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Social Mutualism as the Psychology of Alter-cultural Praxis

Fouad Bou Zeineddine

University of Connecticut, zeineddine87@gmail.com

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Social Mutualism as the Psychology of Alter-cultural Praxis

Fouad Bou Zeineddine, PhD

University of Connecticut, 2015

Drawing from various social scientific literatures, this dissertation focuses on a set of activist communities I term alter-cultures. These groups are communities of practice whose aims and principles coincide in: a) rejecting for themselves (but not for others) significant aspects of dominant cultures and systems of living detrimental to a commons, and b) constructing manifest beneficial alternatives to these systems. Through qualitative and quantitative analyses and comparisons of the rhetoric, relational configurations, and behavioral approaches of different activist groups, I show that alter-cultures are organized to transcend traditional social identity boundaries, and adopt a unique relational model of social interaction (termed social mutualism) that is communal and care-based but neither exclusive nor localized. Social psychologically, I show that these communities are focused on the positive, are systematic, deliberative, holistic, and engaged in commons care for the benefit of themselves, others, and a commons. In contrast, more typical counter-dominant groups and activists are more focused on the negative, on agents, and are more emotional, and adversarial in their approaches to and psychology of collective action.

Social Mutualism as the Psychology of Alter-cultural Praxis

Fouad Bou Zeineddine

B.A., Clark University, [2009]

M.A., Clark University, [2010]

M.A., University of Connecticut, [2013]

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APPROVAL PAGE

Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation

Social Mutualism as the Psychology of Alter-cultural Praxis

Presented by

Fouad Bou Zeineddine, B.A., M.A., M.A.

Major Advisor _____
Felicia Pratto

Associate Advisor _____
Colin W. Leach

Associate Advisor _____
Adam Sheya

University of Connecticut
[2015]

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Chapter 1

The past decade has been marked by a diversification and proliferation of activist ideologies, movements, and social practices. Historically, there have been similar periods of radical cultural exploration, such as the rise of revolutionary and/or utopian ways of thinking and living (for examples, see Boggs, 1977; Stites, 1989). In both contemporary and historical cases, such experimentation in modes of living and working represents 'prefigurative politics' (Boggs, 1977).

Research on prefigurative politics emerged in the 1970's from scholars of revolutionary, counter-cultural, and feminist movements, and addressed the unique and radical changes represented in the combination of creativity and counter-dominant thought and practice that these movements represented. In an age of growing populations, centralization, homogenization, production, and global communication and travel, it is perhaps natural that scholars came to focus on the counter-current, small-scale, and communal nature of prefigurative groups in the 1970's.

Contemporary examples such as the open-source/open-access and permaculture movements underlines how prefigurative politics remain relevant today, and how diverse the menu of collective action means and goals has become. They also show how prefigurative politics go beyond the small-scale, communal, competitively oriented counter-dominant groups that have typically been the focus in the study of prefigurative movements. I argue that prefigurative groups today also include large cosmopolitan movements and groups I call "alter-cultures," which espouse and practice principles associated with a distinct social psychological basis for intergroup relations and collective action I call "social mutualism." In this dissertation, I aim to provide preliminary evidence for this argument through qualitative

and quantitative analyses and comparisons of the rhetoric, relational configurations, and behavioral approaches of diverse activist groups.

Social mutualism and alter-cultures

Mutualism is a term I have borrowed from evolutionary ecology (for a review, see Bronstein, 1994). In that discipline, it describes mutually beneficial symbiotic relationships between species. Commensalism is another symbiotic variant in which one species benefits, while the other experiences no loss or harm. Together these relational models are termed “symbiotic facilitation.” The facilitation symbiotic model, as its name suggests, tends to have positive emergent effects on the local ecology.

In the context of this research, I define social mutualism as a social-relational model of indirect facilitation. In such a relational model, one individual or group relates with the world through perceptions, beliefs, practices, and modes of living that simultaneously benefit *both* the group *and* the local and a commons. This relational model does *not* require any *direct* benefit or harm to other agents in the commons or reciprocation by such agents. The benefit to the commons indirectly benefits other people in it, while directly benefiting the agent group or individual. In this sense, social mutualism cannot be described as any form of competition, or even as (commensal or reciprocal) altruism. Cooperation is not adequate to describe alter-cultures and their practices either. To take an example from nature, vine orchids do not directly harm or benefit their host trees; and the host tree species does not always form an active and ongoing symbiosis with the orchid species. Nonetheless, in attracting other organisms to the vicinity (increasing biodiversity), orchids thrive themselves, and improve overall microbiome health, benefiting the trees indirectly in a variety of ways (e.g., increasing the fertility of the earth around the trees).

Alter-cultures operate in a similar way. They choose to directly satisfy collective needs through such a means as to diversify and enrich a local, and less directly, a wider commons. Simultaneously, alter-cultures teach and model this approach for others, both as means of self-empowerment for these others, as human/social capital for themselves, and through tangible evidence of commons benefits, as a broader public good. Thus, whether the decision is conscious or a natural concomitant of selected tactics within the mutualist strategy, alter-cultures implicitly or explicitly reject competition over the shape of the top levels of social hierarchies and systems as a means of need-fulfillment.

Let us take as a case the open-source/open-access movement. Here is a community of communities, scattered throughout the four corners of the world, of people who object to the global issue of the commercialization and politicization of intellectual property, but not necessarily opposed to the notion of intellectual property itself. For many who were shut out of information/technological advances due to material, political, or cultural constraints, there was no realistic and effective way of challenging the established system and achieving short-term payoffs. So, online communities leveraged the power they had – not force, social influence over wider societies and policy-makers, descriptive norms, or money - but the knowledge pool, injunctive normative influence, and social power inherent in a large, diverse, collaborating network of communities, working in ways that are mutually beneficial to them and to the wider society. Collaborations between governmental and non-governmental programmers, developers, designers, academics, citizen activists, and a multitude of others across the world produced such tools as Firefox, R, and Tor, to name a few familiar products. Rather than attempting to reform, defeat, or replace globalized capitalist culture and praxis, this movement has simply provided an alternative within a niche of its own construction. Thus, the term “alter-culture”.

The movement is leading to wider adoption of open-source and creative commons principles and concrete code by such varied groups as academic publishers, non-profits, artistic collaboratives, and others, simply by providing more accessible, often equally good or better, alternatives and complements to commercial products. Even for-profit corporations have come to use open-source material in their products. What started as a means to provide tools for the online communities that needed them is now one of the staples of the online world, and a force for change in its own right in the offline world. These kinds of commons benefits are rare and difficult to achieve in competitions. To stretch the ecological analogy a bit further, such mutualist collective action provides refuge from competition, deprivation, and predation (exploitation), while increasing overall resource availability. Diversification does not only occur at the level of the products, but at the level of consumption, granting access to tools and information to large numbers of hitherto deprived people in deprived societies. Such bottom-up collaborative practices accelerate the diffusion and penetrance of innovations both directly, and by improving competition. The latter, while counter-intuitive, becomes clear when we see that such practices grow and diversify the ‘markets’ for such innovation (EEA, 2010).

Social change, collective action, and intergroup relations

Given the conceptual definitions, analysis, and examples given so far, alter-cultures’ characteristic of social mutualism as a relational model of collective action suggests several ways in which the social psychology of collective action and societal change is not addressed by the established views in the literature. In the domain of social change and collective action goals, a review by Sweetman *et al.* (2013) admits that there is currently no description in social psychological research of a “goal where one perceives an alternative system aimed at increasing the social value of a broad range of groups within the society, while also perceiving the ability of the group to increase its social value within the present system”.

Similarly, Sweetman et al. (2013) state that it is not clear how current models could “account for actions that might result when one fundamentally rejects societal and broader (e.g., international) authorities and institutions as plausible ways of improving (i.e., increasing positive and/or decreasing negative) social value, and when one can imagine alternatives to these very societal institutions and systems that one is meant to appeal to for amelioration.” Examining social mutualism in alter-cultural praxis, and its impact on people’s psychological and material empowerment, may well fill in these gaps.

Social psychological theorizing abounds regarding intergroup competition. It covers competition over scarce or limited resources (realistic group conflict theory; e.g., Campbell, 1965), over belonging and status (social identity theory; e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1979), over resource and power distributions and group hierarchy positions more broadly (e.g., social dominance, relative deprivation theories), and over relational and interactional structures and interaction (self-determination, interdependence, social influence, and justice theories). Of course, none of these goals of the presumed competitions is independent of the others, but are nonetheless are often studied independently or with strong emphasis on one over the others (Pratto, Pearson, Lee, & Saguy, 2008). For all these competition approaches, the intergroup problem is fundamentally distributive (who is getting what from whom), even if what is being distributed is relational, not material (i.e., fair treatment). These approaches also often assume self-serving group goals to the exclusion of others in motivation (i.e. the fundamental problem of democracy with minorities). This kind of politics has been linked to the dominance of liberal systems of thought and economy and governance (Weiss, 1998).

But exclusive self-serving, hierarchical, and distributive-oriented systems of social organization and approaches to collective action are not historically or potentially the full range of human social organization (Pratto, Stewart, & Bou Zeineddine, 2013). The only social psychological theory to explicitly acknowledge and deal with such a relational-

organizational assumption or boundary is social dominance theory (SDT), which assumes its precepts hold for surplus-producing hierarchical systems only (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

However, while acknowledging and theorizing this boundary, SDT does not move further to the inevitable question of what structural and psychological characteristics collective action can have in systems that are not organized in this way or for people and groups that defect in perception, belief, and action from the structures of these systems and the socialization these can foster.

Rarely in this range of research is it assumed or proposed that parties to intergroup contexts can and do in various instances reject hierarchical, demagogical, and capitalist structures, avoid the internalization of these structures and the ideologies and norms that support them, and thus reject the us-them dualisms, the majority-minority, equality-diversity, and other tensions these approaches often invoke (e.g., Bou Zeineddine & Pratto, 2014; Lind & Tyler, 1988). Similarly, there is little understanding of what it means psychologically to *live* rather than *do* collective action. Beginning that discussion is one of the aims of this work on social mutualism and alter-cultures.

The social identity and integrated moral convictions models of collective action (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008, 2012), and models describing preference for normative, non-normative, and extreme collective action (Tausch et al., 2011), imply that perceptions of disadvantage, discrimination, and unfair treatment are necessarily inductive of adversarial attributions (ally-enemy cognitions) and appraisals of adversaries' actions (e.g., treatment of others). Research shows that these mediating attributions and appraisals are most likely to initiate an emotion-based rather than instrumental-efficacy based pathway to collective action (van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). Such perceptions of shared grievance among a group and the ensuing collective action or frustration of such action are seen to demarcate group boundaries more clearly in a closed feedback system, which results in further

emotional involvement and action (e.g., van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012). This process of politicization of social identity and/or its self-relevance and the emotional (anger-based) path to collective action, presuppose that shared grievance leads to increased group boundary salience and activation and increased outgroup blame. And since coalitional dynamics in democratic or pseudo-democratic systems necessitate the entanglement of broader segments of society or a society as a whole in the intergroup tension, these dynamics then re-demarcate these group boundaries and activate them in contention at a larger scale (e.g., Simon & Klandermans, 2001; van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012). Such processes of politicization, boundary activation, or structural escalation (Rubin, Pruitt, & Kim, 1994) can engage and entangle subaltern groups with hierarchical elites or structure (vertical politicization, e.g., resistance against colonial rule), with societal norms and majority cultures (horizontal politicization, e.g., the counterculture movement in the U.S. 1960's era), or with both. This competitive polarization is in some cases unnecessary, inefficient, inefficacious, or even counter-productive to some goals, and often absent in collective action, as the example of the open-source movement shows.

Imagine for a moment if the software industry had faced a large-scale movement demanding wider access to proprietary technologies, including lower costs, wider global distribution, and limited sharing rights. Such a movement has in the past hit the music and e-book industries (e.g., Amazon; WIRED magazine, 2009). The result? Lower costs, wider access, and limited sharing rights. But these outcomes still privilege some over others. A major difference between alter-cultural and other approaches to collective action lies in seeing issues in terms of commons and the systems that manage and control them, holistically, as opposed to seeing them within group and issue boundaries, and designing problem-solving strategies and adopting coping mechanisms that are both creative and directly participative. They create a new system separate from or nested within the old. One

final question concerning the implications of social mutualism and alter-cultures for societal change – is it not possible to consider the diversification of a society to be as, or more, radical a societal change as the attenuation or replacement of a dominant hierarchical structure and its systems within that society?

The social psychology of alter-cultural praxis

Alter-cultures' members' social identification should be both communitarian and cosmopolitan – an “omni-cultural” identity (Moghaddam, 2009). Commoning, as Bollier (2014) calls it, often ensures that this is the case. The mutualist relational model is centered on one of various social-natural commons, on the inter-connections between that level and community and locale. This integrated way of self-categorization spans a sociopolitical tension that has been growing globally, given the simultaneous trends towards globalization and localism (Zürn, 2014). And it is quite different from an identification wrapped up in binaries, based on inclusion/exclusion boundaries.

Among alter-cultures, the tendency should be to attend to and identify with holistic ecologies and commons, often going beyond even identification with all humanity (McFarland, Webb, & Brown, 2012), to include the natural world. With a mutualist relational stance, there should be no outgroup, strictly speaking, as far as praxis is concerned. By implication, in such groups, people's attributions of who has responsibility for problem resolution should inhere foremost on themselves as individuals, in the care of a commons, and in others who voluntarily share in that common responsibility. That is, solution responsibility attributions should be largely internal to alter-culture practitioners.

Causal attributions should tend to be holistic as well, shying away from targeting specific agents and structures in favor of recognizing systems not beneficial to commons, constructing more beneficial alternatives, and holding oneself responsible for participating in

those systems when those alternatives are available. Put in referent cognitions theory (RCT) terms, blame is less necessary when goals are seen as possible to meet without reliance on others' actions. RCT theorists have generally focused on the converse of this effect, finding greater concern with injustice and external blame when people had an external causal referent to a bad distributive outcome (Cropanzano & Folger, 1989). It is theoretically consistent, however, to claim that people would display lower concern with injustice and external blame for bad outcomes from other-reliant processes, when the alternative set available to them includes acceptable outcomes not reliant on those others. This is what I theorize may occur in alter-cultural groups experiencing self-sufficient, successful outcome control and commons care, despite the presence of external "spoiler" systems and agents. The alternative set available may be sufficient to suppress primary (defensive) coping responses (Kalisch, Müller, & Tüscher, 2014). Inversely, an apparent and chronic inability to control external agents and systems to which disadvantages or commons issues are attributed (e.g., unemployment, attributed to globalization, multi-national corporations), may induce people to search for alternatives that then provide the necessary control and outcomes (e.g., cooperative ventures). Both processes may occur in a dynamic feedback process.

For example, ultimately, globalized capitalist practices are responsible for egregious waste (e.g., plastic bottles), but I am responsible for the waste I produce in participating in those practices if I have a better alternative (e.g., in buying and trashing them when recycling or upcycling alternatives are possible). Others may actually both benefit from these practices and have (or know of) no alternative. And in any case, demanding stopping the use of water bottles has been patently unsuccessful, and is likely to be as long as giant corporations have the power they do and the consumerist culture is environmentally unfriendly. But I know some folks who know what to do with plastic waste, specifically bottles. So, an alter-cultural solution to this example problem is to stop buying water bottles, and, consulting and working

with others who have the necessary skills and inclinations, use all my neighbors' plastic bottles for gardening, art, fluid storage, solar lighting, etc. I could share how and why I do so with anyone who is interested. Taking it further, I could start a cooperative arrangement offering to pick up a town's waste and making use of its upcycling (e.g., UberRecycling in Beirut, Lebanon; Pedal People in Northampton, MA, USA). Not only have I reduced waste, I have provided a service or practice that has enriched my microecology and served my personal well-being, while to some small degree immediately and unequivocally alleviated a global commons issue. Further, I have not assumed I understand everybody else's needs and capabilities in demanding the practice end. And I have begun practicing a manifestly practical alternative in a way that offers that alternative to others. In connecting with a larger community (e.g., online), and collaborating with others, I can take this approach as far as I am inclined to go. Such a process was indeed behind recent efforts to make use of water bottles as lighting in shantytowns in the Philippines (Permaculture Research Institute, 2014). The more successful the approach becomes in one domain, the more likely I am to apply it to another and to enthusiastically demonstrate and share it with others (e.g., food waste, then food production, then energy production, etc.). Alter-culturalists can in this way have global footprints. And rather than be concerned about those footprints, as environmentalists often are, as one alter-cultural practitioner said in an interview: "I *want* my footprints everywhere - my feet are green, not radioactive" (emphasis in original).

Approach coping in many collective action contexts, is driven by a primary appraisal of collective self-relevance, and leading to external blame, as outlined in van Zomeren, Leach, and Spears (2012). Such primary appraisal is often group-centered, zero-sum, and exclusive. Or at least, such appraisals may not be mutually shared with the adversary or often even with bystander and other un-engaged groups. The attributional profile in such collective action can be seen as constituting specifically a "medical" coping orientation (Brickman et

al., 1982). That is, the model assumes that both causal and solution responsibility attributions are external. While this often the case, as the abundant evidence shows, and appropriately so, this may not *always* be the case.

Primary appraisals of collective self-relevance of most sociopolitical problems should be inclusive and a matter of course for alter-cultures, given the emphasis on holistic and systemic inter-connection brought about by commons cognitions such as win-win and lose-lose appraisals. The secondary appraisal of blame should be short-circuited by the mutualist relational orientation, through commons and systems attributions and a salient alternative set, rather than external adversarial attributions. I argue that, instead of a medical coping orientation, alter-culture practitioners employ a hybrid moral/compensatory coping orientation (Brickman et al., 1982), wherein causal responsibility attributions are both external and internal, and solution responsibility attributions are internal. The specific coping response should be of resource-building, reflecting a positive appraisal and coping style, as opposed to a negative appraisal style and coping responses such as defensiveness or fight or flight (Kalisch et al., 2014).

I hypothesize then that the instrumental-efficacy based half of the dynamic system of collective action psychology proposed by Van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears (2012) will be more relevant to alter-cultural groups than the emotional (anger) path. Other emotional paths (e.g., inspiration) may be at play, but will not be explored in this work. Efficacy in alter-cultures, moreover, will not be precisely the sort of group efficacy utilized by collective action models. This is because there should be very little distinction between individual and group efficacy, given the extent of inter-reliance and mutual aid that these groups depend on.

Indeed, I expect alter-cultures to display the hallmarks of “learned hopefulness” (Maton, 1987; Rappaport, 1987; Zimmerman, 1990). I have argued that resource-building,

affordance, deliberation, and the sharing of commons care and its surpluses should be dominant in groups sharing a social mutualist relational orientation. These elements are not deficit-oriented or dependent on others. Therefore, they should increase perceived control. Moreover, as control increases, the orientation towards action that is collectively self-determined and self-sufficient should become more pronounced among alter-cultures. Alter-cultural action offers opportunities to benefit from reciprocal helping, and provides settings for developing social support and a sense of community. Rather than building community around localized, hereditary, or ideological identities, however, alter-cultures build dispersed communities of practice around humanitarian, ecological, or other superordinate ways of being addressing commons and mutual benefit.

Alter-cultural praxis, then, should change the focus of causal attributions from the causes of uncontrolled or failed actions and systems, to causal attributions of successful control (Zimmerman, 1990). Given alter-cultures' theorized high levels of attention to affordances and their participatory and voluntary approaches to both individual and collective need-fulfillment, these groups are theorized to experience a positive feedback cycle of psychological empowerment in certain contexts (see Figure 1.1). This has subsequent effects that should be apparent in levels of perceived affordance, efficacy, control, and positive emotions. As I argued, this will also have dynamic impacts on causal attributions and justice appraisals.

Learned Hopefulness Model

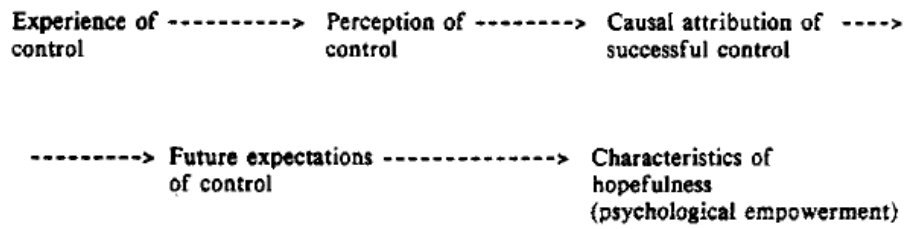


Figure 1.1. Zimmerman's (1990) model of individual learned hopefulness, hypothesized to be applicable to alter-cultural praxis.

The remainder of the dissertation presents three studies to support these arguments, and suggest further ways to explore this under-explored space in social and political psychology.

Chapter 2

Mutualism in Permaculture and Baha'i Activist Networks' Discourses

Acknowledgments

I wish to gratefully acknowledge EcoVillage Lebanon, Atila, Marisa, Rita, Joey, and Mark for all the help with every step of this study. I also wish to thank all the participants in this study for the interest and engagement they showed and for teaching me so much.

There is very little work to rely on in deciding how to approach the study of social mutualism in collective action. Therefore, it seemed most appropriate to begin, at least, more inductively than is the tendency in social psychology. Therefore, I chose to examine my claims about how the psychology of social mutualism might operate among people exemplifying established alter-cultures through conducting exploratory qualitative interviews with alter-cultural activists concerning their lives and work.

Study 2.1

Given the theoretical framework, I decided to design the interview to be semi-structured, aiming to emphasize aspects that I already suspected would be relevant to such research. Therefore, the interview schedule aims to characterize alter-cultural activists' ideologies, intragroup and intergroup relations, responsibility attributions, perceptions of affordance, constraint, and control, the process of engagement with activism, and motivations and preferences in mode, means, and goals of action.

In particular, I wanted to interrogate the role that these activists' alternative set of solutions played in their appraisals of people and systems outside their groups, particularly their thoughts on justice and any causal attributions and blame they might engage in. I also wanted to explore these activists' appraisals of their own and others' actions outside their groups, in response to the major issues these groups address. In order to avoid conflating the mutualist approach with the main problem of interest to the activist group), I conducted interviews with two candidate alter-cultures that are very different on this dimension.

Method

Group Selection

The two groups selected will be:

- a) an internet-connected (sub)network of international permaculture movement activists from a variety of countries,
- b) and Baha'i community activists conducting a youth empowerment program in a major Northeastern U.S. city.

These groups were selected because they show prominence of mutualist concepts in their central documents or self-definitions (see Mollison & Holmgren, 1981; Baha'i .org). But they have very different primary issues of concern and practices (environmental/agricultural versus theological/community development). Permaculture in principle, according to these top-line public self-definitions and the conceptual definition of social mutualism, uses the mutualist relational model across a much wider span of life domains than the other two, and therefore best fits the definition of an alter-culture. Baha'i community activists according to top-line self-definitions tend to be mutualist in certain domains (e.g., community involvement), but not others (e.g., economic activity).

Measures

The full interview schedule can be found in Appendix 2. The average length of time participants took to complete the interview was 100 minutes. These interviews were conducted in English, over the course of a year (2014-2015). They were conducted online, without video, over Skype ©, Google Talk ©, or over the phone. Participants selected their own time and place for conducting the interview.

Questions on the interview script included items that asked about the participant's identification and relevance of the group for their identity, the emotional tone associated with their involvement in the group, their motivations for joining the group and the circumstances under which this occurred, the efficacy, morality, and purpose of actions taken by group and group members, explicit comparisons of different types of solutions and actions that could be used regarding their specific issue of interest, responsibility attributions for problems or obstacles in achieving success in their activism, their understandings of justice, their descriptions of the main affordances important and/or available to their networks, their perceptions and attitudes towards the degree of competitiveness and opposition within the group and between the group and others, and the participant's thoughts on the public regard of their group and the relevance and importance of public regard to the participant and the group. I will not report question-by-question analyses in the study. Because this was a semi-structured interview, participants had the option to, and did, interweave many different answers to different questions within each question prompt. Furthermore, some of the questions were simply too tangential to the theoretical framework, or too extensive to report on here. Moreover, the material not discussed here did not contradict the findings here reported. Indeed, some of it supported my theoretical framework and the findings reported here (e.g., power forms relevant to the group – predominantly social and informational). The interview transcripts are available in full upon request.

Recruitment

For each group, I approached an initial contact for an interview, then arranged further interviews from referrals from that origin. In this way I was not only able to obtain participants, but to feel out the working social network for each set of activists, and note the tightness of the network and its inclusivity by my ability to obtain and make appointments based on referrals. See Appendix 2A for a depiction of the network structures and transitivity

achieved for each activist network. Where more than one degree of separation from the initial person of contact is depicted as interviewed, that indicates a referral from a referral.

Participants

Six adult permaculture activists and five Baha'i community activists were interviewed. One Baha'i activist's interview was dropped from analysis due to the participant having only very recently joined in and being unable to speak to the service program that constituted the main part of the discussions with the other four Baha'i activists.

The participants in each of the networks were similarly diverse in gender (5 female, 6 male), (secondary) occupation (3 graduate students, 1 carpenter, 1 tour guide/groundskeeper, 3 NGO/faith organization employees, 3 NGO founders), and socioeconomic background (2 recently upper middle class individuals, 5 middle class individuals, 4 working class individuals). The Baha'i participants were relatively homogeneous in terms of age, consisting entirely of emerging or young adults (23-30 years old). The permaculture network was diverse in age (23-57 years).

The participants were diverse in terms of national origin or residence (Canada, Lebanon, Australia, U.S.A., Turkey, Iran), although the permaculture activists were mostly Lebanese, and the Baha'i activists mostly U.S. in terms of origin. The predominance of Lebanese and American-origin and resident participants was due to more direct access to those populations for the researcher.

Analysis

Critical discourse analysis was selected as the overall approach to this qualitative analysis because it is well-suited for the constitutive, problem-oriented, multi-method, multi-disciplinary approach required for exploratory work on the complex social phenomenon that is the subject of this dissertation. Specifically, CDA is optimal for my focus on ideology and

power in the dynamics of (socio)-cognitive interactional moves and strategies involved in mutualist collective action, and the social, cultural, situational and cognitive contexts around these dynamics (for a review, see Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Specifically, I employ elements of socio-cognitive analysis (SCA) and dialectical-relational analysis (DRA). Socio-cognitive analysis allows a close look at socially shared perceptual frames, or social representations, of knowledge and ideology. It situates agency as it is perceived in the events presented in the semantic content, and within the context relevant to the participant (van Dijk, 2009). Overlaying dialectical-relational analysis (DRA) facilitates the specific focus on social dominance and resistance as well as diversity in discourse, which I have argued will be distinctive in mutualist groups. Alter-cultures should have a stronger emphasis on diversity and alternatives in discourse than they do on dominance or resistance. DRA allows one to construct a rich picture of these distinctions in both structure and action-linked participant discourse (Fairclough, 2009).

In order to understand of the discourses of the participants as members of each network, and the network discourses as a whole, the analysis is conducted on the concatenation of consensual highlights of the texts provided by each network in total rather than of idiosyncrasies of individuals' texts.

Dialectical Relational Analysis

The following are the steps, adapted from Fairclough (2009) and Wodak & Meyer (2009) I undertook in the DRA of the interview transcripts, taking into account the topic, semi-rigid dialogical structure of the text, and the presence of the researcher in the discourse:

1. After having described the problem of adversarial, and more generally binary approaches to intergroup psychology and relations and to collective action

orientations in Chapter 1, I identified and differentiated discourses of the semiotic aspect of this problem and the alternative process (social mutualism).

2. I conducted a structural analysis of the context of the texts.

3. I conducted an analysis of process focusing on the participants' subjective history of engagement in the network.

4. I conducted an interdiscursivity analysis, comparing the binary and mutualist strands of discourse, specifically concerning participants' rationales for their chosen strategies of praxis.

Socio-Cognitive Analysis

The sociocognitive discourse analysis consisted of (van Dijk, 2009; Wodak & Meyer, 2009):

1. The analysis of semantic macrostructures: topics and macropropositions.
2. The analysis of local meanings, the many forms of implicit or indirect meanings (i.e., implications, presuppositions, allusions, vagueness, omissions and polarizations).
3. The analysis of 'subtle' formal structures such as: local semantic moves such as disclaimers, topic choices, repairs, hesitations.

Results

Dominant and alternative nodal discourses in collective action

"Discourse" connotes the expression of social representations concerned with sociopolitical matters (see Fairclough, 2009; van Dijk, 2009; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). More specifically, nodal discourses are discourses that subsume many other discourses (Fairclough, 2009). Generally, when scholars think about discourse(s) in sociopolitical contexts, in social

movements and collective action, the assumption is that there is an element of zero or negative sum struggle, either inherent in human “nature” or in the structures humans build. This can be thought of as outright societal conflict, competition, or persuasive influence that is aimed towards changing current practices and/or thinking, and eventually to bringing about societal consensus or a standard of practice in line with the desires of those in the “struggle” (e.g., Bernard, 1983; Ellingson, 1995).

Thus, generally the nodal discourse for social movements and collective action scholarship, and truly for many movements and sociopolitical groups, is that of binaries reaffirming hierarchical struggle. This can be construed as a binary between the Good, represented by Us and by the “victory” of Our position - separate and better - in contest with the Bad, represented by (and an effect of) Them and Theirs, and by Our “loss” (e.g., Van Dijk, 2009).

