

Social categorization processes are dependent on status differences between groups: a step into adolescents' peer-group:

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Abstract

This paper presents two empirical studies of adolescents' peer-groups and inter-group processes. It is argued that the assumption according to which ingroup judgments tend to be more favourable than those about outgroups is too general. Social comparisons are hypothesized to depend largely on relative status of ingroup and outgroups. While members of superior groups are expected to favour their own group and to discriminate the outgroup, members of inferior or equal status groups are hypothesized to distinguish between ingroup and outgroup but not to discriminate the outgroup. In the first study it was predicted that members of superior groups would feel close to their group and distant from the outgroup, whereas members of equal status groups would feel close to their group but also relatively close to the outgroup. These predictions were confirmed. The closer highly identified members of equal status groups felt to be to their group the less distant they also perceived themselves to be to the outgroup. In the second study a distinction was made between evaluative and descriptive aspects of judgment and polarization of judgments. Social categorization processes were observed in evaluative components of judgments and in polarization of judgments. Descriptive components were not used to discriminate between ingroup and outgroups but just to illustrate differences between their respective activities and programmes.

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INTRODUCTION

The changes which characterize adolescence shake many of the consolidated certainties within the individuals' self-system. Adolescents are driven actively to seek guidelines and stable interpersonal relationships to lead them out of uncertainty. It is during such critical moments that the specificity of a social system enables individuals to find adequate solutions. The social entity that is constituted under circumstances of uncertainty is a 'reference group' (Sherif and Sherif, 1964) to which individuals relate psychologically and wish to belong.

According to Sherif and Sherif's (1964) thesis, natural groups of adolescents should constitute a real phenomenon in all the countries of the West. Palmonari, Pombeni and Kirchler (1990) and Kirchler, Palmonari and Pombeni (1992) confirmed the widespread presence of different types of formal and informal peer-groups in both Austria and Italy where more than 80 per cent of the adolescents belong to a peer-group.

As to the type of groups, it was found that most of the adolescents belong to an informal group. Informal groups as the point of reference represent a nucleus of companions who frequently meet outdoors, in squares, streets, court-yards, parks, or coffee-houses. Groups defined as 'informal' are constituted exclusively on the basis of the reciprocal interest of their members, quite independent of any adult leadership. The term 'formal group', on the other hand, indicates groups which form on the basis of a clear goal to be attained under the supervision of an adult leader. The goals may be religious, sporting, political (youth sections of political parties), as well as humanitarian (e.g. the young members of Amnesty International). While a significant minority of adolescents belong to sport and religious groups, (approximately 10 per cent of those who report joining groups regularly), only a few adolescents meet in political and expressive (engaged in music, theatre, arts) groups.

Despite their lower frequency, these latter groups are no less meaningful for adolescents. Adolescents have concrete concepts of their own groups and are aware of groups different from their own. The awareness of belonging to a peer-group is always related to the awareness of the existence of other groups which are used for social comparisons (Tajfel, 1978). Palmonari, Pombeni and Kirchler (1989, 1990) found that adolescents perceive themselves as being placed in an articulated social field, joined with a wide range of other types of groups. In their studies, a large majority of subjects differentiated between their peer-group and other groups. Political groups were especially often perceived as being completely different from their own group.

Adolescents tend to differentiate between their group and outgroups. Processes of intergroup comparison and differentiation are discussed and explained in Tajfel's (1972) social categorization theory and in Tajfel's (1978) and Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity theory (SIT). These theories hold that differentiation between groups is asymmetrical, i.e. positively biased towards the ingroup and negatively biased towards the outgroup. Differentiation processes are often based on elaborations of negative stereotypes of the others, on the devaluation of their activities and their aims.

As concerns the representations of oneself, one's own peers, and others, teenagers describe themselves and their peer-group in a more favourable way than outgroups.

Palmonari *et al.* (1989, 1990) analysed the judgments of self, the ingroup and two types of outgroups, one chosen freely by subjects and defined as a group distinct from their own peer-group and the other as a group of adolescents using drugs. As predicted by social categorization theory, teenagers evaluated and described themselves and their peer-groups in more positive terms than they judged the outgroups, especially when comparing self and own group with outgroups of juvenile drug users.

Evaluations of oneself, ingroup, and outgroup relationships proved to be independent of the type of groups the adolescents belong to, be it a street group, a formalized religious group or a sports group. The relationship that adolescents established with their peers, however, was important in explaining some additional variance of intergroup dynamics. Theoretical support for this assumption stems from Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherell's (1987) self categorization theory (SCT). These authors argued that the process of identification with a group is a necessary condition for discriminating behaviour in favour of one's own group.

Palmonari *et al.* (1990) showed that highly identified adolescents judged themselves and their peers, as well as the outgroup chosen by the subjects themselves and defined as clearly different from their own group, as being more open towards the social world, more committed, less dissatisfied, and less disengaged than did adolescents with low identification. However, outgroups of adolescents using drugs were described more negatively by highly identified individuals. In contrast with low identifiers, highly identified adolescents judged both ingroup and members of the self-chosen outgroup more favourably and rejected outgroups of drug users.

Palmonari *et al.* (1989, 1990) expected high identification levels to imply more negative judgments of outgroups. The results, however, were not completely in agreement with this expectation. The tendency to differentiate was shown for both types of outgroups, but especially so in the case of the groups of drug users. Drug using groups were perceived as being totally different from one's own group and from the outgroup the subjects had chosen. As concerns high identifiers' judgments of drug users, the results seem to support self categorization theory (Turner *et al.*, 1987). However, as far as high identifiers' judgments of the self-chosen outgroup are concerned, the results provide support for Deschamps' (1982) view of intergroup relationships. According to Deschamps, within-group and between-group differentiation, rather than being inversely related, are positively related. Thus, peers who perceive a small distance between themselves and their ingroup also perceive a rather small distance between themselves, their ingroup and outgroups. On the other hand, those who feel less close to their ingroup also perceive themselves and their group as being distant from their outgroups. In our studies, co-variation seems to occur between descriptions of self, own group and the self-chosen outgroup, but not between the first two descriptions and those of drug using groups.

Hinkle and Brown (1990) emphasize the problem of relationships between groups differing in status. Two studies by Sachdev and Bourhis (1985, 1987) show in particular that ingroup favouritism is observable only in groups occupying status or power positions higher than, or equal, to that of the outgroup. With low status or power, group members' evaluations of the ingroups and outgroups favoured the latter. According to Sachdev and Bourhis (1987) these effects are due to the development of negative social identities in low status groups. Members of low status groups identify less with their group than members of high status groups, although they

often perceive the intergroup situation as illegitimate and may have doubts about the causes and stability of their group's status. The authors critically add that their results are based on studies with *ad hoc* groups; thus attempts to re-define or create alternative comparison dimensions cannot emerge as may be the case in studies with real groups (Brown, 1978; Bourhis and Hill, 1982).

