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The Lens of Personhood: Viewing the Self and Others in a Multicultural Society

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Some aspects of the subjective experience of individualism and collectivism in Israel, a society that simultaneously emphasizes both worldviews, were explored. Ss were Arab and Jewish Israeli students (Study 1 $n = 211$, Study 2 $n = 370$, Study 3 $n = 160$, and Study 4 $n = 280$). As hypothesized, endorsing individualism as a worldview was related to focusing on private aspects of the self and conceptualizing the self in terms of distinctions between the self and others. Hypotheses suggesting a relationship between collectivism, centrality of social identities to self-definition, a focus on public aspects of the self, and heightened perception of intergroup conflict were also supported by the data. Unexpectedly, endorsement of an individualistic worldview was also related to these variables. Discussion focuses on the meld of individualism and collectivism that may occur in Israel.

> When I am here in Jerusalem, I think of myself as a psychologist, I am trying to learn and to achieve professional goals, I have friends, and I live alone in a big house. I do not want to go home (to the village), get married, and have children. When I go home (to the village), I wonder what I ever saw in my life in the city; I experience a strong longing to return to my past, to be married and with children, living as a member of my nation.
>
> —Arab group leader in intergroup conflict workshop

> "Without group loyalty there can be no self-actualization". . . We all know it is true even though we like to think of ourselves as individualists, everyone one of us is a collectivist.
>
> —Jewish group leader in intergroup conflict workshop

To Arab and Jewish Israelis, questions of individual and group identity are often perceived as pressing and immediately relevant. In struggling to define the self, self-identification is often dichotomized as either individualist or collectivist. Cross-cultural psychological research on the self has also commonly classified the self as either individualist—the self as a bounded and unique object—or as collectivist—the self as an ensembled object, merged into the common life of the nation group (Sampson, 1988).

Israel provides a unique context within which to study individualism and collectivism because both Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs are rooted in distinct cultural heritages that promote collectivist strivings (e.g., Khalidi, 1985; Lewis, 1976; Smooha & Peretz, 1982; van den Haag, 1969) yet live in a Western culture that promotes individualism (Burg, 1989; Eisenstadt, 1985; Kimmerling, 1985; Nakhleh, 1975; Smooha, 1989). Thus, neither individualism nor collectivism alone seems to fully capture the Israeli experience. The studies described herein focus on some aspects of the subjective experience of individualism and collectivism in Israel.[1]

Individualism, Collectivism, and the Self

Individualism and collectivism can be thought of as worldviews that function to focus the attention of those who espouse them on certain aspects of themselves as well as certain characteristics of interpersonal and intergroup behavior. Individualism focuses attention on attainment of personal goals (Georgas, 1989; Kagitcibasi, 1987; Triandis, 1987). Within this worldview, development and maintenance of a separate personal identity is extolled, the importance of striving for self-actualization is highlighted, and the self is viewed as the basic unit of survival (Hui & Villareal, 1989; Markus & Kitayama, 1990). Differences between the group and the individual are clearly delineated, and individuals are supposed to discover and attain their own "true" selves by reflecting on and attending to themselves (Hsu, 1983).

On the other hand, collectivism focuses attention on maintenance of social norms and performance of social duties as defined by the in-group (e.g., Sinha & Verma, 1987; Triandis, 1990a, 1990b). Within this worldview, development and maintenance of a set of common beliefs, attitudes, and practices is extolled, and the importance of cooperation with in-group members is highlighted (Georgas, 1989; Hui & Triandis, 1986; Markus & Kitayama, 1990). The group is viewed as the basic unit of survival (Hui & Villareal, 1989). Attempts to distinguish between the personal and the communal are likely to appear false and be suspect (Triandis, 1990a, 1990b), social responsiveness is valued, and individuals are expected to attain under-

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[1] Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca (1988) labeled these individual orientations *idiocentrism* and *allocentrism* to distinguish them from the broader, cultural construct individualism–collectivism. However, *individualism* and *collectivism* are the more widely used terms and so are used here.

standing of their place within the in-group by reflecting on and attending to the needs of the group (Cousins, 1989; Markus & Kitayama, 1990).

Individualism, Collectivism, and Interpersonal Relations

Within an individualist worldview, self and others are judged according to the extent of personal success each has achieved. Individuals compete with one another for scarce resources (Fiske, 1990). Coalitions are established for the purpose of maximizing personal gain; these coalitions change as circumstances change, with each individual seeking relationships with those most able to be of use at any particular point in time (Hsu, 1983; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988; Waterman, 1984). Thus, individualists conceive of conflict as interpersonally based.

Alternatively, a collectivist worldview promotes judgment of self and others in terms of ascribed group membership. Cooperation and coexistence within the in-group is emphasized, relationships are not described in utilitarian terms, and conflict is conceived of as an intergroup phenomenon (Triandis, 1990a, 1990b). Out-group members are viewed with suspicion and hostility, and in-group members are permitted to take advantage of out-group members when they can (Triandis, 1988; Triandis et al., 1988). In-group membership carries with it a series of ascribed relationships (Triandis, 1988), and culturally prescribed norms dictate which attributes are necessary for meaningful group formation (Hsu, 1983).

Conceptualization of Individualism, Collectivism, and Biculturalism

Whereas value differences between individualist and collectivist cultures have been empirically established (e.g., Schwartz, 1990), more general characterizations of individualism and collectivism derive primarily from ethnographically based studies (Marsella, DeVos, & Hsu, 1985; Shweder & LeVine, 1984). The extent to which individualists and collectivists differ in the way they conceive of themselves and others is just beginning to be studied empirically. In addition, a number of researchers have recently noted that individualism and collectivism are likely to be separate dimensions rather than the polar opposites of a single dimension (Kagitcibasi & Berry, 1989). Thus, collectivists interact competitively with out-group members, and when a need for affiliation is aroused, individualists are prepared to focus on the common good of the group (see Brewer, 1991; Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Fiske, 1990; Leung, 1988; Schwartz, 1990; Triandis, 1988). Elements of both worldviews may exist at the cultural and individual levels.

Furthermore, cultures may be subtly transformed. For example, processes of industrialization, democratization, and modernization may carry with them an individualist perspective that may be at odds with the sense of communalism and inclusiveness felt by in-group members in a collectivist framework (Fiske, 1990; Inglehart, 1990; Pepitone, 1989; Triandis, 1989; Triandis et al., 1988). Thus, in one of her campaign speeches, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is said to have said, "There is no such thing as society, only individual men and *women and their families*." Exposure to both individualism and collectivism over time may result in a "bicultural" worldview that includes elements of both (Roland, 1989). However, it is unclear how this biculturalism is experienced on the individual level.

The Bicultural Israeli Self

Although relatively little has been written about Middle Eastern cultures and peoples in terms of individualism and collectivism, research has explored the centrality of social identities for peoples of the region (e.g., Hofman, Beit-Hallahmi, & Hertz-Lazarowitz, 1982; Hofman & Debbiny, 1970; Hofman & Shahin, 1989). This descriptive work has underlined the centrality of ethnic and religious identities. Some researchers have suggested that these ensembled ethnic–religious selves are "primordial," leaving little room for either higher order, civil–national social identities or for more bounded identities (see Ra'anan, 1990).[2]

Yet Israeli Arabs and Jews cannot be simply conceived of as collectivists. For Western Jews, transformation from collectivism to biculturalism may be historically rooted in the emancipation of Jews in Europe (Katz, 1986; Malino & Sorkin, 1990). For Oriental Jews, currently the majority in Israel, the process may have begun with Western influences on the then Ottoman Empire and continued with the subsequent French and British colonialization of the nation states created in the wake of the Empire (Rustow, 1989). The Western-style culture of Israel may have bolstered the process as well (Liebman & Don-Yehiya, 1983). As an indigenous population, the Arabs of Israel have experienced Western culture as part of the Ottoman Empire, the British Mandate, and then as part of Israeli society since 1948. This experience is interwoven with their traditional culture as Arabs, and for the most part, Muslims, who emphasize belonging to the extended family (hamula), the locale, and the nation of Arabs (umma) as well as the nation of Islam (dar al-Islam; Hopwood, 1990; Rosen, 1989; Savory, 1989; see, however, Ali, 1988).

Thus, bicultural conceptualizations of self and others are likely for both Arab and Jewish Israelis. Exploration of the extent to which individualist and collectivist worldviews are endorsed will shed light on the "lens" or organizing structure used to view the self and others in this part of the world.

Assessing Functions of the Bicultural Self: Hypotheses

In the current studies, both self-concept and social relations were hypothesized as being influenced by worldview. Specifically, a positive relationship between individualism and a focus on private, internal aspects of the self and between collectivism and public, social aspects of the self were hypothesized. Thus, collectivists were posited to be more likely to describe themselves in terms of social identities and bonds to the group, whereas individualists were posited as deemphasizing social identities and focusing on self–other differentiation.