It is true that no discourse can exist without distinction or differentiation, from other discourses (Ellingson, 1995). But the claim that differentiation *must* imply processes of separation, dominance, polarization, or politicization also stems from the dominant (modern) discourse of hierarchical zero-sum social-economic-political dynamics. Either society as a whole in some way (e.g., legal, normative, etc.) accepts and adopts a (now dominant) discourse, or that discourse is lost or oppressed and suppressed (subordinated). In this view, hierarchical status, whether in terms of popular perceptions and norms, or in terms of formal societal structures and positions, is *the* indicator of the success of a discourse. Given the modern history and scope of social dominance (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), and the modern tendency to draw heuristic binary boundaries (Bollier, 2014) between self and other, person and environment, good and bad, cause and effect, this assumption is perhaps not surprising. However, an alternative, mutual, commons-based, discourse – one that is not an oppositional

binary - can be seen in some social groupings. This alternative discourse is what this analysis aims to uncover.

Note that contrary to Fairclough (2009) and others constructing or using dialectical-relational analysis, I use the term “alternative” rather than “resistant” to describe the mutualist discourse. This is precisely because the notion of “resistance,” of “counter-dominance,” is subsumed within the dominant nodal discourse of zero-sum struggle. It is the same semantic repair I employed in formulating the term alter-culture, rather than use such terms as “counter-culture,” “resistance,” or “subaltern.”

The alternative nodal (mutualist) discourse is that there can be no compartmentalization of Us and Them, Good and Bad, people and context, cause and effect. There is opportunity and *some degree* of Good for *some purposes in diversity*, for *both* Us and Them. The difference between these nodal discourses is four-fold. First, a gradient of Good rather than a hierarchical binary of Good-Bad forms the fundamental mode of evaluation. Second, Good is further qualified, inserting subjectivity, situational sensitivity, and a purpose of empowering self (individual and collective) and commons. Third, this kind of discourse does not assume that what is good for one purpose, context, individual, or group, is the same as *Good* (i.e., the morality of positions and praxis is not deontological). Fourth, and perhaps most importantly, is the unification, within differentiation, of Us and Them, Ours and Theirs. As one interviewee brokenly exclaimed in frustration at my attempt to force othering on them:

“Don’t stand up and like this and the uh just any, uh, “If I’m not with you, I am against you, I should be against you”. No. If you are not with me you are uh, like neutral, ok. That is not, I mean, like, what?! It is black, there is no gray, black and white. It doesn’t make any sense, it doesn’t work.”

This alternative nodal discourse subsumes various discourses which further qualify and create contingencies, for example, taking into account the certainty that others will not

have or act upon the same (commons) discourse. In other words, the participants' commons discourse is not naïve of the fact that acting upon such viewpoints are vulnerable to various others who might not share their beliefs.

In the following section I delineate the structural and temporal context of the networks I interviewed. I then move to show the semiotic expression of the nodal discourses and some of the discourses subsumed by them for each of the three activist networks I interviewed, through process, interdiscursive, and sociocognitive discourse analyses.

Context Models

In this section I provide additional context about the participants and the broader communities their activist networks derive from, beyond the basic information provided in the Participants section.

The permaculture movement is a global, adhocratic (flexible, adaptable and informal organization), interconnected network of self-directing cells of activism joining together (according to participants and the definition of 'activist') between a hundred thousand and a million activists. The connections between activists tend to be personal or internet-based, and whatever forms these cells share in common tend to be in the principles of the movement and the sharing of relatively objective design techniques and innovations towards sustainability and "regenerative" agricultural and more broadly self-sufficient development work. The movement had its roots in agricultural innovations that espoused leveraging and mimicking natural systems rather than introducing artificial means in farming (e.g., Fukuoka, 1985), leading to an ecologically-inspired and friendly "permanent agriculture" (King, 1911). This expanded into the broader notion of "permanent culture" including implications for social processes for sustainable ecologically-inspired design principles (Mollison, 1988). It espoused the principles of: a) care for the earth, b) care for the people, and c) fair share, or

non-accumulation of surplus capital beyond needs (subjectively defined), preferring reinvestment of surplus in care for the earth and people (Holmgren, 2002; Mollison, 1988). Furthermore, twelve design principles derived from Holmgren's (2002) work seem to be relatively consensual in the movement of which some relevant to this work are:

- a) Design from patterns to details
- b) Integrate rather than segregate
- c) Use small and slow solutions
- d) Use and value diversity
- e) Use edges and value the marginal
- f) Creatively use and respond to change
- g) Apply self-regulation and accept feedback

The movement has largely been ignored by the mainstream populations and governments of the countries it spread to, perhaps because it did not offer serious economic competition to commercial enterprises or pathways to dominant notions of socioeconomic lifestyle and status, nor did it engage with political systems. In recent years, particularly since the Great Recession, permaculture has captured more attention as a way to resilience to economic hardship, but less so as a serious sociopolitical philosophy (e.g., New York Times, 2011). Rather, permaculturists have preferred teaching workshops and other activities at the local cultural and eco-economic grass-roots local levels.

The network of permaculturists I interviewed is a relatively new addition to the movement, originating in the exposure of several of the founders of the movement's cell in Lebanon to permaculture while abroad (in Canada and the U.K., among other Western

countries). After 2010, these founders began holding workshops in Lebanon and abroad on design techniques towards more sustainable and self-sufficient practices incorporating permaculture principles in a variety of fields (e.g., waste recycling, rainwater collection, planting techniques, etc.). The founders decided to formalize their cell into an NGO (a practice which is common among permaculturists, but is not universal) named SOILS, in order to leverage grant resources. Subsequently, several of the founders left Lebanon for good, and continued their work in Canada, Mexico, Australia, the U.S., and other countries. Meanwhile, one of the founders remained in Lebanon, and together with a new core activist team, gradually began enacting permaculture principles and techniques in their own lives, and grew the NGO and the movement's impact in several areas of Lebanon. This activism crossed traditional entrenched sectarian, regional, and political boundaries. All this occurred during one of the most politically, economically, and security-turbulent times Lebanon had seen since the end of the civil war, with the majority of that period absent a functional government.

The Baha'i faith, similar to the permaculture movement, is globally dispersed, having experienced oppression-driven diasporas from their geographic origins in modern-day Iran and other areas in the Middle East (see Bahai.org). The community is one of the fastest-growing of the past century (Johnson & Grim, 2013), estimated to number between 5 and 8 million worldwide by 2013 (National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of the United States, 2013; CIA, 2010). Unlike the permaculture movement, there is a hierarchical structure, with an elected, nine-member central authority for the global community, the Universal House of Justice. Nonetheless, in line with the faith's ultimate purpose of unifying the world through respect for diversity and understanding of others (particularly their needs), the central authority practices little to no intervention in the activism of local communities, which are largely self-organized in national and local spiritual assemblies. The Universal House of

Justice provides theosophical guidance when requested, or engages in dialogue with a community when the community's practices seem out of keeping with that guidance.

One of the ways in which the faith manages theological differences is through accepting other (monotheistic) religions' prophets and messages and integrating them in a worldview of gradual revelation of God's will, with this vision of His will expanding and changing as humanity (culture) itself becomes needful and capable of accepting it. One of the tenets of the faith is to engage in no blatantly confrontational or explicit (formal) politics. Temporary adversarial actions more generally are considered relatively more acceptable, so long as they serve to rectify injustices. Polarization and the construction of more permanent adversarial binaries is to be avoided. More concretely, for example, protest against a "side" is frowned upon and considered counter-productive to the ultimate goals of unity in diversity and justice, whereas petitioning and community service are considered relatively more acceptable or actively encouraged.

The Baha'i volunteer network I interviewed is also a relatively recently established network. The service program that is the focus of the interviews, the junior youth empowerment program, is no more than a few years old. The program subgroup consists of fewer than 20 intermittently active volunteers. These largely reside and serve in a disadvantaged neighborhood with large numbers of African Americans and other minorities of a wealthy and stable U.S. New England city. The program's members tend to be young adults partly due to the perception that junior youth might be more receptive to working with people less distant in age. As mentioned previously, these adults were faith community administrators, graduate students, and NGO employees. The youth empowerment program is relatively flexible, consisting of meetings between adult facilitators and youth. The purpose is for the adults and disadvantaged youth to construct community, and to identify and apply

meaningful (as jointly understood) community service for the betterment of their neighborhood.

In the following section I analyze the process of engagement in the networks through the interview text. I begin with a summary of the process, followed by selections of text exemplifying the process for each group.

Process: How engagement in alter-cultures begins

Nodal discourses, though subsuming the other discourses of a certain grouping or individual, are not, as might intuitively be expected, necessarily the most prominent and transparent discourses in the semiosis of their producers. However, they always leave direct traces, through the *presence or absence* of certain semiotic elements in whatever aspect of social life being discussed, and are supported through indirect inference by the presence of discourses they subsume. I begin by looking at the process of getting engaged in activism as expressed by participants from the three networks in their interviews, showing the prominence of the mutualist nodal discourse and its subsumed discourses in the process descriptions, and the absence of binary discourse, including adversary, hierarchical, or exclusivity discourses.

For the permaculture activists, the process of engagement tended to begin either with a perceived predilection for or history of ecological praxis, or a lack of fulfillment in “mainstream” jobs and opportunities for service. This latter, when articulated, was not framed in terms of absolute judgement on or of opposition to the existence of the jobs or organizations – rather, it was an issue of subjective fulfillment, and the sense that that work was *part* of the problems facing the *world*. Note this spread of responsibility, indicating a non-binary causal attribution style, that the scope of problems is global in some way, and that the solution is to distance oneself from participating in this perceived problematic. This

problem-solution attributional orientation does not oppose in the deontological good-bad, hierarchical, and adversary sense. Indeed, the emphasis was largely on the positives that participants attributed to permaculture, rather than on the negatives of alternatives. This was particularly the case when what they imagined took concrete form with hands-on application, as would be the case for individuals exhibiting learned hopefulness (Zimmerman, 1990).

Such perceptions or predilections were then catalyzed by exposure to the principles or practices of exemplar permaculture practitioners in their immediate contexts. These exemplars tended to arrive at various life stages, and either before or after participants began their careers. Some participants then engaged in either informal or formal training in permaculture, after which engagement in activism tended to increase gradually, as did personal application of permaculture (prior, concurrently, or subsequently to activism). However, this gradual increase in activism and personal application was often concurrent with radical and fast-acting career decisions on the basis of the appeal of the envisioned trajectory change.

The specific aspects of permaculture that appealed to the participants varied, including various principles or practices or the overall approach (the mutualist model). Though for all, the element of personal responsibility for self and others and ecology, the sense of holistic interconnectedness and mutual benefit, in many ways similar to notion of the ethic of care (e.g., Tronto, 2005), were explicitly or implicitly important. Needs and public good(s) figured much more prominently than injustice. Discourse including anger, fear, blame, supplication, confrontation, or hierarchy (in terms of status or power), was notably absent. What the mode of appeal was to participants tended also to vary, including capturing their attention, reason, sense of efficacy, imagination, passions, or appreciation of the relational style of the activists. The latter is something one activist in particular dwelled on to great length in their interview, citing the activists' eagerness not only to share with, but to learn from, anyone.

The activists tended to emphasize (at least in this particular section where I explicitly asked about how they got involved in the network) activism and personal transformation to different degrees. All the activists admitted to both activism and personal transformation in their interviews as a whole. Here is how the permaculture activists themselves described the history of their engagement, in response to the question, "How did you get to be involved in the permaculture movement?" The symbol "xxx" in text selections from the interviews marks a point at which the recording of the interview was too inaudible to transcribe.

"I finished my degree in computer systems and then, uh, I realized I didn't want to spend all my time behind a computer. So, and then I start, um, looking at information about the many problems in the world, and then I decided that I didn't want to be a part of that, so one of my friends told me about permaculture and then I did a course, and then I went volunteering for two and a half years, and learned to teach and work".

"I myself I worked nine years at a multinational, and my background is in management. And so after nine years of working at xxx, I was very much unfulfilled and dissatisfied, was not happy. I did not feel very much fulfilled. Given that my mom was xxx I had the chance to continue my studies and get an MBA, and this is what I did by coming to xxx in 2009. So, I did my MBA at xxx. And during my MBA year I was exposed for the first time and I was very much inspired by a young professor who was talking to us about social innovation. So for the first time I started realizing that as a manager, other than simply xxx. So, after my MBA I did not do the kind of job that I xxx. So I decided to do a one year certificate in sustainability. And at the same time as part of my one year degree in sustainability, I had to do an internship and I decided to go to Africa in Mali and that was my first time ever that I came in touch with agriculture, first time I actually got an understanding. So in a way I started finding my passion. [...] When I came back my professor encouraged me. He said "Ok, you worked on this agricultural sustainability...so write a recommendation to approve. So, together we developed a social business plan that we presented at a social entrepreneurship conference. The idea was to encourage young people. We presented and we had a chance to win a grant from the xxx government and we co-founded the social xxx. And at the beginning of 2011 we went to Senegal, we implemented. And that is how I came across permaculture. It was really a way, a toolbox, in terms of how agriculture could move away from farmer-based agriculture. But then, permaculture, as I was digging into it, I started realizing, how I myself had to get the logic started. Had to be aware of our consumption habits, why we bought our things, how we bought them and so it became more of a personal transformation as well of how I was living."

"I think I always had some predisposition, let's say, to live a more environmentally conscious life and when I had the chance to live for three months with a permaculture teacher there in the UK, um, I started seeing, you know, simple stuff like the way they sorted out their garbage, the way they were planning to plan their garden, um, the way they ate, the way they thought about economy, like buying local stuff and transportation, uh, by carpooling, um, natural products they used, you know, simple daily life stuff and it xxx to broader subjects like climate change and people so when I came back I started changing little things like eating whole food, let's say, whole wheat bread and whole rice and then started sorting a little bit the garbage. Uh, so it was not a specific approach, it was, uh, it was a way of thinking of permaculturists about life, about, uh, about life in general that drew me. It was not a specific, specific subject like people who are only interested in green building or are only interested in gardening or, I was more interested in the overall approach of permaculture xxx."

"First I was a good client [of EcoVillage Lebanon] so I went a lot I was enjoying the environment with my friends etc. etc. and when I finished university I remember we had the military service to do uh and it was cancelled for everyone. I felt really that uh we have to do the service or community service, the social service even if the military was not obliged something else was uh was good for us because everything they asked us to do is not really something uh very extra, you know, out of our real duties. So I have realized after university that I really must be involved you know in the social projects. So I have asked them, they were my friends uh in these times, when I decided I was a client so I uh decided to go and work there not work really but do the service you know so I did everything. I did cooking, to service, to organizing activities, to everything. So, I passed different responsibilities and I realized that my personality has changed and I uh became able to uh do my own project; to do my own idea you know of uh a label in this world you know and it was completely different my project that they encouraged a lot you know and it is completely different so uh I kept my side in the uh village and I just uh realized what are the conditions and this is what it gave me really, you know. This is what it explained to me as any service in the uh in any kind of situation you know; it explains what are the conditions the human conditions just to have your uh personal uh fingerprints in this world you know. So uh I kept my side with them and I just have my, if you want, my reward is that I already understand what's to be responsible of something and caring."

"Since you know the government here in xxx shared like a, uh, small project with the xxx to make uh, to uh reorganize the technical school and to introduce a new, uh, a new career, a new degree which is dual system, we call it DS, dual system. And in our school in xxx, it is equipped with carpentry but uh never, they never uh opened this section so the xxx they offered to make us a xxx of this xxx to help us, to make it in shape. Because the wood, you know the woodwork, it's always uh, it doesn't die and it's a career that doesn't die, everybody needs some wood and good workers and so on. So I got involved with xxx and we started our work together. Uh, later on, xxx, we were xxx and while talking about, we're always talking about the grounds, the agriculture, the woods, how to make this and how to make that. And then we build a solar dryer. And so we dry fruits through the uh, through the solar, the sun, it works on sun, very nice project. And so we make it and everybody was interested in it. And

one time we told xxx, he's into a group, permaculture group, if they are interested in this, if you want you can come to my house where I have a meeting there and then you can introduce yourself to them and they want to, they are very interested in this dryer. They want to see and they want to know how it's working; um is it good or not. So we take it to this place and uh, the guys were there. We show them this machine and how it works and so on. And they are very interested in it and since then they ask me yes you can be with us and any time you have free time like we meet only when uh, once in a month so you can be with us. So uh I told them ok, it's possible for me because you know it's only once on a day xxx and some days only xxx month. I told them that it is possible for me and it's very close to me, not very far that I can assist so they always sent me their magazine. It's very nice and uh they have very nice people they are really, uh, doing something very nice. Yea and what they are doing how they've seen, and what they want to do, how they help people and how they...it's nice, I like them. Uh I met with them two times. This is what I could do because I have lots of work. So it's very nice."

"I filled a gap when two of the project founders announced they would not be coming to Lebanon and therefore would not be able to contribute effectively to the organization of events. I was also the most qualified person for planning and designing communication campaigns. I knew the people involved and I was familiar with the main issue (permaculture) which also plays a big part in my future plans for my personal life (moving to the village, living more sustainably and closer to nature, making difference in a rural community)."

On the other hand, the Baha'i activists all came to the youth empowerment program through their belief in its consonance with the principles of their faith. In the case of one activist, the example of the practice, and the goodness of the facilitators convinced them to convert to the faith.

The element of personal relationships is very strong among all the interviewees in their perceptions of why they became involved – either through invitations to join by friends in the Baha'i community, or by the formation of such personal affiliations/friendships through contact with the activists.

Several of the activists also cited wanting to increase the sense of community they felt for themselves and for others in the neighborhoods they lived in. Several also cited their sense of the importance and impact of the program.

Again, I draw your attention to the overwhelming emphasis on the positives of the faith and the praxis, rather than the negatives, and the assumption of the interconnectedness of the world, causally and in the benefits of selected solutions. I also point out the poignant humility on display, in willingness to learn from as well as guide others, especially given the typically subordinate position of the activists' target populations. Again, interconnectedness, mutual gain and the gain of communities, were prominent. The basis of action is need. And again, hierarchical and adversarial discourses were largely absent. Blame, injustice, and anger do not figure to any large extent.

"It's sort of like we wanted to sort of get to know a community and find out, um, what people's kind of needs and interests are and then maybe out of that we would come up with like something in common that everyone is interested in or that people need so then maybe we would come up with like an organized project based on that. [...] I was, uh, raised in a Baha'i family, so, uh, I think I always considered myself a Baha'i, but I think everyone sort of goes through a time like maybe in, you know, teenage years or something where you kind of start to question it and like wonder if you really, you know, are a Baha'i or not and I think I, you know, went through that and determined that I did believe, you know, that Baha'u'llah was the manifestation of God and that we should, you know, in that case, follow his teachings and that would lead us, you know, to the betterment of the world, um, so, yeah, that's why. "

"I got to be involved, um, because I am a Baha'i and I'm active in the Baha'i community activities in the Boston area where I live. And, um, and they invited me to be trained, um, as the facilitator of these groups and then to start a group. [...] Um, xxx commitment to, um, exploring ways that, um, neighborhoods can be empowered to take more ownership of the issues and the challenges that they face. Um, and my interest in working with this age group. So uh this is very much in line with my interests anyway. Um, so um, the more I learned about the program, I was really attracted to it and wanted to be involved. So there's that level but then there's another level which is, um, this being a program that came out of the Baha'i community in which, um, the Baha'i community around the world you can find people who are participating in it. Um, it's a movement that's aligned with my faith. So, um, you know, as a practicing Baha'i, to be invited, you know, an opportunity to also sort of practice my faith at a higher level by seeing how the principles of the Baha'i faith could um, how these spiritual principles could, um, be of benefit to people and to communities regardless of xxx, just in a very open way. [...] the second part is more of my identifying as a Baha'i and my practice of my faith, so um, given that the program is, um, it's come out of the Baha'i community, so it's inspired by Baha'i principles, um, and also the fact that it's a program that Baha'i's all around the xxx. They, like to me, I see it as a movement that, um, it's very much in line with my own

beliefs already and it's an opportunity for me to practice, um, you know, to practice being a Baha'i in that sort of more open community oriented way."

"Um, so I first started involve, started getting involved in these community building activities in xxx, so this was not where I started being involved, um, I guess, you know, it's a global project so wherever you go you can, you can do it. Um, so it was just through, um, you know friends that I got to know in that community and they were doing it and they invited me, "Hey would you like to you know xxx, would you like to take the xxx in this process and then you know I, I you know you start slowly dipping your, you know, fingers in and seeing, you know, seeing what it feels like, and you, you know, I really, um, enjoyed the process and also really thought, like that you know it was the one thing I had come across so far in terms of, um, you know social and economic and the community development process that I could really see a really, um, effective endgame. like if I, if I, it was the first thing that I came across that I thought: if this was implemented on a larger scale, this would have a lasting impact on the world in a really beneficial way" and I hadn't really thought that you know about any other program, so that is how I started first getting involved in..."

"Yeah, um, I actually became involved as part of my work, um, my first job after I had graduated from college was working with a non-profit program that worked with at-risk youth to teach them how to farm and they were partnering with the local, the high community to do this junior youth program. So I had never heard really of this program before but I was hearing about it during that job and I kind of had a brief training but it wasn't, I didn't really necessarily have like the vision that I understand about the program now. [...] Yeah, um, so it was kind of like an overlapping or like intertwined process where, you know, I was working for an organization that was also partnered with the Baha'i so I was kind of like exploring and exposed to the Baha'i community at the same time as I was learning about working with this age group, which I had never really considered before or really thought about or had experience with so it was all very new to me and I had really seen some profound transformation in the junior youth that I was working with and, um, it was really clear that the Baha'i who were there as staff were a big, big part of it. They developed really close relationships with the junior youth and so it, you know, really inspired me to want to understand more about where they were coming from and understand more about the Baha'i faith and program. So that kind of happened together. So I joined the Baha'i community formally and then, um, started my own junior youth group because the one I was doing before was more, um, as like a co-animator and I was observing more than anything else.

Note that despite these similarities between the two networks, the Baha'i activists' sense of interconnectedness and caring tended to be more anthropocentric, a reasonable difference given the main concerns of the larger movements/communities these networks represent. More interestingly, the Baha'i activists tended to be on average somewhat less

confident of the nature and extent of the impact of their activism. The reasons for this are not obvious, but it is apparent not only through explicit admissions of uncertainty and opaqueness in the processes and consequences of their seemingly more intuitive activism, but more uncontrolled language also betrayed this tendency, the Baha'i for example employing many more fillers (e.g., like, you know) and hesitations (e.g., um, uh) than did the permaculturists. One hypothesis for this difference may be that permaculture is a much more cognitively structured and concrete praxis than Baha'i activism, having come from concrete agricultural design roots, incorporating skills-based training, and modelling itself on observable analogous (ecological) processes. Baha'i activism derives instead from more abstract spiritual roots guided by a vision (prefiguration) of global human unity and love that is lacking in analogous models. Another explanation may be that while the two activist networks are of similar (young) age, the permaculture activists themselves were on average more experienced in similar activism outside (prior to) engagement in these networks.

Interdiscursivity in activist apologia of praxis strategies

I assessed the contrast in praxis strategies at the most applied, concrete level, asking: "Why do you think your group chooses to deal with its issues in the way it does? Does it consider or do other kinds of collective action – protest/petitioning/striking/boycott, etc.? Why or why not?"

Once I had put the participants in this frame, participants from both groups tended to reject *for themselves* these other (counter-dominant) tactics. Both networks of activists sometimes rejected these tactics subjectively and critiqued them on the basis of their not being "real" or "positive" actions seeing them as counter-productive to achieving positivity and unity, or merely venting mechanisms or symbolic gestures with no "real" impact. This critique was tied to these activists seeing these tactics as

- a) shifting of solution responsibility onto others without personal transformation,
- b) thinking of issues in partisan ways (othering),
- c) focusing on inefficacious and indirect attempts to fix, object to, or criticize broken systems rather than on the constructive and novel possibilities of alternative systems,
- d) and perceiving a lesser sense of return in feelings of empowerment and moral subjective reward.

Concurrently, activists from both groups sometimes found such tactics complementary and useful for others to be engaged in under certain circumstances.

Permaculture activists in particular though, did not seem to see the need for such action, especially once having engaged with the permaculture approach in practice.

The permaculture activists in their own words:

“Uh, I guess, yeah, I guess a lot of people would but I am not, uh, like personally I'm not very interested in that. I don't think it, uh, I think if I'm going to protest, if I spend that time that I was going to protest planting trees, it would make a bigger difference than protesting. [...] Well, I don't know, I, well, it's just my opinion, but I think that when people protest, they never reach the person who has to listen, so basically, you know, if somebody is protesting about somebody polluting the environment, the problem is that the owners of the company want more profit and they will never be in the street listening to these people, and I guess even if they listened they wouldn't give a shit.”

“I have to say that of course, these types of actions, more involved in these actions, because I find that typically when you are aware of the wrong-doings that are happening in society in general the first reaction you have is you want to protest you want to go down to the streets and actually here in xxx about a year and a half ago we had a huge student protest that happened over a six-month period, universities stopped and everybody was down in the streets and everything, and this contributed a lot, this kind of new awareness. But at the same time when you're very much involved in that at some point realizing that okay to do that [permaculture] is to start being involved in positive action, and when you start being involved in positive actions, one, you don't have the time anymore to be involved in that type of protest actions, and at the same time, you feel so fulfilled that you're actually gotten change it's a bit useless to go and protest because actually the best way to protest evolved in actions that are

transforming and changing things rather than simply holding a sign and going down to the streets. Which is important as well, but I guess it has to be a combination of the two. And very often people that are involved in positive action start feeling less and less the need.”

“It’s just that, I’ve been thinking about this since, uh, what, I came to the conclusion that, I feel that other people are already doing that to begin with. Second, I don’t feel that it’s really efficient, like, I’ve seen, I’ve signed around, I don’t know, four or five petitions against hunting and I don’t know, and I didn’t see anything implemented it’s becoming, uh, worse, in fact. I believe that change starts at the smallest level, which is the individual, and then the street, and then the village or the town or... So we are trying something different. We are not interested in the, uh, I don’t know, uh, just words, talking, or being in the media, or... We want to see real action happening because with permaculture, you cannot, it’s not just about hunting petitions; it’s about, uh, starting, you know, planting your first basil onto your xxx and start sorting, or doing real action, so we think that this is, uh, much more effective, especially now that with social media, people are getting more into virtual action rather than real action, and we don’t want any more of that.”

“Um, because of it’s a very um you know very much about not being scared of having a personal idea and personal ambition not really an ambition but to know really personal development of our life you know. Um so when I heard about ecovillage it was more curious to find something you know but when I came I realized I had already the spirit, the spirit was here. The spirit was really very looked like my personal um point of views and um you know and experience so I didn’t feel something different you know I just felt that have a lot of things to do um to adapt you know. From the first step I was welcomed you know cause I felt that I would look around and I just saw that everybody is you know recognizing willing of a lot of people just to have some more soul, you know and as in any other associations ours seem to be good too, you know, and finding the right causes also but um I had to adapt, I had to learn, I had my doubts about my stay and I would have a lot of things to think about you know just if I’m okay with him or him or if he is older than me, you know, it just helps you know contradictions between us etc. etc. I just realized that I preferred having something that looks like me and it’s part of my mentality you know and it looks like a lot of people also, not just only me. It’s a lot of universal thoughts maybe not universal thoughts only but also, there’s a lot of soul in the village and I prefer having you know this idea of um a new you know just not to give all the potential to something that already was and etc. just giving something to the future”

“You know, it’s because if you are here in xxx and you protest some things, that will take you like uh I don’t know, it’s my idea, it’s not the group’s idea. If you protest something because everything benefit of something else or you want to make xxx. No, it’s not, if you protest you are not doing anything unique to go forward. You are still in your place, you are still there and you are xxx [...] I’m sorry, I say if you protest something, it’s uh, xxx you didn’t make any improvements, you didn’t go forward. You protest, you protest, you speak, you speak, blah blah blah blah, you are not doing

anything, you are just giving words. But when you do some action and you make the people see the difference between what they had and what we are doing, this is a good thing. Yea if you protest you are not doing anything. But when you do action, it's uh, yea, people can see the difference in what you are doing. And no need to speak. They will speak for themselves. [...] Well, you show them the difference, they can understand it, they will see it without speaking. [...] Yea, I respond this way, you know, me, I respond this way because when I saw what they are doing I was very interested. That's why [permaculture] is a good influence. Show to the people the good influence and what they are doing, what they are trying to, and everybody knows they are. I mean maybe they don't say it but they are filled with this uh bad things. So uh, when you show them, yea I mean, they will by themselves come and the...and understand what you are doing. They will say "I will join you" because they will like it and this what we need. This what my grandparents used to do, they still have this uh, idea about the people as a family."

The Baha'is, despite their similarity to the permaculture activists in their rejection of the principle of partisanship/adversarial dynamics and associated counter-dominant actions, tended to see more circumstances under which certain forms of counter-dominant action (e.g., boycott, lobbying) would be necessary or useful. This came up specifically in discussion of Iranian persecution of the community, a circumstance and relational dynamic that permaculture activists are yet to face to the same extent. This acceptance also came up in the more pervasive discussion of justice by the Baha'is. Notably, the subject was most often raised in a positive (working towards justice) rather than negative frame (working against injustice).

