p=.996$ effect size=.00	$p=.490$ effect size=-.07
Self-esteem	3.3	3.0	2.9	3.1	$p=.081$ effect size=.17	$p=.039^{*}$ effect size=-.20	$p=.833$ effect size=-.02
Life Satisfaction	4.9	4.1	4.7	4.8	$p=.510$ effect size=.07	$p=.230$ effect size=.12	$p=.340$ effect size=-.09

### **Hypothesis 1c: Control Conditions**

To compare the two enemy prime conditions against a typical baseline, I ran the same analyses as above while selecting out the individual enemy conditions and the group enemy conditions. For example, I excluded the individual enemy condition participants, created a new interaction term (individualism/collectivism X enemy domain interaction term; group enemy and control condition dummy-coded as 2 and 3, then converted to z-scores) and ran the linear regression using individualism/collectivism, enemy domain and the new interaction term as independent variables. This was done separately for all three dependent measures.

For positive affect, life satisfaction, and self-esteem, none of the analyses were significant (for *p*-values please see Table 3). As before, these interactions were assessed further by converting individualism/collectivism to a dichotomous variable and computing means for each cell in a 2 (enemyship domain; excluding the individual enemy condition) X 2 (Individualism/collectivism) design.

Finally, this same procedure was repeated while excluding the group enemy condition participants. As before, most of the analyses were non-significant, with the exception of the main effect of individualism/collectivism on self-esteem (effect size  $\beta = -.26$ ,  $p = .001$ ). This indicated, once again, that individualists have higher self-esteem than collectivists. Again the mean pattern was calculated and can be found in Table 4.

Table 3: Group Enemy and Control Condition

DV	Individualist With Control	Individualist With Group Enemy	Collectivist With Control	Collectivist With Group Enemy	Interaction Regression	Main Effect: Individualism/Collectivism	Main Effect: Enemy Domain
Positive affect	6.0	6.0	5.8	5.2	$p=.067$ effect size=-.16	$p=.326$ effect size=-.08	$p=.230$ effect size=-.10
Self-esteem	3.1	3.0	3.0	3.1	$p=.345$ effect size=.08	$p=.129$ effect size=-.13	$p=.532$ effect size=.05
Life Satisfaction	4.2	4.2	4.9	5.1	$p=.597$ effect size=.05	$p=.079$ effect size=.15	$p=.801$ effect size=-.02

Table 4: Individual Enemy and Control Condition

DV	Individualist With Control	Individualist With Individual Enemy	Collectivist With Control	Collectivist With Individual Enemy	Interaction Regression	Main Effect: Individualism/Collectivism	Main Effect: Enemy Domain
Positive affect	6.0	5.5	5.8	6.1	$p=.137$ effect size=.12	$p=.097$ effect size=.14	$p=.571$ effect size=-.05
Self-esteem	3.1	3.3	3.0	2.9	$p=.276$ effect size=-.09	$p=.001^{**}$ effect size=-.26	$p=.352$ effect size=.07
Life Satisfaction	4.2	4.9	4.9	4.7	$p=.666$ effect size=-.05	$p=.247$ effect size=.10	$p=.386$ effect size=.07

### Subsequent Analyses

Further analyses were conducted using reactance, perceived control, purpose in life, psychological well-being (including the 6 sub-scales), threat, intensity (both open and closed-ended measures), the open-ended measure of amount of thought, perceptions of fault, and moral reasoning as dependent measures. Of these analyses, only one dependent measure approached statistically significant interaction results: reactance. These analyses focused on the interaction between enemy domain and individualism/collectivism when excluding the control condition.

For all analyses see Appendixes A-C.

Reactance followed the same pattern as positive affect, with no main effects for enemy domain (effect size  $\beta=-.14$ ,  $p=.139$ ) nor for individualism/collectivism (effect size  $\beta=.11$ ,  $p=.262$ ), but showing a nearly statistically significant effect for the interaction (effect size  $\beta=.19$ ,  $p=.052$ ). Again, when assessing the mean pattern, I found that participants in matching conditions were more likely to have reactance toward the enemy they wrote about than participants in mismatched conditions. Like positive affect, reactance shows that participants in the matching conditions were faced with more negative effects than those in the mismatched conditions.

Table 5: Reactance

	Individualist With Individual Enemy	Individualist With Group Enemy	Collectivist With Individual Enemy	Collectivist With Group Enemy	Interaction Without Control	Main Effect: Individualism/ Collectivism Without Control	Main Effect: Enemy Domain Without Control
Reactance	7.0	5.5	6.3	6.4	$p=.052$ effect size=.19	$p=.262$ effect size=.11	$p=.139$ effect size=-.14

It is interesting to note the results pertaining to perceptions of fault for enemyship relationships. Participants were asked, “To what degree do you believe it is your fault or your group’s fault that you have this enemy?” To analyze these results, I conducted the same type of regression analyses as those outlined above. There was no main effect for enemy domain (effect size  $\beta=-.11$ ,  $p=.273$ ) or for the interaction term (effect size  $\beta=.05$ ,  $p=.598$ ). However, the main effect for individualism/collectivism was statistically significant (effect size  $\beta=.25$ ,  $p=.012$ ). The mean pattern shows that collectivists are more likely to feel they are at fault for enemy relationships. This is in the opposite direction of my hypothesis and of the results from Adams (2005) and Wiseman and Duck (1995). These results suggest individualists do not believe

enemies indicate that something is wrong with them. Further discussion of this result can be found in the discussion section.

Finally, for exploratory purposes, I evaluated both perceived threat and the coded level of intensity as moderators in the primary analysis. Threat and intensity were only shown to moderate the main interactions above when looking at one dependent measure: life satisfaction (three way interaction: threat X enemy domain X individualism/collectivism, effect size  $\beta=.32$ ,  $p=.042$ ; intensity X enemy domain X individualism/collectivism, effect size  $\beta=.38$ ,  $p=.012$ ). These analyses indicated that effects of enemy domain and perceiver characteristics on life satisfaction were stronger when the enemy was perceived as highly threatening or intense. It is difficult to make conclusions on these results, as they were only true of one dependent measure. Future research will be needed to assess this moderation.