In addition, a positive relationship between collectivism and perceived intensity of intergroup conflict was posited, as was a

[2] Yet Middle Eastern culture is not simply collectivist, individualist concepts like the "work ethic" have been used to describe the culture (Ali, 1988; Almaney, 1981; Baali & Wardi, 1981; Hoffman, 1990).

negative relationship between individualism and perceived intensity of intergroup conflict. A relationship between worldview and interpersonal relations was also examined, with individualism being hypothesized as related to a utilitarian view of others as means toward ends.

The possibility that Arab and Jewish Israelis endorse a bicultural worldview and the relationship between such biculturalism and attitudes about intergroup conflict was explored. Four studies were conducted to examine these hypotheses.

Study 1

Method

Subjects

In May 1991, 211 (27 Christian, 46 Muslim, and 142 Jewish; 83 men and 128 women; mean age = 23.64, SD = 4.14) students at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem responded to an anonymous questionnaire as part of a course requirement.

Measures

Measurement and instrumentation are always issues of great concern when attempting culturally sensitive work (Hofstede, 1990). On the one hand it is important to use previously established measures to facilitate comparison and generalization of results. Yet measures carry with them the assumptions of the culture within which they were established so that development of culturally rooted measures is also important. A decision was made to use a combination of known indexes and newly constructed measures. Although each method is clearly limited, to the extent that a consistent picture is found across measures, more certainty can be placed in findings.

Instruments containing straightforward, clear-cut items were sought. Positive statements were chosen over negatively worded items to avoid the ambiguity of interpretation of double negatives (see Converse & Presser, 1986; Schriesheim & Hill, 1981). Questionnaires were developed over the course of a year, during which time extensive piloting took place and input sought from Arab and Jewish students with regard to clarity and relevance of wording and specific items. The sensitive nature of questions about conflict between Jews and Arabs in Israel, a topic rarely studied, and the importance of presenting the study as academically rather than politically motivated, led to the decision to use only Hebrew rather than have the Arab students fill out an Arabic version of the questionnaire. In this way it would be clear that all respondents were filling out the same questionnaire and that both Arabs and Jews were included in the sample.

Individualism and collectivism were each measured with 9-item 5-point Likert format scales (see Table 1). In developing the scales, items based on each of the facets of individualism and collectivism described above were initially constructed and compared with measure items used in the literature (e.g., Hui, 1988; Triandis et al., 1988; Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990). A series of pilot tests with Arab and Jewish college and university students resulted in removal of items that lacked response variance or that were unclear to respondents. Mean individualism (IND; M = 3.29, SD = 0.33, range = 2.22–4.67; Cronbach's alpha = .49 total, .49 Arab, and .49 Jewish) and collectivism (COL; M = 2.99, SD = 0.30, range = 1.11–4.67; Cronbach's alpha = .74 total, .78 Arab, and .71 Jewish) scores were tabulated. Higher scores indicate more agreement with individualist and collectivist worldviews, respectively (1 = *strongly disagree* and 5 = *strongly agree*).[3]

Public and private self-focus were each measured with the Self-Consciousness Scale (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975; see Table 2). Private self-focus refers to habitual awareness of one's goals, intentions, plans, thoughts, and feelings, aspects of the self not accessible by others. Public self-focus refers to habitual awareness of one's actions and responses that can be observed and evaluated by others as well as the self (Buss, 1980; Carver & Scheier, 1987; Fenigstein, 1987; Nasby, 1989).

Although not identical to the theoretical assertions about the self-focus of individualists and the interpersonal focus of collectivists, the self-consciousness subscales were felt to be reasonable proxies of these dimensions because no other widely used scale seemed more appropriate, and the scale has recently been used in a study of correlates of Japanese collectivism (Yamaguchi, 1992).[4] Following the usual coding procedure (Fenigstein et al., 1975), mean PRIVATE (M = 3.17, SD = 0.39; Cronbach's alpha = .68 total, .58 Arab, and .72 Jewish) and PUBLIC (M = 3.60, SD = 0.51; Cronbach's alpha = .72 total, .63 Arab, and .77 Jewish) scores were tabulated.

Beliefs about interactions with others were measured with the 20-item (1 = *strongly disagree* and 5 = *strongly agree*) Machiavellianism (4th version; Mach-IV) scale (see Table 3; Christie & Geis, 1970, see also Comer, 1985; Martinez, 1981; Nedd & Marsh, 1979; Skinner, 1982; see Table 3). Although designed within an American (individualistic) cultural frame, this widely used scale meshes well with descriptions of individualism and collectivism (e.g., Triandis, Marin, Lisansky, & Betancourt, 1984). Thus, high-Mach individuals are described as oriented toward self-defined goals, interpersonally competitive, self- rather than other oriented, and less apt to value the group's success unless it can be used to their own advantage. Low Machs are described as open, susceptible to affective involvement, and oriented toward the interpersonal interaction process (Christie & Geis, 1970; Ickes, Reidhead, & Patterson, 1986; Skinner, 1982).

As suggested by Christie and Geis (1970), Hebrew sayings rather than literal translations of items that referred to sayings were used. Christie and Geis reported a mean item–whole correlation of .38 and a mean split-half reliability of .79. Following their coding procedure, a mean MACH score was tabulated (M = 3.03, SD = 0.31; mean item–whole correlation = .28; Cronbach's alpha = .71 total, .70 Arab, and .71 Jewish).

Extreme response style was explored following the procedure shared by Hui and Triandis (1989), Bachman, Johnson, and O'Malley (1982), and Zax and Takahashi (1967). Responses to the 20 MACH scale items, 7 PUBLIC items, 10 PRIVATE items, 9 IND items, and 9 COL items—were coded for extreme response (1 or 5), and a sum score was created for each respondent. A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) failed to show a significant difference between Arab and Jewish respondents in their tendency to choose the extremes of scales in their responses across the items in the questionnaire, $F(1, 210) = 1.03$, $p > .10$. As an additional safeguard, analyses pertaining to hypotheses were performed on standardized scores (denoted as ZIND, ZCOL, ZPUBLIC, ZPRIVATE, and ZMACH, respectively).

Results

Gender and ethnicity differences. Multivariate ANOVAs (MANOVAs), with ZIND, ZCOL, ZPRIVATE, ZPUBLIC, and ZMACH as dependent variables and ethnicity and gender as independent variables, showed a main effect of ethnicity, $F(5, 170) = 3.14$, $p < .01$; no main effect for gender, $F(5, 170) = .48$, $p > .10$; and an interaction effect, $F(5, 170) = 2.30$, $p < .05$. Specifically, as can be seen in Figure 1, Arabs and Jews differed significantly in their level of collectivism and tended to differ in their level of public self-consciousness. A significant interaction

[3] A small sample (n = 78) of White, Christian, U.S. Midwestern university students studying social work showed similar results with regard to reliability levels (alpha = .68 IND and .77 COL; IND M = 3.38, SD = .51; COL M = 2.70, SD = .50).

[4] See Nasby (1989) for a recent review of the reliability and validity of these subscales.

Table 1
Mean Responses Individualism and Collectivism Items: Study 1

Response	Arab	Jew	F^a
Collectivism			
In the end, a person feels closer to members of his own group than to others	3.7	3.7	0.0
A mature person understands that he must act in accordance with the honor of the group	3.3	3.1	1.0
A man of character helps his group before all else	3.2	2.7	18.6**
A mature person understands the needs of the group and acts to fulfill them	3.2	3.1	1.0
In order to really understand who I am, you must see me with members of my group	3.1	2.9	1.5
If you know what groups I belong to, you know who I am	3.0	3.0	0.1
What is good for my group is good for me	3.0	2.7	7.3*
Without group loyalty there is no self-actualization	3.0	2.4	18.1**
My personal goals match those of my group	2.8	2.8	0.2
Individualism			
Advancement and development in life are dependent on self-initiative	4.0	3.9	0.2
In the end, achievements define the man	3.7	3.5	2.6
A mature person knows his abilities and acts to obtain maximum utility from them	3.6	3.7	1.6
A mature person knows his abilities and acts to obtain maximum utility from them	3.6	3.7	1.6
A man of character attempts to act on his values and attain his goals without depending on others	3.5	3.3	1.6
A man of weak character forms his opinions in consultation with his friends	3.3	3.2	0.3
To advance, a person must be willing to sacrifice social relations	3.3	2.9	7.0*
The decisions I make on my own are better	3.1	3.0	0.7
Investing a lot of time and energy in social relationships makes achieving one's potential harder	3.0	2.8	1.5
I feel uncomfortable if I find I am very similar to the others in my group	2.9	3.1	3.3

Note. To conserve space items are presented in the male form only.
[a] Ethnicity multivariate $F(18, 178) = 3.41$ $p < .001$.
* $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

effect was found for collectivism, with Arab women being particularly high in this domain.