The Baha'is in their own words:

"Um, we, we don't do stuff like that, um, we don't get involved with, um, partisan politics because we think that that's a big source of disunity, um, when people side, you know, with one party or another and, um, and going along with that it's I think a lot of these issues that people do protests about, um, or, you know, or petition or whatever, a lot of it is tied to a particular party so that's why we wouldn't want to get involved with a lot of that. Um, but, I don't know, there are some things that, um, it's not that we don't, you know, take a stand on anything there are some things that we would have a stance about because it's very explicit in our teachings but, um, but we also don't feel that we should be imposing all of our beliefs on everybody, um, because we have these beliefs because in the Baha'i faith we recognize that not everybody does so they have a right to believe and to do what they want to do, um, but we, I don't know. There, so we don't, we wouldn't, like, we might boycott for

example, I don't think, like, I don't really know all of that part of stuff but I think that, like, boycotting might be acceptable, um, you know, if it was, like, because usually boycotting isn't usually, like, a violent or, like, um, I don't know. So, um, but yeah we don't, we wouldn't normally go out and, like, protest or, like, stuff like that, um, but we would, like, sort of defend or champion the rights of, you know, certain groups that are being oppressed, um, but I think, well the main thing is that we focus on bringing out the good not fighting the evil. We think that fighting evil is a waste of time because evil just is the non-existence of good, so it doesn't even make sense to try to, like, fight against something. Um, but well, like, one thing that we are involved with right now is trying to, um, like, raise awareness of this situation of the Baha'i s in Iran because they're, like, heavily persecuted there. So, we, um, have sort of an organized, like, you know, campaign or whatever going on right now where we're sending, like, delegations, like, you know, just groups of Baha'i s to meet with the, you know, representatives or the congressmen, um, just to tell them about the situation of the Baha'i s in Iran, just and to encourage them to cosponsor the resolutions that are on the table right now about this. Um, and then hopefully that would, um, you know, put more pressure on the government of Iran to, um, I don't know, give the Baha'i s equal rights and not, um, just put them in jail for no reason. Um, so, stuff like that, like, we do stuff like that."

"Um, and the Baha'i teachings are, there are teachings in the Baha'i faith with regards to, like, how one should engage with political structure. Um, and it's one of the teachings of the Baha'i faith that, um, the individual should be, uh, involved in their community, um, in their government, but also be obedient to their government and so far as the laws of the country are just. So, if something is not, if there's, like, a law that's unjust, or something that a government has been doing that is unjust, um, the Baha'i approach protest very cautiously because, um, one of the teachings of the faith is that, um, progress is made, um, more quickly through unity. Um, but it's not like a black and white, like, you know, you can't all be unified with an oppressive government or like you know oppressive, um, structures in society, but, um, it's just unity is like a watch word in everything that the Baha'i community does so that um, in trying to address the issues that are in our community that are, we always need to do it in a way that brings more people into the process and doesn't alienate people. Because when groups of people are alienated and their focused on their differences, uh, we believe that it's more conducive to conflict than it is to progress so um, so there's not, like, there's no necessarily like emphasis on like on this is what service you should do, like, it's really the idea that as facilitators we would help the participants identify what they want to do. But it's really based more on like, um, like positive, like social actions that they can take. We don't really like try to have conversations about politics that much. [...] Yeah, um, I think that, um, I mean of course I, the Baha'i community is not a homogenous group of people and different Baha'is have different attitudes and beliefs about how to apply the Baha'i teachings. Um, but there are, there is, definitely like authoritative, um, scripture from within administrative institutions of the Baha'i faith that advises Baha'i's not to participate in, um... my understanding of it is in protest, uh, that is part of it. Um, that contributes to this sort of like sense of otherness. Um, so, um, for example, if there is a rally or a demonstration, um, that is promoting human rights or is raising awareness about human rights abuse, my understanding is that, um, there is nothing in the Baha'i writings that would advise you against participating in that demonstration. Um, but that is, um, if it has a tone of um, like, demonizing another group of people, um, that's not productive. Because the

end should really be like, let there be more peace, more unity, more justice. And that in xxx up the back wall, um, continuing to like create lines of division, it's not helpful for the ultimate goal. Personally, I think that it could help with like intermediary stuff potentially like it could generate a lot of, um, support and like consciousness of, um, an injustice or an abuse that's taking place. But I don't think it really helps with the long-term goal of like, changing the foundation, the basic like foundations of our society that are enabling people to oppress one another. Um, if that makes sense. Like it might address a temporary issue at that point but it's not really getting at the xxx issue."

"I mean umm first of all um I don't want to judge kind of all protests as being bad and destructive. Um so and I'm not saying that and I think there might be some kind of a you know a um certain situation where you know protesters protesting something important especially situations, cultures, you know, societies where, um, you know basic freedoms are not allowed such as you know, um, the ability to kind of reflect about certain things as a community or um so you know there might be some places where protests are warranted. I've never seen umm you know something like protests being um kind of being associated with this kind of community building approach. And I think there's a good reason for that. Um I think because the long-term vision of the program is to um really transform some of the underlying problems that are addressing symptoms. The first and foremost underlying problem with society is seen as um this [dis]unity. Um I think the more that we're fragmented, the more we kind of value ourselves or our own group or our own country above other individual groups or nations, that in itself is the process I think that leads to so many of the umm you know problems that we're seeing. You know at the really basic level, at the abstract level you know in some kind of really indirect ways. I think all of our institutions are built on the idea of self-interest, our political institutions are built on the idea of self-interest and group interest. Our legal institutions are built on the idea of self-interest. Our economic institutions are built on the idea of self-interest in a very active way it's not even kind of like a symptom or a by-product. It's kind of self-interest is believed to be the best possible thing of these you know like best facilitator of justice in these institutions. Um so wait what'd you ask about? I just drew a blank. [...] Oh yeah yeah, protest, so if this unity of pertaining my group or myself or my nation over other groups, um is the problem. Most generally, protests are geared toward getting some kind of a benefit for myself or my group. Um so by protesting, I might gain some benefits for my you know particular individual or my group but in fact when you think about kind of the long term issues, I'm only contributing to the roots of the problem. So you know true protesting I'm actually making the problem much worse. So in that sense, I don't see it as being really compatible. I mean I think the way to, um, address social problems or disagreements is to, um, I mean it's impossible to think about these as disconnected from individual development, community development, institutional development as well as altering these courses of society because um you know without having individual development you can't have people who respect each other and value each other as human beings. But imagine if everybody's viewing each other as gradually being transformed so that the primary way that I saw someone when I looked at them the first thing that I think about when I look at someone that I don't know is to potentially see the gems of investable value in them. Um okay that's what the core is. Regard man as a mind of investable value. That's really one of my favorite quotations from the xxx writing because I think if it was, I mean all these are kind of planted in

some way, if implemented truly in our perceptions and interactions with others can really transform us in a deep way. So if we were, okay, so think about some intractable issue like okay take abortion. Um if proponents of abortion came together in a certain setting, and all of their kind of conceptions or the way that they're actually brought up to think about other human beings is to see each other as gems of investable value and they've been kind of they've been trained to try to think about the best way that they can bring out those gems from each other, imagine if we put these people in a room together. You know what kind of a different, how different the conversation would look like if they were talking about some issue that they disagreed about such as abortion. As opposed to what it looks like now which is basically no conversation. I mean you know the more louder I can yell, umm you know the more that I will get my way. Um that's kind of basically what, how social disagreements are handled in our society. Um everybody watches out for the interests of their own groups, everybody's kind of confident of the perspective of their own group so the more that I can you know yell louder and do everything that I can to get my perspective out into the communities and institutions, the more that I've accomplished my goals. So I think this is very different than how we can try to think about how we can bring some kind of deeper, cultural change in the way in which how individuals can interact with each other, communities can see each other, and the way that kind of groups relate to each other. Umm so..."

"Um, part of it is because it's associated and inspired by the Baha'i faith so like the underlying principles are principles that come from the faith and the teachings of the faith so the way that the Baha'i community is trying to interact with the world is in a different way than like the current majority. So like Baha'is don't get involved in politics, um, and the community is really trying to, um, to create its own, like, new spaces rather than try to fix spaces that are maybe not working well, um, mostly because it feels like those things can move much more quickly, you know, when you create something new it can move forward, it has less limitations. But if you're working with something that maybe is not working well, it will take a lot more time to see results or to even understand what's going on, you know, or make changes. There won't be that kind of flexibility if you work with existing structures. So the Baha'is are really trying to figure out ways to build new structures for society. [...] Uh, so I mean, there's like the good old red tape that exists in a lot of, even in nonprofits, in most of the sectors that are trying to do social good that are maybe still attached to, um, like, sources of, like, maybe it's their funding that holds them back, um, or it could be like an umbrella organization that they're working under, um, or if they're attached to the government and the government has specific, um, stipulations for their program. So, like, there are, I've seen a lot more programs popping up recently for this age group or at least which include this age group, um, and a lot of them are focused on, uh, like, twenty-first century skills, um, you know, around maybe, like, working with computers or, um, that's the big one that's sticking out to me. Um, they're kind of along those lines but they have some, like, very, um, strict guidelines and it's really hard for people who are the ones, um, facilitating those programs to go outside of those guidelines, um, so... [...] Um, yeah, so a big part of that [not being involved in politics] is because, uh, the, you know, fundamental principle of the Baha'i faith is believing in the oneness of mankind, um, and that there's actually no differences between humans. They're like a construct that is made that helps us to form prejudices, which have been really, um, you know, horrible for humanity since its inception. So Baha'is see partisan politics as creating a divide between people, um, and anything that creates those divisions is kind

of strayed away from, um, and that is just one that's very obvious that if you identify with a particular political party then it means by default that you're excluding the others that don't believe in that and saying, um, you know, we have different beliefs. So Baha'is are generally trying to find a way to work with everyone and transcend those boundaries. [...] Yeah, uh, I mean, the long-cherished goal of the faith is to have universal participation in its affairs, um, and, like, it's set up so that that can happen, um, so there's, like, one of the main things that the community engages in whenever its making decisions is a consultative process and, you know, no one really is, like, an expert at this process, um, right now. It's kind of like we're babies at it. But the idea is that in a true consultation or like a consultative spirit, that everyone who's involved in the conversation, you know, if you have a group of people together, um, that it's important to hear every single person's views and that, um, that people, you know, give them dispassionately, so, um, once you share your view, it's just kind of out there, like it exists, you know, like as if it's going into a bowl, all the views go into a bowl, and you can look and see what's inside there. And, you know, the hope is that by that process, even if there's a clash, um, that the truth results because you're seeing reality from as many different viewpoints as possible. It [different approach] is of course welcome. I think the spirit of it is that when someone has a different approach, that there's something we can learn from that. So, you know, even if someone says: I think your program is complete BS and I don't think it's going to work and here's what my program does. We'd probably be like: Well that's really interesting, can you tell us a little bit more about what you do? You know, there's like really no sense in being defensive about the program because it will speak for itself so there's not really much of a need to, uh, to feel, to prove something about it. [...] Actually, that [trying to convert others] would be counterproductive."

Explicitly and implicitly, both groups were consistent in their tendency to use mutualist rather than binary/adversarial discourse in their discussion of solution strategies and tactics. With few exceptions, I found both networks emphasizing mutual good rather than social ill, and persuasion by example/demonstration of their efficacy at the production of mutual/public goods, rather than by partisan opposition and public bads. This interdiscursive pattern of emphasizing the mutualist discourse and deemphasizing or heavily qualifying the adversarial discourse, without committing themselves to opposition to its use by others as a goal, was consistent throughout their interviews. Not only was it apparent in the presence/absence/stress pattern of dominant/alternative discourses, but showed in local meanings and subtle formal structures.

For example, both permaculture and Baha'i activists, with only two exceptions, qualified my question "Are you involved in any social or political groups or movements", with some form of, "social, yes, political, no". Their interviews show that this rejection of the term political was not implying that their activism was apolitical in the broadest sense, but that the term political was itself burdened with connotations of polarization and contestation, of othering and social dysfunction, which the activists did indeed reject.

In the next section, I continue to underline this interdiscursive pattern in the sociocognitive elements of the interviews, particularly the macropropositions or theses the activists put forward, for example regarding their causal and solution responsibility attributions, the forms of power they found important to their work, or their attitudes toward competition as a relational configuration.

Sociocognitive Elements of Mutualist and Adversarial Discourses

I began this aspect of the CDA with a comparison of the two groups' macropropositions, or chosen topic statements, other than those concerning the already discussed context, process of adoption, and problem-solving alternative set. I explored these topics within the framework of eleven main thematic lines of questioning and response. These thematic lines were based in part on the questions of the interview schedule. But because of the question variations introduced by the semi-structured nature of the interview approach, and the freedom participants had to go beyond narrowly answering the questions, intertwining several themes and question topics under each formal question answer, these thematic lines did not correspond one-to-one with any specific questions, and were drawn from discursive strands that flowed through a large part of the questioning and participant responses. See Appendix 2A for a table identifying and providing text selections for the eleven topics and the networks' main propositions for each. Where relevant, I also addressed local meanings and subtle formal structures.

I expect both groups to conform to some degree to the pattern of emphasizing the nodal discourse of mutualism and deemphasizing the binary nodal discourse, with some differences in specific discourses due to context, ideology, etc.

In general, I found that the participants' discourses from both networks showed ideological and other commonalities that conformed to the mutualist nodal discourse (see Appendix 2A). In terms of membership devices, typical acts, aims, intergroup relations, and perceived strengths (ideological discourse; van Dijk, 2009), participants were inclusive. They were commons-oriented as well as self-responsible and need-oriented, and focused on the positive and the constructive, rather than the negative and adversary.

This was consistent in their notions and sense of control, interpersonal and community intragroup relationships as well. In terms of causal and solution responsibility attributions, they demonstrated a hybrid of moral and compensatory models (Brickman et al., 1982), seeing causes as both external and internal, as fundamentally systemic rather than agentic, and solution responsibility as universal but primarily internal. They proffered systemic solutions to match their systemic causal attributions, encompassing alternative culture-building. Most distinctively, throughout these interviews, is an almost complete absence of discussion of government, authority, law, or power, and the tendency to avoid or suppress social and group status-seeking and competitiveness with others. Competitiveness was seen as counter-productive or unnecessary, other than benevolent competition with the sole purpose self-improvement. Intragroup and intergroup relations discourses were nearly identical, celebrating the sharing/caring approach and eagerness to share it with those who are willing, but with little emphasis on outgroup or intragroup derogation, or on efforts to evangelize people not open to or actively seeking out such an alternative approach. The discourse was generally of nurturance, empowerment, and caring for self and others in a

systemically responsible and sustainable way. In terms of interpersonal and overall relational styles, both networks emphasized the importance of empathy, humility, and respect.

Again, I found that the permaculture activists were generally broader in their mutualism, in that they incorporated natural as well as human ecologies/commons. The Baha'i activists were more deontological and reliant on faith in their views of morality and justice, as might be expected. However, both networks stressed avoidance of binaries, hierarchicalism, and demonization.

Disconnection was the common macroproposition in the two networks' views of the main systemic characteristic they were working to construct alternatives to, in understanding and acting upon the "reality" of interconnectedness.

Permaculturists: "Try to empower people, to be autonomous and to be self-sufficient, you know, what it means to rediscover the usage of their hands and create with their hands and you know, how they can do things by themselves

[...] things are always disconnected from each other. And this is what we're trying to work on. So, long-term and holistic, uh, vision".

Baha'i: "We do a lot of service projects to sort of drive home that point of you know we're all connected in the community and you know we should be doing these good things for each other.

[Baha'i theosophy] says that we need to love everyone and be unified with everyone".

Note permaculture activists' emphasis, compared to the Baha'i, on self-reliance, of working with one's own hands (part of permaculture's approach to connection with and care of one's ecology). Baha'i instead focus on more purely human connection through community-building.

The activists either rejected or had difficulty in treating levels of construal (i.e., abstraction/concreteness, long/short term, small/large scale) as separate (binary) in both their

modes of activism and their goals. But this was particularly pronounced for the permaculturists:

“We make things simple but we have in mind a very long-term, uh, objective.

You have to start realizing that changing the world is like it will happen in very small actions, you know?”

Baha’i activists more readily saw their work as purely small-scale and long-term:

“Um, I think probably more like [small-scale] effort because, like, we know what’s going to happen, um, but we, we think it’s probably, like, you know, far in the future, like, in terms of, like, having, like, a perfect world it’s, like, way far in the future”.

An interesting thread of local meaning and subtle formal structure, running through both networks’ discourses, but particularly that of the permaculture activists’, is the framing of their own work as “real action”, and by implication, adversarial activism as not “real”:

“We want to see real action happening because with permaculture, you cannot, it’s not just about hunting petitions; it’s about, uh, starting, you know, planting your first basil onto your xxx and start sorting or doing real action”

This goes beyond the clear position these activists hold regarding the inefficacy of adversarial activism. It suggests an actualized inversion of people’s understanding of “real” and “ideal”, “practical” and “utopian”, and “radical” and “mainstream”, in sociopolitical activism. This is further supported when activists reported how they thought public sees/used to see them – as impractical idealists or backward radicals:

“But myself what I find interesting with permaculture, is that permaculture can actually give you control. That will turn these utopic ideas into something real, something that can be applied, and something that can actually demonstrate change and transformation.

[...] a movement that is not, that is yes, radical in the solutions it proposes, but it is radical in a positive sense that can bring higher quality of life, community, and is not a radical movement as is very much characterized is often characterized as a movement that wants to go back and living as cavepeople.”

In terms of the affordances these activists see as available to them as well, note how the mere fact of permaculture practice “really” occurring is seen as an affordance:

“Things are happening under the umbrella of permaculture and this serves to reinforce the concept and make it more mainstream.”

Further, some of the permaculture activists flipped intuitive notions of affordance, claiming that the seriousness of the adversity seen in the world today can itself be seen as an affordance, leading to more openness to and exploration of alternatives such as permaculture:

“The world is getting to a point that everything is becoming, you know, difficult and ugly-looking that people are just looking for something else, you know, and that’s where the sustainability movement comes in, you know?”

Both the permaculturists and the Baha’i activists cited as an affordance what can be called human capital, construed to be collaboration between diverse people with diverse skills and perspectives.

Other than negative stereotypes the public holds of their movements, both the networks cited network structural characteristics and dynamics as a constraint on their activism. These included geographic distance, lack of time, and unified perspectives and efforts. One permaculture activist also noted the fear of loss people may experience when contemplating an alternative lifestyle as a major constraint on the spread of the movement:

“[...] a lot of people want to change but they are afraid of losing what they have which is their job, their house in the expensive suburb, um, et cetera, where, you know, they feel like if they lose that, they might lose their, I don’t know, personality, their life[style].”

For both networks, the notion of justice is not rigidly defined. It is seen as subjective and context-dependent. However, justice (and morality) are not entirely relative, but have principled foundations. For the permaculture activists, these foundations are need and caring, whereas for the Baha’i activists, the doctrines of the faith.

Permaculturists: “[Fair share ...] that no one should take more than they need, and that those who need the most should have priority. On the community level, benefits should impact the larger community, not just a few individuals.

Care for people, care for the earth, and fair share.”

Baha’is: “Justice. I don’t know, like, I think it’s just maybe depends on the situation, like, I think we have a lot of teachings about, you know, what’s considered what’s right and what’s wrong, so I guess justice would probably be, um, whatever we consider to be good I guess.”

Some permaculture activists specifically pointed out that justice goes beyond human interactions, implying that the latter is how people (including the activists) generally (used to) understand justice, and rejecting that understanding as too exclusive:

“Before, I used, before, sense of justice for me was only related to human beings [...] But now it’s... I have a broader sense linked to all species rather than just human beings. But it’s not really very specific.”

Having summarized the discourses relating to the eleven interview topics selected for this work, I now describe a second study that consisted of a naturalistic experiment appended to the end of the interview schedule.

Study 2.2

The interview schedule contained, at its end, a naturalistic experiment (see Appendix 2). This consisted of providing a hypothetical social problem (unemployment) for participants to solve. This issue was relatively unrelated to the major domains the interviewed activists focused on (environmental sustainability and community). I assessed whether the same participants from the two different groups described and interviewed in Study 2.1 approached the ‘hypothetical’ problem in a manner consistent with their groups’ social-activist orientations.

I was especially interested in whether they maintained a mutualist approach, or moved to competitive, (counter)dominance, supplicant, or other models. Furthermore, this was an opportunity to confirm whether the mutualist discourse held together as a unitary set of representations, or cluster of inter-related perceptions, beliefs, motivations, and goals, or if it was more simply a tactical approach taken in the participants' activism within their networks.

Results

Three of the six permaculture activists proposed straightforwardly permaculture solutions to the hypothetical problem of unemployment. And they did so using the same mutualist nodal discourse, including the ideological, attributional, and justice sub-discourses.

For example:

“Because I think that because I have a holistic vision of things, I think that everything is related and employment is related to environment and everything. And our visions of what is being employed, not in why we need to be employed and by whom and why we cannot have a small business rather than being employed in a big company and all this stuff. Um, so but it's difficult. You cannot tell I mean a fifteen year old guy what do you tell him? Don't go to school? And then don't go to university? And then, it's really a personal conviction and individuals need to be convinced and take responsibility of their own lives and change something and then other people will lead by example. And people need to demonstrate that we don't need so much money to live. We can do other things like for example, my cousin who is with me in xxx, he's a bee keeper. And he started in electronics and he worked in a, um, company for, um, how many years? Maybe ten years, or so, maybe more. And at the end, he wasn't happy in Beirut. He left his town in Beirut, he went back to the village. But he was, I mean, the last years of his xxx, he already started doing beekeeping. And now he's a full time beekeeper and he plants and grows part of his food. Can he say he's not employed? He's very happy. He makes money from the beekeeping, he lives close to nature, he has chickens, he grows his food, and so my definition of unemployment is a little bit different [...]”.

The exceptions to this pattern included two activists who mixed permaculture with institutional (government, educational institutions) engagement in their proposed solutions.

Both displayed the hallmarks of resource-building coping. For example:

“Very often the advice I give them is why don't you transition through academia, why don't you go back to studying, because not only can it help you financially pay the basic bills, but at the same time if you want to transition to a new field [permaculture],

the best way to do it is to study, and to learn the new field, you know, and to expand your expertise.”

One activist (the most distal from the rest of the permaculture network) proposed

straightforward institutional reform, without specifying how in detail:

“Financially we have to convince a lot of institutions to um generate more money you know to give more um to people their recognition even in art”

On the other hand, the Baha’is had trouble coming up with concrete solutions for the hypothetical. Three of the four interviewees held to the principles and approach of working collaboratively and creatively with a diversity of people and treating unemployment as a community issue, but had very few details regarding what that would look like. For example:

“That’s funny, there’s actually a story in the Junior Youth box that talks about trying to find work and like the dad in the story says that the friend of his son should try and look for something to do that others are not doing like providing a service that others are not providing and also to look at his own talents and see like how those things could be matched up so like I think the development of like human potential is something that maybe is lacking in a lot of neighborhoods so there’s a lot of people with a lot of talents and skills and there’s not necessarily a corresponding job so maybe it would take some creativity of people working together to figure out what those things would be”.

In the case where the unemployment affected them personally, they chose using voice to pressure institutions for reform, and economic system-congruent approaches such as looking for jobs or having unemployment insurance. For example:

“I would look for a job. Um, I would help them look for a job. Um, I don’t know. Yeah. Um, I mean, hopefully I would be on unemployment insurance so that would hold me over for the time being, um, so that I can survive. I would probably consider moving to another place where I could get a job. I wouldn’t just be, like, sitting in the same place hoping for something to come along. I would be, like, out there looking everyone in other countries and everything. Um, I mean, I know for my case I’m really particular about what I’m interested in so I’m not just going to take any old job, you know, that comes along like I think some people would but unless, you know, I had to for survival’s sake. But I feel passionate about my career so I would, I would go pretty much anywhere to xxx. But I know people are more flexible and they could take, you know, any job and they would be fine with it, so depends on the person”.

Note that when I asked the participants who deviated from their previous approaches why they did not choose to think of a way to solve the hypothetical in a manner more consistent with a mutualist approach, and gave them examples of ways that might be more consistent (without my mentioning that that might be the case), they tended to approve of the more consistent approach. They then claimed either to not have been aware of such alternatives, to not have the (perceived) necessary personal predilections or skills, or to favor using an eclectic approach tailored to specific problems that call for such an approach. For example, when I proposed a permaculture solution to the single Baha'i activist who had not been consistent at all with the mutualist approach, they said:

“Oh, that’s cool. Yeah, I really don’t know much about that, so. [...] I mean if it resorted to that and I had no other choice I would probably get involved with it but that would not be, like, my first thought to go and, let’s just start to produce our own food and everything. That’s not, like, something that I’m interested in. I wouldn’t find it fulfilling because, like, I’m very, um, an intellectual person so I would want to be, like, intellectually stimulated, and like, I want to do research for a living and probably you too, so, I, yeah I wouldn’t find it, like, you know, stimulating or enjoyable probably but, you know, if I had to I guess I would do it.”

The same kind of challenge to an eclectic permaculture activist elicited this response:

“Um, there’s not, it’s not a choice between this and that. I think if at some point in our work, we need to I mean I can be, um, self-employed and protest at the same time. I mean, now I’m much more xxx I didn’t go, but I can go, I might go. Um if at some point we feel that we need to protest or to boycott something just to, because we think that it’s effective, we can do it and we will do it. But we don’t think that spending all our energy there, because um it’s a negative energy, would be very effective”.

Discussion

This discourse analysis of interviews of activists from two very different groups, establishes the theorized relational model in a rich and detailed manner, addressing

qualitatively what a mutualist relational model might incorporate in terms of ideology and other sociocognitive elements.

I found that these activists saw sociopolitical problems and solutions in terms of holistic commons/positive sum social interrelation, and as in many ways contextualized and subjective to their own ecologies and life histories. I found that there was a strong attentional bias towards positive rather than negative features of problem-process-solution dynamics indicative of features of learned hopefulness (Zimmerman, 1990). I found an element of egalitarian caring, a tendency towards self-determination, as well as optimism and a sense of efficacy, empowerment, and fulfilment. Delving deeper into this discourse of care, and other discourses heretofore discussed, I found that the various elements of Gilligan's (1982) ethic of care, clustered as described by Tronto (2005) can be seen as intimately connected with the mutualist discourse: a) attentiveness and b) responsiveness to others, their needs, and their contexts, as expressed by them, c) responsibility that is (at least in part) internal in locus, and d) competence in enacting responsibility. Also notable was the absence of anger and arbitrary-set group (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) identities as motivators of action or indeed in determining intergroup relations generally. As expected, many of the activists cited their very awareness and experience with the alternative ways of being and doing offered to them by their communities as a reason not to focus on blame or causal attribution. Often simultaneously, the activists cited a sense of complete lack of control over the systems they found to be problematic, and the inefficacy of the solutions they offered (e.g., protest), as reasons to be looking for such alternatives. That these are mutually re-inforcing cannot be definitely claimed from these data, but their concurrence within individuals, and across members of a group can be established.

Ideologically, the characteristics of these groups do not conform to any one "mainstream" ideological orientation. Any attempt at classification into left-right,

conservative/liberal, or anarchist/libertarian/archist categories would fail. Furthermore, I found that it is possible for activists to transfer their overall mutualist approach from one life domain to another, from the target problems of their activism to a less emphasized hypothetical problem. It was easier for the permaculture activists to do so. But this may have more to do with the appropriateness of permaculture techniques and skills in dealing with the problem of unemployment (despite it not being the ideological focus of the movement), and the relative inexperience of the Baha'i activists I interviewed, than with a lack of coherence of the mutualist orientation among the Baha'is. In other words, the learned hopefulness may have been more transferable, due to shared affordances between the two domains that allowed expectations of control in such a hypothetical dilemma (viz. Zimmerman, 1990). In yet other terms, the alternative set of available solution options offering acceptable solutions was larger and more self-determined among permaculturists, leading to easier access to the simulation heuristic implying success in the self-determined alternative (viz. referent cognitions theory). Indeed, causal attributions tended to focus more on (internal) successful control among permaculturists (what they preferred to call mastery) than among the Baha'is. The latter tended to make more external, if systemic or faith-based, causal attributions for their successes and their problems both.

There are several limitations to this study. First, it relies on a very small number of interviews of participants from the two broader communities. This is a challenge to external validity. Second, these networks were accessed through my either forming or having already had personal or national affiliation with one or more of their members. The groups were further selected precisely because they seemed to me to hold promise in demonstrating the theoretical arguments I was proposing. This may introduce various biases. Third, the interview schedule and interview style, meant to be exploratory, may have been less than ideal. It can be argued that either a rigidly structured or an entirely participant-driven

interview design may have been more appropriate. Finally, critical discourse analysis, while optimal for my conceptual purposes with these data, is perhaps better suited to analyze fewer, shorter, and more unitary pieces of text. Entire papers have been written analyzing a single short essay (see van Dijk, 2009). It is unclear how this may have affected the results.

Nonetheless, as an exploratory study, I found the interviews extremely useful. I found unanticipated patterns and elements in these data that proved to be of great use in the design and analyses of the following, more quantitative studies. For example, the apparent association between the care rhetoric and the mutualist relational model was not expected to be as important as Study 2.1 indicates. Moreover, the presence of and openness to activist tactical eclecticism, seen most clearly in the naturalistic experiment (Study 2.2), raises the question of the propriety of trying to dissociate and classify activist strategies, tactics, and psychology.