Let us return to the problem of interpreting the results of our recent studies (Palmonari, Pombeni and Kirchler, 1992). Perhaps status differences between ingroup and outgroups represent a variable which can shed some light on these results. The outgroups to which the study made reference were, first, a group of peers different to the subjects' own group but not negatively marked, and second, a highly different and negatively judged group of drug using peers. Discrimination, undoubtedly, was stronger for the second outgroup than for the first one. Stereotypes about drug using groups are likely to assign them a clearly negative and inferior status as compared to all other groups considered in our studies.

Tajfel (1972, 1981) emphasized the importance of not only thinking of categorizations as purely cognitive processes to simplify and understand reality. It is necessary to recognize that judgments contain an evaluative as well as a descriptive dimension and intergroup processes may be mirrored in evaluative judgments but not be effective in pure descriptions of ingroups and outgroups. In the two studies on intergroup processes and status differences to be reported in this paper we stress the importance of distinguishing between evaluative and descriptive components in the judgments which subjects provide about themselves, their ingroup and outgroups.

Study 1 focuses on closeness between self and one's peer-group and closeness or distance between self and outgroups. It is argued that the assumption according to which ingroup judgments tend to be more favourable than those about outgroups is too general and needs further specification. Classification processes were operationalized as perceptions of closeness versus distance from one's own group and outgroups. We predicted that members of superior groups should perceive the respective outgroup to be more distant the closer they feel to their ingroup; members of inferior groups should feel closer to the outgroup the closer they feel to their ingroup. In addition to distance from groups, descriptions on five dimensions used to describe personality traits were analysed. The study controls for the type of peer-groups adolescents associate with and for the level of identification with one's peer-group.

Study 2 was conducted to test intergroup dynamics as dependent on the superiority and inferiority, respectively, of one's peer-group relative to outgroups. In contrast to Study 1, evaluations and descriptions of groups were investigated as well as polarization of judgments. Groups are often wrongly judged as too homogeneous in possessing a specific characteristic (Levine and Campbell, 1972). This tendency, writes Peabody (1985, p. 38), 'should be reduced for ingroup judgments, where there is more direct information as to the actual heterogeneity between members of a group. One implication ... is that outgroup judgments would tend to be more extreme or "polarized", and ingroup judgments less so'. In this study we examined whether outgroup judgments in general are more polarized than ingroup judgments or whether only members of superior groups tend to be more extreme in their judgments of outgroups, while members of groups with inferior or equal status are rather moderate.

It was predicted that members of superior groups would evaluate their group positively and outgroups negatively; members of groups with lower status than outgroups should not de-value outgroups. As far as descriptions are concerned, differ-

ences should emerge only on those dimensions which describe different activities of, and refer to stereotypes about outgroups. As in previous studies we also controlled for influences of type of peer-group and level of identification with the peer-group.

STUDY 1. CLOSENESS TO ONE'S PEER-GROUP AND DISTANCE FROM OUTGROUPS

Method

Subjects

The participants were 431 boys and girls from the city of Bologna, Italy, aged between 14 and 20 years (mean = 16.34 years; standard deviation = 1.12). About two-thirds (63 per cent) of the participants were females. One-third (37 per cent) were males. All were attending secondary schools, and either living with their parents and sisters and brothers (91 per cent), or with their mother (6 per cent) or father (3 per cent) only.

This was an opportunity sample and cannot be assumed to be representative for adolescents from all Italian regions. However, in the judgment of the collaborating social workers the participants were representative, in socio-demographic terms, of high school students in Bologna.

Material

A questionnaire was developed consisting of three parts. Part one was taken from the material used in previous studies (Palmonari *et al.*, 1992). Participants were asked (a) whether they associate with a peer-group either occasionally or regularly and (b) to indicate the type of group with which they were regularly associated and to define it; that is, indicate whether it was a group meeting informally, for example, on street corners, or a formal group with scheduled meetings (groups engaged in political projects, religious programmes, playing music or theatre, scouts, or sports groups). (c) Identification with the group was assessed by five items from Brown's (1988) identification scale and five newly constructed statements (Appendix A). A factor analysis of the 10 items yielded one factor explaining 37 per cent of the variance. Cronbach alpha for the group identification scale was 0.79. The average response to the statements was calculated for each subject. The sample was split on the median into those adolescents highly identifying with their peer-group and those reporting low identification with their group.

In the second part of the questionnaire the participants were asked to describe (a) themselves, (b) their peer-group and (c) an outgroup which had been randomly assigned to the participants. Descriptions of self and groups were elicited in terms of personality characteristics using 32 bipolar scales of trait-adjectives. The outgroups which the subjects had to imagine and to judge were either groups of age-mates using drugs or committing delinquent acts, or groups engaged in political programmes or committed to music or theatre. The 32 bipolar adjective scales were taken from Brandstätter's (1988) 16 PA-test which is a short version of Schneewind, Schröder and Cattell's (1983) 16 PF-test. The list of 32 items serves to measure first-and second-order personality factors and has previously been applied as a semantic differential

to judge various social objects (e.g. Kirchler, 1993). Appendix B represents the Italian version of the adjectives list.

The third part of the questionnaire consisted of a list of 10 bipolar items to assess superiority versus inferiority of one's peer-group relative to a specified outgroup (Appendix C). A principal component analysis of the 10 items revealed one factor explaining 45 per cent of variance. Cronbach alpha of the scale was 0.86. The average response to the items was used as an index of superiority versus inferiority of one's own peer-group relative to the specified outgroup (scale ranging from 1 = one's own group is inferior to 5 = superior).

In the final section of the questionnaire, socio-demographic characteristics were measured (sex, age, school education, school type, working condition, and family composition).

Procedure

Student researchers and social workers approached the adolescents during December 1991 and February 1992 at various schools. After having invited the adolescents to participate, the researchers distributed the questionnaires. The study was explained as investigating questions regarding adolescence. Complete anonymity of responses was assured. Almost all adolescents approached agreed to participate. Completing the questionnaire took approximately 20 to 30 minutes. Often the adolescents indicated that they belonged to more than one type of group, and in such cases were asked with which group they affiliated most frequently and to refer to that group when answering the subsequent questions.