IND and COL as independent variables. Ethnic group and an interaction effect between ethnicity and collectivism (as there was no main effect of gender) were included in the analyses of the hypothesized relationships between the dependent variables ZPUBLIC, ZPRIVATE, and ZMACH and the independent variables ZIND and ZCOL. A separate multiple regression equation was used for each of the dependent variables; ethnicity was entered first, then ZIND and ZCOL were introduced together, followed by the interaction effect. In this way, variance explained by worldview could be explored after general ethnicity effects had been taken into account.

Private self-focus. The regression equation for ZPRIVATE, with ethnicity (B = −.02), ZIND (B = .18, $p < .05$), and ZCOL (B = −.00) entered as independent variables, was marginally significant, $F(3, 184) = 2.15$, $p < .10$. When added to the equation, the interaction variable (Ethnic Group × ZCOL) was not a significant predictor (B = −.03) and did not increase the percentage of variance explained. As predicted, individualism as a worldview was positively related to private self-focus irrespective of ethnicity.

Interpersonal self-focus. A significant regression equation was found for ZPUBLIC with ethnicity (B = .20, $p < .01$), ZIND (B = .17, $p < .05$), and ZCOL (B = .16, $p < .05$) entered as independent variables, $F(3, 191) = 6.14$, $p < .001$. When added to the equation, the interaction variable was not a significant predictor of public self-consciousness (B = −.07). Thus, both worldviews were positively related to public self-focus, as was ethnicity, with Jews tending to be higher than Arabs in public self-focus.

Utilitarian conceptualization of interpersonal relations. A significant regression equation was found for ZMACH, with ethnicity (B = .06), ZIND (B = .39, $p < .001$), and ZCOL (B = .30, $p < .001$) as independent variables, $F(3, 183) = 23.84$, $p < .001$. When added to the equation, the interaction variable was not found to be a significant predictor of ZMACH (B = .09) and did not increase the percentage of variance explained. Thus, both worldviews were related to a utilitarian view of interpersonal relations.

Discussion

Some aspects of the subjective experience of individualism and collectivism were explored within the context of Arab and

Table 2
Mean Item Scores on Private and Public Scales: Study 1

Item	Arab	Jew	F^a
Private			
I never scrutinize myself[b]	4.1	4.2	0.7
I'm attentive to my inner feelings	4.0	4.0	0.2
I'm always trying to figure myself out	4.0	3.9	1.4
I'm constantly examining my motives	3.9	3.9	0.0
I'm alert to changes in my mood	3.9	3.9	0.0
I'm aware of the way my mind works	3.7	3.5	3.1
Generally, I'm not very aware of myself[b]	3.6	4.2	18.0*
I'm often the subject of my own fantasies	2.9	2.9	0.0
I reflect about myself a lot	2.8	3.4	14.7*
I sometimes feel that I'm watching myself	2.8	3.0	0.9
Public			
I'm concerned about the way I do things	4.0	4.0	0.1
I worry about making a good impression	3.7	3.7	0.2
I'm concerned about how I present myself	3.6	3.6	0.2
The way others think of me concerns me	3.5	3.6	0.5
I'm usually aware of my appearance	3.5	3.7	2.0
Before I leave home I look in the mirror	3.3	3.4	0.0
I'm self-conscious about the way I look	3.1	3.5	12.6*

Note. To conserve space, items are abbreviated (see Fenigstein, Scheier, and Buss [1975] for full scale).
[a] Ethnicity multivariate $F(17, 183) = 4.70, p < .001$.
[b] Item reverse coded, higher score refers to higher PRIVATE.
* $p < .001$.

Table 3
Mean Responses of Arab and Jewish Students to Machiavellianism Scale Items: Study 1

Response	Arab	Jew	F^a
It is hard to get ahead without cutting corners	4.0	4.0	0.0
Most men are brave[b]	3.9	3.8	1.6
All people have a vicious streak	3.8	3.3	13.8***
If you completely trust another, you are asking for trouble	3.7	3.6	0.5
There is a sucker born every minute	3.6	3.4	1.0
People who get ahead lead clean, moral lives[b]	3.6	3.9	7.4**
People are basically good and kind[b]	3.3	3.0	3.9*
Euthanasia	3.3	3.8	9.8**
Only give the real reason for an action if it is useful	3.0	2.6	6.9**
There is no excuse for lying[b]	3.0	3.0	0.0
Men only work hard when they are forced to do so	3.0	2.6	9.2**
It is possible to be good in all respects[b]	3.0	3.4	4.1*
Take action only if it is morally correct[b]	2.8	2.5	5.3*
It is wise to flatter important people	2.7	2.5	1.0
Tell people what they want to hear	2.6	2.7	0.1
Honesty is always the best policy[b]	2.5	2.3	2.2
Give the real reason when asking for help[b]	2.4	2.4	0.2
Criminals are stupid enough to be caught	2.3	2.2	0.6
Better to be humble/honest than to be important/dishonest[b]	2.3	2.0	2.7
Forget father's death sooner than property loss	2.1	2.0	0.9

Note. These are abbreviations of the items, see Christie and Geis (1970) for the full scale.
[a] Multivariate $F(20, 180) = 4.52, p < .001$.
[b] Item reverse coded, higher scores always refer to high Machiavellianism.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

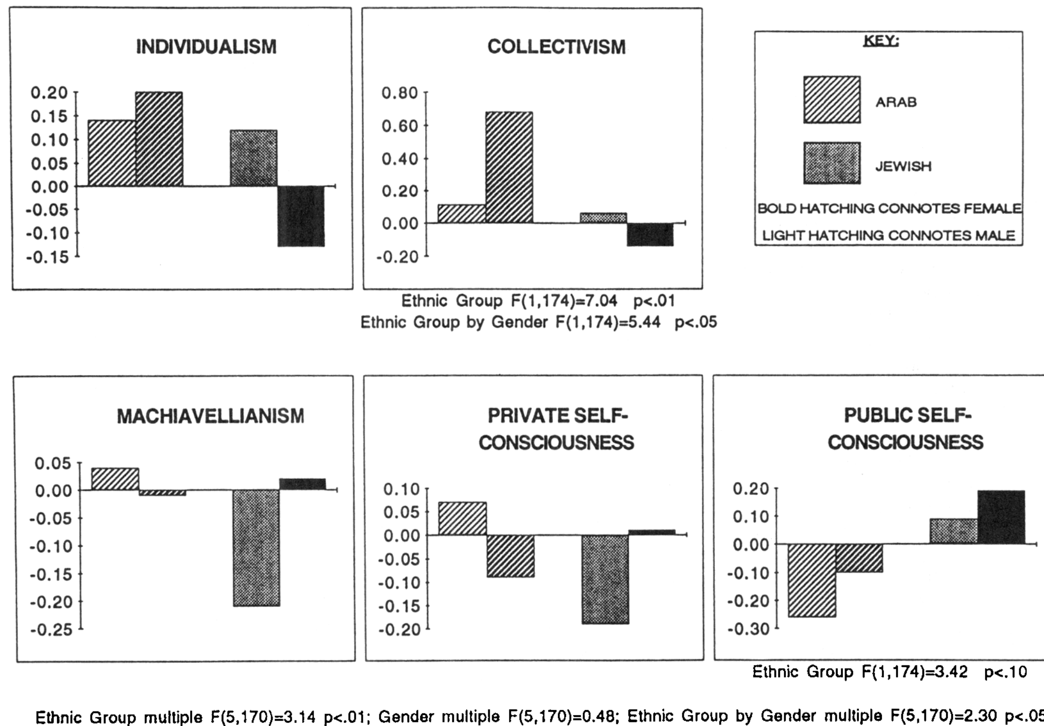


Figure 1. Study 1: Mean standardized scores and significant F statistics by ethnic group and gender.

Jewish cultures in Israel. Individualism was related to feeling attuned to one's own private thoughts and feelings (internal focus) and to the way that one is perceived by others (interpersonal focus). Collectivism was predictive only of interpersonal focus, replicating Yamaguchi's (1992) finding with regard to collectivism in Japan. Perhaps increased focus on the self as master of one's own fate, the hallmark of individualism, carries with it an increased interest in the workings of the self but not decreased interest in the self-defining potential of interactions with others (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1990).