Conclusion

Fundamentally, I found a refusal among alter-cultural activists from both groups to create polarized binaries, whether in concrete perceptions such as causal attributions and solution responsibility, modes of action, or in more ideological or moral principles, such as for example, in the dichotomization of cause and effect, in affordance and constraint, diversity and unity, or in the definition of justice. This non-binary commons-oriented discourse necessitates certain personality-interpersonal characteristics, at least in the discourses of the participants, such as humility and empathy, as well as intergroup relational orientations that lean more towards collaboration and unconditional sharing than towards (counter)dominance, competition, or even altruism (which positions the giver as superior to the receiver). In other words, it is a mutualist, commons-based, psychology that is most easily

associated with activist initiatives toward empowerment, or responses to disempowerment, in the form of construction of positive-sum alternatives to dominant or disempowering systems.

Chapter 3

*Mutualism, Cooperation, Competition, and Avoidance
in the Online Rhetorics of Collective Action*

Chapter 2 presented, as a proof of concept, case materials from two suggested alter-cultures. I described some of their discourses and their relationship to my theorizing on alter-cultural groups. I inferred from these discourses some of the characteristics of social mutualism as a relational-psychological approach to collective action. The depth of the data from that study provided support for the internal validity of my arguments. These included a) the hypothesized internal and holistic causal/solution attributional style, b) the relationship of this attributional style to participant views and engagement in blame, c) inter-connectedness and commons approach to relational perceptions and action orientations, d) the collectivist resource-building coping style, focused on affordances and efficacy, and e) the preference for creative, constructive, and “leading by example” modes of action.

The study I describe in Chapter 3 aims to add external and discriminant validity to these results, and begin to quantify and model the theorized associations. Therefore, I designed this study to analyze the rhetoric of a much greater number and wider variety of groups, from a much wider variety of contexts. I deliberately pitted what could be classified as alter-cultures against competitive, cooperative, and avoidant/isolationist groups. Because of my interest in alter-cultural praxis, and in how the psychology of collective action as typically theorized (e.g., van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012) could lead to such praxis, I focused in this study on analogues of variables typically included in such models, in addition to a small number of novel factors that I have theorized to be salient particularly for alter-cultural praxis. Specifically, I examined the associations between rhetorics of ideal/actual discrepancy, inclusion and exclusion, systems, interconnection and care, polarization, deliberation, affordance, blame, efficacy, anger, and various action orientations.

I argued, in Chapter 1, that alter-cultural praxis should be heavily reliant on a resource-building coping style, on perceptions of affordance and efficacy. Further, such

praxis should be negatively associated with blame and anger, or at least less reliant on such factors than competitive or confrontational praxis.

Alter-cultures should be likely to emphasize systemic, commons-related discourse, more so than adversarial polemic.

The mutualist relational orientation should also impact the primary appraisal process, making self-categorization and evaluations of self-relevance more integrated and broad, and thereby reducing the association of group boundaries and inclusion/exclusion with secondary appraisals of affordance and blame.

I further hypothesized that, in adopting a mutualist, commons-focused relational orientation, alter-cultures are most likely to focus in their praxis on building and exemplifying net positive alternatives to what they perceive as detrimental systems, simultaneously benefiting themselves and increasing commons resources/public goods.

Finally, they are less likely, because of the mutualist relational orientation, to engage in confrontational or obstructionist actions, aiming to attack or stop others.

Study 3.1 tested each of these hypotheses by contrasting the rhetoric (mission statements and manifestos) of groups with apparently related goals, but who were selected to be distinct in terms of their relational orientation (mutualist, cooperative, competitive, avoidant) towards others in their ecology.

Study 3.1

Study 3.1 was a directed content analysis of the rhetoric in the manifestos and in the most recent, publicly available, anonymous member statements of 30-40 different activist groups and movements dating between 2005 and 2015.

Text Corpus

A total of 45 groups were selected, matched, and contrasted on the content of their primary issues of concern, and on the relational orientations of their strategies and goals. It is important to note that both categorizations are not meant to be indicating a typology. Most groups are either eclectic or hybrid on both dimensions, but are classifiable according to specific criteria I describe below.

I selected primarily groups working on issues of concern that were inherently systemic, such as anti-capitalist and environmental groups, minority faith communities, and anarchist groups. The reason for this choice was to provide a strict standard by which to test an implication of the results in Chapter 2. Specifically, to question whether systemic and holistic rather than agentic and categorical attributions and cognitions were distinctively associated with alter-cultural praxis and the associated psychology of social mutualism.

I focused on environmental, development, and anti/alter-capitalist groups, as these domains incorporated the possibility of a focus on sustainability and constructive action similar to alter-cultures generally and the permaculture movement specifically. However, I also included other issue domains in order to account for ideological and context variables such as (See Table 3.1). For any of these groups that had members in more than one country, I made deliberate efforts to select texts (in English) from at least 10 posts from each country.

Issue of concern	Groups
Environmental	Permaculture, Earth Justice, Earthship, Greenpeace, National Resource Defense Council, Powershift, Sea Shepherd
Anti/Alter-capitalist	Freegan, BTeam, Creative Commons, Freeculture Movement, Freegan Movement, Free Software, International Cooperatives Alliance, Fellowship for Intentional Community, Localist Movement, Movement Generation, Minimalist Movement, Off the Grid Movement, Occupy Movement, Resilient Communities, Slow Food Movement, US Solidarity Economy Network, Overgrow the System
Faith-based	Baha'is, Buddhist Peace Fellowship, Catholic Charities, Mennonite Peacemaking
Anarchist	National-Anarchist Movement, Anonymous, Survivalist
Labor/Class-based	Service Employees International Union, Jobs with Justice
Civil rights	Electronic Frontiers Foundation, Equality Now, Tor
Aid & Development	Action Aid USA, Community Wealth, Global Giving, Feminist Women's Health Center, New Teacher Project, Positive Deviance, Self-help International
Peace	Friends for Peace

Table 3.1. Groups selected for Study 3.1 classified by primary issue of concern.

Because I was to attempt psychological differentiation between groups based on relational orientation, I classified the groups by concrete relational inclusion and exclusion criteria, rather than abstract rhetorical/ideological content in these groups' self-descriptions. First, I obtained and examined each group's main "About Us," "What We Do," and/or "Goals" webpage. I then classified competitive groups as those groups that identified and competed with one or more agents or groups which they perceived as opposed to their vision. This competition could take many oppositional tactical forms, including persuasion attempts (e.g., advocacy), political pressure tactics (e.g., protest), or attacking those agents or their interests (e.g., sabotage). The goal of the group, ultimately, had to be the victory of the group's mission over whoever (whatever) did not conform to that mission.

Again, it is important to note that many of these groups are eclectic or hybrid. The competitive category includes groups that also practice, for example, cooperative and commons care work. But in order to maintain a high standard of comparison with alter-cultural groups, several groups were categorized as competitive because they encouraged adversarial action, even though they were ideologically alter-cultural and also practiced alter-cultural action (e.g., Buddhist Peace Fellowship).

I classified alter-cultural groups as those groups that a) expressed a wish only to identify and practice alternative systems or lifestyles that were beneficial to themselves, their groups, and a commons that included others outside the group (e.g., the internet, the environment, public spaces, etc), b) could not be classified as competitive, and c) were inclusive, permeable, or cosmopolitan (i.e., not classically communal, Rai & Fiske, 2011).

Since alter-cultures were the focus of this research, and many forms of competitive groups were well-represented in collective action research (see for example Tausch et al., 2011), the majority of the groups I selected were either altercultural (19 groups, 1755 texts) or competitive (16 groups, 1487 texts).

For the sake of further discriminant validity for alter-cultural praxis and mutualist psychology, I also selected a few groups that were either avoidant/isolationist (4 groups, 256 texts) or cooperative/aid-based (6 groups, 559 texts). I defined avoidant groups as those groups that fulfilled the first two alter-cultural criteria, but were exclusive, relatively impermeable, insular, or classically communal. Finally, I defined cooperative groups as those groups that a) cooperated with other agents or groups without aiming to benefit one of the following (thereby disqualifying as mutualist): the group itself, the others, or a commons, and b) did not fit the criteria for the other clusters.

By action relational orientations, the groups can be categorized as:

Relational Orientations	Groups
Mutualist	Baha'i Activists, BTeam, Creative Commons, Community Wealth, Earthship, Freegan Movement, International Cooperatives Alliance, Intentional Community, Localist Movement, Movement Generation, Minimalist Movement, New Teacher Project, Permaculture, Pedal People, Resilient Communities, Tor, US Solidarity Economy Network, Overgrow the System, Slow Food Movement
Cooperative	Action Aid, Catholic Charities, Friends for Peace, Global Giving, Positive Deviance, Self-help International
Competitive	Anonymous, Buddhist Peace Fellowship, Electronic Frontiers Foundation, Earth Justice, Equality Now, Freeculture Movement, Free Software, Greenpeace, Jobs with Justice, Mennonite Peacemaking, National Resource Defense Council, Occupy Movement, Pirate Party, Powershift, Service Employees International Union, Sea Shepherd
Avoidant	Feminist Women's Health Center, National-Anarchist Movement, Off-the-Grid, Survivalist

Table 3.2. Groups selected for Study 3.1 classified by primary relational orientation of group actions.

Method

Corpus and Measures

I drew all texts collected for the selected groups from publicly available webpages. I began with the highest ranked website for each group on Google's search engine. I proceeded with collecting texts containing a minimum of 100 words starting with the most recent, going back to 2010. If fewer than 100 texts could be obtained from the highest-ranked group website, I moved to the next highest-ranking. Once there appeared to be no more webpages to extract text from, I moved to extracting direct quotations from group members in news sources, using the LexisNexis News database.

The bulk of the texts obtained for the groups selected were drawn from members' contributions to forums, blogs, and affiliated websites. In order to ensure the texts represented individuals' subjective perceptions, beliefs, and emotions, only text that contained a group member's description or opinion of the group and its practices, or their personal, subjective experience with the group or associated practices was selected. Texts advertising events, or reporting group news were excluded. Forty to a hundred texts per group were collected ($M=88$, $SD=23.3$).

The raw quantitative data from this text corpus were obtained through the RIOTscan (Recursive Inspection of Text Scanner; Boyd, 2015) language analysis program. I used the Linguistic Inquiry Word Count dictionary (RIOTscan v 1.4.2) to obtain psychometrically-validated linguistic measures of inclusion, exclusion, discrepancy (violation of ideal or expectation), affect, and specific emotions such as anger (see Pennebaker, Francis, & Booth, 2001). I created and used a face-valid custom dictionary to content code the text (RIOTscan v 1.8.71) by identifying a keyword for each category and adding synonyms and affiliated concepts. For example, I coded for mutualist rhetoric directly by including the following words and their synonyms: mutual, interconnected, care, share, positive-sum, respect. I derived this content directly from Chapter 2 results. I also coded for other factors relevant to van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears' (2012) collective action model such as affordances (perceived coping potential), efficacy, and blame (see Appendix 3). For both LIWC and custom content codes, RIOTScan then calculated the proportion of text taken up by each content category for each text.

Standing in for collective disadvantage was the LIWC measure of the proportion of text taken up by discrepancy terms (e.g., should, ought). For self-categorization, given the varying group identities and category scopes, I used the LIWC measures for inclusion/exclusion (e.g., without, include). The blame measure was custom-made to be face-

valid, assessing the proportion of text taken up by blame terms (e.g., fault, accountable). Coping potential was similarly a custom measure, the proportion of text taken up by terms describing affordance (e.g., asset, ability). Efficacy and deliberation were also custom measures based on the proportion of text taken up those terms and their synonyms. Action tendencies were split into more specific actions than those relational orientations classifying the groups, looking at creating, helping, exemplifying, persuading, expression, attack, obstruction, and exit.

In addition to the mutualism measure described above, I also included a custom content code measure for systemic (e.g., structures, world order) and polarization (e.g., enemy, opposition) terms. I examined their associations with each other and with perceptions of coping potential, blame, and deliberation. In this way, I aimed to test my theoretical claims and support the preliminary evidence from Chapter 2 regarding the associations between causal/solution attributional focus, coping, and action tendencies.

Analysis

Each content code allowed me to obtain a measure for that content in a single text, based on the word proportion of the text taken up by that code. Each individual text was embedded within activist group. Each group was classified according to relational cluster.

I conducted a MANCOVA, implemented through a multivariate generalized linear model, to compare relational orientation clusters on the average content code proportions for each content category, in addition to the specific group identifier variable and all variation and word indices (e.g., total word count of the text, % of those words captured by dictionary) as covariates.

I also examined the associations between the variables for each group cluster. The groups were independent of each other within relational orientation classifications, and

selected with unequal probability, making a simple three-level path analysis inappropriate. Instead, I specified a multiple-group two-level model with relational orientation (type) as grouping variable in MPlus 7, using the TYPE=COMPLEX option (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012). What this does is effectively make the multilevel analysis take into account the stratification of sampling at the group level as well as the nestedness of the individual texts within group (i.e., accounts for the matching/clustering of groups on relational orientation). This is typically used for complex survey data, but has been adapted for use with this dataset. Statistically speaking, this modeling approach implements corrections to the standard errors and chi-square test of model fit that take into account stratification, nonindependence of observations, and unequal probability of selection. However, what these corrections consist of mathematically is left unspecified by the program designers (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012, p. 57).

I specified the overall model to be (unidirectionally) analogous to van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears' (2012) collective action model (see Figure 3.1).

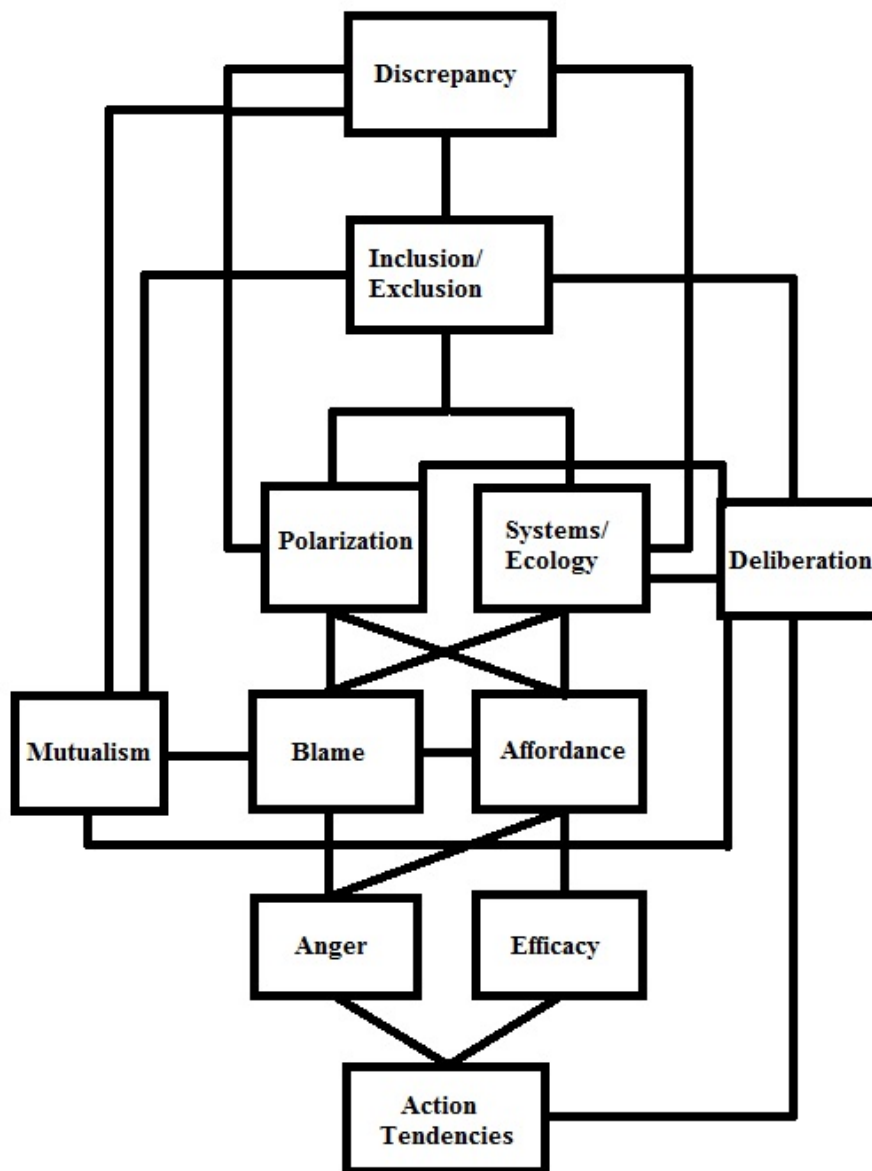


Figure 3.1. Study 3.1 overall model.

I grand mean-centered all variables and obtained standardized coefficients. I then tailored the overall model for each type grouping to specify any type-variant paths.

Results

Rhetoric characterization and comparison

There was a statistically significant difference in activists' rhetoric based on their groups' relational orientation, $F(90, 11998) = 18.57, p < .0005$; Wilk's $\Lambda = 0.68$, partial $\eta^2 = .12$. Of the variables in the model, "mutualist" interconnection and care terms, and "exit" action terms, as well as first person plural pronouns, were not significantly different across group clusters. All other variables were significantly different. Measures not included in the model were also significantly different, including hierarchy/dominance terms, first and second person pronouns, affect terms, and positive emotions terms (see Appendix 3A, Table 3A.1).

Full pairwise comparison results between the mutualist group cluster and others, can be found in Appendix 3A, Table 3A.2. As expected, writers from the mutualist cluster of groups showed lower use of general affective language than those from competitive and cooperative groups. They used more positive emotion terms than writers from the competitive cluster of groups, and marginally, compared to avoidant groups ($p=.065$), but less than those from cooperative groups. Mutualist group writers used less negative emotion terms than those from any of the other group clusters. Looking at anger terms specifically, people's rhetoric in mutualist groups was less angry than of those from competitive or avoidant groups, but no different from those from cooperative groups (see Figure 3.2).

Contrary to expectations, both inclusion and exclusion terms were used in mutualist groups more so than in competitive groups. Exclusion terms were used more in mutualist groups than in cooperative groups as well, but less than in avoidant groups.

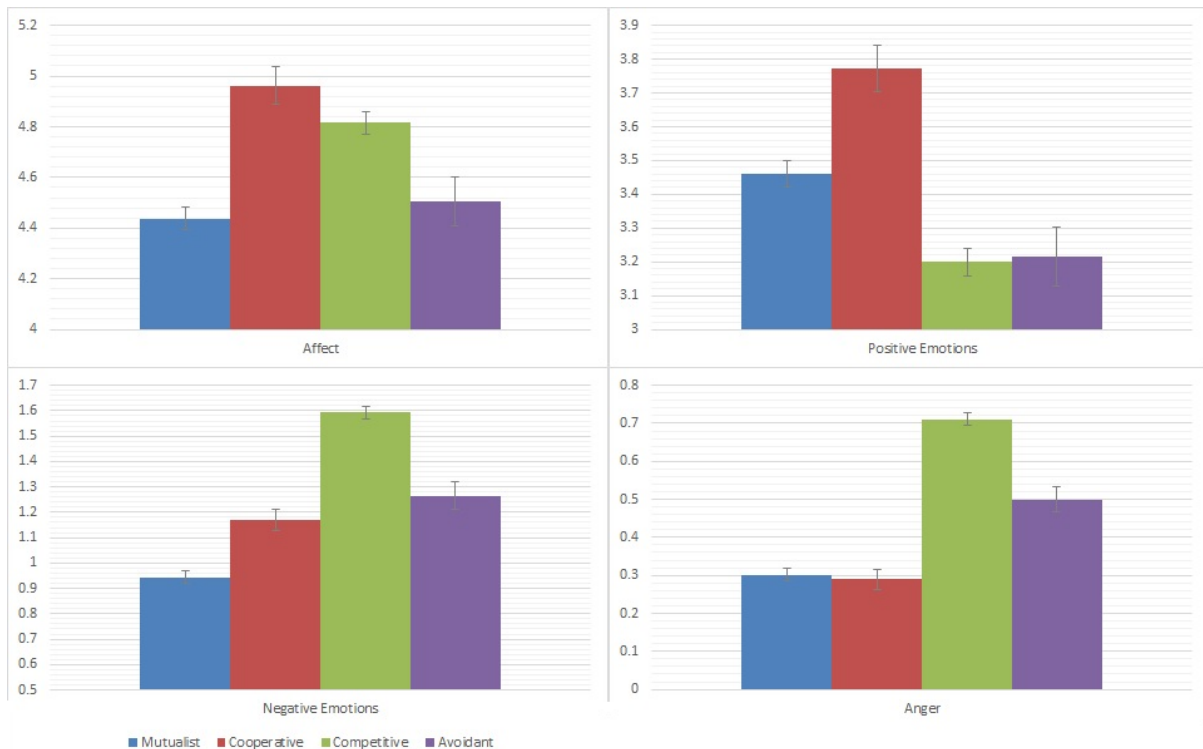


Figure 3.2. Estimated marginal means of affective and emotional measures, by group cluster, controlling for group and for variation and word indices. Error bars indicate standard errors.

As expected, texts from the mutualist cluster of groups contained significantly less hierarchy and dominance terms than did texts from the competitive cluster of groups. Moreover, mutualist cluster texts contained more systems/ecology terms than texts from every other cluster (Figure 3.3).

Contrary to expectations, neither polarization nor mutualist terms were used to significantly different extents across the different group clusters. However, mean differences alone may not show the whole picture, particularly given our theoretical framing of the role of these relational variables as linked to the process of collective action. I shall examine associations with these variables in the following section.

The texts classified in the mutualist group cluster did not differ significantly from those in the cooperative cluster on affordance and efficacy term usage. However, the usage of

both these term categories was greater in the mutualist group cluster than in the competitive cluster, as predicted. Furthermore, usage of efficacy terms (but not affordance terms) was greater in the mutualist cluster texts than in the avoidant cluster texts (see Figure 3.4).

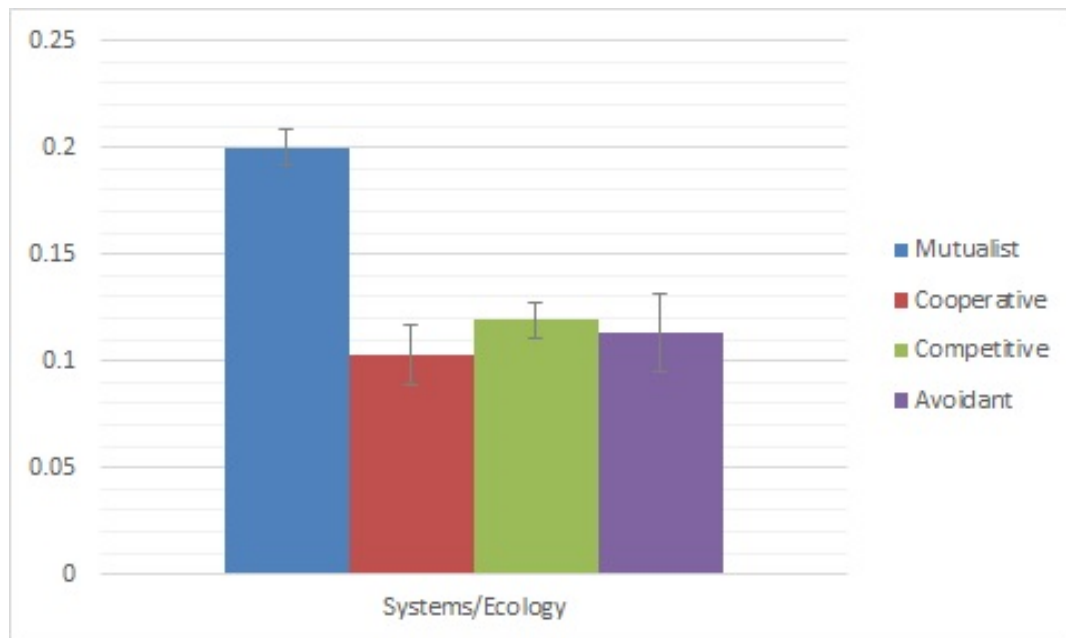


Figure 3.3. Estimated marginal means of systems/ecology terms, by group cluster, controlling for group and for variation and word indices. Error bars indicate standard errors.

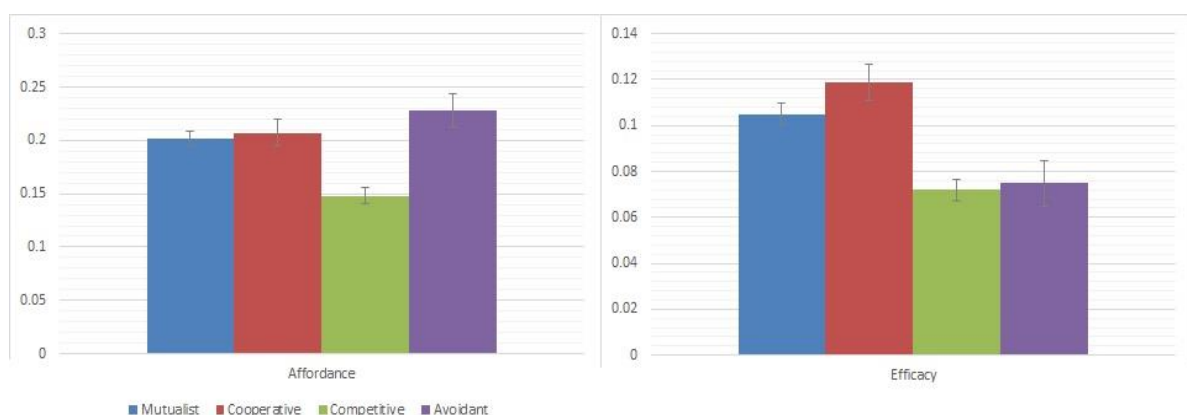


Figure 3.4. Estimated marginal means of affordance and efficacy terms, by group cluster, controlling for group and for variation and word indices. Error bars indicate standard errors.

Deliberation terms occurred in a higher proportion of mutualist and avoidant group cluster texts than in cooperative and competitive clusters. The former two were not statistically significantly different (Figure 3.5).

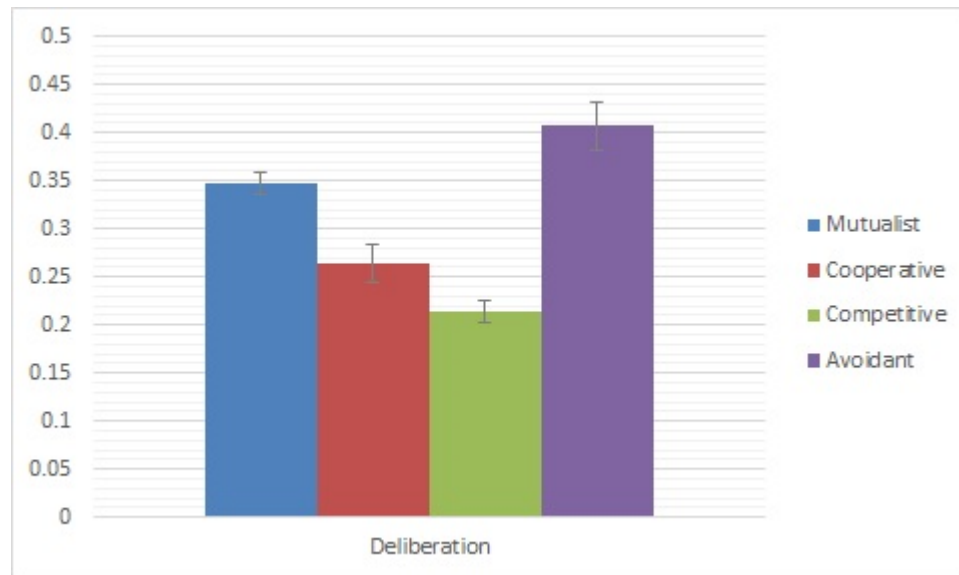


Figure 3.5. Estimated marginal means of deliberation terms, by group cluster, controlling for group and for variation and word indices. Error bars indicate standard errors.

As expected, texts from the mutualist group cluster contained lower proportions of blame terms than texts from the competitive cluster. The mutualist, cooperative, and avoidant clusters were not significantly different, though the mutualist cluster trended lower than the others (see Figure 3.6).

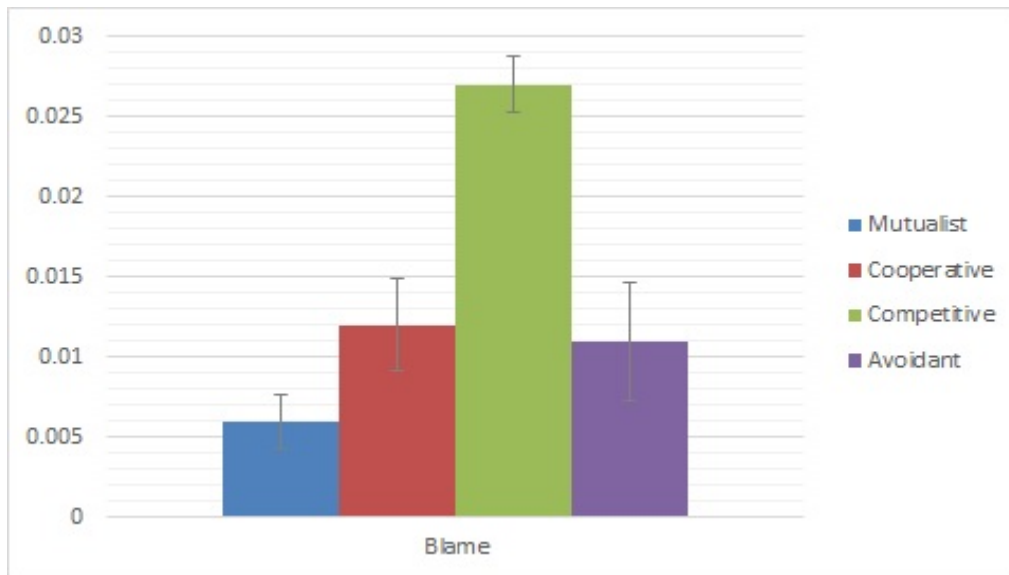


Figure 3.6. Estimated marginal means of blame terms, by group cluster, controlling for group and for variation and word indices. Error bars indicate standard errors.