Results

Overview and manipulation check

Most of the participants indicated they were members of a peer-group meeting fairly regularly (88 per cent). Those ones not meeting with a specific group of age-mates were excluded from further analyses, leaving a sample of 379 subjects.

Most adolescents were associated with an informal group meeting on street-corners and various places in the city (82.2 per cent). The others were members of formal groups (17.8 per cent), such as sport groups (9.0 per cent), religious groups (6.0 per cent) and scouts (1.2 per cent), or other groups (1.3 per cent). Only one participant indicated being associated with a group engaged in artistic performances and none claimed membership of a political group.

An analysis of variance with type (informal, religious groups, scouts, sport groups, other groups) as independent variable and identification as dependent variable showed a significant main effect ($F(4,372) = 2.55; p < 0.05$), indicating that adolescents belonging to religious groups ($M = 3.71; n = 23$), sport groups ($M = 3.83; n = 33$) or other groups (expressive, or unspecified other groups; $M = 3.89; n = 8$) identify more with their group than adolescents associated with informal groups ($M = 3.58; n = 308$) or scouts ($M = 3.58; n = 6$). The correlation between identification and type of group as dichotomized variable (formal versus informal groups) amounted to $r = 0.14; p < 0.01$. Thus, group type explains only 2 per cent of variance of identification.

Before testing the hypotheses, it was necessary to check manipulation of superiority and inferiority of one's peer-group relative to outgroups. This check was made on the basis of ratings of one's own group relative to the indicated outgroup (see Appendix C). Mean ratings were included in an analysis of variance with type of outgroup (drug using group, delinquent group, political group, expressive group) as independent variable. Before computing the analysis, those subjects who either judged drug users and delinquent groups in extremely positive terms (answering on the upper extremes of the 5-point scales) and those who judged groups engaged in politics or artistic projects in extremely negative terms) responding to each item without any variation on the lower extreme of the scales) were excluded. After discarding these participants a sample of 333 adolescents remained. The analysis of variance revealed a significant effect of type of outgroup on ratings of superiority of one's own peer-group ($F(3,315) = 65.71; p < 0.001$). One's own peer-group was judged as being much superior to drug using groups ($M = 4.34; n = 76$) and delinquent groups ($M = 4.26; n = 78$) and as neither superior nor inferior to politically engaged peer-groups ($M = 3.29; n = 83$) or groups playing music or doing theatre ($M = 3.42; n = 82$). In conclusion, after eliminating those subjects who either misunderstood or opposed instructions, manipulation of superiority of ingroup relative to outgroups produced the desired outcomes.

Distances between oneself, one's own peer-group and outgroups

The question to be answered in this study is whether distances between oneself and ingroup and oneself and outgroup differ when the ingroup is either superior or inferior to the outgroup to which ingroup members refer. When the ingroup is perceived as superior, members should feel close to their group and the closer they feel to their group the more distant they should perceive the respective (inferior) outgroup. If the ingroup is perceived as inferior or of equal status to the outgroup then ingroup members who feel close to their group should also perceive themselves to be less distant from the (superior) outgroup. Thus, in the first case, the distances of self-ingroup and self-outgroup should be positively correlated; in the latter case the correlation should be negative. To test this hypothesis, indices of distance between oneself, one's ingroup and the specified outgroup were computed. Distance was operationalized as Euclidean distance between descriptive profiles (lists of 32 bipolar adjectives, Appendix B) of oneself, one's ingroup and the outgroup. A value of 0 signifies identical description of oneself and groups of maximum closeness; high values indicate high distance. Correlations between distance indices of oneself-ingroup and oneself-outgroup were computed separately for the four outgroup conditions. For drug using outgroups ($r(76) = 0.29; p < 0.05$) and delinquent outgroups ($r(78) = 0.37; p < 0.01$) correlations were not negative, as was expected. For conditions of political outgroups ($r(83) = 0.52; p < 0.01$) and expressive outgroups ($r(82) = 0.48; p < 0.01$), correlations were highly positive. The difference between correlations was consistent with hypothesis.

In order to control for identification with one's own group and the type of peer-group (formal versus informal), an analysis of variance was computed with distance indices as the dependent variable. The independent variables were identification (low versus high), type of peer-group (formal versus informal), type of outgroup (drug users, delinquent group, political group, expressive group) and target (distance

Descriptions of oneself, one's own peer-group and outgroups

The semantic differential used to describe oneself and peer-groups (Brandstätter, 1988) allows us to estimate Schneewind *et al.*'s (1983) second order personality factors. For reasons of giving an impression of descriptions of oneself, one's own peer-group and outgroups the second order factors norm orientation, emotional stability, independence, determination, and extroversion were extracted from the semantic differential by applying computational formulae suggested by Brandstätter (1988). These dimensions were treated as the dependent variables in five analyses of variance with type of ingroup (formal versus informal), identification with one's peer-group (low versus high), four conditions of outgroups and target (self, ingroup, outgroup, within factor) as independent variables. No analysis of variance revealed a main or interaction effect of type of ingroup and identification. No main and interaction effects reached significance in the first analysis with norm orientation as dependent variable (interaction target by condition of outgroup: $F(6,608) = 1.97; p = 0.07$). Descriptions on all other factors were found to be dependent on the interaction of target and type of outgroup (for emotional stability $F(6,608) = 5.00; p < 0.01$; for independence $F(6,608) = 3.15; p < 0.01$; for determination $F(6,608) = 2.57; p < 0.05$; for extroversion $F(6,608) = 2.14; p = 0.05$). Table 1 represents the results. In general, the results show no differences in the descriptions of oneself and one's own groups. Some distinctions were made in the descriptions of outgroups: drug using groups were described as less emotionally stable and less determined in their behaviour than other groups; both drug users and delinquent groups were described as being more independent than other outgroups and, finally, members of delinquent groups were perceived as being more introverted than others. A correspondence analysis of data in Table 1 (means of descriptive values on five dimensions by six social targets), which revealed two factors explaining 78 per cent and 21 per cent of the variance respectively, permits a more visible graphical illustration of the results and gives an impression of the distances between self, ingroup and outgroups.