In addition, both worldviews were related to endorsing a utilitarian view of interpersonal relations. Thus, respondents who endorsed highly individualist or highly collectivist self-worldviews were more likely to view others as to be manipulated and interactions as means to personal ends. No main effect for ethnicity was hypothesized, and none was found. The connection between individualism and such a Machiavellian style was hypothesized and is congruent with the literature. One can speculate that the Machiavellianism described by high collectivists focused on their dealings with out-group members in particular. Further study specifying when particular values are brought into play is clearly necessary in understanding the implications of the present findings. Thus, Moracco (1983) described traditional Arab child rearing as encouraging competitiveness between children by pitting one against the other and promoting vengefulness, suggesting that a collectivist style may sometimes involve attempts to outmaneuver and get the best of in-group members as well as out-group members.

Finally, the data supported the speculation that individualism and collectivism are distinct dimensions. Arabs and Jews both endorsed elements of individualism and collectivism. Data also suggested intergroup differences, with Arabs tending to be higher in collectivism (but not different in individualism) than Jews. The possibility of systematic gender differences, though not the focus of the current study, was explored but not found as a main effect. However, the heightened level of collectivism among Arab women is notable and deserves further exploration.

Study 2 focused on the hypothesized relationship between collectivism, perceived centrality of social identities, and perceptions of intergroup conflict. The study also provided an opportunity to assess the stability of findings with regard to individualism and collectivism both within and between ethnic groups and across gender.

Study 2

Method

Subjects

In December 1990, 370 students (93 Arab and 277 Jewish) responded to an anonymous questionnaire as part of a course requirement; age and gender were comparable with those in Study 1.

Measures

Because focus here was on the Arab–Jewish conflict in Israel and the salience of relevant social identities, widely used scales were not available, and scales specific to the study were devised. Alternate forms of the IND and COL scales were devised to explore the robustness of Study 1 findings about possible distinctions in Arab and Jewish worldviews to see whether the findings could be replicated with a different measure and sample.

IND and COL were assessed with 7- and 8-item scales, respectively,

Table 4
Mean Arab and Jewish Responses to Individualism and Collectivism Items: Study 2

Response	Arab	Jew	F^a
Collectivism			
What is good for my group is good for me	3.7	2.6	88.59***
When I try to understand an event, I immediately weigh its ramifications for my group	3.4	2.9	26.35***
When I meet someone from my nation or group, I know we will have common goals and aspirations	3.3	2.2	75.83***
If I lose touch with my group, I will be a different person	3.2	2.7	16.19***
Without group loyalty there is no self-actualization	3.2	2.3	62.79***
If you know the groups I belong to, you know who I am	3.2	2.7	13.56***
I am willing to giving up my personal opinions in order to belong to the group	3.0	2.6	7.29**
When I meet someone from another group, I know he/she won't be able to truly understand me	2.6	2.0	34.05***
Individualism			
Self-actualization is of supreme importance to me	4.4	3.8	29.77***
My skills and abilities are central to my self-concept	4.0	3.8	2.85
It is important to me to be unique	4.0	3.8	1.28
In the company of friends, it is important to me to emphasize my opinions, even when they are not similar to those of my friends	3.9	3.7	5.18*
My social relationships and connections may change, but I will remain the same person	3.6	3.6	0.16
The decisions I make on my own are better	3.2	2.9	5.86*
I feel uncomfortable if I find I am very similar to the others in my group	2.8	2.9	1.40

[a] Ethnicity multivariate $F(15, 341) = 917.4, p < .001$.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

again following a 5-point Likert-type format (see Table 4). Higher scores again indicated more agreement with individualist and collectivist worldviews (1 = *strongly disagree* and 5 = *strongly agree*). Mean IND ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 0.45$, range = 2.14–5.00; Cronbach's alpha = .54 total, .49 Arab, and .54 Jewish) and COL ($M = 2.67$, $SD = 0.59$, range = 2.00–4.63; Cronbach's alpha = .73 total, .66 Arab, and .66 Jewish) scores were tabulated. IND and COL correlated at .03.

Perceived intensity of intergroup conflict was measured on a 10-item, 4-point (higher score indicates more perceived conflict), scale as displayed in Table 5, and a conflict score (CONFLICT $M = 2.34$, $SD = 0.68$, range = 0.40–3.95; Cronbach's alpha = .84 total, .81 Arab, and .86 Jewish) was tabulated.

Centrality of social identity was measured as a mean of the following three items, reverse coded: In every day life my religious identity does not occupy my attention, In every day life, my national identity does not occupy my attention, and In everyday life being an Israeli citizen does not occupy my attention (SOCIAL $M = 1.64$, $SD = 0.92$, range = 0.00–4.00; Cronbach's alpha = .65 total, .35 Arab, and .75 Jewish).

Results

Gender and ethnicity differences. MANOVAs, with ZIND, ZCOL, ZCONFLICT, and ZSOCIAL as dependent variables and ethnicity and gender as independent variables, showed a main effect of ethnicity, $F(4, 327) = 30.75, p < .001$, and neither a main effect for gender, $F(4, 324) = 0.59, p > .10$, nor an interaction effect, $F(4, 324) = 0.73, p > .10$. Specifically, as can be seen in Figure 2, Arabs and Jews differed significantly in IND, COL, and intensity of conflict perceived; however, there were no gender-related differences in their response patterns. Arabs endorsed both a more collectivist and a more individualist worldview than Jews and perceived more intergroup conflict.

IND and COL as independent variables. The ethnic group and interaction variables (Ethnicity × COL and Ethnicity × IND) were included in the multiple regression analyses of the hypothesized relationships between the dependent variables CONFLICT and SOCIAL and the independent variables IND and COL. A separate multiple regression equation was used for each of the dependent variables, with ethnicity being entered first, followed by the worldview variables and then the interaction variables as in Study 1.

Perceived intensity of intergroup conflict. A significant regression equation was found for ZCONFLICT, with ethnicity (B = −.05), ZIND (B = .11, $p < .05$), and ZCOL (B = .23, $p < .001$) as independent variables, $F(3, 331) = 9.73, p < .001$. When added to the equation, the interaction terms were not found to be significant predictors of ZCONFLICT and did not add to the percentage of variance explained (B = .08 for Ethnicity × COL and .02 for Ethnicity × IND). As hypothesized, endorsement of COL was related to greater perceived intergroup conflict, independent of ethnicity. The hypothesized negative relationship between IND and CONFLICT was not borne out. Endorsement of an individualistic worldview was related to greater perceived intergroup conflict.

Centrality of social identities. A significant regression equation was found for ZSOCIAL, with ethnicity (B = −.12, $p < .05$), ZIND (B = −.04), and ZCOL (B = −.27, $p < .001$) as independent variables, $F(3, 349) = 7.15, p < .001$. When added to the equation, the interaction terms were not found to be significant predictors of ZSOCIAL and did not add to the percentage of variance explained (B = −.04 for Ethnicity × COL and −.03 for Ethnicity × IND). As posited, those endorsing collec-

Table 5
Mean Arab and Jewish Responses to Conflict Items: Study 2

Item	Arab	Jew	F^a
Arab and Jewish citizens of Israel are in conflict with one another	3.3	3.2	0.15
Members of the Arab/Jewish nation have a conflict with members of the Jewish/Arab nation in Israel	3.1	3.0	1.25
Palestinian citizens of Israel/Jewish Israelis have a conflict with Jewish Israelis/Palestinian citizens of Israel	3.1	2.9	3.20
We, Palestinian citizens of Israel/Jewish Israelis, have a conflict with Jewish Israelis/Palestinian citizens of Israel	2.9	2.8	0.30
When I think of myself as a Palestinian/Israeli, I think that I personally have a conflict with the Israelis/Palestinians	2.6	2.1	13.56**
When I think of myself as an Arab/Jew, I think that I personally have a conflict with the Jews/Arabs	2.4	1.9	11.83**
Members of the Christian, Muslim/Jewish religion have a conflict with members of the Jewish/ Christian and Muslim religion	2.2	1.9	6.52*
We, Christians, Muslims/Jews have a conflict with the Jews/Christians and Muslims	2.0	1.9	2.09
Arab and Jewish citizens of Israel don't have enough common ground to live together in the State of Israel	1.8	1.9	0.23
When I think of myself as a Christian, Muslim/Jew, I think that I personally have a conflict with the Jews/Christians and Muslims	1.5	1.3	4.28*

Note. Items were rated on a 5-point scale where 0 = completely disagree 1 = *disagree* 2 = *neither agree nor disagree*, 3 = *agree*, and 4 = *agree completely.*
[a] Ethnicity multivariate $F(10, 348) = 2.66, p < .01$.
$*p < .05$. $**p < .001$.

tivism perceived their social identities as more chronically accessible. However, individualism was not related to accessibility of social identities. In addition, an ethnic group effect was found; Arabs viewed their social identities as more central or chronically available than did Jews. No interaction effects were found.