### **Discussion**

In regards to my optimal enemyship theory, the results of this study are mixed. While some of the results supported the sidestepping idea, others (including two of the three key variables from my original hypotheses) indicated a more complicated interplay of simultaneous negative and positive effects – or no effects at all. Matching enemy domain with personal characteristics was shown to have a negative effect on positive affect and reactance – as my theory would expect – but also produced a (non-significant) bolstering effect on life satisfaction and self-esteem.

Overall, the tendency for positive affect to decrease and reactance to increase in conditions where there is a match between enemy domain and individual characteristics supports my initial hypothesis that having an enemy on a domain that matches the perceiver's system of self-identification will cause negative effects on the perceiver. Further analysis of positive affect

using the control condition supports my sidestepping theory: control conditions have a mean pattern more similar to the mismatched conditions than the matched conditions. This indicates that an individualist perceiving a group enemy, and a collectivist perceiving an individual enemy, will sidestep detriments to their positive affect as if they had not been thinking about an enemy at all. However, individualists with an individual enemy, and collectivist with a group enemy, will suffer declines in their positive affect after considering an enemy.

Interestingly, other analyses, while not statistically significant, indicate an opposite pattern than was expected. The trend for life satisfaction and self-esteem to be elevated in matching conditions is counter to what was initially hypothesized. This indicates that participants in matching conditions (individualist with an individual enemy, collectivist with a group enemy) were more likely to have a life satisfaction and self-esteem boost. Combined with the positive affect and reactance measures, this creates a complicated picture. Why might we find that we get negative effects on positive affect and reactance, while we get positive effects on life satisfaction and self-esteem?

### **Possible Competing Effects**

Given that the life satisfaction and self-esteem measurements are not significant, it is first worth considering the likelihood that these are truly competing effects. Separate from actual *p*-values, effect size *beta* weights indicate moderate effects on three different analyses: the interaction between enemy domain and individualism/collectivism on (1) positive affect ( $\beta=-.29$ ), (2) reactance ( $\beta=.19$ ), and (3) self-esteem ( $\beta=.17$ ). Life satisfaction, on the other hand, had a small effect size ( $\beta=.07$ ). These effect sizes suggest that, while non-significant, self-esteem shows almost as big an effect size as one of the two more malleable measurements that showed effects consistent with the theory. This offers a reason, at least for self-esteem, to consider the



possibility of genuinely competing effects between malleable and stable measurements. For this reason, the following discussion includes consideration of self-esteem and life satisfaction (which I include for ease of presentation) when trying to understand the results of this study. However, due to the non-statistically significant results on life satisfaction and self-esteem, caution in interpretation is advisable.

With that caveat, however, it is useful to consider a counter hypothesis, indicating that matching perceiver characteristics and enemy domain might *increase* life satisfaction and self-esteem. One possibility for these results could be linked with Social Identity Theory. Social Identity is useful to consider particularly in the group enemy conditions. For example, when looking at the collectivist with a group enemy, affirming that you have a group enemy could bolster the perceiver's sense of belonging to their own group and therefore increase life satisfaction and self-esteem. However, this same need for belonging might not be as strong for an individualist with a group enemy. This would be consistent with our findings of lower life satisfaction and self-esteem in the individualist with a group enemy condition.

Of course, that would not explain why the opposite pattern occurred for positive affect. Indeed, the competing effects between positive affect and life satisfaction/self-esteem are perplexing. One very tentative suggestion to reconcile these different results is that participants in the matching conditions are experiencing a negative effect on positive affect and reactance when thinking about an enemy, but are gaining a sense of importance that positively affects life satisfaction and self-esteem. In this way, having an enemy on the domain that matters the most to the perceiver (i.e., individualist perceiving an individual enemy) somehow validates that they or their group are important enough and influential enough to have an enemy. In a way, the enemy is indicating that the perceiver or their group is having an impact on the world and thus creating

the enemy relationship, while at the same time making the perceiver feel some negative transient emotion.

For example, let's say that Suzie is an individualist and finds that Jamie is undermining her goal of being the best basket weaver in town. Suzie is sad and angry that Jamie is sabotaging her supplies and bad-mouthing her products at the local farmers' market. However, the fact that Jamie is taking the time to do these things indicates to Suzie that she is in fact a really good basket weaver and that Jamie is perhaps jealous of her skills. In this way, Suzie is getting an immediate, negative effect on her positive affect and feels more reactance to Jamie's behaviors, but is getting validation that what she is doing is important and noteworthy, thus increasing her life satisfaction and self-esteem.

One alternative explanation treats the life satisfaction and self-esteem results as non-effects. This would mean that the more temporarily malleable dependent measures (positive affect and reactance) showed significant results in line with my sidestepping hypothesis, while the more stable dependent measures (life satisfaction and self-esteem, which showed no significant interactions) were simply non-effects that did not support or directly oppose my hypothesis. Thus, if I discount the life satisfaction and self-esteem results, it could be argued that this study is, in the main, consistent with my theory.

If that is true, why might this pattern have occurred? It is worth considering the relationship between positive affect and life satisfaction as one possibility. More specifically, positive affect has often been considered a precursor to high life satisfaction. Although affect is considered a transient state, multiple positive affective experiences are thought to compound over time, producing more consistent positive mood, leading to higher levels of life satisfaction (Lightsey & Boyraz, 2011; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Therefore, over time, the positive

affect produced by mismatching characteristics could compound into higher levels of life satisfaction and self-esteem. Thus, it is possible my results are due to the enemyship prime not having as much of an effect on life satisfaction and self-esteem (as it is on positive affect and reactance) simply because life satisfaction and self-esteem are harder to change with short-term manipulations.

In summary, it is possible that positive affect brought on by matching enemy domain with individualism/collectivism does not have a strong enough overall effect on life satisfaction and self-esteem to be detected with the current research methods. Future research may benefit in evaluating enemyship with the use of more time appropriate manipulation for life satisfaction and self-esteem. For example, research conducted over a longer period of time, reminding participants of each particular domain of enemy, might produce the compounding effect needed to evaluate life satisfaction and self-esteem.

Of course, given that two of my primary dependent measures showed no significant results, all interpretation of these measurements is tentative – including interpretation of the positive affect and reactance measurements. Future research should validate these findings before putting too much confidence in them.

### **Limitations**

As with all studies, this study has limitations. These include various sampling and theoretical concerns.