As predicted, action terms distinguished the texts of the mutualist cluster of groups as the most focused on creation (e.g., building, creating) and exemplification (e.g., by example, role model). I also found that the texts from this cluster of groups used attack, obstruct, voice, and persuasion terms least, compared to the texts of other clusters. Additionally, only texts from the cooperative cluster included a higher proportion of helping terms than those of the mutualist cluster. Avoidant and competitive clusters included a lower proportion of these terms. There was no difference in the incidence of exit terms across clusters (See Table 3.3).

Having described the mean differences between clusters on the variables of interest, in the next section I describe the results of the overall multi-group, multi-level model I specified, and the cluster-specific modifications that fit the data.

	Create	Exemplify	Help	Persuade	Exit	Voice	Attack	Obstruct
Mutualist	0.276 ^a (.007)	0.055 ^a (.003)	0.678 ^a (.017)	0.062 ^a (.006)	0.048 ^a (.003)	0.141 ^a (.007)	0.173 ^a (.009)	0.105 ^a (.006)
Cooperative	0.224 ^{b,d} (.013)	0.035 ^{b,d} (.006)	0.897 ^b (.029)	0.079 ^a (.01)	0.048 ^a (.005)	0.142 ^a (.012)	0.228 ^b (.015)	0.117 ^a (.01)
Competitive	0.168 ^c (.008)	0.015 ^c (.004)	0.413 ^c (.017)	0.169 ^b (.006)	0.043 ^a (.003)	0.216 ^b (.008)	0.319 ^c (.009)	0.161 ^b (.006)
Avoidant	0.212 ^{c,d} (.016)	0.031 ^d (.007)	0.51 ^c (.036)	0.085 ^a (.012)	0.047 ^a (.007)	0.15 ^a (.016)	0.246 ^b (.019)	0.106 ^a (.013)

Table 3.3. Estimated marginal means of action terms, by group cluster, controlling for group and for variation and word indices. Superscripts denote homogeneous subsets based on Bonferroni-corrected pairwise comparison significance ($p < .05$).

Relational orientations and collective action

The overall model, based on van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears' (2012) model and extended to include polarization, systems rhetoric, and mutualism, did not fit the data very well by some indices, when modelled to be invariant across clusters (RMSEA=.05, $p=.16$; CFI=.74; TLI=.51; SRMR=.05). Moreover, the specified paths were not invariant across group clusters (for full results, see Appendix 3B, Table 3B.1). Of the fifty paths specified in the overall model, only three were significant and invariant across clusters: discrepancy to exclusion (β : .48-.66), affordance to efficacy (β : .09-.33), and anger to attack action tendency (β : .34-.49). After including cluster-specific paths, the fit improved (RMSEA=.03, $p=1.0$; CFI=.95; TLI=.89; SRMR=.03).

Of the four clusters, the overall model best described the competitive and cooperative clusters, based on the number of additional significant model-specific paths indicated by modification indices fit to the cluster-specific model. Two significant model-specific paths were added to the model for the cooperative cluster, seven for the competitive cluster, eleven for the avoidant cluster, and eighteen for the mutualist cluster (see Appendix 3B, Table 3B.2).

I shall describe the results starting with the most concrete, indicating the factors associated with the various action tendencies across the four clusters, then describing those associated with efficacy and anger, blame and affordance, and polarization, systems, and mutualist rhetoric.

Action Tendencies

I examined eight action tendencies across the four clusters. Anger and efficacy are theorized in the collective action literature to be positively associated with action. However, the data showed that these factors had both positive and negative associations with various actions across the different clusters. The theorized antecedents of anger and efficacy, such as coping potential (affordance) and group categorization (inclusion/exclusion), had direct, unmediated effects on action tendencies. Polarization, mutualism, and preoccupation with systems rather than agents, also showed direct effects on action tendencies (see Table 3.4).

Cluster/ Action	Mutualist	Cooperative	Competitive	Avoidant
Exemplify	<i>Anger: -.08**</i> <i>Efficacy: .07*</i> <i>Mutualism: .07**</i>	Efficacy: .11**	N/A	N/A
Create	Deliberation: .10** Affordance: .14** Inclusion: .09** Exclusion: -.09*	Anger: -.09** Affordance: .15**	Deliberation: .08* Inclusion: .12**	Anger: -.17** Systems: .18**
Help	Anger: -.10** Affordance: .20** Exclusion: -.16**	<i>Efficacy: .11**</i> Exclusion: -.18**	Anger: -.16** <i>Deliberation: -.06*</i> <i>Inclusion: .15**</i>	Exclusion: -.25** <i>Mutualism: .29**</i>
Voice	Exclusion: -.09**	Deliberation: -.11**	N/A	<i>Efficacy: -.07*</i> Exclusion: -.19** <i>Discrepancy: -.13**</i>
Persuade	<i>Anger: .12**</i> Exclusion: -.10**	N/A	Exclusion: -.10**	Exclusion: -.21** <i>Polarization: .38**</i>
Obstruct	Anger: .07* <i>Deliberation: -.06**</i> <i>Mutualism: -.09**</i>	<i>Efficacy: -.11**</i>	Anger: .13** <i>Inclusion: -.09**</i>	Anger: .22*
Attack	Anger: .34** <i>Polarization: .10**</i>	Anger: .49** Efficacy: -.11**	Anger: .37** <i>Inclusion: .14**</i>	Anger: .38** Efficacy: -.03** Systems: .17**
Exit	Anger: .08* Exclusion: .11**	N/A	Anger: .06*	Anger: .11* Exclusion: .22**

Table 3.4. Factors associated with the eight action tendency categories, and the beta coefficients of their paths to those actions, across the four relational clusters of activist groups. Italicized factors indicate a unique association with that action across the clusters. *: $p < .05$, **: $p < .01$.

In the mutualist cluster of groups, the greatest number of (unique) paths to action were to creation, exemplifying, helping, and obstruction. Of these actions, only creation and exemplifying action showed largely positive associations, as predicted. Creation was positively associated with deliberation, affordance, and inclusion, and negatively associated with exclusion. Exemplifying action was positively associated with mutualism and efficacy, and negatively associated with anger. This action tendency was the only one showing a direct association with efficacy. Helping was positively associated with affordance, and negatively

with anger and exclusion. On the other hand, obstruction was positively related to anger, but negatively associated with deliberation and mutualist terms (see Table 3.4). Note, then, that despite there being no significant difference between the mutualist-classified and other clusters in the proportion of text taken up by mutualist (interconnected/caring) rhetoric, such rhetoric was uniquely relevant in associations with action.

For the mutualist cluster then, anger was positively associated with three action orientations (persuasion, obstruction, attack), negatively associated with two others (exemplify, help), and unrelated to three (create, voice, exit). Thus, anger was as much an obstacle or irrelevant to action in this cluster as a driver of such. Moreover, remember that creation and helping were the dominant action terms used by this cluster of groups, and the highest among the clusters in exemplification action terms (Table 3.3). Thus, despite efficacy itself being associated with only one action, the instrumental pathway, (starting instead from affordance and deliberation) seemed to be dominant for this cluster. Again as predicted, polarization and blame, and inclusion and exclusion, were largely either unassociated or, in the case of exclusion, negatively associated with the actions. This is despite this cluster including in its texts a significantly higher proportion of inclusion and exclusion terms than the other clusters. This indicates that while mutualist rhetoric is concerned with inclusion, exclusion, and categorization broadly, they are not salient factors in determining action tendencies.

The cooperative cluster included more efficacy-based than anger-based associations in its texts. Persuasion and exit showed no significant associations. Similar to the mutualist cluster, inclusion and exclusion, and polarization and blame, were largely unassociated with action (see Table 3.4).

The competitive cluster, on the other hand, included a high number of associations in its texts between anger and action tendencies, and between inclusion and action tendencies. The latter perhaps reflects the importance of self-categorization and identity in collective action for groups with this relational orientation. Note also the lack of associations with the exemplifying and voice action term categories (Table 3.4).

Finally, in the avoidant cluster texts, the use of systems terms was positively associated with creation and attack action categories, mutualism with help, polarization with persuasion, and anger with obstruction, attack, and exit. There were no significant associations with exemplifying actions. Of note is the lack of (positive) association between efficacy, affordance, and deliberation with any of the actions. Yet the anger associations are about the same as the other three clusters (see Table 3.4). The unique factors associated with action, specifically systems, mutualism, polarization, and discrepancy, indicate a relational more so than either an instrumental or emotional, action response. Whereas the mutualist cluster mixes a relational and instrumental set of antecedents in associations with action tendencies.

Efficacy and Anger

Efficacy and anger are often theorized to be the proximal predictors of collective action tendencies (e.g., van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012). Efficacy is in turn thought to be driven by perceptions of coping potential. Anger, on the other hand, is expected to be a function of a perception of lack of coping potential, and external blame.

In my model, across the four clusters, affordance terms were indeed significantly and positively associated with efficacy terms (Mutualist cluster: $\beta=.15$, $p<.01$, Cooperative cluster: $\beta=.33$, $p<.01$, Competitive cluster: $\beta=.16$, $p<.05$, Avoidant cluster: $\beta=.09$, $p<.05$). Furthermore, and only in the texts from the mutualist cluster, efficacy was also associated

with deliberation ($\beta=.15$, $p<.01$), supporting the dynamic appraisal process hypothesized in a learned hopefulness (Zimmerman, 1990) or similar model of coping.

The blame and anger, and affordance and anger associations, however, were not significant across clusters. Only the mutualist ($\beta=.08$, $p<.01$) and competitive ($\beta=.14$, $p<.01$) clusters showed an association between blame and anger in their texts. And only the texts of the avoidant cluster of groups showed a significant (negative) relationship between affordance and blame ($\beta=-.07$, $p<.01$).

The mutualist cluster also displayed in its texts unique associations with anger. The use of either deliberation ($\beta=-.06$, $p<.01$) or inclusion ($\beta=-.08$, $p<.01$) terms was associated with lesser use of anger terms. On the other hand, the use of exclusion terms was associated with greater use of anger terms ($\beta=.23$, $p<.01$). And for both the mutualist ($\beta=.15$, $p<.05$) and competitive ($\beta=.08$, $p<.01$) clusters, polarization was positively associated with anger. The texts in the avoidant cluster further showed a negative association between mutualism and anger ($\beta=-.14$, $p<.01$). None of the factors included in this study was significantly associated with anger in the cooperative cluster's texts.

For the mutualist, competitive, and avoidant clusters then, we see that external causal attribution, coping potential, and blame are not sufficient to explain anger across different groups. Such an explanation also requires consideration of broader relational properties or orientations such as exclusion, polarization, or mutualism.

Affordance and Blame

Coping potential and blame are seen to be important in collective action due to their association with efficacy and anger, as discussed in the previous section. They are also seen to be associated with each other, with lack of coping potential making blame more likely under some circumstances (van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012). Assessing self-relevance

of a group under conditions of collective disadvantage is thought to lead to appraisals of coping potential and blame in this theoretical framework. I reasoned then that there should be a relational-ideological input on this process. If people's coping/helping styles (Brickman et al., 1982) can lead them to generally view problematic situations in polarized or adversarial terms, in terms of mutual benefit between agents, or in terms of systemic/holistic dysfunction, then the process of secondary appraisal discussed by van Zomeren et al. (2012) should include such inputs, on the outcomes, i.e., perceptions of coping potential and external attributions of blame. This is indeed what I found, albeit in varying forms across the different clusters.

As predicted, the writings of activists in the mutualist cluster of groups contained a higher proportion of affordance terms when there was a higher proportion of deliberation ($\beta=.08$, $p<.05$) and systems/ecology terms as well ($\beta=.08$, $p<.05$). At the same time, affordance terms were less pervasive when the texts contained exclusion ($\beta=-.08$, $p<.01$) and polarization ($\beta=-.05$, $p<.01$) terms. Deliberation and systems terms were significantly associated with each other as well, as expected, and only in this cluster ($\beta=.17$, $p<.05$).

I found a similar negative association between polarization and affordance in the writings of the cooperative cluster ($\beta=-.08$, $p<.01$). In the avoidant cluster, it was mutualist terminology that was negatively associated with affordance ($\beta=-.06$, $p<.05$). The texts of the competitive cluster surprisingly showed no associations whatsoever with affordance.

Blame, on the other hand, was not associated with any factor in the mutualist cluster's texts, as was expected. Blame was negatively related to both polarization ($\beta=-.01$, $p<.05$) and mutualism ($\beta=-.07$, $p<.01$) in the cooperative cluster. In the competitive cluster, blame was negatively associated with mutualism ($\beta=-.05$, $p<.01$) and affordance ($\beta=-.05$, $p<.01$). Thus, even when the group context was competitive, being more concerned in discourse with

mutualism and affordance led to lesser preoccupation with blame. In the avoidant cluster, blame was similarly negatively associated with affordance ($\beta = -.08$, $p < .01$), but also negatively associated with systems ($\beta = -.06$, $p < .05$) and, surprisingly, polarization ($\beta = -.07$, $p < .01$).

Systems, Mutualism, and Polarization

Self-categorization and identification can have different relational implications. For example, identification with all humanity (McFarland, Webb, & Brown, 2012), omnicultural identities (Moghaddam, 2009), or identification with nature, may give intergroup biases different meaning and forms (e.g., more systemic, less entitative attributions) than identification with a nationality or sect. Similarly, such broad or eclectic identification may imply different approaches to resolving disadvantage or ideal/actual discrepancies. Because of this, I modeled the associations of systems, mutualism, and polarization with inclusion, exclusion, and discrepancy.

Polarization was not associated with either discrepancy or inclusion/exclusion except in the cooperative cluster. In this cluster, inclusion/exclusion were negatively, and discrepancy was positively, associated with polarization (see Appendix 3B, Model-Specific Results).

As expected, mutualist rhetoric was positively associated with inclusion in both mutualist ($\beta = .22$, $p < .01$) and competitive ($\beta = .14$, $p < .01$) clusters' texts. There were no associations between mutualism and exclusion or discrepancy in any of the clusters.

Finally, systems terms were similarly positively associated with inclusion in mutualist cluster texts ($\beta = .10$, $p < .01$), and negatively ($\beta = -.07$, $p < .01$) in cooperative cluster texts. There were no associations between systems and exclusion or discrepancy in any of the clusters.

Discussion

Overall, the results of this study supported my hypotheses. Exemplifying or modelling ideal action, creation, and helping, were all hypothesized features of alter-cultural praxis that should be heavily reliant on a resource-building coping style, on perceptions of affordance and efficacy. This was in fact the case for alter-cultures, both in having the highest emphases of these in text among the clusters (means), and the strongest associations with action. Anger and blame were irrelevant, or even detrimental to such action, specifically in the selected alter-cultures' texts. This was opposite to what was the case with the competitive groups' texts.

I predicted that alter-cultures should be likely to exhibit concern with systemic, commons-related problems, more so than with adversarial polarization and contestation focused on agents participating in detrimental systems. Again, this was the case. Interestingly, however, while the alter-cultures had the highest mean incidence of systems terms in their texts, they were not the cluster of groups with the strongest associations between this variable and others in the collective action model. That was the avoidant cluster. Instead, the alter-cultures showed an intermediate profile, between the cooperative (mostly affordance/efficacy based associations) and avoidant (mostly relational/categorization based associations) clusters. While not explicitly predicted, this makes theoretical sense. Reliance on one or the other path alone would cause an alter-culture to either lose its unique relational orientation towards commons in order to be more (narrowly) efficacious, or to focus so much on relational aspects of commons, systemic problems, or on other relational issues to such an extent that practicable means of acting on the problem, perceptions of affordance and efficacy, would suffer without certain types of relational action (e.g., isolationism).

I predicted that the mutualist relational orientation should also impact the primary appraisal process, making self-categorization and evaluations of self-relevance more

integrated and broad, and thereby reducing the association of group boundaries and inclusion/exclusion with secondary appraisals of affordance and blame. The latter results provided some support for this. Specifically in the alter-culture cluster, moreover, there were more numerous (and positive rather than negative) associations of inclusion, systems, and mutualist rhetoric with the rhetorics of action tendencies and their antecedents than associations with exclusion and polarization.

Finally, I further hypothesized that, in adopting a mutualist, commons-focused relational orientation, alter-cultures are most likely to focus in their praxis on building and exemplifying net positive alternatives to what they perceive as detrimental systems, simultaneously benefiting themselves and increasing commons resources/public goods. Creation, exemplification, and helping tendencies were reached through the greatest number of paths specifically in the alter-cultural model. This was less so in the other relational clusters of groups. Similarly, relatively few, and almost no positive paths existed to confrontational or obstructionist action tendencies in the alter-cultural cluster, particularly when compared to the competitive cluster of groups.

There are several limitations to this study. First, sampling was not representative of the range of activist groups in the range of contexts they could be found in. The focus was still obviously on alter-cultures and competitive groups, perhaps not giving the other clusters, and others not selected or classified, enough attention. Second, the classification of groups by cluster according to relational orientation may not have been equally appropriate for every text obtained for each group, as different texts often came from different websites, representing somewhat varying local cells or branches of a particular group. Third, the dictionary for content codes was not psychometrically or otherwise previously validated. That said, however, a prior simple between-groups set of analyses I conducted on a subset of four of the groups showed very similar results. Fourth, it may have been appropriate to conduct a

more inductive analysis on the variables obtained, such as homogeneity analysis, before moving on to this comparative/deductive approach. I attempted such an analysis using R, but was beyond currently available computing capacity, producing vectors in excess of 1GB in size and failing to resolve. Fifth, given the very different method and nature of the ‘participants’ in this study, many of the variables were not so much homologous as analogous to those found in the collective action, learned hopefulness, coping/helping orientations, or other models relied on theorizing. Sixth, there are several results that I lack information enough to explain. The notion of isolationist communal groups, for example, engaging in collective action to enact their avoidance of detrimental systems, is anathema and for the most part not understood in the collective action literature (see e.g., van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012). Some literature on schism formation in social psychology (e.g., Sani, 2005), and on exit/boycott in consumer behavior in political economics theory (e.g., Hirschman, 1970), may shed some light on the matter, but is beyond the scope of this work. Finally, there are data from this study that it was simply not possible to include in the analyses, for both conceptual and methodological reasons. For example, I did custom code the groups’ texts for autonomy/self-determination terms, and for justice terms, and LIWC analysis did provide estimates of positive emotions in the texts. However, for brevity’s sake, for the sake of already strained power, and to keep my model as close as possible to an analogue of van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears’ (2012) model, I elected not to include such variables in my analyses at this time.

Conclusion

In this study as well as in Chapter 2, I found low psychological emphasis and collective action relevance of polarized binaries among alter-cultures, whether in concrete perceptions such as causal and solution responsibility attributions and modes of action, or in broader relational orientations. The overall psychology of altercultures was inclusive, and

commons-oriented, emphasizing interconnection and care in modeling behavior for others. Alterculture psychology was heavily skewed towards affordances and resource-building as a means of constructing alternatives, helping themselves and others as a coping style. The range of action tendencies that were involved with the antecedent factors of collective action was considerable for every group, further indicating the need to take into account in some manner the tendency to eclecticism and diversity in individual activists' approaches to their collective action choices.

Chapter 4

Adversaries, Eclecticism, and Mutualism in Athenians' Anti-Austerity Action Support

Acknowledgments

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When the austerity crisis hit the globe post-2008, observers focused on the *scale* of the most adversarial, sensational actions, such as protests or occasional incidents of violence in the streets (e.g., New York Times, Greece coverage chronology, 2009-2015). The *diversity* and *eclecticism* of people's responses, though largely ignored, were just as significant (e.g., The New Yorker Magazine, 2015). Not only have people protested, they voted, toppling some of the most established parties and replacing them with anti-austerity upstarts of various ideological stripes (e.g., Scottish National Party in Scotland, Syriza in Greece). People have also (re)created a vibrancy in local politics and development, and increasingly turned to alternative organizational and economic structures such as neighborhood assemblies, cooperatives, credit unions, and the sharing economy (e.g., The New Yorker Magazine, 2015; Tsavdaroglu, 2015).

Austerity policies, in placing additional financial burdens on a large part of society in order to maintain or rescue the functioning of ostensibly economically vital interests such as financial institutions and large corporations, can be seen to have acted as social, economic, and political stressors, particularly on the already disadvantaged (Tsavdaroglou, 2015). Such stressors can cause groups to rapidly diversify in their social beliefs and practices. In some contexts, individuals have been shown to become more dogmatic in certain ways when they perceive their previously milder ideological tendencies as holding untapped coping potential for such present stressors (e.g. authoritarianism, e.g., Duckitt & Fisher, 2003). However, such dynamic and challenging environments can also induce innovation and creativity.

Individuals, in losing certainty and control in the environment, can go beyond dogmatic compensation and primary (defensive) coping mechanisms, to embrace potential and responsibility for initiative in solutions for change, renewal, and empowerment that are inherent in such situations (see for example, Brickman et al., 1982; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). As I argued in Chapter 1, collectives, as well, can face stressful situations in such

ways, particularly when novel alternatives are salient that provide control and expectations of successful achievement of acceptable goals (e.g., Klandermans, 1997; Zimmerman, 1990). In facing problems for which they see no satisfying solutions in the perceptions, relational approaches, and resources previously available and deployed, people can become more open to and actively seek new ways of being, seeing, thinking, and doing.

More so than either falling back on the old or seeking out the new alone, however, people in a particular group are likely to try or support both. The reasoning behind this is that in rapidly changing and complex environments, the consequences of even tactics that were certain in the past cannot be easily predicted, and the highest certainty comes from a “shotgun” approach, from eclecticism. As I have showed in the previous studies, those alter-cultural activists most directly linked to mutualist innovations and their dissemination, while often appreciative of other means and modes of action, also tend not to engage in them very much. Their mastery and confidence in their own approaches to need-fulfillment and problem-solving render eclecticism relatively redundant. But we cannot assume that this would be the same for the less activist consumers of such social innovations. This should particularly be so because non-activists or relatively inexperienced activists should be more likely to adopt mutualism (or any other activist *lifestyle*) in a piecemeal and tactical manner, rather than a principled or consistent way (Burrowes, 1996). I found evidence of this in the adoption process discourse of the activists studied in Chapter 2. Adoption and mastery of alter-cultural lifestyles tends to be a more difficult path than opportunist instrumentalism, for all the reasons (e.g., unfamiliarity, normative pressures, structural constraints, etc.) that I showed “hardcore” activists confronting in Chapter 2.

I expect, then, that an eclectic tactical profile of support, not adversarial or mutualist alone, will be the dominant profile amongst a general community sample in a crisis context. And because of this, associations with tactical support choices among a community sample

will not be limited to mutualist or adversarial psychological processes or representational clusters, but with a mix of several relational, ideological, attributional, and motivational clusters.

I have argued and presented evidence showing that systemic rather than adversarial attributions of causal and solution responsibility, self-determination, and holistic rather than binary cognitions (including beliefs in interconnectedness and positive sum social relations), form part of a coherent representational cluster, a social-mutualist relational orientation. I have also shown that this orientation is associated with alter-cultural praxis. The case of the austerity crisis in Greece is a fertile one to examine this claim. There is a range of relational perceptions Greeks can hold regarding the Greek relationship with the primary external agent involved in the crisis (Europe). There is also a diversity of responses that Greeks have enacted in response to the crisis (Tsavdaroglu, 2015; Papastamou, Chryssochoou, & Prodromitis, pers. comm.). Simultaneously, Greeks can make systemic and/or politicized/adversarial causal attributions of the crisis. This combination, along with the protracted nature of the crisis, makes creating a range of items for relational perceptions, action choices, and causal attributions for a survey study possible and contextually meaningful. Below, I outline some narratives/scenarios, not mutually exclusive, but all possible within the context of the Greek austerity crisis. These narratives underscore just how it might be possible to differentiate action choices by causal attributions and relational perceptions.

According to one view, the relationship between Greece and Europe is one of dependent aid, of Greek submission and ostensibly, of cooperation. The cause of the crisis can be attributed to bad financial management (i.e. profligate and irresponsible spending) and corruption among the Greek people and governments. The preferred solution in this view is precisely the imposition of austerity policies, and conservative government.

Another view is that the relationship between Greece and Europe is one of European exploitation and discrimination. The cause of the crisis can be seen as the irresponsible and exploitative policies of financial institutions and organizational elites in a context of lack of regulation and protections in the marketplace. Preferred solutions stemming from this view can include protesting austerity policies, which are mismatched with such causal attributions, or inciting and enacting civil disobedience and dissent of various sorts in order to coerce governments and international agents to relent from or reform such policies.

In yet another view, seeing the Greek-European relationship as exploitative and dominative, the primary causal attribution is a geopolitical conspiracy by the powerful countries of Europe, who are seen to be opportunistically taking advantage of the economic crisis to cement control over the poorer European nations. From this perspective, presumably the preferred solutions would be for Greece to either attempt to enact an exit from European entanglements (i.e. exit the Eurozone), or for individual Greeks to simply emigrate to those advantaged countries.

Finally, one can view the crisis as an inevitable result of the history and systemic properties of the economic and political systems in play at both domestic and international levels, such as capitalism or globalization. This causal attribution would be in concert with the view of Greek-European relations as not deliberately dominative, competitive, nor discriminatory, but rather the inevitable result of the dynamics of international economic systems and their history. In this view, preferred solutions might be emigration to more favorable environs, or participating in alternative economic systems at whatever levels possible (i.e., local).

My contention is that social mutualism exists as a general relational-cognitive pattern associated with the alter-cultural approach to praxis. If that is the case, then factors I have

identified in Chapters 2 and 3 as associated with such praxis, including non-adversarial relational perceptions, systemic attributions of responsibility or blame, positive sum cognitions, and autonomy-striving, should be associated with each other, and with support for alter-cultural action tactics, whether individuals also support adversarial counter-dominant tactics or not. However, because of the hypothesized tendency to eclecticism in a community sample containing non-activist citizens, I also expect to see concurrently held adversarial relational perceptions and ideologies influencing tactical choices, including alter-cultural action support.

Study 4.1

To examine these claims about how the psychology of social mutualism might operate among people outside established alter-cultures, for whom such a relational-cognitive pattern might not be ideologically or motivationally dominant, and for whom alter-cultural praxis is not regularly or consistently employed and thereby not habitual or easily trusted, I take as a case Athenian community members beliefs and preferences regarding the austerity crisis, as they were facing it in 2010-2011.

An Athenian community sample's support for an example of mutualist action (participation in neighborhood assemblies), and for examples of adversarial and other non-mutualist actions (e.g., protesting governments' austerity policies, participating in NGO work) was assessed. The associations of these actions with participants' Greek-European relational perceptions, attributions regarding the causes of the austerity crisis, desire for collective autonomy, participative efficacy, zero-sum and positive-sum relational beliefs, political ideology, and demographic variables were examined. From the demographic profiles I saw in Chapter 2, I did not expect sex, age, political ideology, or socioeconomic status to influence support for the alter-cultural action choice. I did expect the following to be

interrelated, and to be related to support for the alter-cultural practice of participation in neighborhood assemblies (of mutual aid):

- a) positive sum beliefs,
- b) autonomy motivation,
- c) perceptions of the relationship between Greece and Europe as more cooperative and less competitive,
- d) perceptions of the relationship between Greece and Europe as more equal than unequal,
- e) perceptions of the relationship between Greece and Europe as more consensual and less conflictual, and
- f) attributions of the causes of the austerity crisis to systems such as capitalism and globalization.

I also expected, due to participant eclecticism, some cross-over influences on this practice from other attributions and relational perceptions, though I made no definitive specific hypotheses over which of these would cross over.

Method

Participants

One hundred and fifty Athenian Greek adult citizens (58 male, 94 female) were surveyed in 2010-2011. Participants' ages ranged from 18-77 ($M=36.3$, $SD=14.4$). Their socioeconomic status was largely middle-class (76%), with the remainder mostly working class or poor (20%). About 36.3% of the sample had not attained a university degree, while 58.2% had done so, and 5.5% had attained post-graduate degrees. 48% reported themselves as left-leaning in terms of political ideology, 14.8% as neither left nor right-leaning, 6.3% as right-leaning, and 31% refused to position themselves on the left-right spectrum.

Measures

We (my Greek collaborators acknowledged above, and I) measured, on a 10-point Likert scale (1: strongly disagree to 10: strongly agree), collective autonomy-striving (2 items, e.g., “I need to feel that my group is in charge of its own destiny”), participative efficacy (4 items, e.g., “My voice is heard in this political system.”), responsibility attributions for the austerity crisis (19 items, e.g., “banks”, “capitalism”, “current government”, etc.), two items assessing positive (“what's bad for one group is bad for others”) and zero sum (“when some groups win, other groups lose”) relational beliefs respectively.