Discussion

Studies 1 and 2 suggest the usefulness of a bicultural self-perspective (Fiske, 1990). The measures of individualist and collectivist views of personhood related differentially to the variables explored and were not significantly correlated. Arabs were significantly more likely to endorse a collectivist perspective in both studies and tended to also endorse a more individualistic perspective. In Study 2, the relationships among perspective, centrality of social identities, and perceived intensity of Arab–Jewish conflict in Israel were explored. Data supported the hypothesized relationships among collectivism, perceived centrality of social identities, and severity of intergroup conflict.

Unexpectedly, endorsing an individualist perspective related to perceived severity of conflict. Perhaps in an ethnically divided society such as Israel, individuals are likely to become schematic (Markus, 1977) for ethnic group, paying attention to group membership, either by valuing and identifying the self in terms of group membership or by at least noticing group boundaries and intergroup frictions. Individualism as a worldview when combined with such ethnicity schemata may focus attention on group boundaries and intergroup conflict as a way of maintaining group solidarity even when a collectivist worldview is no longer deemed relevant. Those low in individualism and collectivism perceived less intergroup conflict. Possibly, these individuals are aschematic (Markus, 1977) in terms of the collectivism–individualism frames explored in this series of studies. Other worldviews, in which conflict—whether on the personal or the group level—are not made salient, are possible (see Oyserman & Markus, in press).

In Study 3, robustness of findings with regard to the content of self-focus and perceived intensity of intergroup conflict was explored.

Study 3

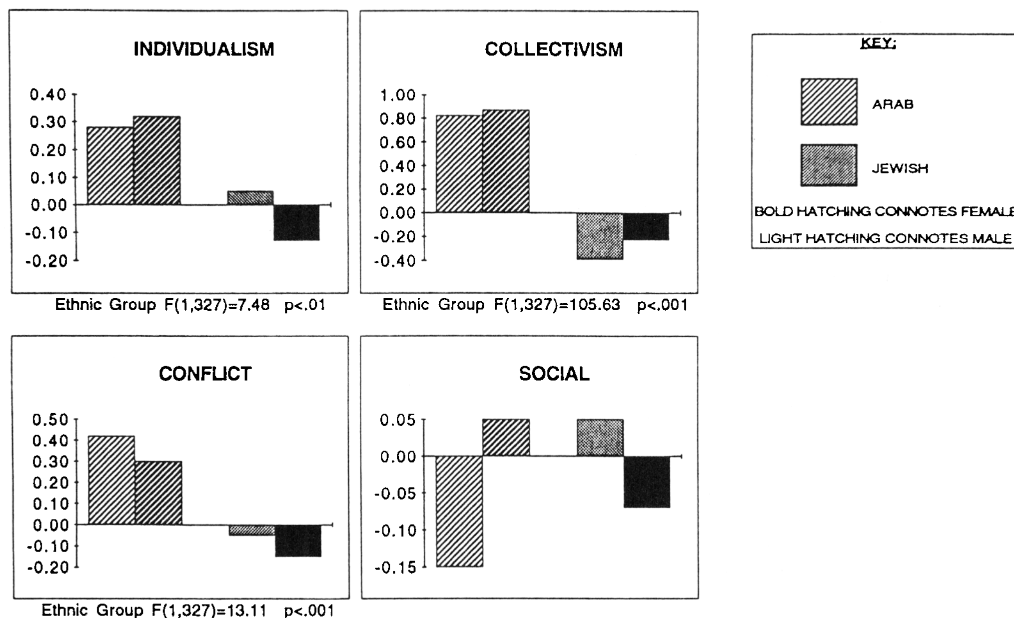
Method

Subjects

In December 1991, 160 first- and second-year students (53 Arab and 107 Jewish, all self-described as traditional or religious; aged 20–23; 90% female) from a local teachers' college responded to the anonymous questionnaire as part of a school project.

Measures

IND and COL were measured on 6-item, 5-point Likert-format scales (see Table 6). Higher scores indicated more agreement with individualist and collectivistic perspectives (0 = *strongly disagree* and 4 =



Ethnic Group multiple F(4,324)=30.75 p<.001; Gender multiple F(4,324)=0.59; Ethnic Group by Gender multiple F(4,324)=0.07

Figure 2. Study 2: Mean standardized scores and significant F statistics by ethnic group and gender.

strongly agree). Mean IND (M = 2.27, SD = 0.57, range = 0.50–3.50; Cronbach's alpha = .55 total, .59 Arab, and .54 Jewish) and COL (M = 2.12, SD = 0.57, range = 0.50–4.00; Cronbach's alpha = .63 total, .54 Arab, and .64 Jewish) scores were tabulated. IND and COL scores were independent ($r = -.04$).

Perceived intensity of intergroup conflict was measured on an 8-item scale based on the previously described scale (CONFLICT M = 2.74, SD = 0.62, range = 1.38–4.00; Cronbach's alpha, .72 total, .63 Arab, and .76 Jewish).[5] Higher scores represent more perceived conflict (0 = *strongly disagree* and 4 = *strongly agree*).

Centrality of social identities was assessed with an open-ended probe similar to that used by Kuhn and McPartland (1954) and McGuire and McGuire (1982). Instructions read "It is possible to give many answers to the question 'who am I?' Please note five words, concepts, or descriptions that are central to the way that you currently view yourself." Content analyses yielded the following major categories: (a) personal attributes, for example, friendly, outgoing, intelligent, or hardworking (M = 1.61, SD = 1.70, range = 0–5); (b) nationality–ethnicity–religion, for example, Palestinian, Arab, Jew, or Israeli (M = 1.43, SD = 1.30, range = 0.00–4.00); and (c) other social roles, for example, student, daughter, poet, man, or mother (M = 1.09, SD = 1.07, range = 0.00–4.00).

In addition, a few respondents focused on political orientation–activism (e.g., left-wing, politically aware, M = 0.14, SD = 0.56, range = 0.00–5.00). Because relatively few responses fit the latter category and it did not correlate significantly with the other categories, it was dropped from further analyses. Of the remaining three categories, nationality–ethnicity–religion appears most like the "social identities" described by Tajfel and Turner (1986). They described social identities as those aspects of the self-concept based on social group memberships.

Results

Gender and ethnicity differences. MANOVAs, with ZIND, ZCOL, ZCONFLICT, and the three self categories (ZNATIONAL–ETHNIC, ZPERSONAL CHARAC, ZSOCIAL ROLE) as dependent variables and ethnicity and gender as independent variables failed to show either a main effect for ethnicity, $F(6, 104) = 1.35, p > .10$, or gender, $F(6, 104) = 1.10, p > .10$, or an interaction effect, $F(6, 104) = 0.68, p > .10$. Univariate ANOVAs were nonsignificant in all comparisons except those between Arabs and Jews for COL, $F(1, 109) = 3.88, p < .05$, and perceived intergroup conflict, $F(1, 109) = 3.88, p < .05$ (see Figure 3).

IND and COL as independent variables. To maintain consistency across studies, ethnicity was included in the analyses as in the previous studies. A separate multiple regression equation was used for each of the dependent variables.

Intensity of perceived intergroup conflict. A significant regression equation was found for ZCONFLICT, with ethnicity (B = −.12), ZIND (B = −.01), and ZCOL (B = .21, $p < .05$) entered as independent variables, $F(3, 128) = 3.11, p < .05$. Thus, endorsing a collectivist perspective was related to intensity of intergroup conflict perceived though ethnicity and endorsement of an individualistic perspective were not.

National–ethnic group as a central social identity. A significant regression equation was found for national–ethnic group self-descriptions, with ethnicity (B = −.22, $p < .05$), ZIND (B = .21, $p < .05$), and ZCOL (B = −.15) entered as independent variables, $F(3, 128) = 4.33, p < .01$. Arab students and those endorsing an individualistic perspective were more likely to generate national–ethnic social identities when asked to describe themselves. Significant regression equations were

[5] Specific items used and item means are available from Daphna Oyserman.