**Sampling.** Online research in the social sciences is booming, and as the field continues to move forward in this technological age, there are a number of concerns both with the quality of responses and with self-selection bias. The data received through online surveys can sometimes be a little ‘sloppy.’ As mentioned in the methods section, some steps were taken to

identify bad data. However, the probability of sloppy data remains and future research needs to consider further data controls (for a discussion on weeding out bad data from MTurk see: Mason & Suri, 2010).

The second online data issue that needs to be pointed out is that of selection bias. There is a possibility that individuals who choose to work on MTurk are different than the general population in that they may tend to be more computer literate than others or, on the whole, spend more time on the internet than others (Mason & Suri, 2010). To assess the generalizability of this data, I did pay close attention to the demographics of my participants. As reported above, I was able to get a wide range of individuals, including age, ethnicity, and political backgrounds that generally resembles the American population as a whole (census.gov). While I do not believe the possible technology bias to have an effect on this particular research, in the future, other demographic information may be useful to collect such as living conditions (alone or with someone else), time spent online, income level, education level, and what region of the U.S. they live in.

Another sampling concern in this research is the use of a U.S. sample. While I did get enough variation in individualism/collectivism in my U.S. sample to perform meaningful analyses,<sup>6</sup> responses were still weighted toward the individualistic side of the spectrum. It would be interesting to expand this research to include a more truly collectivistic sample from a region of the world that has a more collectivist culture. It is possible that being more collectivistic in a

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<sup>6</sup> For example, variation in Individualism/collectivism was sufficient to gain significant correlations with self-esteem ( $r=-.21, p=.003$ ); personal growth ( $r=-.30, p<.001$ ), autonomy ( $r=-.53, p<.001$ ), and control over life ( $r=-.50, p<.001$ ). Each of these correlations are in a direction consistent with previous research on individualism/collectivism. Furthermore, the interaction between enemy domain and individualism/collectivism showed significant results for both affect and reactance shown above. If there were insufficient variability in individualism/collectivism, it is highly unlikely these effects would have emerged.

predominantly individualistic society might have an effect on one's perception of enemyship, and this might have affected the nature of my results. It would also be of interest to view individualism within a more collectivist culture and evaluate the responses of more individualistic participants within the collectivistic culture.

**Theoretical.** There are three theoretical concerns in this research that need to be discussed. To start, the primes used could have had effects other than the ones intended. More specifically, the way in which the prime asked participants to think and write about an enemy may have altered participant's overall perceptions of having an enemy. In this case the prime implies that everyone should be able to think of an enemy. This might have put participants at ease about the 'normality' of enemyship, thus reducing some of the overall negative effects of claiming to have an enemy. This might have contributed to the overall weaker effect sizes in the present study. Although positive affect and reactance showed statistically significant and nearly statistically significant results, it is possible that using a different priming technique that does not 'normalize' enemyship may allow for stronger results across the main dependent measures.

The second concern is an issue of directionality. It is quite possible that, instead of enemyship producing lower levels of self-esteem, it could be that individuals with low self-esteem are more likely to perceive an enemy. This is an interesting consideration, and while it would not explain the interaction effect produced by the enemy domain primes, it does pose an interesting problem. To consider this possibility in my data, I correlated self-esteem to the amount of thought participants put into answering the open-ended responses and both the open and closed-ended measures of intensity. I found a fairly small, non-significant relation between the amount of thought a participant put into their open-ended response and their level of self-

esteem ( $r=.09, p=.086$ ). The correlations for the intensity measures were either positively correlated (lower levels of intensity from individuals with lower self-esteem and higher levels of intensity from individuals with higher self esteem; open-ended  $r=.23, p=.019$ ) or non-significant (closed-ended  $r=-.08, p=.433$ ). Taken in total, this suggests either no relationship or a relationship in the opposite direction from the suggested alternative: individuals with high levels of self-esteem were more likely to perceive an intense enemy. While this test is tentative, it does give us some information on the relationship between self-esteem and perceptions of enemies. Future research may want to take a closer look at this issue.

The third concern involves my results focusing on perceptions of fault. The results showing that collectivists are more likely to feel at fault for the enemy relationship is somewhat at odds with qualitative results from Adam's (2005) research. Adams reports interview responses that indicate collectivist Ghanaian participants view enemyship as a byproduct of existence ("The world is such that everybody is bound to have enemies;" p. 956). Individualistic American participants' responses indicate fault on the part of the individual perceiving the enemy relationship ("It's a pretty paranoid sort of feeling. They must be very guilty about something they've done if they feel that somebody is really out to get them;" p. 956). These statements suggest that Ghanaian participants were trying to alleviate personal fault for the enemyship relationship and American participants were putting the blame on the enemy perceiver. The reason for the differences between studies is unclear. This could perhaps be due to methodological differences (i.e. open-ended interviews versus likert scale items). Another possibility is that collectivism in the U.S. may be different from collectivism in Ghana. Further research will need to evaluate these differences, both cross-culturally and separately within a collectivistic country.

This difference has implications for the theory on which the current study is based. While not explicitly the same, considering oneself to be at fault for an enemyship relationship should indicate that the perceiver believes that there is something wrong with her or that something they did was in the wrong. I suggested earlier that individualists in Adams' study found enemies on an individual domain to be the perceiver's fault, thus producing greater negative effects. Further, I suggested that if a collectivist was to think about a group enemy, they might be more likely to experience more negative effects of the enemyship relationship based on perceptions that there is something wrong with her group. While this still may be the case, the absence of an interaction between enemy domain and individualism/collectivism on perceptions of fault suggests that negative effects of enemyship might not be due to perceptions of fault. More research is needed specifically to understand the relationship between individualism/collectivism and perceptions of fault.

### **Future Research**

Further research into enemyship is needed to strengthen the idea of optimal enemyship and to understand the more complicated picture of the differential effects on malleable states (e.g., positive affect) versus more stable traits (e.g., life satisfaction). As such, a few areas for follow-up are apparent from the results of this study. First, more research will be needed to validate the findings on positive affect and reactance. In the near future, I plan to conduct a direct replication of this study with the hopes of confirming these results.

Second, replicating this research in a cross-cultural setting might help strengthen the results obtained. While I do not believe that obtaining a sample from the U.S. hindered my results on individualism/collectivism (see Gaertner, Sedikides, & Graetz, 1999; Vandello & Cohen, 1999, for examples of the use of individualism/collectivism within the U.S.), I do believe

that this research would benefit from an international sample. For example, one possible consideration is the interaction between the dominant culture and individual measurements of individualism/collectivism. Would these results hold in a culture that is predominantly collectivistic? Would more individualistic individuals in a collectivistic culture behave the same way as individualists in an individualistic culture? It is possible that the status quo is having an effect on perceptions of enemyship. Further research should look at results, not only across cultures, but also within a collectivistic sample.