We also assessed support for possible actions vis-à-vis the crisis (32 items, e.g., “participating in popular assemblies in neighborhoods”). The latter was asked generally, asking participants whether they would agree or disagree that they would support each action as a response to the austerity crisis. This is different than the direct action I assessed in Chapter 2, or the action tendency coded word categories I assessed in Chapter 3. In a survey setting, asking participants if they themselves would undertake an action exposes that item to a greater likelihood of social desirability.

We measured perceptions of the relationship between Greece and the EU using bipolar preference scales (7 items, left to right scale: 1-10, e.g., “1: Competition - 10: Cooperation”). Finally, we also included control variables such as sex, age, general political engagement (5 items, e.g., “Political action is an important part of my life”), relative SES (1: Much better, 6: Much worse), and left-right political ideology (0: Left, 10: Right). For a full list of these measures, see Table 1, Appendix 4.

Analysis

I formed the following scales from causal attributions items, relying on optimizing intraclass correlation coefficients (ICC) and face-valid categorization: Blaming Dominant Agents (2 items), Blaming Subordinate Agents (3 items), Blaming International Agents (3 items), and Systemic Blame (2 items). The participative efficacy scale was not reliable ($\alpha=.55$, $ICC=.22$), and was dropped. Systemic Blame also had low reliability ($ICC=.32$). However, the scale common variance was less important conceptually than trends relative to either systemic attribution (globalization or capitalism) singly or together, so the scale was maintained and used. The final constitution of the scales used in this study, along with their reliabilities/ICCs can be found in Table 2, Appendix 4.

I expected that most of the participants would be highly eclectic in terms of the number of action responses they were likely to support. If that is the case, the best way to ensure differentiation in the model of associations between the alter-cultural action choice and the modeled antecedents would be to include several other, diverse actions. Thus, for the sake of discriminant validity in estimating the unique associations with the alter-cultural action choice (participating in popular neighborhood assemblies), I selected ten of the 32 action choices as dependent variables. They were selected to represent different conflict-management/coping styles, as well as individual and collective, formal and informal, and violent and non-violent responses, or as close to those classifications as I could get with the set of available action choices (see Table 4.1).

Action choices	Coping/conflict Management Style			
	Avoidance	Confrontation	Compromise	Problem-solving
Informal non-violent	Emigrate	Participate in austerity demonstrations	Sign petition	Participate in popular neighborhood assemblies
Formal non-violent	Petition to exit	Strike	Refuse to pay new taxes	Participate in NGOs

	Eurozone			
Informal violent	X	Attack riot police during demonstrations	X	Robbing food from supermarkets and distributing to the poor

Table 4.1. Action choices selected for path analysis. All actions are either positively correlated or not significantly correlated.

While conceptually I have not theorized a specific directionality to the influences of relational perceptions and beliefs, causal attributions, and autonomy motivations, I structured the theoretical model (Figure 4.1) with the most general variables (e.g., zero-sum beliefs) upstream of those more specific (e.g., competition-cooperation in Greek-European relationship).

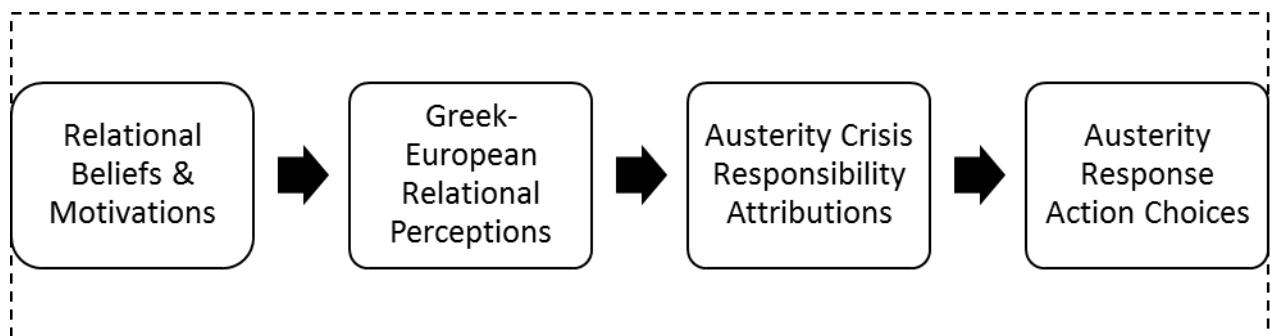


Figure 4.1. Basic theoretical model for path analysis.

A path analysis with bootstrapped standard errors, indirect effects, and confidence intervals was conducted in MPlus (see Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012, p. 37-38). The model was then expanded according to modification indices, and trimmed to include only significant paths and covariances, to achieve the final model. Indirect effects and their bias-corrected confidence intervals were obtained for the target mutualist action choice (participation in neighborhood assemblies). See Appendix 4A for MPlus syntax for this model.

Results

Eclecticism and Diversity in Greek Action Preferences

The Greek citizens surveyed showed an overwhelmingly eclectic profile of support for the action choices given to them as possible responses to the austerity crisis. Of the 150 participants, none supported only a single action response. Between any two action response choices, participants were much more likely to choose both than to choose one.

Despite the relative lack of popularity and publicization of neighborhood assemblies, still 78% of the sample indicated positive support for participation in them as a response to the austerity crisis. More generally, of the 32 possible choices, only 10 action items were not supported by participants on average (see Appendix 4A, Table 4.3). Of these, 6 were forms of violence against or exploitation of other Greeks, 3 were related to ending the participants' use of Greek banks, and the final one was participation in formal political parties (see Table 4.2). The overall picture, then, of participants' action preferences, is a remarkable diversity and eclecticism, restrained by the proscription against violence, the necessity of using banks (to which none of the choices provided an alternative, such as credit unions or cooperatives), and disenchantment with the formal political parties.

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Robbing food from supermarkets and distributing it to poor people	149	1.00	10.00	4.2148	3.13775
Attacking anti-riot police forces during demonstrations	149	1.00	10.00	3.7248	2.82091
Reconnecting illegally power to those that could not pay electricity bills	149	1.00	10.00	7.4161	3.01595
Burning cars of politicians	149	1.00	10.00	3.6309	3.26602
Publication of texts on the internet approving acts of political violence	149	1.00	10.00	4.9262	3.61134
Publication of texts on the internet inciting to public disobedience	149	1.00	10.00	6.2550	3.02502
Physical assault of politicians	149	1.00	10.00	3.7987	3.02463
Assault of politicians with eggs and yogurt	149	1.00	10.00	4.7517	3.55251

Occupation of public buildings and ministries	149	1.00	10.00	6.6242	3.16543
Blocking roads, ports and airports	149	1.00	10.00	5.4966	3.19971
Participation to public demonstrations against austerity measures	150	1.00	10.00	8.3667	2.29799
Refusal to pay any new taxes	150	1.00	10.00	8.0933	2.72534
Refusal to pay tolls	148	1.00	10.00	7.0946	3.01547
Taking collectively all money deposits from banks	148	1.00	10.00	4.6959	3.00263
Taking one's savings out of Greece to foreign banks to protect them	147	1.00	10.00	3.9932	2.89188
Keeping money home to be able to cope with tough moments	149	1.00	10.00	4.4430	2.72224
Petition to exit the Euro-zone	147	1.00	10.00	4.1020	2.77892
Boycotting foreign products	150	1.00	10.00	7.0267	2.83541
Buying only Greek products	150	1.00	10.00	8.4200	2.11505
Immigrating to a prosperous country to find a job	147	1.00	10.00	5.2109	2.78014
Striking	149	1.00	10.00	7.2349	2.67720
Signing a petition	148	1.00	10.00	5.8649	2.97758
Constructing a website/blog	149	1.00	10.00	6.7584	2.53263
Acting through participation in unions	150	1.00	10.00	6.7533	2.35431
Acting through participation in political parties	149	.00	10.00	4.4027	3.09297
Acting through participation in NGOs	141	1.00	10.00	5.4397	2.69223
Sending political e-mails	146	1.00	10.00	5.0959	2.79982
Increasing one's abilities and skills through education and training to be able to cope with the demands of the labor market	149	1.00	10.00	6.8859	2.64711
Participating to popular assemblies in neighborhoods	149	1.00	10.00	7.3020	2.32990
Participating to the rallies of the Indignated people	149	1.00	10.00	7.3356	2.52718
Destroying public property	149	1.00	10.00	2.3020	2.53810
Valid N (listwise)	132				

Table 4.2. Support for the different actions in response to the austerity crisis.

Predicting and differentiating support for alter-cultural action

Looking at associations rather than means, the final path analysis including all ten action choices as DVs showed good fit: $\chi^2(205)=223.17$, $p=.18$; RMSEA = .024, 90% CI: [.00, .04], $p=.99$; CFI=.98; TLI=.97; SRMR=.07. The full results are available in Appendix 4B.

I found that, as predicted, systemic attributions of responsibility for the austerity crisis were uniquely associated with the alter-cultural action choice (see Table 4.3), participating in neighborhood assemblies ($\beta=.23$, bcbootstrap 95% CI: [.06, .44]). Furthermore, supporting

participation in neighborhood assemblies was uniquely associated with the perception of the relationship between Greece and Europe as less competitive and more cooperative ($\beta=.22$, bcbootstrap 95% CI: [.07, .46]). Yet, unexpectedly, supporting participation in neighborhood assemblies was also uniquely associated with viewing the relationship between Greece and Europe as more distrustful than trusting ($\beta=.29$, bcbootstrap 95% CI: [.15, .58]).

Also as expected, these differentiating responsibility attributions and relational perceptions did not predict just this alter-cultural action response. Both attributing responsibility for the crisis to dominant agents (i.e., banks, employers) involved in the austerity crisis ($\beta=.17$, bcbootstrap 95% CI: [.06, .35]), and (marginally) positive sum or common fate intergroup belief ($\beta=.14$, bcbootstrap 95% CI: [-.02, .21]), were associated with this alter-cultural action choice. But positive sum belief was also associated with going on strike ($\beta=.14$, bcbootstrap 95% CI: [.05, .28]). And attributing causal responsibility for the crisis to dominants was also associated with attacking anti-riot police in demonstrations ($\beta=.13$, bcbootstrap 95% CI: [-.01, .40]), petitioning to exit the European Union ($\beta=.17$, bcbootstrap 95% CI: [.04, .44]), and robbing supermarkets to feed the poor ($\beta=.15$, bcbootstrap 95% CI: [.02, .47]).

Action	Factor: Beta
Neighborhood assemblies	Conflict-Cooperation: .22 Trust-Distrust: .29 Positive Sum Belief: .14# Systemic causal attribution: .23 Dominant causal attribution: .17
Anti-austerity demonstrations	ns
Signing a Petition	Respect-Prejudice: -.23 Solidarity-Exploitation: .30 Zero Sum Belief: -.14
Striking	Solidarity-Exploitation: .22 Positive Sum Belief: .18 Subordinate causal attribution: -.12

Attacking anti-riot police	Submission-Domination: -.16 Dominant causal attribution: .13 Subordinate causal attribution: .14
Petition to exit the Eurozone	Solidarity-Exploitation: .2 Dominant causal attribution: .17
Emigrating to a prosperous country	International causal attribution: -.22
Participating in NGO's	International causal attribution: -.19
Robbing supermarkets to distribute food to poor	Dominant causal attribution: .15
Refusal to pay new taxes	Consensus-Conflict: .28

Table 4.3. Factors (excluding control variables) associated with different actions as responses to the austerity crisis. All betas are significant $p < .05$ except those marked with †: $p < .06$.

Although demographic variables, collective autonomy motivation, and perceptions of Greek-European relations other than competition/cooperation and trust/distrust, were not directly related to supporting participation in neighborhood assemblies, these showed significant indirect effects (see Figure 4.2). Perceptions of the Greek-European relationship as more competitive than cooperative ($\beta = -.06$, bcbootstrap 95% CI: [-.15, -.03]), and more dominated by Europe than by Greece ($\beta = .05$, bcbootstrap 95% CI: [.02, .11]) indirectly influenced support for participating in neighborhood assemblies through attributions of responsibility for the crisis to dominants. Meanwhile, collective autonomy motivation ($\beta = .06$, bcbootstrap 95% CI: [.02, .15]), and perceptions of Greek-European relations as more exploitative than solidarity-based ($\beta = .06$, bcbootstrap 95% CI: [.02, .19]), indirectly influenced this support through systemic responsibility attribution. There was also a marginal indirect effect of sex on support for neighborhood assemblies, through perceptions of the Greek-European relationship as less competitive/more cooperative ($\beta = .05$, bcbootstrap 95%

CI: [-.006, .11]). Women tended to see the relationship as less competitive, and thereby tended very slightly to support the alter-cultural action choice more than did men.

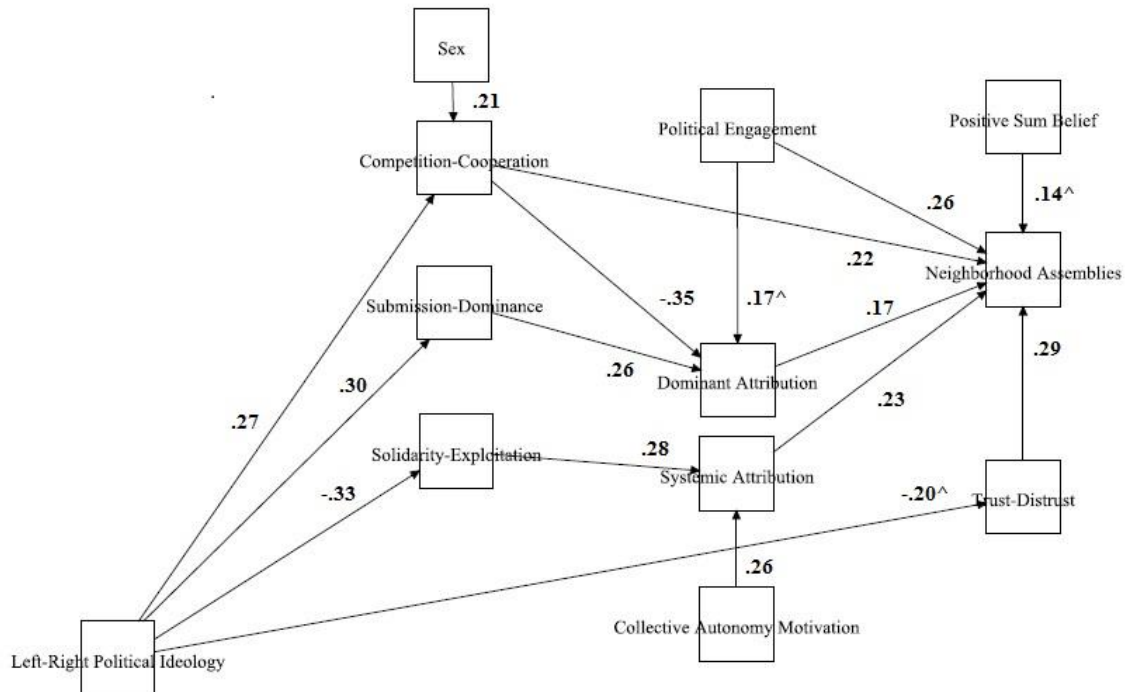


Figure 4.2. Subset of the full path analysis showing the direct and indirect paths to support for participation in neighborhood assemblies. All coefficients are standardized and significant to $p < .05$ except those superscripted with ^, for which $p = .05-.06$.

Discussion

This study shows that the Greek community members participating in this survey were certainly eclectic and diverse in their support for action responses to the austerity crisis. On average, only aversion to the use of violence and to formal political organization, and lack of alternatives to banks appeared to constrain this tendency to be eclectic and diverse. Given the apparent seriousness of the crisis, one may interpret this to mean that they would support anything, just to try to find any solution proposed.

If this were the case, we would not see the particular patterns of associations between their perceptions and beliefs and *which* actions they favored. However, as predicted, both adversarial and systemic perceptions and beliefs influenced support for the alter-cultural action choice. Perhaps due to the left-wing bias of the sample, only attribution of responsibility for the crisis to economic dominants, but not to subordinates or to international agents, was related to support for this action. This alternate causal attribution mediated support for the alter-cultural action (and others) through perceptions of Greek-European relations as more competitive than cooperative, and more dominated by Europe.

Also supportive of my hypotheses, systemic attributions, positive sum beliefs, more cooperative/less competitive perceptions of the Greek-European relationship, collective autonomy motivation, uniquely predicted support for this alter-cultural action choice, and differentiated the mutualist path to alter-cultural action from the binary/adversarial paths to all other actions I examined. Finally, confirming what I found in Study 1, political ideology, socioeconomic status, and age were not significantly associated, directly or indirectly, with this action.

The data did not support all my assumptions. Support for the alter-cultural action was not negatively associated with zero-sum beliefs, nor directly associated with perceptions of equality/inequality or consensus/conflict in the Greek-European relationship, or with collective autonomy-striving. Furthermore, contrary to the equal sex distribution in the Chapter 2 alter-culture networks, there was marginal indirect effect of sex on support for the alter-cultural action choice, through a tendency of females to view the Greek-European relationship as less competitive or more cooperative, and this latter predicting support for the action.

In addition, beyond my hypotheses, I found a direct and unique association between this support and perceived distrust in the Greek-European relationship. It is not possible to say with any certainty through the data whether these unexpected results are due to a theoretical mis-specification, a result of the “bleeding over” of adversarial dynamics into the mutualist/alter-cultural praxis association, or item inadequacy. What I found among the activists I approached in Studies 1 and 2, at least, seems to make the latter two reasons more likely, and argue for the person-situation dynamics I ontologically assumed in my theorizing.

This study suffers several limitations. While bootstrapping made such a large model acceptable statistically, the sample size and demographic constitution may not be adequate for generalization to Greeks, much less to other countries’ citizens. The items used were opportunistically selected from an omnibus survey which was not designed solely for the purpose of this study, meaning the items and scales were not piloted and scales might have been more extensive. But the fact that we were able to ask, using items developed by local experts, about a large number of kinds of action strategies, relational perceptions, and causal attributions in a contextually meaningful way, was a major strength of this study.

Taken together with Chapters 2 and 3, however, many of these issues are somewhat mitigated. Future survey research should be specifically designed to be representative of a particular group or set of groups of non-activists, and tailored to examine the claims I make regarding eclecticism and diversity in collective action tactical selection, and regarding social mutualism and alter-cultural praxis. This should include replicating these results, and extending the research to examine other variables suggested by Studies 1 and 2 as potentially important for this research, including: identity, (collective) humility, appraisal/coping styles (e.g., Brickman et al., 1982; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), positive (e.g., inspiration) as well as negative (moral outrage) emotional responses to crises and action responses, and feelings of empowerment and well-being stemming from these responses (e.g., Zimmerman, 1990).

The fact that survey methods are less than ideal for causal inference, while a limitation, is not as conceptually problematic, as other scholars have argued that collective action processes tend to include feedback loops in any case (van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012). Nonetheless, future studies should incorporate experimental, pseudo-experimental, and simulation designs to ascertain the precise dynamics of social mutualism in collective action.

Conclusion

People who see sociopolitical problems as non-competitive and believe in holistic commons/positive sum social interrelation, are more likely to attribute deprivation and injustice they experience to ecologically pervasive systems. Systemic causal attributions are both internal, when the individual or collective participates in the system, and external, with external origination and lack of control. Internal solution responsibility attributions, often autonomy-motivated, also characterize this attributional profile and helping/coping orientation. This combination of factors are intimately related to commons-oriented cognitions and action (Bollier, 2014), and begin to distinguish my theorized notion of social mutualism. I have provided some support, through these three studies, that it is through this mutualist psychology that initiatives toward empowerment, or responses to disempowerment, that the construction of non-zero-sum alternatives tends to be the coping mechanism in facing systemic collective stressors.

Chapter 5

General Discussion

This dissertation introduces the concepts of social mutualism and alter-cultures. I have defined social mutualism as a relational cognitive pattern wherein an individual or group relates with the world holistically and through the lens of care. Mutualists psychologically and behaviorally emphasize interconnection, unity, and mutual benefit in diversity, by seeing the interlinked systems and commons that join people. Alter-cultures are groups of mutualist activists working collaboratively on individual and collective need-fulfillment through commons enrichment and societal diversification.

I argued, in Chapter 1, that various elements of cognition and behavior are distinct in commons-oriented individuals and collectives (see also Bollier, 2014). This includes the propensity for boundary transcendence, systemic appraisals and cause/solution attributions, self-determination, and collaborative behavior. It is also possible to explain mutualist psychology and alter-cultural praxis through a variety of other, mutually inclusive or complementary theoretical frameworks. I theorized that the heavy reliance on deliberation, attention to potential affordances and resource-building in alter-cultures, may lead to a dynamic process of increasing collective efficacy and feelings of empowerment under some circumstances (e.g., Zimmerman, 1990). Dealing with uncontrollable systemic problems, or attributing problems to uncontrollable systems, may induce efforts to find and build alternatives in just such a way as alter-cultures do. Conversely, being aware of such alternatives, may reduce frustration, anger, blame, and feelings of injustice, if the alternatives provide for acceptable practicable solutions (e.g., Klandermans, 1997; van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012). From a coping theoretical frame, collectives using resource building from a hybrid moral/compensatory coping style (Brickman et al., 1982) and positive appraisal style

(Kalisch et al., 2014), should exhibit the kind of relational/instrumental dynamics that I argued alter-cultures should have. Social mutualism as a relational cognitive model for collective action among alter-cultures, in this view, should be less associated than competitive relational orientations with adversarial attributions, blame, negative and hostile emotions such as outrage, and with confrontational or zero-sum actions.

Other theoretical frameworks may also be used, but are not discussed at length here. For example, relying on a subsistence rather than profit moral economy (Scott, 1987), the predominance of the care ethic (Gilligan, 1982) in the principles and praxis of an activist group, or game-theoretic understandings of the interactional dynamics of groups in sustainable commons investment/return systems (e.g., Botelho et al., 2013; Ostrom, 1990; Santos & Pacheco, 2011), can all help further elucidate the theory and results in this dissertation.

Chapter 2 provided evidence that alter-cultures as I have defined them do indeed exist, and exhibit dynamics similar to or the same as those I theorized. I showed evidence of alter-culturalists' reliance on affordance and efficacy over anger and blame. I showed that causal attributions tend to be both systemic/holistic and internalized, while solution responsibility attributions tended to be heavily internal in practice. Thus, I confirmed that the alter-cultural coping orientation conforms more to the moral/compensatory model rather than the medical (the cure is to attack the cause of disease) model more typically seen in collective action models and cases. This gave the groups' psychologies a distinct flavor of self-determination.

I also found strong support for the commons/mutualist relational orientation. This often went deeper in participant discourses than I expected, to reject more fundamental divisions than human relational polarities, such as the (deontological) division between good and bad. I showed the prominence of the various elements of the ethic of care (Gilligan,

1982) I had not explicitly theorized. Finally, I showed support for a process of learned hopefulness in the activists' discourse (Zimmerman, 1990).

Chapter 3 extended the results of the discourse analysis to a much more diverse and representative sample of activist groups' subjective public rhetoric, and began to model the hypothesized psychological and behavioral differences in group, inter-group, and collective action dynamics between groups with different primary relational orientations. Here again, I showed that alter-cultural collective action psychology rested largely on the theorized instrumental and relational factors, rather than on polarization, blame, or anger. In terms of praxis, alter-cultures were more concerned with exemplifying model behavior, with construction and creation, and with helping than more offensive, obstructive, or avoidant actions. This pattern of praxis was not seen in competitive or other types of groups.

Chapter 4 further extended the work to analyze the associations between relevant variables in a community sample of Athenians in the context of the Greek austerity crisis. It focused specifically on the influence of relational perceptions, commons beliefs (positive/zero sum), and systemic versus various agent-based causal attributions, and autonomy-striving on the psychological processes underlying support for various collective action choices. I showed that a cooperative relational perception (the closest available in the survey to a mutualist perception), systemic causal attributions, autonomy-striving, and positive sum beliefs, all were directly or indirectly associated with an alter-cultural, informal problem-solving action (participating in neighborhood assemblies), but not with other competitive, avoidant, compromising, or formal problem-solving action choices. Eclecticism introduced further complexities (additional paths) to the associations with this alter-cultural action, but the mutualist path was nonetheless only associated with this action, not others.

Through this set of studies, I aimed to provide both methodological breadth and conceptual validity. Each of the studies has different strengths and limitations. The fact that a strong thread of commonality runs through the results of all three is encouraging for the theoretical arguments I have made. This common thread includes:

- a) Alter-cultures, and individuals leaning towards social mutualism, hold commons cognitions such as positive sum beliefs and interconnection
- b) Alter-cultures, and individuals leaning towards social mutualism, hold mutualist or at the least cooperative relational perceptions between themselves and others in their ecology
- c) Alter-cultures, and individuals leaning towards social mutualism, make systemic rather than adversarial causal attributions,
- d) Alter-cultures, and individuals leaning towards social mutualism, make internal solution responsibility attributions, manifested as autonomy-oriented or self-determined modes of action, and
- e) Alter-cultures, and individuals leaning towards social mutualism, specifically associate in their praxis with the construction of alternatives to problematic systems, without attending to confronting these systems.

There is always a risk, when discussing commons-oriented and prefigurative collective action, of being accused of engaging in dogmatic or ideological bias or apologism for that activism. This is not the case here. The limitations of such action are well-known (e.g., Bollier, 2014). For example, there are always situations and domains (e.g., security) where centralized organization may in some circumstances be necessary, or must be addressed in a targeted manner. Alter-cultural activists themselves knew and acknowledged

this in my interviews with them (Chapter 2). Both they and I generally see alter-cultural praxis as a specialized and valuable complement to competitive, symbolic, or principled direct action. Mutualism and alter-culture can provide some of the ideological and practical innovations and skills that transformative politics often require, and lack, among competitive groups. Likewise, alter-cultures, and the principles of social mutualism, require, are aware of the need for, and support others taking other relational stances and forms of action, particularly to help maintain the ecological spaces or niches in political and security systems that provide alter-cultures with freedoms to operate.

That is, after all, what social mutualism is all about, and what alter-cultures aspire to and often do achieve; recognizing, leveraging, and nurturing the full potential good of all that is present in an ecology, through practices obtaining mutual benefit to these commons and all in them.

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Appendix 2

Interview Schedule

Are you involved in any social or political movements or groups?

[If yes] Please list the movements or groups you are involved in currently.

Ok, let's talk about your work on xxx for a bit.

How would you describe this group (specifically locally or in your social network)?

What are the main issues the group deals with? If you had to name one issue above all others, which would it be?

How did you get to be involved in xxx?

What motivated you to get involved with this group?

Do you think most group members have similar motivations as you have? Or different ones? Can you list some shared ones and some different ones?

I'm wondering if the group is mainly trying to achieve a practical goal, or is the group mainly trying to live out a moral ideal? Both? Neither?

Are your motivations for joining this group mostly a response to other groups or to your or others' life circumstances? Or are you mostly motivated by a vision or an ideal you want to live and enact? Both? Neither?

How many people would you say belong to the group?

Do you personally know any of the members? How many or what percentage of them?

Do you work together on shared problems? How? How often?

Do you ever rely on this group when you personally need help? What kinds of help or aid do they offer?

Do other members ever come to you for help?

[If they do, what kinds of help/work? How much? (Is it prolonged, sustained, multi-natured help/action or intermittent coordination of single events? what is done? how often? how many different people? Only on special events? Dyadic or involving larger groups?)]

What is/are the main issue/issues XXX tries to address?

What are the solutions or strategies the group uses to deal with its main issues?

Why do you think your group chooses to deal with its issues in the way it does?

Does it consider or do non-violent collective action – protest/petitioning/striking/boycott, etc.? Why or why not?

What do you think the cause or causes of the main issue(s) you mentioned are?

Who do you think is to blame for this?

Does it matter to the group who is to blame? How so?

Do you think it is your responsibility, or your group's, to fix this issue? Or is it the responsibility of other agencies or groups or organizations or individuals? Should it be own or other?

[If external responsibility] what do you think the reason is behind you and your group's taking up resolving this issue yourself, even though you think it is someone else's responsibility?

Now let me ask about how different things are related to the strength of your group: So, for example, are social bonds important to the group's survival or achieving goals? How?

How about membership numbers?

Communication?

Leadership?

Money and material resources?

Force?

Technology?

Knowledge and information?

The willingness to share and pool resources and tasks?

Do you think this is different for your group than it is for other groups and movements (e.g., collective development, non-violent collective action – protest/petitioning/striking/boycott, etc., consensus-building)? How?

How do you feel about your chances of achieving the solutions your group is striving towards?

How much control do you feel the group has over the outcomes of its efforts?

What are the difficulties your group has to overcome to achieve its goals?

What are the things that increase your group's chances, and give you hope for the future of this group?

Does the group address mostly short term issues or long term issues or both?

Does the group look for solutions that can help right away, or that take longer to give fruit?

Does the group care more about the practical concrete aspects of the solutions it uses, or the moral, philosophical, abstract, or ideal aspects of these solutions, or both

Where does the group tend to find the causes of the problems it addresses? At the global, national, community, or individual level, or a mix?

Is justice an important concern for your group? To your group, I wonder what justice means. Which one or more of these ideas comes closest to your idea of justice, if any? *[good treatment, good distribution of resources, or good relationships and personal interactions]*. Can you explain your choice(s)?

Now I want to ask you what the relationship is like in general between your group and others. What kind of relationship does your group have with the government? How about with your society in general? The formal economy? Civil society? Other communities (like other nationalities, neighborhoods, towns, regions, races, sects *[select appropriate for the location of participant]*)?