Table 6
Mean Arab and Jewish Responses to Individualism and Collectivism Items: Study 3

Item	Arab	Jew	F
Collectivism			
In general, I accept the decisions made by my group	2.7	2.9	0.69
When I try to understand an event, the first thing that I consider is its implications for my group	2.6	2.1	7.78**
It often happens that the interests of my group coincide with my own interests	2.5	2.4	0.24
Whatever is good for my group is good for me	2.3	1.5	16.17***
If you know what groups I belong to, you know who I am	2.3	1.8	5.70*
I have subdued my personal opinions in order to be part of my group	2.0	1.4	11.36***
Individualism			
It is very important to me to express my views even when they differ from those of my friends	3.0	2.8	0.76
It is very important to me to live according to my own principles and not be bound by tradition or principles defined by others	2.5	3.0	5.38*
The best decisions are the ones I make on my own	2.5	2.1	4.96*
I determine my own destiny	2.1	2.4	2.16
I feel uncomfortable being like the others in my group	1.6	1.7	0.89
My lifestyle is none of my extended family's business	1.5	2.0	5.42*

Note. Ethnicity multivariate $F(12, 128) = 4.89, p < .001$.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

not found for personal identities, $F(3, 128) = 1.27, p > .10$, or for social role identities, $F(3, 128) = 1.16, p > .10$.

Discussion

In this study, respondents were students at a teachers college. These students are normally considered to be less sophisticated, more traditional, and less academically oriented than university students. Perhaps for this reason, multivariate analyses did not show overall differences between Arabs and Jews on worldview, level of intergroup conflict perceived, or the centrality of national–ethnic–religious identities. Findings with regard to the impact of collectivism on perceived level of intergroup conflict partially replicate those found in the university sample; those endorsing a collectivist worldview perceived more conflict, whereas endorsement of an individualistic worldview was unrelated to perceived conflict. Unexpectedly, individualism was positively linked with self-description in terms of ethnicity–national identity. Perhaps some degree of belongingness is required in ethnically divided contexts such as Israel. Those who are particularly high in individualism may find in national–ethnic identity a means of maintaining group bonds. Though Westernization, modernization, and democratization may increase individualism, this may not result in more peaceful coexistence between ethnic factions if ethnicity is considered centrally defining to individualists.

Study 4 focused on description of elements of the self-concept of individuals differing in their level of IND and a final test of the robustness of findings with regard to perceived intensity of intergroup conflict.

Study 4

Method

Subjects

In March 1991, a random sample of 280 Arab and Jewish Hebrew University students (140 men and 140 women) living in dormitories filled out anonymous questionnaires and returned them to interviewers who were matched in ethnicity and gender. Interviewers were finishing master's of social work degrees. Sampling was based on room occupancy lists, stratified by ethnicity and gender. Before interviewing, random student dorm rooms received letters introducing the study and its voluntary nature, explaining the sampling procedure, and telling students to expect an interviewer from the School of Social Work. In concluding, the letter reiterated the voluntary and anonymous nature of the study, explaining that it was hoped that everyone sampled would participate to ensure the generalizability of results. Students were asked to fill out the questionnaire while the interviewer waited and return it to the interviewer in the envelop provided. A small number of religious male students refused to participate as interviewers were female. Perhaps because interviewers were matched for ethnicity, came during evening hours, and were expected by respondents, the refusal rate was very low (5%).

Measures

IND and COL were measured with 4- and 5-item scales, respectively, following a 5-point Likert-type format. Higher scores again indicated more agreement with individualist and collectivist worldviews (0 = *strongly disagree* and 4 = *strongly agree*); see Table 7. Mean IND (M = 2.98, SD = 0.59, range = 1.25–4.00; Cronbach's alpha = .52 total, .51 Arab, and .55 Jewish) and COL scores (M = 1.94, SD = 0.71, range = 0.00–4.00; Cronbach's alpha = .65 total, .63 Arab, and .58 Jewish) were tabulated. IND and COL scores were independent (r = .05).

Perceived intensity of intergroup conflict between Jews and Arabs in Israel was measured on a 9-item scale based on the scale described in Study 1 (CONFLICT M = 2.39, SD = 0.63, range = 0.33–4.00, Cronbach's alpha, .75 total, .76 Arab, and .75 Jewish).[6] Higher scores represent more perceived conflict (0 = *strongly disagree* and 4 = *strongly agree*).

Self-concept was measured with a 16-item closed-format scale follow-

[6] Specific items used and item means available from Daphna Oyserman.

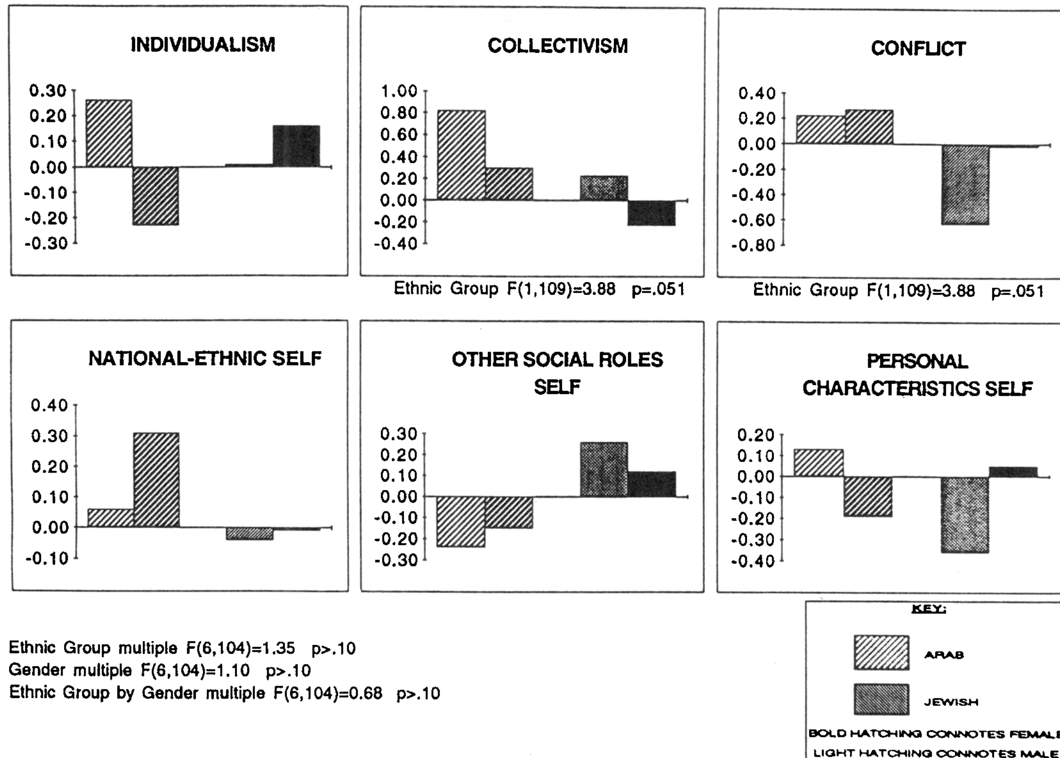


Figure 3. Study 3: Mean standardized scores and significant *F* statistics by ethnic group and gender.

ing the response scale used by Markus (1977; see Table 8). Instructions read

> We know many things about ourselves. Some of the ways that we can be characterized are self-defining and some are not. For example, though each of you is a student, some may feel this descriptor is self-defining and some may not. For each of the items in the following part of the questionnaire, please rate to the extent it describes you as you currently view yourself, with 0 = *not at all descriptive of me* and 10 = *extremely descriptive of me.*

The items were chosen to represent social identities that were likely to be relevant to respondents and descriptors suggested in the literature on individualism and collectivism. An exploratory factor analysis, with varimax rotation, was used as a data reduction technique (using standard scores of items). As can be seen in Table 9, four factors resulted, a social identities factor (M = 7.31, SD = 1.83, range = 0.20–10.00), a self-as-bounded, individuated factor (M = 6.14, SD = 1.69, range = 2.00–9.80), a self-as-bound-to-the-group factor (M = 6.28, SD = 1.56, range = 2.00–10.00), and a two-item flexibility factor (M = 6.90, SD = 1.80, range = 0.00–10.00).

Results

Gender and ethnicity differences. A MANOVA, with ZIND, ZCOL, ZCONFLICT, and the four self categories (ZSOCIAL, ZINDIVIDUATE, ZGROUP BOUND, and ZFLEXIBLE) as dependent variables and ethnicity and gender as independent variables, showed a main effect for ethnicity, $F(7, 266) = 11.28$, $p < .001$, and gender, $F(7, 266) = 2.43$, $p < .05$, but no interaction effect (see Figure 4). Specifically, as in the three other studies, Arabs were higher in COL than Jews, and as in Study 2, they were higher in IND than Jews. Jews and Arabs in Study 4 did not differ in the intensity of intergroup conflict they perceived. Arabs were also more likely to describe themselves in terms of social identities and as bound to their group. Jews were more likely to describe themselves as bounded individuals. Women were more likely to self-describe in terms of their social identities and tended to be more likely to endorse an individualist perspective. Men tended to self-describe as bound to the group.