Table 1. Descriptions of oneself, one's ingroup and four outgroups on five dimensions

Target	Self		Ingroup			Outgroups			F-values* (df)
	DU	DA	P	E	DU	DA	P	E	
1. Norm orientation	4.05	4.13	3.73	3.98	4.16	3.91	1.97	(6,608)	
2. Emotional stability	4.20	4.33	4.48	3.81	4.28	4.25	5.00	(6,608)	
3. Independence	4.63	4.89	5.99	5.62	5.01	4.91	3.15	(6,608)	
4. Determination	5.02	5.03	4.49	4.98	5.30	4.98	2.57	(6,608)	
5. Extroversion	6.76	6.76	6.82	6.39	6.85	6.63	2.14	(6,608)	

Abbreviations indicate the following outgroups: DU=drug users, DA=groups committing delinquent acts, P=political groups, E=expressive groups. *All F-values greater than 3.00 are significant at $p < 0.01$; values greater than 2.00 are significant at $p < 0.05$.

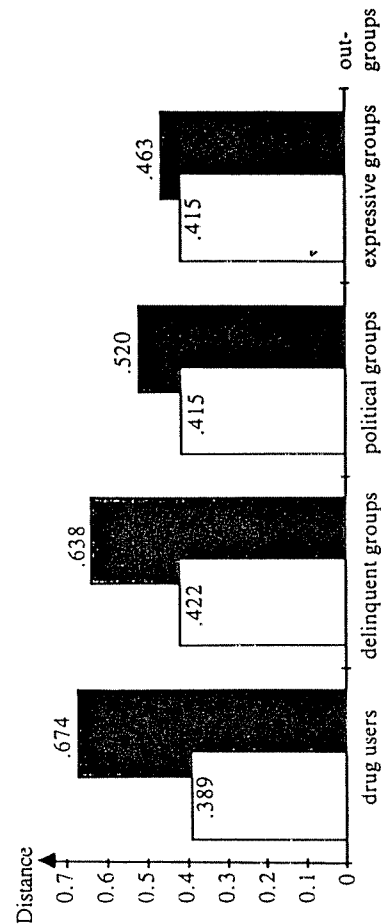
STUDY 2. EVALUATION AND DESCRIPTION OF ONESELF, ONE'S PEER-GROUP AND OUTGROUPS

Method
Subjects

The sample was taken from the same population as the sample of Study 1, adolescents enrolled in various secondary schools of the city of Bologna, Italy. Overall, 434

between self-ingroup versus distance between self-outgroup; within factor). This analysis of variance revealed a significant two-way interaction effect between target and outgroups ($F(3,307) = 19.92; p < 0.001$). Figure 1 shows the results. Also, the two-way interaction between target and identification with one's peer-group was significant ($F(1,307) = 8.41; p < 0.01$), suggesting that those adolescents who identify highly with their peer-group perceive themselves as being closer to their group ($M = 0.382$) than those who report low identification ($M = 0.441$). Distance between self-outgroup was independent of identification (for high identifiers $M = 0.573$; for low identifiers $M = 0.570$). Unsurprisingly, the main effect of target was highly significant ($F(1,307) = 152.20; p < 0.001$). Type of ingroup (formal versus informal) had no influence. None of the three-way interactions or the four-way interaction ($F(3,307) = 1.34; p = 0.26$) reached significance.

Up to now, the condition of outgroups served to differentiate between subjects who are members of groups with superior or equal status. Despite the status manipulation check, in some cases subjects may not clearly have felt themselves to be members of superior or equal status groups. This failure would lead to lower effects in statistical tests of our hypothesis on intergroup comparisons. Therefore, it seems appropriate here to calculate correlations between individuals, judgments or superiority of their group and distances between self-ingroup and self-outgroup. The correlation between ratings of superiority and judgments of distance between oneself and ingroup is $r(319) = -0.17; p < 0.01$. It suggests that those subjects who perceived their ingroup as being superior to the outgroup felt closer to their group than subjects who perceived their group as of equal value of the outgroup. The correlation between judgments and distance indices of oneself-outgroup was $r(317) = 0.34; p < 0.01$, suggesting that members of groups judged as superior to outgroups perceived a greater distance between themselves and the respective outgroup than those in groups perceived as of equal value or inferior to a specific subgroup. These results strongly suggest that perceptions of status differences of ingroup and outgroups affect intergroup dynamics.



Note.
 Distance between self and ingroup (white bar)
 Distance between self and outgroup (black bar)

Figure 1. Distance between oneself-ingroup and oneself-outgroups

condition of outgroup (drug users, delinquent group, political group, expressive group), and target (distance: self-ingroup versus self-outgroup; within factor) as independent factors. As in Study 1, the two-way interaction effect between target and condition of outgroups was again found to be significant ($F(3,314) = 16.54$; $p < 0.001$). While adolescents perceived themselves as being close to their groups ($M = 0.307, 0.308, 0.291$, and 0.300 for samples imagining drug users, delinquent groups, political or expressive groups as outgroups) and also as relatively close to political groups ($M = 0.358$) and expressive groups ($M = 0.347$), they felt rather distant from drug users ($M = 0.514$) and delinquent groups ($M = 0.509$). The correlation between ratings of ingroup superiority and distance between self and ingroup was $r(330) = -0.08$; $p < 0.05$; the correlation between status ratings and distance between self and outgroup was $r(330) = 0.44$; $p < 0.001$. As in Study 1, correlations between judgments of self-ingroup and judgments of self-outgroups were not negative if one's own group was perceived as superior to outgroups (drug using outgroups: $r(85) = 0.24$; $p < 0.05$; delinquent outgroups: $r(82) = 0.19$; $p > 0.05$), but highly positive if the ingroup was rated as of equal status or inferior to the outgroups (political groups: $r(76) = 0.32$; $p < 0.01$; expressive groups: $r(87) = 0.59$; $p < 0.01$).

Let us now turn to evaluative and descriptive components of the judgments. Peabody (1985), developed a scheme for unconfounding evaluative and descriptive aspects of judgments based on the development of positive and negative adjective scales describing the same characteristic of a social object. For instance, a subject answering on a scale ranging from 1 = thrifty to 7 = generous with 7 describes the social object under investigation as well as evaluating it as positive. If the same subject answers on a scale ranging from 1 = stingy to 7 = extravagant with a high value, the respective social object has been described in similar terms as before but evaluated negatively. To unconfound descriptive and evaluative aspects it is necessary to add (descriptive aspect) and subtract (evaluative aspect) answers on the two corresponding scales.

In this study, answers to the 32 bipolar adjectives scales (Appendix D) were handled in the way suggested by Peabody. Answers to two corresponding scales were added to obtain descriptive aspects. Subsequently all scales with high values indicating a negative judgment were shifted in order to give high values if judgments were positive and the answers on two corresponding scales were added to obtain evaluative aspects. These transformations yield high values for positive evaluations. As far as descriptive aspects are concerned, both high and low values indicate that a social object is perceived to possess a characteristic (that is, it can be described by the adjective either on the right or on the left side of the bipolar scale), medium values indicate that a specific characteristic is not clearly apparent in the social object.