How important is it to your group to be known to the wider public? To have a good image to the public?

Does the wider public see your group as competent and capable? As good or bad people?

How do they feel about you? Afraid? Dismissive or condescending? Disgusted? Angry? Ashamed? Proud? Inspired?

Why do you think they feel that way?

Are your group's goals, actions, and ideology based on principles that the wider public shares (even if the public acts on them differently or not at all)?

How important is it to the survival and achievements of the group for the public to share these principles?

Are your group's goals, actions, and ideology based on principles the wider public considers right or moral (even if the public acts on them differently or not at all)?

How would you describe the relationships between members of your group?

How important is being in this group to who you are? Why?

What, if anything, is satisfying about your membership in this group?

Are bonds between members in this group different in any way than those of other groups to which you belong? If so, how?

How important are helping or sharing to this group? Why or why not?

Is it necessary to know that help and sharing will be reciprocated by those who are helped, or shared with? Does it matter that the reciprocation be of equal value or of the same nature?

Is competition an important part of your group's interactions with other groups? Why or why not?

Is competition an important part of how people in your group interact with each other? Why or why not?

Are some members' contributions to your group more valuable than others? Can you explain?

Is promotion or 'converting' other groups and wider society an important part of your group's communications and interactions with them? Why or why not?

All right, thank you for telling me about XXX!

Now, I'd like to give you a specific issue – unemployment. There are many people around who have this issue.

Is this issue relevant to you as well? How?

Who is to blame for the problems associated with high unemployment?

Does it matter who is to blame?

Who should be responsible for resolving the problems associated with high unemployment?

Now imagine that or those you care about had to face this issue. How would you go about resolving it? Why this way? [*Do you think this way would be the most effective? The most morally acceptable? The most possible?*]

Why not another way [*choose one not mentioned in latter question*] such as individual self-sufficiency development (e.g., individual permaculture), communal self-sufficiency development (e.g., community-building/permaculture), or non-violent collective action (e.g., protest/petitioning/striking/boycott)?

Appendix 2A

Permaculture and Baha'i Recruitment Networks

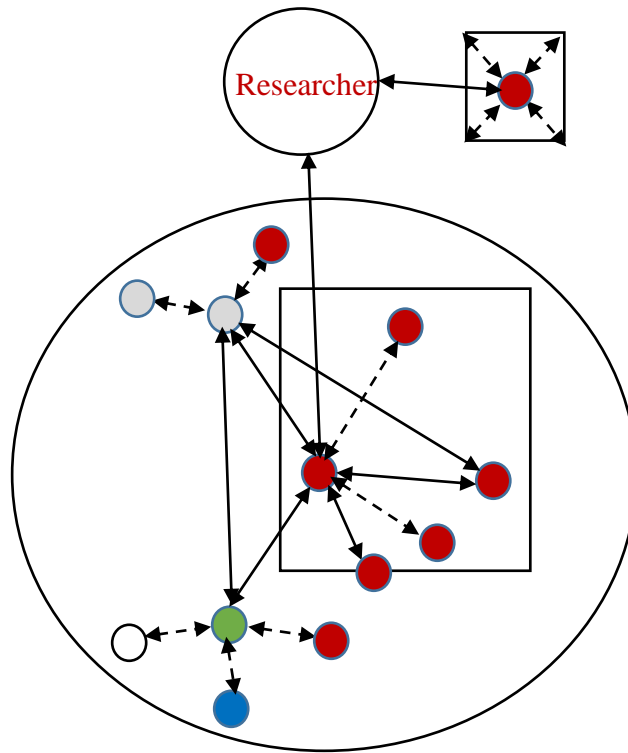


Figure 2B.1 Permaculture cell's network structure as uncovered through recruitment referrals.

Dashed lines indicate unsuccessful referrals. Red nodes are Lebanese residents, green nodes Australian, grey Canadian, and blue American. Squares indicate formal institutional structures (large: SOILS, small: EcoVillage Lebanon). Circles indicate informal network (Permaculture Lebanon). The maximum transitivity was three degrees of separation.

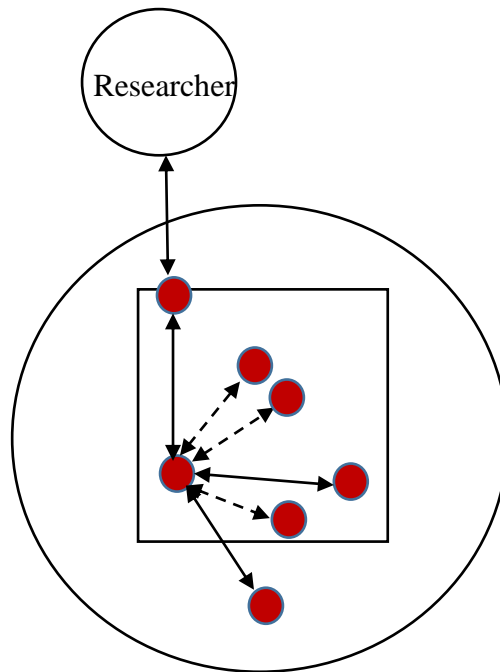


Figure 2B.2. Baha'i service activist cell's network structure as uncovered through recruitment referrals. Dashed lines indicate unsuccessful referrals. Squares indicate formal institutional structures (Junior Youth Empowerment Program). Circles indicate informal network (local Baha'i community). The maximum transitivity was two degrees of separation.

Appendix 2B

Permaculture and Baha'i Macropropositions

Topic	Permaculture	Text Selections	Baha'i	Text Selections
Relational Preference Metaperceptions	M1: Permaculture activists are supposed to be respectful, empathic, humble, and giving, though feelings of moral or rational superiority and competitiveness are a risk	M1: Um in my case, I try to respect and be humble about it. You know like um just be able to talk to anybody about any topic you know I have found that a lot of people in the movement, um, can sometimes get a sense of superiority because they are doing I don't know what they think, a better thing than somebody else. So that can be possible as well. But you know, a lot of people, and I would like to think myself, you know we try to respect everybody's point of view and don't try to	M1: Baha'I activists, as are all Baha'is, are supposed to be respectful, understanding/empathic, humble, cooperative, and pious, but no one is perfectly so	M1: [We] operate in a mode of learning, a humble posture of learning Always try to be unified with people, like, that's the first priority and, um, you know, to pray a lot, youknow, if you have a difficulty pray about it and consult with other people, youknow, for advice

		<p>impose anything on anybody.</p> <p>Leading by example, with a very humble approach, with a lot of humility, and it's leadership by listening to others and the capacity and the skill of listening. Truly listening, being empathetic, and putting yourself in the shoes of the other.</p> <p>I lead by example and share all the information I can so it might inspire others to seek a different way.</p>		
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Topic	Permaculture	Text Selections	Baha'i	Text Selections
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Goals & Motivations	M1: Mainstream life is not self-aware, stagnant, unsustainable, disconnected, and unfulfilling	M1: [Permaculturists] have left the traditional, don't want to repeat the same and be unsatisfied. [...] People are very disconnected from the source of food they eat, from nature, from everything around them.	M1: The main problem according to the Baha'i view is disunity, disconnection in the world	M1: I think it is because people are not respecting other peoples' religions and other peoples' differences
	M2: Permacultural principles provide a self-directed, practicable, free, and creative alternative to mainstream lifestyles	M2: [Through permaculture] I'll be more inspired by what I'll be doing, I'll be learning more, I'll be able to use my creativity and my potential in a much bigger way, and they will have this, really, kind of liberty to act, and this liberty to create.	M2: The Baha'I faith finds the solution to be mutual respect, understanding, and caring	M2: The Baha'i faith talks a lot about, you know, how we need to be unified and, you know, how we need to overlook each other's faults and we need to love everyone regardless.
	M3: Permaculture empowers through self-awareness, self-sufficiency, and understanding and nurturing the interconnections in ecology, humanity, and between ecology and humanity	M3: Try to empower people, to be autonomous and to be self-sufficient, you know, what it means to rediscover the usage of their hands and create with their hands and you know, how they can do things by themselves [...] things are always disconnected from each other. And this is what we're trying to work on. So, long-term and holistic, uh, vision.	M3: Baha'i service is to apply these principles, to be participatory and dialogical in fostering community, to bring unity from diversity	The primary purpose of the Baha'i faith is to unify the whole world. M3: We do a lot of service projects to sort of drive home that point of you know we're all connected in the community and you know we should be doing these good things for each other [Baha'i theosophy] says that we need to love everyone and be unified with everyone

Topic	Permaculture	Text Selections	Baha'i	Text Selections
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Construal	<p>M1: Permaculture focuses on both abstract ideals and concrete practices</p> <p>M2: Permaculture focuses on both long-term and short-term, large and small scales, but emphasizes the short term and small scale in action and large scale and long term in process and goals</p>	<p>M1: Both. The moral ideals are something we try to communicate. In terms of practical implementation, as I mentioned above, there are different priorities simply because of the vast broadness of the issue.</p> <p>M2: Uh, permaculture, by definition, is permanent culture, so it's, uh, it's long-term issues starting with, uh, practical, short-term, not short-term, let's say practical simple stuff. [...] So, we make things simple but we have in mind a very long-term, uh, objective.</p> <p>You know very often I think that one of the limitations for people that want to contribute to something positive is that, you know, they have this idea that they want to change the world. But then it's like okay how can I this, small [person]... But then, you know, you have to start realizing that changing the world is like it will happen in very small actions, you know?</p>	<p>M1: Baha'i service focuses on both abstract ideals and concrete practice</p> <p>M2: Baha'i service focuses on both long-term and short-term, large and small scales, but emphasizes the short term and small scale in action and large scale and long term in process and goals</p>	<p>M1: Um, I would say it's both. Um, so um one of the themes of, um, the program itself [...] as having like, two-fold purpose [...] living up to higher standards and spiritual principles. And the other aspect of it is serving our community and xxx and other people, and communities, and institutions, and thinking about those more structurally. One of the big things in the program is that these two things reinforce each other. That we can't really, um, like dichotomize them or separate our lives into two pieces like the betterment of myself and the betterment of my community, they're not two different things, they go hand in hand.</p> <p>M2: I think it's combination but it's definitely more towards the side of um you know long term solutions.</p> <p>Um, I think probably more like [small-scale] effort because, like, we know what's going to happen, um, but we, we think it's probably, like, you know, far in the future, like, in terms of, like, having, like, a perfect world it's, like, way far in the future, so we don't really focus too much on that we just focus on, like, taking small steps forward and just doing whatever we can do so I think we focus more on the effort, the intention.</p>
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Topic	Permaculture	Text Selections	Baha'i	Text Selections
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Intragroup Relations	<p>M1: Permaculture activists share and collaborate with each other rather than compete or act in territorial or proprietarian ways</p> <p>M2: Sharing and collaborating is done without expectations of reciprocation. Selfless collaboration brings returns irrespective of reciprocation</p>	<p>M1: That's why sharing, uh, information is very important because we're not competing. We want to help each other. For instance, if I know that, uh, someone is trying to go to this workshop and I hear of a grant to, for Lebanese people to do something environmental abroad, I would tell him, you know, I won't keep it for myself. And because this has to do with my experience in other NGOs I really feel that Lebanon needs more collaboration, more information sharing, rather than competition. [...] in permaculture, it's different, so if you want to be trained xxx basics of permaculture and the way we deal with each other, not just in the workshops.</p> <p>M2: I think there is a trend in the movement to help and to share without expecting anything in return. [...] And this is kind of change xxx bringing when we talk about an egoless xxx and when we talk about collaboration. [...] as long as you have the intention to share and as long as you are sharing without expecting anything in return, whether you get something in return directly from that person with whom you share, doesn't matter because ultimately you'll get something back, in the sense that the world will give you something back. And it might seem for a lot of people as something very like esoteric and very like out there like, but to be honest with you, like, I've experienced it myself, when you start giving, without... You know, giving selflessly, you really start realizing how you really get it back in return and it's really quite, quite powerful.</p>	<p>M1: Baha'i service activists compete with (challenge) themselves, not others</p>	<p>M1: It's not, like, uh, sort of competition that you would normally think. I think it's more, like, uh, competing with yourself than anything else you would.</p>
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Intergroup relations	<p>M1: Permaculture is negatively stereotyped in society as backward and radical, though this stereotype is waning</p> <p>M2: Permaculture activists prefer to collaborate with and learn from other groups than to compete, though competition for self-improvement, competition with the self, rather than for dominance can be seen as healthy</p> <p>M3: Permaculture activists engage in "converting" other groups to permaculture as a lifestyle, in its principles, only by example, but find promotion of specific projects or workshops very valuable for the movement and for others</p>	<p>But in general, I have to say that as by external xxx as a kind of radical xxx and this is something which has not always helped us and has not always facilitated xxx. Because there's a lot of misconceptions and a lot of yeah misunderstandings. More and more the movement is starting to be seen with a better eye as being a movement that is not, that is yes, radical in the solutions it proposes, but it is radical in a positive sense that can bring higher quality of life, community, and is not a radical movement as is very much characterized is often characterized as a movement that wants to go back and living as cavepeople. This I think couple of years ago at the beginning of the decade maybe it was more seen as something like that. But now more and more people are starting to understand that no it's not about that [...] So I think the image of the permaculture movement is slowly changing.</p> <p>M2: We want to collaborate with other people and other groups. We want to build on each group's experience and knowledge and expertise.</p> <p>I think it's like competition needs to be reversed, compete with myself and I need to collaborate with others</p> <p>[...] Competition will make you try to do your work better. So as long as you don't like put everyone down because you are doing it better, I think it's very healthy.</p> <p>M3: I mean, we try to do it [promotion/conversion] by example. We try with our friends, with workshops, with</p>	<p>M1: Baha'i service activists are seen in a generally good light, but as idealist and non-practical.</p> <p>M2: Baha'I service activists actively avoid competition or confrontation with other groups</p> <p>M3: In activism, Baha'is come inclusively, with humility, to the table, without conversion intentions</p>	<p>M1: I think a lot of, I think we do have a good image for probably most people. I think people see us as having good ideals that we're working for and good things that we believe in. Um, I don't know if people actually think that we can, I think some people probably think that we're, rrlike, idealists and that we can't really accomplish these things that we believe that we can accomplish as a world.</p> <p>M2: [Competition] Definitely not [important], no. We would see that as being very disunifying if we tried to compete with other groups. That would just, like, be the opposite of what we're trying to accomplish. We try to find people that</p>
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	<p>who might be interested</p>	<p>demonstrations.</p> <p>Especially in social medias, on pages or websites, you will see everybody always promoting other people's initiatives, talking about other people's xxx, getting the word out, you know, very often we do online crowd funding initiatives and so we're always promoting the different projects. Whenever we feel that there is something really interesting happening in terms of a project, there's good potential, that somebody is behind this project, very dedicated, very passionate about it</p>	<p>we can work with, but if they're doing something that we're not doing, you know, that we're not interested in or that we don't want to do it that way, it's not that we compete we just don't, we just wouldn't work with them. We would just do something else.</p> <p>M3: Like when we approach people we don't even say ok do you want to come to this group or not.</p>
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Topic	Permaculture	Text Selections	Baha'i	Text Selections
Causal Attributions	<p>M1: Causes are fundamentally systemic, all share responsibility</p> <p>M2: Systems identified as causes include sociocultural and political-economic systems such as: capitalism, materialism, competitiveness, disconnection from nature</p> <p>M3: Assigning blame (to agents) is not important to permaculture</p>	<p>M1: I mean directly would be the companies because they're profiting on, uh, anything. They don't care they are destroying whatever. But, I don't think it's them. They are just, uh, trying to survive, I just think the way we live, the system that has been set in place is not correct, like, um, you xxx do things but a lot of them are, you know, isolating people and making them compete with each other so, you know, like I come from a very poor country where we have very extreme, like, we have the richest person in the world and we have xxx percent of the population living with less than two dollars a day. It's not that the rich person is wrong, it's just like doing his best, you know. So I think it's just, uh, a matter of, like, uh, the system is not based in strength, the resources of wealth is just about, like, you know, they try to give you the goal of get more, more, more, more, more, and people xxx, it's not that they're bad, but they act badly.</p> <p>M2: So for me this unsustainable world is the result of an economic system that</p>	<p>M1: Causes are fundamentally systemic, all share responsibility</p> <p>M2: Systems identified as causes include sociocultural and political-economic systems such as: material-spiritual imbalance, disrespect and misunderstanding of differences, media and economic practices</p> <p>M3: Assigning blame (to agents) is not important to Baha'i service and principles</p>	<p>M1: You know like even [people] who have been brutal and who have been unjust, uh, are human beings and are people in the context of a system. So, uh, I think that we also look at the causes and who's to blame but like not stop with like, not be satisfied with just pointing a finger and demonizing someone.</p> <p>I don't think it's as wishy-washy as oh they're these like negative forces, I know that there's certain like groups of people and specific people who did things that were xxx created oppressive structures in a society. But I think xxx sort of like understanding how spiritual forces and material forces interact with each other [...] but I think it's</p>

	<p>has completely lost control</p> <p>People are very disconnected from the source of food they eat, from nature, from everything around them that even if they read they lack awareness, you know, so it's not like, I think, it's years and years of accumulation of distance with nature that is, um, the cause</p> <p>Irresponsible development, capitalism, ignorance, lack of civic education. [From] Schools, political parties, the skewed values system in society.</p> <p>We all as a community, it's all our, uh, all human race is to blame [...] It's not, uh, someone or a government in particular, or a country in particular [...] So it's really the development of the human race, not the, but of course, let's say we are to be blamed if we don't make any change, I guess, but to blame someone or something for the lack of awareness, no, I think it's much bigger than that.</p> <p>M3: No, I don't think so [blame is important]. I think as long as you change your ways and your life, uh, the other problems won't, uh,</p>	<p>like a lot of different factors that have contributed to the causes of these issues</p> <p>M2: I think xxx a lot of different things that interact in ways that make it that way, obviously like the xxx of slavery that we're still dealing with and, um, that there is slavery, I think that there's a lot of materialism, um and this sort of like, in elevating like material success over another human being that different people and groups of people throughout history justify through oppressing other human beings for their own material success.</p> <p>M3: Um, I don't know that it [blame] does [matter]. I mean, I think it's more important to have an idea of, to be able to identify at</p>
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		<p>affect you anymore and that is basically what happened to me.</p> <p>No! This is alternative lifestyle/philosophy</p>	<p>least, like, and name negative forces. And I think, um, in general the program tries to shy away from an approach that looks at, like, look much at the destructive forces or negative forces that are operating because then you could just have a whole program that's lamenting and complaining about what's wrong instead of, you know, really spending all that time and energy that junior youth have on doing something constructive.</p>
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Topic	Permaculture	Text Selections	Baha'i	Text Selections
Solution Responsibility Attributions	<p>M1: Everyone is responsible for enacting solutions.</p> <p>M2: Responsibility is in enacting solutions yourself, and with working out solutions with others who request or are open to them</p>	<p>M1: Uh, it's, um, It's my responsibility and it should be everybody's responsibility.</p> <p>M2: We discuss things, create together, how we try to create innovation together, how do we come together as individuals and as groups</p> <p>Well I guess it's just, um, what I've been learning throughout the years, you know, and I just try to pass the knowledge to the people that want to. [...] Well then, you know, you can always try to tell them (people uninterested in permaculture solutions], but, um, my experience is when you try to do that they just get very upset because you are challenging their lifestyle. They don't like it so, you</p>	<p>M1: Everyone is responsible for enacting solutions.</p> <p>M2: Responsibility is in working out solutions with others</p>	<p>M1: I think it's everybody [being responsible for solutions], like, we have um, we kind of see things in terms of three sort of protagonists, I don't know what we call them, but we have the individual, the community, and institutions and all of these are important for, youknow, serving mankind.</p> <p>M2: I mean I think another really whole aspect of this program that we talk a lot about is being in a humble posture of learning. [...] Uh so I think that in that way, there are a lot of efforts of collaboration, uh, with other agencies who are also interested in um you know similar goals as ourselves. So you know it's all a</p>

		<p>know I'm not interested in knocking on closed doors. I have opened mine and whoever wants to come in, I'm here.</p>	<p>process of just acting, and reflecting, and revising our approach so that's why we really have to you know. Buddhists would call it the beginner's mind. We really have to stay in a beginner's mind and just kind of be in that open state where we're kind of always open to new learning and new directions. [...] We're like you know: who are you and what do you think? Let's kind of learn together and we'll continue our relationship in some way or another. Regardless what level of involvement you are interested in this process</p>
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Topic	Permaculture	Text Selections	Baha'i	Text Selections
Collective Affordances	<p>M1: People realizing the unsustainability of current systems because of adversity</p> <p>M2: Having people actually doing permaculture and providing practicable exemplars of the alternative for others</p> <p>M3: Having many people with diverse skills collaborating in the movement</p>	<p>M1: Uh, I think it's a matter of, uh, you know, xxx the night is the darkest before the dawn. [...] The world is getting to a point that everything is becoming, you know, difficult and ugly-looking that people are just looking for something else, you know, and that's where the sustainability movement comes in, you know?</p> <p>M2: Things are happening under the umbrella of permaculture and this serves to reinforce the concept and make it more mainstream. The more initiatives we have, the more we get closer to our overall long-term goal. Change has to happen everywhere simultaneously and continuously, so we need more examples and inspirations.</p> <p>To be honest with you I think that it's not about chances, but I think really, change is happening. I believe in humanity's capacity to evolve to a more sustainable xxx. [...] But I think that you know some excellent things are happening and I do believe that we will eventually...</p> <p>M3: I also think we need, we're trying to have more people who</p>	<p>M1: Social bonds - people understanding each other and collaborating</p>	<p>M1: Which ones are really important? Um, I think the social bonds</p>

		<p>are, like, let's say architects who would be interested in, uh, green building, for example, who can go do some workshop and then come back and try to build something, you know, just to get more things going on, on a more advanced level. So now we started to meet some people but we need to get to know some people more and build, uh, let's say deeper collaborations with them.</p>		
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Topic	Permaculture	Text Selections	Baha'i	Text Selections
Collective Constraints	<p>M1: Fear of loss hinders the movement's acceptance and growth</p> <p>M2: Network structure is a constraint on the movement</p>	<p>M1: Oh I think it's [...] uh, fear of letting go, you know. [...] Yeah, uh, a lot of people want to change but they are afraid of losing what they have which is their job, their house in the expensive suburb, um, et cetera, where, you know, they feel like if they lose that, they might lose their, I don't know, personality, their life [style]. So once people start going xxx and letting go of that, the change will just come very quickly and radically. You know, I have seen that from experiencing myself and other people.</p> <p>M2: Geographic distance of members, and a community that is still not fully concretized.</p>	<p>M1: Lack of interest, availability, unity, and commitment among and outside the community are the main constraints on Baha'i activism</p>	<p>M1: I think that has to do with, like, you know, the sort of materialism of, you know, city life. Um, I don't know. But yeah, so busyness both and that applies to the Baha'is and the, um, other people. So, um, you know, in terms of, like, we do a lot of, like, you know, different gatherings and activities so, you know, if people are not available it's hard to have things happen. Um, and, um, also, like, lack of interest I guess, like, um, for these, like, um, for these, like, junior youth groups I think it can be a challenge, um, but I think it's, sometimes it's hard to know, like, whether it's interest or whether people are busy because sometimes you never know if people make up excuses or something. Like, if you really want to, like, you can be busy with anything, you know. It's based on what you're interested in I guess. So that's something that I really never, it's really hard to know, like, sometimes why people don't want to do something. Yeah, that was probably the main obstacle. And</p>

				<p>then I think just unity itself because, like, unity is our goal but unity is also, like, our mode of action. Like, we think that if, like, our community has to be unified in order to, like, help unify other people. So sometimes there's, like, problems with unity among the Baha'i community itself so then it can be really hard to get things done.</p>
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Topic	Permaculture	Text Selections	Baha'i	Text Selections
Control	<p>M1: High sense of, and internal locus of, individual and collective control over own outcomes</p> <p>M2: Lack of sense of, and external locus, of control over broader societal change. This kind of control not of importance to movement</p>	<p>Control is not maybe something which is necessarily good and you don't necessarily get what you want by forcing it. I would rather use the word mastery. We are part of this permaculture, has a lot of mastery. It has a lot of mastery on the individual level and has, is building, a lot of mastery at the community level. [...]</p> <p>So I would say the movement has a lot of mastery and this mastery is you know we can say it is as good as having control. And at the end of the day, even if institutions, like the state, xxx, private institutions, if they are not transitioning as fast as we would like them to, I'm confident that the permaculture movement is creating that kind of transition, and whether or not other people want to follow, this movement is creating in a way its own world and its reality and people who want to be part of it and who want to live in it, you know, they can do it.</p> <p>M2: We are not trying at all to create something rigid or very xxx system or, we're just initiating, uh, some things and then people can continue on their own, do their own mistakes, report back or not, and I don't think we can</p>	<p>M1: Moderate sense of, and internal locus of, individual control over own outcomes</p> <p>M2: Lack of sense of, and external locus, of control over broader societal change. This kind of control not of importance to movement</p>	<p>um I don't know how much control that they have over the effect of their service necessarily on other people but I think that they have a lot of control over how their service affects them and what they learn from it, and um youknow how they channel it into taking the next step</p> <p>Um, I think probably no control. I think that goes with everything in life, like, you never can control any outcome, you can only control what, you know, you can put a certain amount of effort into it and you control your motivation and your intention behind it but you never can control the outcome of anything I don't think. I think just maybe try to trust in God that everything will work out and that whatever is meant to be will be and then if it doesn't, you know, work out right away, well, we don't, like, lose heart we just persevere and</p>

		control that. We can learn if they tell us about it. We can exchange, we can network, but I don't think we can control.		we just trust that everything will work out eventually.
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Topic	Permaculture	Text Selections	Baha'i	Text Selections
Justice	<p>M1: Justice is subjective and situational, based on need and caring</p> <p>M2: Justice applies to more than human interaction</p>	<p>M1: Our definition of justice is summarized in one of the principles of permaculture: Fair Share. This means that no one should take more than they need, and that those who need the most should have priority. On the community level, benefits should impact the larger community, not just a few individuals.</p> <p>Care for people, care for the earth, and fair share.</p> <p>M2: Uh, I never thought of it [...] Let's say that, also from a holistic point of view, for me, justice is about everything in all species, and not about human beings. [...] Before, I used, before, sense of justice for me was only related to human beings, like, uh, we should feed the poor, we should, uh, not do wars, everybody should have food, et cetera. But now it's... I have a broader sense linked to all species rather than just human beings. But it's not really very specific.</p>	<p>M1: Justice is subjective and situational, based on the principles of the faith</p>	<p>M1: Justice. I don't know, like, I think it's just maybe depends on the situation, like, I think we have a lot of teachings about, you know, what's considered what's right and what's wrong, so I guess justice would probably be, um, whatever we consider to be good I guess.</p> <p>Good treatment, good distribution of resources, good relationships and personal interactions.</p>

Appendix 3

Alter-cultural Relations Beta RIOTScan Dictionary

Content Code	Variable	Content Code Definition
1	Hierarchy-Dominance	status, government, authority, authorities, power, powers, powerful, weak, strong, rule*, politic*, command*, control*, dominan*, elite*, subordinat*, executive*, superior*, inferior*, regulat*, hierarch*
2	Systems-Ecology	system*, structur*, ecolog*, macrocosm, world order
3	Justice	equality, egal*, justice, fair*, rights, rightful, right, moral*, equit*
4	Polarization	enemy, enemies, adversary, adversaries, competitor*, opponent*, opposition, antagon*, attacker*, villain*, foe*, faction*, bloc, their side, other side, rival
5	Mutualism	good for us all*, good for all*, positive sum, everybody win*, harmony, respect*, considerat*, empath*, care, caring, share, sharing, unity, unify, unified, mutual*, win-win, no one los*, holis*, interconnect*, interdependen*, interw*
6	Create	making, generate, generates, generating, create, creates, creating, develop, build, builds, built, producing, produced, producing, constructing, constructed
7	Exemplify	exemplif*, model*, by example, embody, illustrate
8	Help	teach*, train*, educat*, help*, aid*, support*, cooperat*, serve
9	Persuade	propagand*, spin, proselytize, convert, campaign*, sway, influence, advocate, persua*, convinc*, argu*, urge
10	Exit	avoid*, escap*, evad*, withdr*, abandon*, renounc*, exit*, leave, emigrat*, seclu*, isolat*
11	Voice	voic*, opinion*, express*, view*, dialogue*, conversation*, represent*, assert*, declar*, proclaim*, speak*
12	Attack	damag*, break*, defeat*, destroy*, compet*, struggle*, fight*, contest*, confront*, battl*, clash*, war*, oppose*, contend*, attack*, aggress*, overturn*, overthrow*, revolution*, win, winning
13	Obstruct	stop*, block*, hinder*, disrupt*, hamper*, disabl*, incapacitat*, undermin*, sabotag*, end, ending, remov*
14	Affordance	potential*, skill*, ability, abilities, capability, capabilities, capacity, capacities, affordance*, means, asset*, resource*

15	Efficacy	practical, practicable, resilient, capable, mastery, competen*, effective*, effectual, impactful, successful, efficac*, workable, useful, helpful, productive, constructive, applicable, applied, generative, productive, serviceable, bountiful, confidence, optimis*
16	Deliberation	plan*, design*, strateg*, tactic*, study, understand, examine, deliberat*, calculate*, contemplat*, analy*, discern*, reasoning, logic*, rational*
17	Blame	because of them, blame, fault, guilty, culpable, condemn, denounce, hold responsible, accuse, pointing fingers, accountable, criticiz*, implicated, indict*

Appendix 3A

Study 3.1 MANCOVA Results

Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
LIWC_affect	164.414	3	54.805	18.222	.000	.013
LIWC_posemo	148.453	3	49.484	19.401	.000	.014
LIWC_anger	144.486	3	48.162	131.006	.000	.089
LIWC_discrep	17.563	3	5.854	8.893	.000	.007
LIWC_incl	76.764	3	25.588	7.838	.000	.006
LIWC_excl	146.245	3	48.748	45.164	.000	.032
HIERARCHYDOMINANCE	22.468	3	7.489	31.212	.000	.023
SYSTEMSECOLOGY	6.840	3	2.280	20.863	.000	.015
JUSTICE	29.509	3	9.836	38.905	.000	.028
POLARIZATION	.095	3	.032	5.116	.002	.004
MUTUALISM	.560	3	.187	1.708	.163	.001
CREATE	8.735	3	2.912	34.556	.000	.025
EXEMPLIFY	1.237	3	.412	22.153	.000	.016
HELP	109.348	3	36.449	84.227	.000	.059
PERSUADE	9.029	3	3.010	60.954	.000	.043
EXIT	.019	3	.006	.409	.747	.000
VOICE	4.864	3	1.621	19.641	.000	.014
ATTACK	15.880	3	5.293	42.515	.000	.031
OBSTRUCT	2.585	3	.862	16.327	.000	.012
AFFORDANCE	3.269	3	1.090	13.647	.000	.010
EFFICACY	1.335	3	.445	13.422	.000	.010
DELIBERATION	18.039	3	6.013	29.874	.000	.022
BLAME	.334	3	.111	24.767	.000	.018

Table 3A.1. Tests of between-subjects effects by group cluster, with Bonferroni alpha contrast adjustment.