Also of interest would be deciphering the difference between (1) an individual enemy and a competitor and (2) a group enemy and an out-group. For this study, we gave participants a predetermined definition of enemyship to consider. Future research should focus on teasing apart a simple competitor as compared to an enemy. For example, James and John are from different schools and often compete against each other in speech and debate, but they do not consider each other as enemies. However, a third competitor, Jake, is considered an enemy by James. What might make Jake an enemy and not John? Similarly, it would be important to investigate the difference between perceptions of a group enemy and just regular perceptions of the out-group. What would make one out-group an enemy and not another? And would the effects of optimal enemyship only hold for true enemies, or would they also apply to competitors and outgroups who are not enemies?

Other research options would be to evaluate the effect of enemy domain and individualism/collectivism on other measures related to life satisfaction. As noted above, positive affect is considered a precursor to life satisfaction. Perhaps research into other constructs thought to cause higher life satisfaction, such as belongingness, trust, optimism, system justification, and religiosity would help shed some light onto the current results (for discussion of constructs



related to life satisfaction see: Diener & Diener, 1995; Leung & Bond, 2004; Napier & Jost, 2008; Siedlecki, Tucker-Drob, Oishi, & Salthouse, 2008; Tweed & Conway, 2006). Of most interest would be to research the perceptions of trust related to enemyship and how enemy domain may change these perceptions. For example, a more trusting individual may have a more negative reaction to perceiving they have an enemy on her domain of importance than on a mismatching domain.

Finally, the results on participants' perception of fault for the enemy relationship indicated results opposite those of previous research. More empirical studies need to assess this relationship between individualism/collectivism and perceptions of fault in enemyship relationships.

### **Concluding Thoughts**

In summary, this research offers some promising (though mixed) support for optimal enemyship. Results indicated that, at least for malleable effects, the interaction between enemy domain and individualism/collectivism allowed participants in mismatching conditions to sidestep drops in positive affect and heightened reactance produced by perceptions of enemyship. Future evaluation and fine-tuning of this effect are left in the hands of future research.

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## Appendix A: Individual/Group Enemy Results Table

DV	Individualist With Individual Enemy	Individualist With Group Enemy	Collectivist With Individual Enemy	Collectivist With Group Enemy	Interaction Regression	Main Effect: Individualism/ Collectivism	Main Effect: Enemy Domain
Self-esteem	3.3	3.0	2.9	3.1	.081	.039*	.833
Life Satisfaction (short)	4.9	4.1	4.7	4.8	.510	.230	.340
Psychological Well Being	5.2	5.1	4.9	5.0	.810	.069	.750
Positive affect	5.5	6.0	6.1	5.2	.003**	.996	.490
Reactance	7.0	5.5	6.3	6.4	.052	.262	.139
Purpose (Gornick)	5.4	5.5	5.6	5.3	.214	.762	.808
Purpose (Ryff)	4.9	4.9	4.8	5.0	.430	.444	.606
Control (Sullivan)	4.0	4.0	3.4	3.5	.464	.000**	.112
Environmental Mastery (Ryff)	5.1	4.7	4.5	4.8	.593	.502	.922
Self Acceptance (Ryff)	5.3	4.5	4.8	5.0	.309	1.000	.272
Positive Relations With Others (Ryff)	4.6	4.8	5.0	4.7	.432	.400	.879
Personal Growth (Ryff)	5.9	5.9	5.4	5.5	.323	.001**	.872
Autonomy (Ryff)	6.0	5.7	4.9	5.1	.676	.000**	.558
Fault Reasoning	2.6	2.3	3.8	3.0	.598	.012**	.273
Moral Reasoning	4.5	3.8	5.2	4.8	.630	.225	.394
Threat Intensity (self-report)	3.9	4.6	4.7	4.6	.885	.395	.657
Thought Intensity (open-ended)	4.9	4.6	5.4	4.9	.421	.382	.481
Self-esteem/ Life Satisfaction	6.5	4.9	4.9	5.2	.091	.262	.144
Self-esteem/ Life Satisfaction/ Psychological Well Being	6.1	5.2	4.0	5.5	.177	.059	.456
	.3	-.2	-.1	.1	.180	.649	.505
	.3	-.1	-.1	.1	.313	.298	.562

## Appendix B: Control / Individual Enemy Results Table

DV	Individualist With Control	Individualist With Individual Enemy	Collectivist With Control	Collectivist With Individual Enemy	Interaction Regression	Main Effect: Individualism/ Collectivism	Main Effect: Enemy Domain
Self-esteem	3.1	3.3	3.0	2.9	.276	.001**	.352
Life Satisfaction (short)	4.2	4.9	4.9	4.7	.666	.247	.386
Psychological Well Being	5.2	5.3	4.9	4.9	.991	.005**	.885
Positive affect	6.0	5.5	5.8	6.1	.137	.097	.571
Purpose (Gornick)	5.3	5.4	5.2	5.6	.298	.684	.305
Purpose (Ryff)	5.1	4.9	4.8	4.8	.969	.058	.592
Control (Sullivan)	3.9	4.0	3.6	3.4	.621	.000**	.450
Environmental Mastery (Ryff)	4.7	5.1	4.7	4.5	.593	.363	.696
Self Acceptance (Ryff)	4.7	5.3	4.9	4.8	.434	.724	.308
Positive Relations With Others (Ryff)	4.9	4.6	4.8	5.0	.155	.829	.742
Personal Growth (Ryff)	5.8	5.9	5.4	5.4	.890	.001**	.910
Autonomy (Ryff)	5.8	6.0	5.0	4.9	.558	.000	.938
Self-esteem/ Life Satisfaction	-.1	.3	.1	-.1	.385	.223	.304
Self-esteem/ Life Satisfaction/ Psychological Well Being	-.1	.3	.0	-.2	.548	.051	.437