Peabody's list of 32 bipolar adjective scales yields 17 dimensions. These 17 dimensions can also be aggregated in order to obtain one factor which can be interpreted as the average evaluative component in the judgments. The hypothesis to be tested in the present research is that adolescents who are members of superior groups tend to favour their own group and to under-value outgroups. The better the evaluations of their own group the worse should be evaluations of outgroups. On the other hand, adolescents in inferior groups or groups with equal status to outgroups should judge outgroups to be more positive the more positively they judge their ingroup. Correlations between evaluations of ingroups and outgroups clearly support

this hypothesis. Members of superior groups under-value the specified outgroup if they evaluated the ingroup highly positively ($R = -0.24$; $p < 0.01$); members of groups with status equal to the outgroup judged the outgroup more favourably when they perceived their ingroup as positive ($r = 0.34$; $p < 0.01$). Correlations between average evaluative judgments of self and one's ingroup were positive under both conditions ($r = 0.24$ and 0.43 ; $p < 0.01$, respectively). It should also be noted that separate correlations for all 17 dimensions showed the same pattern: when the ingroup was superior to the outgroup the average correlation between evaluations of ingroup and outgroup was $r = -0.09$; when the ingroup was not superior, average $r = 0.14$.

Whereas evaluative aspects clearly support our predictions, 'cool' descriptive aspects are not expected to follow the hypothesis of group ethnocentricity. Again, correlations between descriptive aspects of ingroup and outgroup judgments were calculated on each dimension (dimensions 16 and 17 were excluded). The mean correlation was 0.07 in the case of superior ingroups, and 0.13 when the ingroup was not superior to the outgroup. Thus, our hypothesis that social categorization depends on group status is true for evaluative aspects of judgments. Mere descriptions of social objects do not reflect ingroup-outgroup dynamics but serve to illustrate differences between their activities.

Evaluative judgments on the 17 dimensions were included in 17 analyses of variance with identification (low versus high), type of peer-group (formal versus informal), condition of outgroup (drug users, delinquent group, political group, expressive group) and target (distance: self-ingroup versus self-outgroup; within factor) as independent factors. Additionally, an analysis of variance with the mean score across the 17 dimensions was computed. All analyses revealed a significant interaction effect between target and condition of outgroup (all F significant at $p < 0.001$). Since there were no differences between drug users and delinquent outgroups, on the one hand, or between political groups and expressive groups, on the other hand, in subsequent analyses only two types of outgroups (inferior versus superior or equal) are distinguished. No analysis showed a main or interaction effect of identification and type of peer-group. Table 2 shows mean evaluative aspects by target and type of outgroup.

Descriptive judgments on 17 dimensions were included as dependent variables in separate analyses of variance with identification (low versus high), type of peer-group (formal versus informal), condition of outgroup (drug users, delinquent group, political group, expressive group) and target (distance: self-ingroup versus self-outgroup; within factor) as independent factors. It should be noted that dimensions 16 and 17 are not exclusively descriptive but both descriptive and evaluative. All analyses of variance but one revealed significant interaction effects between target and condition of outgroup. However, the effects are much smaller than for evaluative judgments (Table 3). In general, the results show no differences in the descriptions of self and ingroup. Descriptions of outgroups follow expected stereotypes: in contrast to other groups, drug users and delinquent groups were perceived as stingy (thrifty), impulsive (spontaneous), rash (bold), uncooperative (independent), and rather stupid. Drug users, in contrast to all other outgroups, were also described as inactive (calm), modest (unassured), and lazy. In contrast to political groups, they were perceived as sceptical (distrustful), vacillating (flexible), lax (lenient), and undiscriminating (broad-minded). Delinquent groups were described as more aggressive (forceful),

Table 2. Evaluations of oneself, one's own ingroup and outgroups on 17 dimensions

Target	Inferior outgroups (drugs, delinquency)		Superior outgroups (politics, theatre)		F-values* (df)
	Self group	In- Out- group	Self group	In- Out- group	
1. Thrifty-extravagant stingy-generous	0.72	0.52	-0.81	0.67	18.78 (2,476)
2. Self-controlled-impulsive inhibited-spontaneous	0.75	0.85	-1.07	0.68	62.70 (2,592)
3. Serious-frivolous grim-jolly	1.07	1.00	-1.59	0.94	126.66 (2,606)
4. Sceptical-gullible distrustful-trusting	0.81	0.90	-1.10	0.79	53.94 (2,516)
5. Firm-lax severe-lenient	0.10	0.41	-0.65	0.32	10.30 (2,464)
6. Persistent-vacillating inflexible-flexible	0.23	0.50	-0.39	0.46	7.71 (2,534)
7. Selective-undiscriminating choosy-broad-minded	1.02	0.97	-0.05	0.88	12.48 (2,530)
8. Cautious-rash timid-bold	0.43	0.46	-0.55	0.25	42.15 (2,546)
9. Calm-agitated inactive-active	0.95	0.84	-1.03	0.61	93.68 (2,612)
10. Peaceful-aggressive passive-forceful	1.12	1.21	-1.26	0.99	103.86 (2,594)
11. Modest-conceited unassured-self-confident	0.53	0.99	-1.18	0.42	60.16 (2,558)
12. Cooperative-uncooperative conforming-independent	1.54	1.12	0.11	1.38	16.53 (2,576)
13. Tactful-tactless devious-frank	1.67	1.18	-1.36	1.31	103.67 (2,532)
14. Practical-impractical opportunistic-idealistic	1.20	0.81	-0.76	1.17	45.62 (2,562)
15. Admirable-deplorable not likeable-likeable	0.48	0.59	-0.83	0.51	23.50 (2,529)
16. Hard-working-lazy 17. Intelligent-stupid	0.47	0.77	-1.01	0.47	31.60 (2,334)
	1.98	1.46	-1.81	1.80	142.57 (2,402)
Average evaluative aspect	0.78	0.72	-0.84	0.67	256.55 (2,654)

Answers on the first scales of each copy of corresponding scales and scales 16 and 17 were shifted in order to obtain high scores for positive evaluations. * All F-values are significant at $p < 0.001$.

practical (opportunistic) and deplorable (likeable) than others. Political groups and expressive groups were perceived as especially hard-working, active and intelligent. Although these descriptions are interesting, only evaluative aspects offer much insight into social categorization processes.