IND and COL as independent variables. The ethnic group, gender, and interaction (Ethnicity × IND and Ethnicity × COL) variables were included in the analyses as in the previous studies. A separate multiple regression equation was used for each of the dependent variables, with ethnic group and gender entered first, followed by the worldview variables, and finally the interaction variables were entered.

Intensity of perceived intergroup conflict. A significant regression equation was found for ZCONFLICT, with ethnicity (B = .11), gender (B = .07), IND (B = .13, $p < .05$), and COL (B = .26, $p < .01$) entered as independent variables, $F(4, 275) = 5.68$, $p < .001$. When entered, the interaction terms (with COL B = −.05 and with IND B = .09) were not significant. As in Study 2, endorsement of both collectivist and individualist worldviews were related to perception of more intense intergroup conflict.

Self-concept. A significant regression equation was found for ZSELF-as-social-identity, with ethnicity (B = −.18, $p < .01$), gender (B = −.14, $p < .05$), IND (B = .11, $p < .05$), and COL (B = .17, $p < .05$) entered as independent variables, $F(4, 273) = 10.47$, $p < .001$. When entered, the interaction terms were not significant (with COL B = .01 and with IND B = .08). Thus, being an Arab, a woman, endorsing individualism, and endors-

Table 7
Mean Arab and Jewish Responses to Individualism and Collectivism Items: Study 4

Item	Arab	Jew	*F*
Collectivism			
Whatever is good for my group is good for me	2.7	1.7	64.01**
If you know what groups I belong to, you know who I am	2.3	1.7	14.64**
When I meet someone of my own nationality or religion, I know we will have common goals and interests	2.3	1.5	32.84**
If I lose contact with my group, I will become a different person	2.0	1.5	15.24**
My aspirations are the same as those of others of my religion	1.5	1.6	0.22
Individualism			
My skills and abilities are central to my sense of who I am	3.2	3.0	4.39*
Self-actualization is one of my highest values	3.2	2.8	16.93**
It is important to me that I am unique	3.1	3.1	0.30
My relationships and affiliations may change, but I will still be the same person	2.7	2.6	0.20

Note. Multivariate $F(9, 271) = 12.04, p < .001$.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$.

ing collectivism were each predictive of describing social identities as strongly self-defining.

Significant regression equations were also found for self-as-bounded, individuated, $F(4, 276) = 8.84, p < .001$ (ethnicity B $= .17, p < .01$; gender B $= .09$; COL B $= -.04$; IND B $= .30, p < .001$); self-as-bound-to-the-group, $F(4, 275) = 13.69, p < .001$ (ethnicity B $= -.11, p < .10$; gender B $= .14, p < .05$; COL B $= .28, p < .001$; IND B $= .20, p < .001$); and self-as-flexible, $F(4, 276) = 3.94, p < .01$ (ethnicity B $= -.05$; gender B $= -.02$; COL B $= -.15, p < .05$; IND B $= .18, p < .01$). Neither of the interaction terms was significant in any of the equations (Bs ranged from $-.01$ to $.07$).

Discussion

Although each study is limited, taken together these studies suggest that Arab and Jewish students in Israel endorse collectivist and individualist worldviews and that these worldviews, as well as ethnicity, are related to perceptions of self and other. As hypothesized, collectivism as a worldview related to perception of more intergroup conflict across the three studies in which this relationship was explored. Yet, individualism and ethnicity (Arab as compared with Jew) were also related to higher perceived conflict in two of the three studies. Furthermore, as hypothesized, those endorsing individualism described themselves as flexible and individuated. Yet, they also described themselves as connected to the group and viewed social identities as centrally defining. As hypothesized, collectivism was related to these latter two ways of describing the self, yet collectivism was negatively related to flexibility and not related to the individuation–boundedness dimension. Perhaps in an ethnically divided society such as Israel, individualists seek connection with their group either by paying attention to group boundaries and con-

Table 8
Mean Arab and Jewish Responses to Self-Concept Items: Study 4

Item	Arab Men	Arab Women	Jew Men	Jew Women	Gender $F(1, 273)$	Ethnic $F(1, 273)$
Own national group	9.30	9.31	7.86	8.06	0.21	36.87****
Family member	7.77	8.64	7.86	8.15	4.47**	0.52
Christian/Muslim/Jew	7.52	8.23	7.71	8.36	3.60*	0.19
Strong	7.52	7.13	6.80	5.76	7.66***	16.12****
Part of group	7.45	7.33	5.73	7.06	3.99**	10.83****
Open to change	6.81	6.84	7.08	6.89	0.08	0.33
Willing to compromise	6.79	7.26	6.82	6.43	0.02	2.07
Believe in God	6.78	8.50	5.18	5.47	5.52**	28.76****
Unique	6.44	6.14	7.14	6.91	0.75	5.76**
Idealist	6.39	6.70	6.80	6.32	0.08	0.00
Different from others	6.29	6.33	6.77	6.51	0.10	0.92
Stubborn	6.16	6.49	6.75	6.70	0.22	1.78
Self-sacrificing	6.09	5.95	5.31	4.87	0.78	7.80***
Fighter	5.86	5.17	5.55	3.93	9.43***	4.31**
Traditional	5.23	5.42	3.84	4.34	0.85	10.99****
Man/woman of the world	4.64	3.87	5.71	5.09	3.76*	10.27***

Note. *ns* = 87 and 86, respectively, for male and female Arabs; *ns* = 51 and 53, respectively, for male and female Jews.
Ethnic group multivariate $F(16, 258) = 7.50, p < .001$; gender multivariate $F(16, 258) = 1.96, p < .05$; interaction effect multivariate $F(16, 258) = 1.31, p < .10$.
* $p < .10$. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$. **** $p < .001$.

Table 9
Factor Analysis of Self Descriptors (Varimax Rotation) Item Loading: Study 4

	Factor			
Self-descriptor	Self as social identity	Self as bounded individual	Self as group member	Self as flexible
Believe in God	.73			
Christian/Jew/Muslim	.68			
Own national–ethnic member	.63			
Family member	.59			
Traditional	.58			
Different from others		.78		
Unique		.69		
Man/woman of the world		.55		
Idealist		.51		
Stubborn		.43		
Fighter			.74	
Self-sacrificing			.68	
Strong			.53	
Idealist			.43	
Part of a group			.43	
Willing to compromise				.77
Open to change				.77
Eigenvalue	2.76	2.38	1.30	1.24
% variance explained	17.2	14.9	8.1	7.8

flict, by incorporating social identities and group connectedness into their sense of self, or by using a combination of these strategies. It is not that collectivists are not bounded but that boundaries between the self and others are not a focus of concern. For collectivists, flexibility may be viewed negatively as connoting lack of commitment to group goals and concerns. Ethnicity per se was related to only two of the four factors, suggesting that the individualism and collectivism constructs cannot be reduced to ethnic origin.

General Discussion

The subjective experience of individualism and collectivism is clearly culturally and situationally rooted. It may be that the very nature of what has been termed *individualism* and *collectivism* varies in different cultural contexts. Thus, Markus and Kitayama (1990) reviewed literature on American individualist and Japanese collectivist worldviews and choose to call the Japanese "interdependent" as opposed to "collectivist." Japanese interdependence operates on a backdrop of relative ethnic–cultural homogeneity. In- and out-group membership is not physically discernible, and to maintain in-group membership, individuals must carefully monitor public display of the self. The group can disenfranchise members who behave inappropriately (Markus & Kitayama, 1990). This differs from the situation in Israel or Northern Ireland, in which in- and out-group members, Arabs and Jews, or Catholics and Protestants, are assumed to be distinguishable by appearance, name, or both and cannot leave the in-group or become a member of the out-group no matter what their behavior (Cairns, 1989).

Cultures may also vary in the situations in which collectivism is cued. Such a situated view of collectivism is highlighted in recent reviews of the conflict in Northern Ireland (Cairns, 1989). In certain contexts group goals are experienced as more centrally defining than individual success, whereas in other situations individualistic goals are cued (Cairns, 1989). Similarly, Trew (1989) has suggested that certain ritualized annual events (e.g., the marching season) heighten the salience of intergroup boundaries, making collectivist perceptions more readily accessible. Thus, cultures may foster a meld of individualism and collectivism by highlighting the situational relevance of one or the other.

Finally, cultures and subcultures may vary in the nature of the other with whom the ensembled self of collectivism is linked. Distinctions among the almost individual level interdependence hypothesized for women (see Markus & Oyserman, 1989), the primarily familial level collectivism described by Triandis (1988) for Greeks, and the larger scale, ethnic–religious collectivism described in the current studies should be clarified and examined further.