## Appendix C: Control / Group Enemy Results Table

DV	Individualist With Control	Individualist With Group Enemy	Collectivist With Control	Collectivist With Group Enemy	Interaction Regression	Main Effect: Individualism/ Collectivism	Main Effect: Enemy Domain
Self-esteem	3.1	3.0	3.0	3.1	.345	.129	.532
Life Satisfaction (short)	4.2	4.2	4.9	5.1	.597	.079	.801
Psychological Well Being	5.2	5.1	4.9	5.1	.766	.020	.814
Positive affect	6.0	6.0	5.8	5.2	.067	.326	.230
Purpose (Gornick)	5.3	5.5	5.2	5.3	.722	.512	.459
Purpose (Ryff)	5.1	4.9	4.8	5.0	.438	.280	.942
Control (Sullivan)	3.9	4.0	3.6	3.7	.676	.000**	.260
Environmental Mastery (Ryff)	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.8	.818	.726	.781
Self Acceptance (Ryff)	4.7	4.5	4.9	5.0	.571	.496	.747
Positive Relations With Others (Ryff)	4.9	4.8	4.8	4.7	.695	.569	.632
Personal Growth (Ryff)	5.8	5.9	5.4	5.5	.281	.000**	.926
Autonomy (Ryff)	5.8	5.7	5.0	5.1	.998	.000**	.526
Self-esteem/ Life Satisfaction	-.14	-.18	.06	.12	.406	.875	.836
Self-esteem/ Life Satisfaction/ Psychological Well Being	-.05	-.11	-.01	.06	.497	.434	.959

## Appendix D: Final Packets

### Enemyship Effects

Q1 1. Project Title: Relationship Perception 2. Project Director: You are invited to participate in a study conducted by Laura Janelle Gornick, Social Psychology Graduate Student at The University of Montana. She can be reached in person at The University of Montana, Psychology Department, Skaggs Building office 053, Missoula MT 59803, or by e-mail at [laura.gornick@umconnect.umt.edu](mailto:laura.gornick@umconnect.umt.edu). You may also contact the faculty supervisor for this project Luke Conway at [luke.conway@umontana.edu](mailto:luke.conway@umontana.edu) 3. Purpose and Procedures: The purpose of this research study is to understand beliefs that people have about life circumstances and others behaviors. If you agree to participate, you will be asked write a paragraph about relationships and complete several questionnaires relevant to your beliefs and personality. Participation in this study is expected to take 45 minutes 4. Credit: You will receive \$0.25 for your participation. 5. Risks. There are no known risks associated with this study. In the event you experience any discomfort as a result of participation in this study, you are encouraged to e-mail the experimenter. 6. Confidentiality: We will keep all data strictly confidential. You will not (and cannot) be identified by name in any reports of the completed study. 7. Voluntary participation/withdrawal: Your decision to take part in this research is entirely voluntary. You may refuse to take part in or withdraw from this study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are normally entitled. In other words, if you decide to withdraw in the middle of the study, you are still entitled to your course credits. If you happen to feel uncomfortable answering any of the items, you may skip them. 8. Questions. If you have any further questions about this study and your participation, you may contact Laura Janelle Gornick at [laura.gornick@umconnect.umt.edu](mailto:laura.gornick@umconnect.umt.edu) or Luke Conway at [luke.conway@umontana.edu](mailto:luke.conway@umontana.edu) If you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant, you may contact the IRB chair through the UM research office at 243-6670. 9. Statement of consent/signature. "I have read the above description of this research study. I have been informed of the risks and benefits involved, and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. Furthermore, I have been assured that any future questions I may have will also be answered by a member of the research team. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

I agree to participate in this study. (1)

Q2 Enemyship is defined as a personal relationship in which one person desires another person's downfall or attempts to sabotage another person's progress. In the space below, please describe a time in which you felt you might have had a personal enemy. Please describe the person, the situation, and why you believed this individual to be an enemy. If you don't think you have ever had an enemy, please think of the closest thing you have ever had to an enemy and write about that person. These answers are anonymous and we will never identify your survey.

Q3 Group enemyship is defined as a relationship in which one group desires another group's downfall or attempts to sabotage another group's progress. In the space below, please describe a time in which you felt that a group you belong to had a group enemy. Please describe the enemy group, the situation, and why you believed this group to be an enemy. If you don't think your

group has ever had an enemy, please think of the closest thing to an enemy and write about that group. These answers are anonymous and we will never identify your survey.

Q4 Please continue to the next page of the survey.

Q5 Below are 5 statements that you may agree or disagree with. Using the 1-7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by choosing the most accurate number from the drop down menu. Please be open and honest in your responding. 7 - Strongly Agree 6 - Agree 5 - Slightly Agree 4 - Neither Agree nor Disagree 3 - Slightly Disagree 2 - Disagree 1 - Strongly Disagree

	7 (1)	6 (2)	5 (3)	4 (4)	3 (5)	2 (6)	1 (7)
1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. The conditions of my life are excellent. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. I am satisfied with my life. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. So far I have gotten the important things in life. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q6 Below are 5 statements that you may agree or disagree with. Using the 1-7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by choosing the most accurate number from the drop down menu. Please be open and honest in your responding. 7 - Strongly Agree 6 - Agree 5 - Slightly Agree 4 - Neither Agree nor Disagree 3 - Slightly Disagree 2 - Disagree 1 - Strongly Disagree

	7 (1)	6 (2)	5 (3)	4 (4)	3 (5)	2 (6)	1 (7)
6. I like most parts of my personality. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. When I look at the story of my life, I am pleased with how things have turned out so far. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Some people wander aimlessly through life, but I am not one of them. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. The demands of everyday life often get me down. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. In many ways I feel disappointed about my achievements in life. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q7 Below are 5 statements that you may agree or disagree with. Using the 1-7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by choosing the most accurate number from the drop down menu. Please be open and honest in your responding. 7 - Strongly Agree 6 - Agree 5 - Slightly Agree 4 - Neither Agree nor Disagree 3 - Slightly Disagree 2 - Disagree 1 - Strongly Disagree

	7 (1)	6 (2)	5 (3)	4 (4)	3 (5)	2 (6)	1 (7)
11. Maintaining close relationships has been difficult and frustrating for me. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. I live life one day at a time and don't really think about the future. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. In general, I feel I am in charge of the situation in which I live. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. I am good at managing the responsibilities of daily life. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. I sometimes feel as if I've done all there is to do in life. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Q8 Below are 5 statements that you may agree or disagree with. Using the 1-7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by choosing the most accurate number from the drop down menu. Please be open and honest in your responding. 7 - Strongly Agree 6 - Agree 5 - Slightly Agree 4 - Neither Agree nor Disagree 3 - Slightly Disagree 2 - Disagree 1 - Strongly Disagree