Polarization of judgments

Polarization of judgments was operationalized in terms of absolute values on 32 bipolar adjective scales. For each dimension, the average of absolute values was calculated and included in a 2 (identification) by 2 (type of peer-group) by 4 (condition

Table 3. Descriptions of oneself, one's own ingroup and four outgroups on 17 dimensions

Target	Self	In- group	Outgroups				F-values (df)
			DU	DA	P	E	
1. Thrifty-extravagant stingy-generous	1.16	1.04	-0.38	-0.89	-0.01	0.68	4.29 (6,448)
2. Self-controlled-impulsive inhibited-spontaneous	1.09	1.27	1.30	1.59	0.18	0.44	3.93 (6,564)
3. Serious-frivolous grim-jolly	1.07	1.68	-0.11	0.65	-0.93	0.72	3.29 (6,578)
4. Sceptical-gullible distrustful-trusting	0.00	0.25	-1.20	-0.19	-1.53	-0.67	5.18 (6,488)
5. Firm-lax severe-lenient	0.30	0.50	1.53	-0.30	-1.25	-0.37	5.29 (6,436)
6. Persistent-vacillating inflexible-flexible	0.56	0.62	1.54	0.06	-0.99	-0.33	4.96 (6,506)
7. Selective-undiscriminating choosy-broad-minded	0.49	0.76	1.31	-0.07	-0.86	-0.26	5.24 (6,502)
8. Cautious-rash timid-bold	-0.14	0.57	1.21	1.75	-0.14	0.07	5.68 (6,518)
9. Calm-agitated inactive-active	1.16	1.39	0.40	1.91	0.95	0.94	4.73 (6,584)
10. Peaceful-aggressive passive-forceful	0.86	0.95	0.25	1.94	0.99	0.79	5.54 (6,566)
11. Modest-conceited unassured-self-confident	-0.11	0.72	-0.98	0.92	1.11	1.15	7.04 (6,530)
12. Cooperative-uncooperative conforming-independent	-0.15	-0.04	1.01	0.96	-0.40	-0.35	4.61 (6,548)
13. Tactful-tactless devious-frank	0.05	0.59	-0.07	0.36	0.04	0.13	1.47 (6,504)
14. Practical-impractical opportunistic-idealistic	-0.26	-0.25	0.11	-1.20	-0.22	0.03	4.11 (6,534)
15. Admirable-deplorable not likeable-likeable	-1.59	-1.72	-1.79	2.01	-0.64	-1.33	14.67 (6,500)
16. Hard-working-lazy 17. Intelligent-stupid	-0.44	-0.75	1.76	0.30	-1.47	-1.68	9.10 (6,306)
	-1.80	-1.53	1.92	1.34	-1.87	-1.77	21.81 (6,374)

Abbreviations indicate the following outgroups: DU=drug users, DA=groups committing delinquent acts, P=political groups, E=expressive groups. *All F-values greater than 2.58 are significant at $p < 0.01$.

of outgroup) by 2 (target) analysis of variance. Finally, average judgments on all dimensions were calculated and included in a further set of ANOVAs. In almost all analyses the resulting two-way interaction effect between target and condition of outgroup was significant (see Table 3). Identification and type of peer-group proved to have negligible effects. Polarization of judgment of drug users was similar to the degree of polarization of judgments of delinquent groups. Also, polarization of judgments of political groups was similar to polarization of judgments of expressive groups. Table 4 shows average polarization of judgments as depending on social objects. The results leave no doubts but that members of superior groups tend to extreme outgroup judgments whereas members of groups with inferior or equal status exaggerate less.

Table 4. Polarization of judgments of oneself, one's own group and outgroups

Target	Inferior outgroups (drugs, delinquency)		Superior outgroups (politics, theatre)		F-values* (df)
	In- group	Out- group	Self- group	In- group	
1. Thrifty-extravagant	1.83	1.81	2.27	1.80	18.19 (2,476)
2. Self-controlled-impulsive	1.92	1.93	2.42	2.08	20.41 (2,592)
3. Serious-frivolous	1.97	2.18	2.30	1.99	11.23 (2,606)
4. Sceptical-gullible	1.76	1.57	2.38	1.78	25.20 (2,516)
5. Firm-lax	1.59	1.50	2.26	1.69	24.61 (2,464)
6. Severe-lenient	1.77	1.63	2.20	1.72	9.82 (2,534)
7. Selective-undiscriminating	1.87	1.79	2.18	1.78	7.97 (2,530)
8. Cautious-rash	1.71	1.79	2.37	1.72	27.15 (2,546)
9. Calm-agitated	1.96	2.06	2.34	1.96	4.54 (2,612)
10. Peaceful-aggressive	2.00	1.98	2.29	1.92	10.17 (2,594)
11. Modest-conceited	1.70	1.79	2.23	1.77	7.66 (2,558)
12. Cooperative-uncooperative	2.05	2.01	2.20	1.86	0.62 (2,576)
13. Tacitful-tactless	1.93	1.87	2.15	1.89	6.60 (2,532)
14. Practical-impractical	1.99	1.82	2.09	1.76	0.95 (2,562)
15. Opportunistic-idealistic	1.93	2.24	2.33	1.94	8.36 (2,529)
16. Hard-working-lazy	1.88	1.88	2.13	1.92	0.38 (2,334)
17. Intelligent-stupid	2.14	1.94	2.44	1.98	4.50 (2,402)
Average polarization	1.87	1.88	2.26	1.83	44.47 (2,654)

*All F-values greater than 2.58 are significant at $p < 0.01$.

DISCUSSION

The justification for the present research derives from the ambivalent results of previous work on adolescents' intergroup dynamics (Palmonari *et al.*, 1990, 1992). Departing from Turner *et al.*'s (1987) self categorization theory one of the principal assumptions was that adolescent peer-groups should function satisfactorily if members are able to identify with their group. Additionally, adolescents' judgments of social entities should reveal ingroup favouritism and outgroup discrimination. Results showed that this latter social categorization process does not necessarily always emerge in intergroup settings. In some cases Turner *et al.*'s (1987) self categorization theory was supported by our data. In other cases instead of judging their

ingroup positively and outgroups negatively, adolescents judged both their own and other groups favourably or both groups negatively.

These apparently contradictory patterns of results seemed to follow a specific logic. If adolescents compared their group with a self-chosen outgroup of other adolescents, then co-variation of in- and outgroup judgments was observed. If, on the other hand, they were instructed to compare their group with an outgroup of drug using adolescents, then their judgments followed the predictions of self categorization theory. It seems that there are differences inherent in the two types of outgroup comparisons which function like a 'switchboard' that determines which theoretic orientation better describes actual intergroup judgments.