In Israel, a Western value system must merge with traditional collectivist cultures. Data from the present studies suggest that the results of this merger are complex. Individuals adhere to an amalgam of individualist and collectivist perspectives on personhood and the self. Before discussing implications of the current studies further, a number of limitations should be highlighted. First, measures of individualism and collectivism were relatively short, and perhaps related to this, reliability of measures was only moderate. Second, for reasons described previously, it was decided to use primarily positively worded items and administer questionnaires in Hebrew. It is possible that, though differences in use of extreme response were not detected, differences along these lines may account for differences between Arabs and Jews. Perhaps use of Hebrew led Arab students to attempt to either respond as they believed Jews would or to differentiate themselves from Jews. Furthermore, other personality differences may account for some of the differences

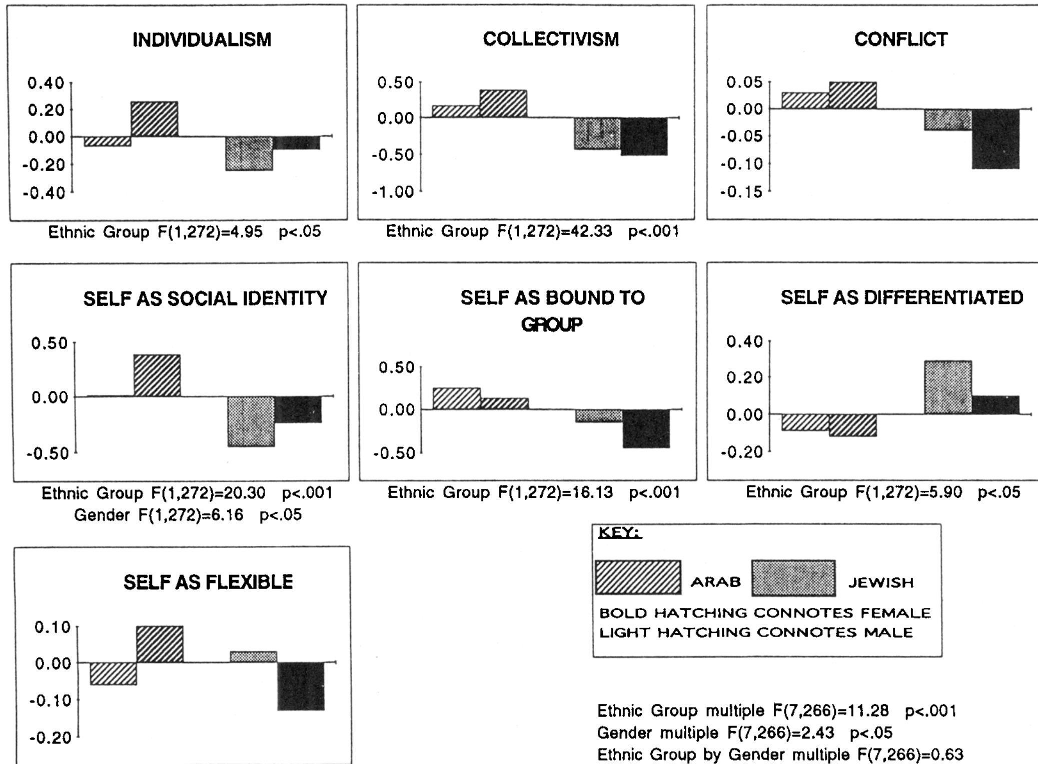


Figure 4. Study 4: Mean standardized scores and significant *F* statistics by ethnic group and gender.

currently attributed to ethnic group. Finally, use of students means that results cannot be generalized to the general population, as students may be unique. As college and university students, the subjects in these studies may be more exposed to individualism than the general population (see, for example, Triandis, 1989). Given these limitations, both Arab and Jewish students appear to have experienced bicultural influences, as reflected in their relatively high endorsement of both individualism and collectivism and the independence of the two scales. A number of interesting and important results thus emerge. It appears that Arab and Jewish Israeli students differ in their worldviews. Arab Israelis seem to have a more collectivist perspective than their Jewish Israeli counterparts and may also be more individualistic under certain circumstances.

Across studies, findings lend credence to the view that individualism and collectivism are essentially independent perspectives (see Triandis, 1989). Cultures can and do teach individuals to view themselves as both tenders of the group's needs and as striving achievers. Some cultures may prime in-group cooperation across many contexts and individual competition in few. Other cultures may set individual competition as the norm, with in-group cooperation rarely being primed. A more precise description of a cultural worldview may entail detailing the relative saliency of individualistic and collectivistic lenses across a variety of everyday situations (Kagitcibasi, 1987).

For individuals in this sample, collectivist rather than individualist worldviews were called into play by the in-group–out-group context. It is important to note that in Israel, the salient in-group–out-group cut is not always ethnic–national. Thus, for Arab Israelis in the company of fellow Arab Israelis, the in-group–out-group cut may be interreligious (e.g., Christian or Muslim), intrareligious (e.g., Sunni and Shi'ite), extended family (e.g., hamula), or region of the country (e.g., the Galilee vs. the "little triangle").

The finding that Arab Israeli respondents were both higher in collectivism and tended to be higher in individualism may suggest that for these individuals, the pull of the group is relatively strong, and to work toward attainment of an autonomous self they must invest energy in loosening these bonds. For example, at a university setting, an individualistic perspective is likely to be cued by academic achievement demands that focus on individual striving, competition, and actualization of potential. However, the collectivist frame continues to be relevant even here as reflected in the norm of providing exams, papers, and class notes to in-group students. It may be that, when embedded in a collectivist tradition, individualism may be a luxury to be indulged in when the group's needs are not too strong and the group is not threatened. Alternatively, individualism may be viewed as appropriate only in those domains that are of no consequence to the group. Thus, for example, in Arab culture, male honor is based on female chastity (Savory, 1989). In such a culture, a woman who wishes to be given freedom to self-define or pursue personal goals must take care not to behave in ways others may see as less than chaste. By maintaining her chasteness, she fulfills a commitment to the group and may be able to self-define in other, group-irrelevant domains as she chooses.

It is important to note that centrality of social identities was also related to ethnic group, with Arab Israelis viewing these identities as more chronically accessible and being more likely to generate selves focused on national–religious–ethnic groups

than Jewish Israelis. Thus, sociocultural factors in addition to collectivist perceptions of personhood must be taken into account in interpreting the responses of Arab Israelis. For example, traditional Arab Muslim culture apportions preeminent importance to the social identities used in this study—and these identities are especially highlighted by the fact that Israel, although situated in the Middle East, is not an Arab country, does not have an Arab majority, and is one of the few Middle Eastern countries in which Islam is not the state religion (other than Turkey and Lebanon; Rustow, 1989). The juxtaposition of the majority status of Islam in surrounding Arab countries, the Muslim assumption that Israel is a foreign element in the land of Islam (dar al-Islam), and the phenomenology of minority status (e.g., Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1984) are likely to heighten awareness of the ethnic–religious–national social identities of Israel's Arabs. These very same identities are likely to heighten perceptions of conflict.

These findings are especially important because of the hypothesized relationship between cohesive group membership and stability of democratic regimes in developing countries. It has been argued that a democratic political structure requires transient group membership. Fixed, cohesive groups may undermine the stability of a democracy because members of such groups are more likely to view themselves as fundamentally different and as interested in different societal orders (e.g., Baaklini, 1983; Diamond, Linz, & Lipset, 1988). Furthermore, it is argued that the traditional Muslim vision of the inseparability of religion and politics and the Quranic texts calling for obedience to the mujahids (the representatives of the Prophet Muhhammad) set the scene for an antidemocratic tendency (Savory, 1989).

Underlying individualism is the assumption that one could belong to any number of changing, emerging, dynamic groups, any of which may be useful to the self at one time or another and almost none of which is mandatory (i.e., it is sometimes possible to be estranged even from one's immediate family). A collectivist perspective is that the self is a component of the in-group rather than an independent entity and that these in-groups are fixed. Thus, one cannot interact with another without first learning one's role relationship with the other, and one cannot be a "self" without group roots (e.g., Rosen, 1989). In an ethnically divided society, the development of bicultural or expanded selves may be viewed as a threat to the in-group because such a perspective necessarily diminishes the sway of the collectivist vision of personhood on individual perception and action. Seen in this light, development of traditionalist religious movements among Arabs and Jews in Israel may be seen as an attempt to halt or reverse a perceived trend toward biculturalism. The current study suggests a complex interplay among culture, worldviews, attitudes, and interpersonal style. Differences in level of individualism and collectivism appear to matter because they are related to differences in perceptions of the self and intergroup conflict. These issues clearly warrant further study.

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