	7 (1)	6 (2)	5 (3)	4 (4)	3 (5)	2 (6)	1 (7)
16. For me, life has been a continuous process of learning, changing, and growth. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
17. I think it is important to have new experiences that challenge how I think about myself and the world. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. People would describe me as a giving person, willing to share my time with others. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. I gave up trying to make big improvements or changes in my life a long time ago. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20. I tend to be influenced by people with strong opinions. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q9 Below are 3 statements that you may agree or disagree with. Using the 1-7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by choosing the most accurate number from the drop down menu. Please be open and honest in your responding. 7 - Strongly Agree 6 - Agree 5 - Slightly Agree 4 - Neither Agree nor Disagree 3 - Slightly Disagree 2 - Disagree 1 - Strongly Disagree

	7 (1)	6 (2)	5 (3)	4 (4)	3 (5)	2 (6)	1 (7)
21. I have not experienced many warm and trusting relationships with others. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
22. I have confidence in my own opinions, even if they are different from the way most other people think. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
23. I judge myself by what I think is important, not by the values of what others think is important. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q10 Instructions: Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. If you strongly agree, choose 4. If you agree with the statement, choose 3. If you disagree, choose 2. If you strongly disagree, choose 1.

	1-Strongly Disagree (1)	2-Disagree (2)	3-Agree (3)	4-Strongly Agree (4)
1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. At times, I think I am no good at all. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. If you're reading this, please select #4-Strongly Agree' (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q11 Instructions: Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. If you strongly agree, choose 4. If you agree with the statement, choose 3. If you disagree, choose 2. If you strongly disagree, choose 1.

	1-Strongly Disagree (1)	2-Disagree (2)	3-Agree (3)	4-Strongly Agree (4)
7. I certainly feel useless at times. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. I wish I could have more respect for myself. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. I take a positive attitude toward myself. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q12 Choose the number that best represents your current state (i.e., how you are feeling right now) on each of the following dimensions.

1. (1)	<input type="radio"/> 1 - Sad (1)	<input type="radio"/> 2 (2)	<input type="radio"/> 3 (3)	<input type="radio"/> 4 (4)	<input type="radio"/> 5 (5)	<input type="radio"/> 6 (6)	<input type="radio"/> 7 (7)	<input type="radio"/> 8 (8)	<input type="radio"/> 9 - Happy (9)
2. (2)	<input type="radio"/> 1 - Apathetic (1)	<input type="radio"/> 2 (2)	<input type="radio"/> 3 (3)	<input type="radio"/> 4 (4)	<input type="radio"/> 5 (5)	<input type="radio"/> 6 (6)	<input type="radio"/> 7 (7)	<input type="radio"/> 8 (8)	<input type="radio"/> 9 - Excited (9)
3. (3)	<input type="radio"/> 1 - Irritable (1)	<input type="radio"/> 2 (2)	<input type="radio"/> 3 (3)	<input type="radio"/> 4 (4)	<input type="radio"/> 5 (5)	<input type="radio"/> 6 (6)	<input type="radio"/> 7 (7)	<input type="radio"/> 8 (8)	<input type="radio"/> 9 - Pleasant (9)
4. (4)	<input type="radio"/> 1 - Angry (1)	<input type="radio"/> 2 (2)	<input type="radio"/> 3 (3)	<input type="radio"/> 4 (4)	<input type="radio"/> 5 (5)	<input type="radio"/> 6 (6)	<input type="radio"/> 7 (7)	<input type="radio"/> 8 (8)	<input type="radio"/> 9 - Calm (9)
5. (5)	<input type="radio"/> 1 - Moody (1)	<input type="radio"/> 2 (2)	<input type="radio"/> 3 (3)	<input type="radio"/> 4 (4)	<input type="radio"/> 5 (5)	<input type="radio"/> 6 (6)	<input type="radio"/> 7 (7)	<input type="radio"/> 8 (8)	<input type="radio"/> 9 - Stable (9)

Q13 For the following questions please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	1 - Strongly Disagree (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	6 (6)	7 - Strongly Agree (7)
1. I believe that my life has purpose. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. For the most part I believe that I make a difference. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q14 Please read each statement. Where there is a blank \_\_\_\_\_, decide what your normal or usual attitude, feeling, or behavior would be: A. Rarely (less than 10% of the time) B. Occasionally (about 30% of the time) C. Sometimes (about half of the time) D. Frequently (about 70% of the time) E. Usually (more than 90% of the time)

	Rarely (1)	Occasionally (2)	Sometimes (3)	Frequently (4)	Usually (5)
1. When faced with a problem, I _____ try to forget it. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. I _____ need frequent encouragement from others for me to keep working at a difficult task. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. I _____ like jobs where I can make decisions and be responsible for my own work. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. I _____ change my opinion when someone I admire disagrees with me. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. If I want something, I _____ work hard to get it. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q15 Please read each statement. Where there is a blank \_\_\_\_\_, decide what your normal or usual attitude, feeling, or behavior would be: A. Rarely (less than 10% of the time) B. Occasionally (about 30% of the time) C. Sometimes (about half of the time) D. Frequently (about 70% of the time) E. Usually (more than 90% of the time)

	Rarely (1)	Occasionally (2)	Sometimes (3)	Frequently (4)	Usually (5)
6. I _____ prefer to learn the facts about something from someone else rather than have to dig them out for myself. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. I will _____ accept jobs that require me to supervise others. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. I _____ have a hard time saying "no" when someone tries to sell me something I don't want. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. I _____ like to have a say in any decisions made by any group I'm in. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. I _____ consider the different sides of an issue before making any decisions. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q16 Please read each statement. Where there is a blank \_\_\_\_\_, decide what your normal or usual attitude, feeling, or behavior would be: A. Rarely (less than 10% of the time) B. Occasionally (about 30% of the time) C. Sometimes (about half of the time) D. Frequently (about 70% of the time) E. Usually (more than 90% of the time)