The major difference between the two types of outgroups is that one is negative stigmatized, whereas the other is perceived as being different from the ingroup but not stereotyped in negative terms. Relative to one's own ingroup, the two outgroups seem to have different statuses. On the one hand, the outgroup has more or less equal status as the ingroup, on the other hand, the outgroup has a status inferior to the ingroup. In sum, results suggest that Turner *et al.*'s (1987) self categorization theory is valid if intergroup comparisons are made on the basis of high-status ingroup and low-status outgroups. If outgroups are not inferior as compared to the ingroup co-variation of intergroup judgments is more likely.

These assumptions, attributing high relevance to intergroup status, are supported by the literature (*cf.* Zani, 1992). Doise and Lorenzi-Cioldi (1989) and Lorenzi-Cioldi and Doise (1990) had found a significant impact of status differences between social categories on intra-category differentiation. In their review, Hinkle and Brown (1990) note the studies by Brown (1978) and Sachdev and Bourhis (1987) clearly demonstrating that ingroup favouritism effects are only observable for groups occupying status higher than or equal to that of the outgroup. Low status group members' judgment of their group and outgroups did not favour the ingroup but in some cases showed outgroup favouritism.

In general, our hypothesis was confirmed for four out of the five qualities in terms of which intergroup comparisons were operationalized: adolescents in group with superior status to the outgroup perceived themselves to be close to their group and highly distant from the outgroup. Those in groups with equal status perceived themselves as being close to their group and relatively close to the outgroup. The more superior the ingroup was perceived to be the closer the subjects felt to their ingroup, and in contrast to this, the more superior their own group was judged the more distant the outgroup was seen. Also, the closer adolescents of equal status groups perceived themselves to the outgroup the closer they also perceived themselves to their ingroup.

However, it was not found that the closer members of superior groups felt to be to their ingroup the more distant they felt to the inferior outgroup. Correlation between Euclidean distances in the judgments of oneself and ingroup and oneself and outgroup were highly positive in equal status outgroup conditions; and they were not negative, as was expected, in the condition of ingroup superiority. Some light can be shed on these findings by considering degree of identification with the ingroup. Among those highly identified with the ingroup correlations between self-ingroup and self-outgroup distances were $r(40) = 0.19$; n.s. and $r(35) = 0.16$; n.s. for judgments of drug-using and delinquent groups respectively. The correlations for political and expressive outgroups were $r(46) = 0.32$; $p < 0.05$ and $r(44) =$

0.63, $p < 0.01$, respectively. The correlations for those weakly identified were $r(43) = 31$; $p < 0.05$; $r(48) = 0.27$; $p > 0.05$; $r(31) = 0.31$; $p < 0.01$; and $r(43) = 0.54$; $p < 0.01$ for drug-using, delinquent, political, and expressive outgroups, respectively. These correlations show that closeness to one's own group and concomitant high distance from inferior outgroups will not be observed if subjects do not identify highly with their peer-group, whereas if identification is high, the respective correlations show the expected pattern. These results seem to indicate that social categorization processes, in general, cannot exclusively be explained by ingroup and outgroup status differences; identification with the ingroup also needs to be taken into consideration.

Adolescents in groups with status equal to the outgroup perceived themselves not only to be close to their group and relatively close to the outgroup but also described themselves, their ingroup and the two high status outgroups in similar terms as Figure 1 shows. Outgroups with inferior status were described in highly different terms. However, as far as descriptions are concerned some caution is necessary. The results of Study 2 clearly show that intergroup comparisons, conceived as evaluative judgments emerge from evaluative components of judgments. Peabody's (1985) suggestion to separate evaluative from descriptive aspects proved to be appropriate. As Table 2 shows, adolescents differentiated between themselves and their group, on the one hand, and inferior outgroups, on the other hand, on all 17 dimensions. In contrast, evaluations of self, the ingroup and positive or equal status groups were similar. Polarization of judgments also appears to reflect intergroup comparisons. While judgments of self, ingroup and equal status outgroups are relatively moderate, judgments of inferior outgroups tend to be highly exaggerated. These results seem to indicate that inferior outgroups, as compared to the ingroup, are not only evaluated negatively but judgments are also more polarized.

Ingroup comparison processes were not mirrored in the purely descriptive components of judgments of self, ingroup and outgroups. This does not mean that descriptive elements are not used in structuring social fields. Table 3 shows, for instance, that drug-using peer-groups are perceived as being modest (unassured) relative to delinquent, political or expressive groups, and also as rather firm (severe), persistent (inflexible), calm (inactive) and selective (choosy). Relative to others, delinquent groups are described as rash (bold), agitated (active), aggressive (forceful), practical (opportunistic), deplorable (likeable), and expressive groups as frivolous (jolly). Like drug users, politically engaged peers are also seen as sceptical (distrustful), but in contrast to them, politically engaged peers are seen to be firm (severe) and persistent (flexible). These are only a few descriptions of the four outgroups which more generally reveal no underlying coherent process of discrimination between high-status and low-status groups. On some dimensions the four groups are described in similar terms, on others they are described as being different.

The clear-cut differences which emerged on evaluative and descriptive components of judgments urges us to query why in past research these two aspects have often been confounded. It would be worthwhile to check whether contradictory results in past studies can be attributed to such confounds.

In conclusion, in order to understand social categorization processes in real groups it is necessary to consider relative status differences between groups and members' identification with their own group. Up to now, status differences between groups have almost exclusively been studied by focusing on strategies developed by minority

groups to escape their subordinate situation by enhancing their members' social identity (Turner and Brown, 1978). The present paper seeks to add to the understanding of discrimination processes and group members' self-evident truth ('Selbstverständnis') of having the legitimate power to express negative and polarized judgments about others. Highly identified members of superior groups take for granted the legitimacy of overestimating their own group and devaluating the inferior outgroup. Future research needs to clarify in which conditions superior groups activate discriminatory processes against inferior outgroups and, on the other hand, in which circumstances groups differing in status are able and willing to establish and maintain a mutually accepting co-existence.

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APPENDIX A: IDENTIFICATION SCALE

1. My peer-group is very important to me (Considero il mio gruppo molto importante per me)
 2. I identify with my peer-group (Mi identifico con il mio gruppo)
 3. I feel close to my peer-group (Sento un forte legame con il mio gruppo)
 4. I am happy to have my peer-group (Sono contento di appartenere al mio gruppo)
 5. I consider myself a member of my peer-group (Mi sento un vero membro del mio gruppo)
 6. My group has the same interests as I have (I membri del mio gruppo hanno i miei stessi interessi)
 7. My life values correspond to the values of my group (I miei valori della vita corrispondono a quelli del gruppo)
 8. I consider myself to be similar to my group (Mi considero simile ai membri del mio gruppo)
 9. My problems are also the problems of my group (I miei problemi sono anche quelli del mio gruppo)
 10. My group accepts me as I am (I membri del mio gruppo mi accettano così come sono)
- (Answers: 1 = completely disagree to 5 = completely agree)

APPENDIX B: SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL OF 32 BIPOLAR ADJECTIVE SCALES (16 PA-TEST, BRANDSTÄTTER, 1988)

How do you perceive yourself?
How do you perceive your peer-group?

How do you perceive a group of peers which ... (use drugs, are committing delinquent acts, are engaged in political activities, are committed to music or theatre)?

1. Solitary-social (solitario-socievole)
 2. Slow witted-quick witted (lento nel pensare-veloce nel pensare)
 3. Emotionally labile-emotionally stable (emotivamente labile-emotivamente stabile)
 4. Prepared to adapt-obstinate (disposto ad adattarmi-ostinato)
 5. Calm-vivacious (calmo-vivace)
 6. Thoughtless-consciousness (spensierato-coscientioso)
 7. Timid-bold (timido-disinvolto)
 8. Insensitive-sensitive (insensibile-sensibile)
 9. Credulous-sceptical (credulo-scettico)
 10. Realist-dreamer (realista-sognatore)
 11. Frank-diplomatic (schietto-diplomatico)
 12. Satisfied with myself-doubts about myself (soddisfatto di me-in dubbio con me stesso)
 13. Habitual-open to changes (abitudinario-aperto ai cambiamenti)
 14. Needing support-independent (bisogno d'appoggio-indipendente)
 15. Undisciplined-disciplined (indisciplinato-disciplinato)
 16. In balance-irritable (equilibrato-irritabile)
 17. Tight-relaxed (teso-rilassato)
 18. Innovative-conservative (innovatore-conservatore)
 19. Used to thinking-not used to thinking (abituato a pensare-disabituato a pensare)
 20. Delicate-rough (delicato-rozzo)
 21. Anxious-quiet (ansioso-tranquillo)
 22. Prone to fantasy-pragmatic (pieno di fantasia-pragmatico)
 23. Dominant-submissive (dominante-sottomesso)
 24. Warm-reserved (caloroso-riservato)
 25. Holding fast to principles-easy going (fedele ai principi-vivo a cuor leggero)
 26. Selective-tolerant (selettivo-tollerante)
 27. Inverted-extroverted (introverso-estroverso)
 28. Prudent-spontaneous (prudente-spontaneo)
 29. Controlled-excitable (controllato-volubile)
 30. Self assured-insecure (sicuro di me-insicuro)
 31. Emotionally strong-emotionally fragile (emotivamente forte-emotivamente debole)
 32. Liking adventures-liking tranquility (amante dell'avventura-amante della tranquillità)
- (Response scales from 1 to 9)

APPENDIX C: ITEMS TO ASSESS SUPERIORITY VERSUS INFERIORITY OF ONE'S OWN PEER-GROUP RELATIVE TO A SPECIFIC OUTGROUP

Relative to ... (a group of peers using drugs, committing delinquent acts, being engaged in political activities, being committed to music or theatre) how do you perceive your peer-group?

1. More arid—more fertile (più arido—più fertile)
 2. To avoid—to approach (da evitare—da avvicinare)
 3. More constructive—more destructive (più costruttivo—più distruttivo)
 4. More damaging—more beneficial (più dannoso—più benefico)
 5. To associate with—not to associate with (da frequentare—da non frequentare)
 6. Less commendable—more commendable (meno raccomandabile—più raccomandabile)
 7. Worse—better (peggiore—migliore)
 8. More important—less important (più importante—meno importante)
 9. Socially approved—socially disapproved (socialmente approvato—socialmente disapprovato)
 10. More useful—less useful (più utile—meno utile)
- (Response scales from 1 to 5).

APPENDIX D: SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL OF 32 BIPOLAR ADJECTIVE SCALES (PEABODY, 1985)

How do you perceive yourself?

How do you perceive your peer-group?

How do you perceive a group of peers which . . . (use drugs, are committing delinquent acts, are engaged in political activities, are committed to music or theatre)?

1. Thrifty—extravagant (parsimonioso—prodigo) (—)
2. Stingy—generous (avaro—generoso) (+)
3. Self-controlled—impulsive (autocontrollato—impulsivo) (—)
4. Inhibited—spontaneous (inibito—spontaneo) (+)
5. Serious—frivolous (serio—frivolo) (—)
6. Grim—jolly (cupo—allegro) (+)
7. Sceptical—gullible (critico—credulone) (—)
8. Distrustful—trusting (diffidente—fiducioso) (+)
9. Firm—lax (fermo—cedevole) (—)
10. Severe—lenient (rigoroso—indulgente) (+)
11. Persistent—vacillating (persistente—incostante) (—)
12. Inflexible—flexible (rigido—flessibile) (+)
13. Selective—undiscriminating (selettivo—facilone) (—)
14. Choosy—broad-minded (pignolo—di larghe vedute) (+)
15. Cautious—rash (prudente—avventato) (—)
16. Timid—bold (timoroso—intrepido) (+)
17. Calm—agitated (calmo—agitato) (—)
18. Inactive—active (inattivo—attivo) (+)
19. Peaceful—aggressive (pacifico—aggressivo) (—)
20. Passive—forceful (passivo—energico) (+)
21. Modest—conceited (modesto—presuntuoso) (—)
22. Unassured—self-confident (insicuro—sicuro) (+)
23. Cooperative—uncooperative (dotato di spirito di cooperazione—privo di spirito di cooperazione) (—)
24. Conforming—independent (conformista—indipendente) (+)

25. Tactful—tactless (discreto—privo di tatto) (—)
26. Devious—frank (subdolo—franco) (+)
27. Practical—impractical (pratico—privo di senso pratico) (—)
28. Opportunistic—idealistic (opportunistica—idealista) (+)
29. Admirable—deplorable (ammirevole—spregevole) (—)
30. Not likeable—likeable (simpatico—antipatico) (+)
31. Hard-working—lazy (laborioso—pigro) (—)
32. Intelligent—stupid (intelligente—stupido) (—)

(Response scales from -3 to +3; Signs in parentheses indicate evaluative direction + . . . high values indicate positive evaluation, - . . . low values indicate positive evaluation).