	Rarely (1)	Occasionally (2)	Sometimes (3)	Frequently (4)	Usually (5)
11. What other people think _____ has a great influence on my behavior. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. Whenever something good happens to me, I _____ feel it is because I've earned it. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. I _____ enjoy being in a position of leadership. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. I _____ need someone else to praise my work before I am satisfied with what I've done. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. I am _____ sure enough of my opinions to try and influence others. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Q17 Please read each statement. Where there is a blank \_\_\_\_\_, decide what your normal or usual attitude, feeling, or behavior would be: A. Rarely (less than 10% of the time) B. Occasionally (about 30% of the time) C. Sometimes (about half of the time) D. Frequently (about 70% of the time) E. Usually (more than 90% of the time)

	Rarely (1)	Occasionally (2)	Sometimes (3)	Frequently (4)	Usually (5)
16. When something is going to affect me, I _____ learn as much about it as I can. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
17. I _____ decide to do things on the spur of the moment. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. For me, knowing I've done something well is _____ more important than being praised by someone else. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. I _____ let other peoples' demands keep me from doing things I want to do. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20. I _____ stick to my opinions when someone disagrees with me. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q18 Please read each statement. Where there is a blank \_\_\_\_\_, decide what your normal or usual attitude, feeling, or behavior would be: A. Rarely (less than 10% of the time) B. Occasionally (about 30% of the time) C. Sometimes (about half of the time) D. Frequently (about 70% of the time) E. Usually (more than 90% of the time)

	Rarely (1)	Occasionally (2)	Sometimes (3)	Frequently (4)	Usually (5)
21. I _____ do what I feel like doing not what other people think I ought to do. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
22. I _____ get discouraged when doing something that takes a long time to achieve results. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
23. When part of a group I _____ prefer to let other people make all the decisions. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
24. When I have a problem I _____ follow the advice of friends or relatives. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
25. I _____ enjoy trying to do difficult tasks more than I enjoy trying to do easy tasks. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q19 Please read each statement. Where there is a blank \_\_\_\_\_, decide what your normal or usual attitude, feeling, or behavior would be: A. Rarely (less than 10% of the time) B. Occasionally (about 30% of the time) C. Sometimes (about half of the time) D. Frequently (about 70% of the time) E. Usually (more than 90% of the time)

	Rarely (1)	Occasionally (2)	Sometimes (3)	Frequently (4)	Usually (5)
26. I _____ prefer situations where I can depend on someone else's ability rather than just my own. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
27. Having someone important tell me I did a good job is _____ more important to me than feeling I've done a good job. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
28. When I'm involved in something, I _____ try to find out all I can about what is going on even when someone else is in charge. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q20 Please go through the following 5 statements and choose the number in the scale which most accurately describes how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement.

	1 - Strongly Disagree (1)	2 - Disagree (2)	3 - Half-Half (3)	4 - Agree (4)	5 - Strongly Agree (5)
1. I have respect for the authority figures with whom I interact. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. I'd rather say "No" directly, than risk being misunderstood. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Speaking up during a class is not a problem for me. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q21 Please go through the following 5 statements and choose the number in the scale which most accurately describes how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement.

	1 - Strongly Disagree (1)	2 - Disagree (2)	3 - Half-Half (3)	4 - Agree (4)	5 - Strongly Agree (5)
6. Having a lively imagination is important to me. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. I would offer my seat in a bus to my professor. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. I am comfortable with being singled out for praise or rewards. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. I respect people who are modest about themselves. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. I am the same person at home that I am at school. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q22 Please go through the following 5 statements and choose the number in the scale which most accurately describes how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement.

	1 - Strongly Disagree (1)	2 - Disagree (2)	3 - Half-Half (3)	4 - Agree (4)	5 - Strongly Agree (5)
11. I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. Being able to take care of myself is a primary concern for me. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. I often have the feeling that my relationships with others are more important than my own accomplishments. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. I act the same way no matter who I am with. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. I should take into consideration my parents' advice when making education/career plans. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q23 Please go through the following 5 statements and choose the number in the scale which most accurately describes how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement.

	1 - Strongly Disagree (1)	2 - Disagree (2)	3 - Half-Half (3)	4 - Agree (4)	5 - Strongly Agree (5)
16. It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
17. I prefer to be direct and forthright when dealing with people I've just met. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. I will stay in a group if they need me, even when I'm not happy with the group. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20. If my brother or sister fails, I feel responsible. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q24 Please go through the following 3 statements and choose the number in the scale which most accurately describes how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement.

	1 - Strongly Disagree (1)	2 - Disagree (2)	3 - Half-Half (3)	4 - Agree (4)	5 - Strongly Agree (5)
21. My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
22. Even when I strongly disagree with the group members, I avoid an argument. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
23. I value being in good health above everything. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Q25 These items describe different aspects of identity. Please read each item carefully and consider how it applies to you. Fill in the blank next to each item by choosing a number from the scale below. 1 = Not important to my sense of who I am 2 = Slightly important to my sense of who I am 3 = Somewhat important to my sense of who I am 4 = Very important to my sense of who I am 5 = Extremely important to my sense of who I am

	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)
1. The things I own, my possessions (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. My personal values and moral standards (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. My popularity with other people (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Being a part of the many generations of my family (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. My dreams and imagination (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q26 These items describe different aspects of identity. Please read each item carefully and consider how it applies to you. Fill in the blank next to each item by choosing a number from the scale below. 1 = Not important to my sense of who I am 2 = Slightly important to my sense of who I am 3 = Somewhat important to my sense of who I am 4 = Very important to my sense of who I am 5 = Extremely important to my sense of who I am

	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)
6. The ways in which other people react to what I do (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. My race or ethnic background (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. My personal goals and hopes for the future (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. My physical appearance: My height, my weight, and the shape of my body (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. My religion (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q27 These items describe different aspects of identity. Please read each item carefully and consider how it applies to you. Fill in the blank next to each item by choosing a number from the scale below. 1 = Not important to my sense of who I am 2 = Slightly important to my sense of who I am 3 = Somewhat important to my sense of who I am 4 = Very important to my sense of who I am 5 = Extremely important to my sense of who I am

	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)
11. My emotions and feelings (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. My reputation, what others think of me (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. Places where I live or where I was raised (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. My thoughts and ideas (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. My attractiveness to other people (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q28 These items describe different aspects of identity. Please read each item carefully and consider how it applies to you. Fill in the blank next to each item by choosing a number from the scale below. 1 = Not important to my sense of who I am 2 = Slightly important to my sense of who I am 3 = Somewhat important to my sense of who I am 4 = Very important to my sense of who I am 5 = Extremely important to my sense of who I am

	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)
16. My age, belonging to my age group or being part of my generation (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
17. The ways I deal with my fears and anxieties (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. My feeling of being a unique person, being distinct from others (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. My social class, the economic group I belong to whether lower, middle, or upper class (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q29 These items describe different aspects of identity. Please read each item carefully and consider how it applies to you. Fill in the blank next to each item by choosing a number from the scale below. 1 = Not important to my sense of who I am 2 = Slightly important to my sense of who I am 3 = Somewhat important to my sense of who I am 4 = Very important to my sense of who I am 5 = Extremely important to my sense of who I am

	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)
20. Knowing that I continue to be essentially the same inside even though life involves many external changes (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
21. My gestures and mannerisms, the impression that I make on others (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
22. My feeling of belonging to my community (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
23. My self-knowledge, my ideas about what kind of person I really am (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
24. My social behavior, such as the way I act when meeting people (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q30 These items describe different aspects of identity. Please read each item carefully and consider how it applies to you. Fill in the blank next to each item by choosing a number from the scale below. 1 = Not important to my sense of who I am 2 = Slightly important to my sense of who I am 3 = Somewhat important to my sense of who I am 4 = Very important to my sense of who I am 5 = Extremely important to my sense of who I am

	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)
25. My feeling of pride in my country, being proud to be a citizen (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
26. My physical abilities, being coordinated and good at athletic activities (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
27. My personal self-evaluation, the private opinion I have of myself (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
28. Being a sports fan, identifying with a sports team (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
29. My occupational choice and career plans (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q31 These items describe different aspects of identity. Please read each item carefully and consider how it applies to you. Fill in the blank next to each item by choosing a number from the scale below. 1 = Not important to my sense of who I am 2 = Slightly important to my sense of who I am 3 = Somewhat important to my sense of who I am 4 = Very important to my sense of who I am 5 = Extremely important to my sense of who I am

	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)
30. My commitments on political issues or my political activities (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
31. My language, such as my regional accent or dialect or a second language that I know (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
32. My sex, being a male or a female (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q32 Regarding what you wrote earlier, please answer these questions by choosing the most accurate number where 1 is "not at all" and 9 is "a great deal." If you did not complete a writing task, please choose "N/A."

	1 - Not At All (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	6 (6)	7 (7)	8 (8)	9 - A Great Deal (9)	N/A (10)
1. To what degree did this enemy make you feel as if they were trying to take away your freedom to act exactly as you wished? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. To what degree did your enemies' actions make you want to do the exact opposite behaviors? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Q33 Regarding the writing task at the beginning of the survey please answer the following questions. If you did not complete a writing task, please choose "N/A" for the following 8 questions.

Q34 1. To what extent did you write about an individual or group enemy?

- 1 - Individual (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- 6 (6)
- 7 (7)
- 8 (8)
- 9 - Group (9)
- N/A (10)

Q35 2. To what extent is the enemy you talked about in a social group you belong to, or a social group that you do NOT belong to?

- 1 - Not In My Group (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- 6 (6)
- 7 (7)
- 8 (8)
- 9 - In My Group (9)
- N/A (10)

Q36 3. To what degree do you believe it is your fault or your group's fault that you have this enemy?

- 1 - Not Your Fault (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- 6 (6)
- 7 (7)
- 8 (8)
- 9 - Your Fault (9)
- N/A (10)

Q37 4. About how long ago, in years, did you have this enemy?

- Present (1)
- 1-2 Years (2)
- 2-3 Years (3)
- 3-4 Years (4)
- 4-5 Years (5)
- Over 5 Years (6)
- N/A (7)

Q38 5. To what degree do you think this enemy undermines your moral values?

- 1 - Does Not Undermine Moral Values (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- 6 (6)
- 7 (7)
- 8 (8)
- 9 - Completely Undermines Moral Values (9)
- N/A (10)

Q39 6. How intense is this enemy relationship to you?

- 1 - Not Intense (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- 6 (6)
- 7 (7)
- 8 (8)
- 9 - Very Intense (9)
- N/A (10)

Q40 7. How threatened do you feel from this enemy?

- 1 - Not Threatened (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- 6 (6)
- 7 (7)
- 8 (8)
- 9 - Very Threatened (9)
- N/A (10)

Q41 8. If you wrote about a group enemy, how important to you is your association with your own group? (If you did not write about a group enemy please choose "N/A".)

- 1 - Not Important (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- 6 (6)
- 7 (7)
- 8 (8)
- 9 - Very Important (9)
- N/A (10)

Q42 3. Based on what I know about politics, I am (choose number that best represents your political attitudes):

- 1 - Liberal (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- 6 (6)
- 7 (7)
- 8 (8)
- 9 - Conservative (9)

Q43 4. Based on what I know about politics, I am most likely to vote (choose number that best represents your political attitudes):

- 1 - Democratic (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- 6 (6)
- 7 (7)
- 8 (8)
- 9 - Republican (9)

Q44 What is your age?

Q45 Sex:

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Transgender (3)

Q46 Ethnicity:

- White/Caucasian (1)
- African American (2)
- Asian American (3)
- Native American (4)
- Hispanic (5)
- Arab (6)
- Pacific Islander (7)
- Other (8) \_\_\_\_\_

Q47 Religion:

- Christian Protestant (1)
- Christian Catholic (2)
- Buddhist (3)
- Jewish (4)
- Muslim (5)
- Hindu (6)
- Agnostic (7)
- Atheist (8)
- Other (9)

Q48 Very little research to date has evaluated the effects perceiving to have an enemy has on individuals. In this research we are interested in how people perceive enemyship relationships and if we can gain positive benefits, such as higher life satisfaction and self-esteem, from them. Of great interest are the circumstances in which an individual can gain the most benefit from enemyship while downplaying the negative consequences. This research is looking at how the type of enemy, individual or group, interacts with an individual's level of individualism/collectivism. In case you have any questions or concerns about your participation in this study, please contact Laura Janelle Gornick at [laura.gornick@umconnect.umt.edu](mailto:laura.gornick@umconnect.umt.edu). Thank you! To complete this survey please enter a 5 digit number. You will be asked to record this number into the MTurk HIT for credit.