(I) Type: Mutualist

Dependent Variable	(J) Type	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig. ^b	95% Confidence Interval for Difference ^b	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
LIWC_i	Cooperative	.110	.069	.675	-.073	.292
	Competitive	.363*	.050	.000	.230	.496
	Avoidant	.176	.083	.202	-.043	.395
LIWC_we	Cooperative	.004	.079	1.000	-.206	.214
	Competitive	-.066	.058	1.000	-.219	.086
	Avoidant	.039	.095	1.000	-.212	.290
LIWC_you	Cooperative	.373*	.052	.000	.235	.511
	Competitive	.173*	.038	.000	.073	.273
	Avoidant	-.345*	.063	.000	-.510	-.180
LIWC_affect	Cooperative	-.526*	.088	.000	-.757	-.294
	Competitive	-.377*	.064	.000	-.546	-.209
	Avoidant	-.068	.105	1.000	-.345	.210
LIWC_posemo	Cooperative	-.311*	.081	.001	-.524	-.098
	Competitive	.262*	.059	.000	.106	.417
	Avoidant	.247	.097	.065	-.009	.502
LIWC_negemo	Cooperative	-.226*	.050	.000	-.358	-.094
	Competitive	-.649*	.036	.000	-.745	-.553
	Avoidant	-.322*	.060	.000	-.481	-.164
LIWC_anger	Cooperative	.012	.031	1.000	-.069	.093
	Competitive	-.409*	.022	.000	-.468	-.350
	Avoidant	-.198*	.037	.000	-.295	-.101
LIWC_discrep	Cooperative	.048	.041	1.000	-.060	.157
	Competitive	.016	.030	1.000	-.062	.095
	Avoidant	-.222*	.049	.000	-.351	-.092
LIWC_incl	Cooperative	-.169	.091	.383	-.410	.072
	Competitive	.182*	.067	.037	.007	.358
	Avoidant	-.227	.109	.231	-.516	.062

LIWC_excl	Cooperative	.425*	.053	.000	.287	.564
	Competitive	.151*	.038	.000	.050	.252
	Avoidant	-.373*	.063	.000	-.540	-.207
HIERARCHYDO MINANCE	Cooperative	.017	.025	1.000	-.048	.082
	Competitive	-.158*	.018	.000	-.205	-.110
	Avoidant	-.040	.030	1.000	-.118	.039
SYSTEMSECOLO GY	Cooperative	.097*	.017	.000	.053	.141
	Competitive	.081*	.012	.000	.049	.113
	Avoidant	.087*	.020	.000	.035	.140
POLARIZATION	Cooperative	.007	.004	.448	-.003	.018
	Competitive	-.006	.003	.256	-.014	.002
	Avoidant	-.010	.005	.185	-.023	.002
MUTUALISM	Cooperative	.014	.017	1.000	-.030	.058
	Competitive	.020	.012	.588	-.012	.052
	Avoidant	-.019	.020	1.000	-.072	.034
CREATE	Cooperative	.053*	.015	.002	.014	.091
	Competitive	.108*	.011	.000	.080	.137
	Avoidant	.064*	.018	.002	.018	.111
EXEMPLIFY	Cooperative	.021*	.007	.015	.003	.039
	Competitive	.041*	.005	.000	.028	.054
	Avoidant	.024*	.008	.018	.003	.046
HELP	Cooperative	-.219*	.033	.000	-.306	-.131
	Competitive	.265*	.024	.000	.201	.329
	Avoidant	.168*	.040	.000	.063	.274
PERSUADE	Cooperative	-.017	.011	.827	-.046	.013
	Competitive	-.106*	.008	.000	-.128	-.085
	Avoidant	-.023	.013	.560	-.058	.013
EXIT	Cooperative	9.877E-006	.006	1.000	-.017	.017
	Competitive	.005	.005	1.000	-.007	.017
	Avoidant	.001	.008	1.000	-.019	.021

VOICE	Cooperative	-.001	.015	1.000	-.040	.037
	Competitive	-.075*	.011	.000	-.103	-.047
	Avoidant	-.010	.017	1.000	-.055	.036
ATTACK	Cooperative	-.055*	.018	.013	-.102	-.008
	Competitive	-.146*	.013	.000	-.180	-.112
	Avoidant	-.073*	.021	.004	-.129	-.016
OBSTRUCT	Cooperative	-.012	.012	1.000	-.042	.019
	Competitive	-.056*	.008	.000	-.078	-.034
	Avoidant	-.001	.014	1.000	-.038	.036
AFFORDANCE	Cooperative	-.004	.014	1.000	-.042	.033
	Competitive	.055*	.010	.000	.027	.082
	Avoidant	-.026	.017	.806	-.071	.020
EFFICACY	Cooperative	-.014	.009	.736	-.039	.010
	Competitive	.033*	.007	.000	.015	.051
	Avoidant	.030*	.011	.037	.001	.059
DELIBERATION	Cooperative	.083*	.023	.001	.023	.143
	Competitive	.134*	.017	.000	.090	.178
	Avoidant	-.060	.027	.165	-.132	.012
BLAME	Cooperative	-.006	.003	.536	-.015	.003
	Competitive	-.021*	.002	.000	-.027	-.014
	Avoidant	-.005	.004	1.000	-.015	.006

Table 3A.2. Pairwise comparisons between group clusters. Based on estimated marginal means. Bonferroni adjusted for multiple comparisons.

Appendix 3B

Study 3.1 MG-MLM Results

Invariant model syntax

```
usevariables are group
LIWC_discrep LIWC_incl LIWC_excl
SYSTEMSECOLOGY POLARIZATION MUTUALISM
AFFORDANCE EFFICACY DELIBERATION
BLAME LIWC_anger
CREATE
EXEMPLIFY
HELP
PERSUADE
EXIT
VOICE
ATTACK
OBSTRUCT
type;
cluster = group;
grouping = type(1=mutualist, 2=cooperative, 3=competitive, 4=avoidant);
Analysis: type=complex;
Define: center all (grandmean);

!! Original Model
MODEL:
liwc_incl on liwc_discrep;
liwc_excl on liwc_discrep;
polarization on LIWC_discrep LIWC_incl LIWC_excl;
mutualism on LIWC_discrep LIWC_incl LIWC_excl;
systemsecology on LIWC_discrep LIWC_incl LIWC_excl;
deliberation on polarization systemsecology LIWC_excl LIWC_incl mutualism;
affordance on polarization systemsecology mutualism;
blame on polarization affordance systemsecology mutualism;
efficacy on affordance;
LIWC_anger on blame affordance;
EXEMPLIFY on LIWC_anger efficacy deliberation;
HELP on LIWC_anger efficacy deliberation;
PERSUADE on LIWC_anger efficacy deliberation;
EXIT on LIWC_anger efficacy deliberation;
VOICE on LIWC_anger efficacy deliberation;
ATTACK on LIWC_anger efficacy deliberation;
OBSTRUCT on LIWC_anger efficacy deliberation;
CREATE on LIWC_anger efficacy deliberation;
mutualism with polarization;
liwc_incl with liwc_excl;
```

Invariant model results

MODEL FIT INFORMATION

Number of Free Parameters 464

Loglikelihood

H0 Value	-12279.579
H0 Scaling Correction Factor for MLR	7.7019
H1 Value	-11518.152
H1 Scaling Correction Factor for MLR	4.8108

Information Criteria

Akaike (AIC)	25487.158
Bayesian (BIC)	28414.162
Sample-Size Adjusted BIC	26939.774
(n* = (n + 2) / 24)	

Chi-Square Test of Model Fit

Value	1353.203*
Degrees of Freedom	364
P-Value	0.0000
Scaling Correction Factor for MLR	1.1254

Chi-Square Contribution From Each Group

MUTUALIST	594.993
COOPERATIVE	206.177
COMPETITIVE	286.854
AVOIDANT	265.179

* The chi-square value for MLM, MLMV, MLR, ULSMV, WLSM and WLSMV cannot be used

for chi-square difference testing in the regular way. MLM, MLR and WLSM chi-square difference testing is described on the Mplus website. MLMV, WLSMV, and ULSMV difference testing is done using the DIFFTEST option.

RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error Of Approximation)

Estimate	0.052
90 Percent C.I.	0.049 0.055
Probability RMSEA <= .05	0.159

CFI/TLI

CFI 0.737

TLI 0.507

Chi-Square Test of Model Fit for the Baseline Model

Value 4451.579

Degrees of Freedom 684

P-Value 0.0000

SRMR (Standardized Root Mean Square Residual)

Value 0.048

STDYX Standardization

	Estimate	S.E.	Two-Tailed Est./S.E.	P-Value
Group MUTUALIST				
LIWC_INC ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.132	0.042	-3.162	0.002
LIWC_EXC ON				
LIWC_DISCR	0.547	0.037	14.695	0.000
POLARIZA ON				
LIWC_DISCR	0.030	0.043	0.696	0.486
LIWC_INCL	-0.042	0.025	-1.700	0.089
LIWC_EXCL	0.023	0.026	0.893	0.372
MUTUALIS ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.020	0.033	-0.601	0.548
LIWC_INCL	0.215	0.050	4.256	0.000
LIWC_EXCL	-0.041	0.034	-1.211	0.226
SYSTEMSE ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.024	0.027	-0.900	0.368
LIWC_INCL	0.095	0.047	2.033	0.042
LIWC_EXCL	-0.053	0.038	-1.398	0.162
DELIBERA ON				
POLARIZATI	0.003	0.033	0.105	0.917
SYSTEMSECO	0.165	0.069	2.383	0.017
LIWC_EXCL	-0.091	0.031	-2.921	0.003
LIWC_INCL	0.097	0.037	2.611	0.009
MUTUALISM	-0.069	0.045	-1.535	0.125

AFFORDAN ON

POLARIZATI	-0.049	0.012	-4.094	0.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.099	0.040	2.499	0.012
MUTUALISM	0.026	0.036	0.735	0.463

BLAME ON

POLARIZATI	0.006	0.014	0.408	0.683
AFFORDANCE	-0.008	0.016	-0.478	0.632
SYSTEMSECO	-0.010	0.014	-0.685	0.493
MUTUALISM	-0.012	0.014	-0.836	0.403

EFFICACY ON

AFFORDANCE	0.167	0.033	5.007	0.000
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LIWC_ANG ON

BLAME	0.099	0.026	3.795	0.000
AFFORDANCE	-0.018	0.027	-0.659	0.510

EXEMPLIF ON

LIWC_ANGER	-0.078	0.020	-3.943	0.000
EFFICACY	0.067	0.030	2.241	0.025
DELIBERATI	0.023	0.038	0.622	0.534

HELP ON

LIWC_ANGER	-0.142	0.033	-4.353	0.000
EFFICACY	0.160	0.088	1.811	0.070
DELIBERATI	-0.026	0.042	-0.634	0.526

PERSUADE ON

LIWC_ANGER	0.098	0.022	4.466	0.000
EFFICACY	0.004	0.028	0.153	0.879
DELIBERATI	-0.024	0.026	-0.898	0.369

EXIT ON

LIWC_ANGER	0.108	0.038	2.816	0.005
EFFICACY	-0.015	0.019	-0.815	0.415
DELIBERATI	-0.010	0.022	-0.469	0.639

VOICE ON

LIWC_ANGER	-0.016	0.036	-0.454	0.650
EFFICACY	0.001	0.030	0.028	0.978
DELIBERATI	-0.036	0.045	-0.793	0.428

ATTACK ON

LIWC_ANGER	0.358	0.047	7.593	0.000
EFFICACY	-0.013	0.026	-0.510	0.610
DELIBERATI	0.007	0.015	0.458	0.647

OBSTRUCT ON

LIWC_ANGER	0.079	0.032	2.460	0.014
EFFICACY	-0.026	0.022	-1.163	0.245

DELIBERATI	-0.052	0.018	-2.949	0.003
CREATE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.087	0.029	-2.953	0.003
EFFICACY	0.046	0.023	1.997	0.046
DELIBERATI	0.131	0.026	5.098	0.000
MUTUALIS WITH				
POLARIZATI	-0.023	0.009	-2.646	0.008
LIWC_INC WITH				
LIWC_EXCL	-0.202	0.031	-6.472	0.000
EXEMPLIF WITH				
CREATE	0.087	0.025	3.449	0.001
HELP WITH				
CREATE	0.094	0.046	2.047	0.041
EXEMPLIFY	0.077	0.035	2.187	0.029
PERSUADE WITH				
CREATE	0.065	0.025	2.651	0.008
EXEMPLIFY	0.050	0.028	1.748	0.080
HELP	0.079	0.035	2.270	0.023
EXIT WITH				
CREATE	-0.016	0.039	-0.404	0.687
EXEMPLIFY	-0.036	0.014	-2.650	0.008
HELP	-0.074	0.020	-3.781	0.000
PERSUADE	-0.009	0.020	-0.479	0.632
VOICE WITH				
CREATE	-0.035	0.027	-1.305	0.192
EXEMPLIFY	-0.005	0.029	-0.176	0.860
HELP	0.009	0.024	0.383	0.702
PERSUADE	0.057	0.026	2.135	0.033
EXIT	0.015	0.056	0.265	0.791
ATTACK WITH				
CREATE	-0.005	0.026	-0.170	0.865
EXEMPLIFY	-0.034	0.010	-3.380	0.001
HELP	-0.038	0.029	-1.330	0.184
PERSUADE	-0.005	0.024	-0.224	0.823
EXIT	-0.001	0.021	-0.058	0.954
VOICE	-0.014	0.034	-0.404	0.686
OBSTRUCT WITH				
CREATE	-0.032	0.023	-1.409	0.159
EXEMPLIFY	-0.058	0.010	-5.602	0.000
HELP	-0.082	0.022	-3.764	0.000

PERSUADE	0.005	0.024	0.204	0.838
EXIT	0.059	0.038	1.566	0.117
VOICE	-0.009	0.023	-0.375	0.708
ATTACK	0.118	0.050	2.373	0.018

Intercepts

LIWC_ANGER	0.000	0.113	0.000	1.000
LIWC_INCL	0.000	0.076	0.000	1.000
LIWC_EXCL	0.000	0.079	0.000	1.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.000	0.079	0.000	1.000
POLARIZATI	0.000	0.050	0.000	1.000
MUTUALISM	0.000	0.050	0.000	1.000
CREATE	0.000	0.068	0.000	1.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.000	0.052	0.000	1.000
HELP	0.000	0.111	0.000	1.000
PERSUADE	0.000	0.042	0.000	1.000
EXIT	0.000	0.052	0.000	1.000
VOICE	0.000	0.059	0.000	1.000
ATTACK	0.000	0.056	0.000	1.000
OBSTRUCT	0.000	0.052	0.000	1.000
AFFORDANCE	0.000	0.049	0.000	1.000
EFFICACY	0.000	0.060	0.000	1.000
DELIBERATI	0.000	0.081	0.000	1.000
BLAME	0.000	0.034	0.000	1.000

Residual Variances

LIWC_ANGER	0.990	0.006	168.801	0.000
LIWC_INCL	0.983	0.011	88.858	0.000
LIWC_EXCL	0.701	0.041	17.196	0.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.983	0.014	68.591	0.000
POLARIZATI	0.995	0.006	173.864	0.000
MUTUALISM	0.945	0.022	42.832	0.000
CREATE	0.973	0.006	166.572	0.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.989	0.005	190.171	0.000
HELP	0.953	0.029	32.377	0.000
PERSUADE	0.990	0.005	196.883	0.000
EXIT	0.988	0.008	116.881	0.000
VOICE	0.998	0.003	297.195	0.000
ATTACK	0.872	0.034	25.575	0.000
OBSTRUCT	0.990	0.005	182.894	0.000
AFFORDANCE	0.987	0.010	102.865	0.000
EFFICACY	0.972	0.011	87.000	0.000
DELIBERATI	0.945	0.028	33.903	0.000
BLAME	1.000	0.001	1328.419	0.000

Group COOPERATIVE

LIWC_INC ON

LIWC_DISCR	-0.092	0.052	-1.756	0.079
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LIWC_EXC ON				
LIWC_DISCR	0.484	0.025	19.440	0.000
POLARIZA ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.082	0.025	-3.263	0.001
LIWC_INCL	-0.079	0.032	-2.446	0.014
LIWC_EXCL	0.074	0.023	3.293	0.001
MUTUALIS ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.035	0.065	-0.535	0.593
LIWC_INCL	0.071	0.064	1.118	0.264
LIWC_EXCL	-0.056	0.071	-0.788	0.431
SYSTEMSE ON				
LIWC_DISCR	0.031	0.036	0.873	0.383
LIWC_INCL	-0.064	0.026	-2.421	0.015
LIWC_EXCL	-0.065	0.067	-0.976	0.329
DELIBERA ON				
POLARIZATI	0.082	0.082	0.992	0.321
SYSTEMSECO	-0.009	0.028	-0.318	0.750
LIWC_EXCL	-0.025	0.044	-0.554	0.580
LIWC_INCL	-0.055	0.094	-0.586	0.558
MUTUALISM	-0.094	0.036	-2.578	0.010
AFFORDAN ON				
POLARIZATI	-0.060	0.018	-3.257	0.001
SYSTEMSECO	0.055	0.033	1.670	0.095
MUTUALISM	0.063	0.071	0.882	0.378
BLAME ON				
POLARIZATI	-0.009	0.004	-2.144	0.032
AFFORDANCE	0.149	0.092	1.619	0.105
SYSTEMSECO	-0.024	0.016	-1.461	0.144
MUTUALISM	-0.073	0.029	-2.565	0.010
EFFICACY ON				
AFFORDANCE	0.327	0.040	8.166	0.000
LIWC_ANG ON				
BLAME	0.025	0.019	1.360	0.174
AFFORDANCE	-0.028	0.028	-0.998	0.318
EXEMPLIF ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.040	0.043	-0.944	0.345
EFFICACY	0.112	0.041	2.731	0.006
DELIBERATI	0.003	0.030	0.109	0.913
HELP ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.056	0.109	-0.513	0.608

EFFICACY	0.106	0.044	2.394	0.017
DELIBERATI	-0.015	0.058	-0.266	0.790
PERSUADE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.023	0.030	0.755	0.450
EFFICACY	-0.049	0.031	-1.575	0.115
DELIBERATI	0.010	0.023	0.430	0.667
EXIT ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.024	0.042	-0.566	0.571
EFFICACY	-0.062	0.039	-1.587	0.113
DELIBERATI	-0.008	0.010	-0.794	0.427
VOICE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.014	0.023	0.611	0.541
EFFICACY	0.030	0.037	0.803	0.422
DELIBERATI	-0.119	0.036	-3.334	0.001
ATTACK ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.491	0.048	10.302	0.000
EFFICACY	-0.114	0.027	-4.135	0.000
DELIBERATI	0.013	0.040	0.318	0.750
OBSTRUCT ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.054	0.040	1.354	0.176
EFFICACY	-0.091	0.030	-2.999	0.003
DELIBERATI	-0.007	0.024	-0.290	0.772
CREATE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.092	0.035	-2.654	0.008
EFFICACY	0.101	0.071	1.416	0.157
DELIBERATI	0.007	0.032	0.229	0.819
MUTUALIS WITH				
POLARIZATI	0.031	0.038	0.812	0.417
LIWC_INC WITH				
LIWC_EXCL	-0.078	0.060	-1.293	0.196
EXEMPLIF WITH				
CREATE	0.040	0.063	0.639	0.523
HELP WITH				
CREATE	0.100	0.032	3.119	0.002
EXEMPLIFY	-0.085	0.034	-2.514	0.012
PERSUADE WITH				
CREATE	0.235	0.146	1.611	0.107
EXEMPLIFY	-0.002	0.019	-0.093	0.926
HELP	-0.020	0.043	-0.449	0.653

EXIT WITH

CREATE	-0.053	0.024	-2.227	0.026
EXEMPLIFY	0.030	0.063	0.477	0.633
HELP	-0.038	0.032	-1.185	0.236
PERSUADE	0.013	0.034	0.394	0.694

VOICE WITH

CREATE	-0.041	0.039	-1.044	0.297
EXEMPLIFY	0.045	0.038	1.181	0.238
HELP	-0.088	0.024	-3.671	0.000
PERSUADE	-0.006	0.018	-0.355	0.722
EXIT	0.042	0.089	0.470	0.639

ATTACK WITH

CREATE	-0.028	0.018	-1.543	0.123
EXEMPLIFY	-0.001	0.022	-0.050	0.960
HELP	0.116	0.058	2.005	0.045
PERSUADE	0.022	0.032	0.697	0.486
EXIT	0.029	0.047	0.627	0.531
VOICE	-0.109	0.023	-4.723	0.000

OBSTRUCT WITH

CREATE	-0.029	0.030	-0.953	0.340
EXEMPLIFY	-0.013	0.031	-0.441	0.659
HELP	-0.065	0.048	-1.366	0.172
PERSUADE	0.037	0.038	0.978	0.328
EXIT	0.059	0.056	1.054	0.292
VOICE	0.077	0.066	1.174	0.241
ATTACK	0.157	0.057	2.741	0.006

Intercepts

LIWC_ANGER	0.000	0.103	0.000	1.000
LIWC_INCL	0.000	0.095	0.000	1.000
LIWC_EXCL	0.000	0.126	0.000	1.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.000	0.039	0.000	1.000
POLARIZATI	0.000	0.044	0.000	1.000
MUTUALISM	0.000	0.051	0.000	1.000
CREATE	0.000	0.049	0.000	1.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.000	0.077	0.000	1.000
HELP	0.000	0.190	0.000	1.000
PERSUADE	0.000	0.082	0.000	1.000
EXIT	0.000	0.057	0.000	1.000
VOICE	0.000	0.066	0.000	1.000
ATTACK	0.000	0.039	0.000	1.000
OBSTRUCT	0.000	0.087	0.000	1.000
AFFORDANCE	0.000	0.052	0.000	1.000
EFFICACY	0.000	0.072	0.000	1.000
DELIBERATI	0.000	0.099	0.000	1.000
BLAME	0.000	0.094	0.000	1.000

Residual Variances

LIWC_ANGER	0.999	0.002	568.628	0.000
LIWC_INCL	0.992	0.010	102.831	0.000
LIWC_EXCL	0.766	0.024	31.757	0.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.993	0.008	125.765	0.000
POLARIZATI	0.987	0.008	124.751	0.000
MUTUALISM	0.987	0.010	96.425	0.000
CREATE	0.981	0.015	66.373	0.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.986	0.012	80.175	0.000
HELP	0.985	0.016	61.700	0.000
PERSUADE	0.997	0.002	417.389	0.000
EXIT	0.996	0.003	320.080	0.000
VOICE	0.985	0.010	94.845	0.000
ATTACK	0.745	0.047	15.720	0.000
OBSTRUCT	0.989	0.006	169.710	0.000
AFFORDANCE	0.990	0.007	140.456	0.000
EFFICACY	0.893	0.026	34.199	0.000
DELIBERATI	0.981	0.019	51.529	0.000
BLAME	0.973	0.030	32.177	0.000

Group COMPETITIVE

LIWC_INC ON

LIWC_DISCR	-0.070	0.054	-1.303	0.192
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LIWC_EXC ON

LIWC_DISCR	0.494	0.040	12.314	0.000
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POLARIZA ON

LIWC_DISCR	0.075	0.047	1.599	0.110
LIWC_INCL	-0.030	0.028	-1.053	0.293
LIWC_EXCL	-0.025	0.033	-0.764	0.445

MUTUALIS ON

LIWC_DISCR	-0.010	0.050	-0.194	0.846
LIWC_INCL	0.144	0.017	8.513	0.000
LIWC_EXCL	-0.049	0.029	-1.660	0.097

SYSTEMSE ON

LIWC_DISCR	0.021	0.023	0.933	0.351
LIWC_INCL	0.015	0.049	0.310	0.757
LIWC_EXCL	0.074	0.060	1.230	0.219

DELIBERA ON

POLARIZATI	0.031	0.033	0.927	0.354
SYSTEMSECO	0.000	0.019	-0.002	0.999
LIWC_EXCL	-0.120	0.039	-3.084	0.002
LIWC_INCL	0.027	0.039	0.686	0.492
MUTUALISM	-0.041	0.027	-1.502	0.133

AFFORDAN ON				
POLARIZATI	-0.022	0.025	-0.881	0.378
SYSTEMSECO	0.032	0.028	1.139	0.255
MUTUALISM	-0.015	0.031	-0.498	0.619

BLAME ON				
POLARIZATI	-0.015	0.020	-0.761	0.447
AFFORDANCE	-0.053	0.019	-2.765	0.006
SYSTEMSECO	0.005	0.011	0.478	0.632
MUTUALISM	-0.046	0.012	-3.683	0.000

EFFICACY ON				
AFFORDANCE	0.162	0.072	2.258	0.024

LIWC_ANG ON				
BLAME	0.140	0.018	7.610	0.000
AFFORDANCE	-0.100	0.056	-1.775	0.076

EXEMPLIF ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.038	0.024	-1.575	0.115
EFFICACY	0.017	0.026	0.647	0.518
DELIBERATI	0.028	0.026	1.067	0.286

HELP ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.159	0.024	-6.673	0.000
EFFICACY	0.115	0.068	1.682	0.093
DELIBERATI	-0.058	0.032	-1.813	0.070

PERSUADE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.006	0.036	0.176	0.860
EFFICACY	0.043	0.036	1.184	0.236
DELIBERATI	-0.010	0.040	-0.247	0.805

EXIT ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.063	0.026	2.451	0.014
EFFICACY	-0.024	0.021	-1.123	0.262
DELIBERATI	0.021	0.022	0.968	0.333

VOICE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.013	0.035	0.386	0.699
EFFICACY	0.076	0.064	1.203	0.229
DELIBERATI	-0.038	0.027	-1.408	0.159

ATTACK ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.369	0.060	6.177	0.000
EFFICACY	0.034	0.044	0.773	0.439
DELIBERATI	0.021	0.043	0.489	0.625

OBSTRUCT ON

LIWC_ANGER	0.128	0.043	3.013	0.003
EFFICACY	0.027	0.043	0.628	0.530
DELIBERATI	-0.009	0.025	-0.365	0.715

CREATE ON

LIWC_ANGER	-0.054	0.034	-1.591	0.112
EFFICACY	0.103	0.059	1.739	0.082
DELIBERATI	0.084	0.037	2.233	0.026

MUTUALIS WITH

POLARIZATI	0.004	0.018	0.253	0.800
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LIWC_INC WITH

LIWC_EXCL	-0.107	0.041	-2.593	0.010
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EXEMPLIF WITH

CREATE	0.193	0.073	2.634	0.008
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HELP WITH

CREATE	0.067	0.042	1.577	0.115
EXEMPLIFY	0.068	0.043	1.578	0.115

PERSUADE WITH

CREATE	0.031	0.043	0.719	0.472
EXEMPLIFY	0.089	0.043	2.073	0.038
HELP	-0.023	0.050	-0.458	0.647

EXIT WITH

CREATE	-0.034	0.017	-2.019	0.044
EXEMPLIFY	-0.021	0.014	-1.530	0.126
HELP	0.013	0.026	0.511	0.609
PERSUADE	-0.022	0.024	-0.923	0.356

VOICE WITH

CREATE	0.004	0.020	0.208	0.835
EXEMPLIFY	-0.025	0.021	-1.212	0.225
HELP	0.027	0.045	0.601	0.548
PERSUADE	0.018	0.039	0.446	0.656
EXIT	-0.053	0.025	-2.154	0.031

ATTACK WITH

CREATE	0.068	0.031	2.178	0.029
EXEMPLIFY	0.002	0.020	0.086	0.932
HELP	0.058	0.034	1.736	0.083
PERSUADE	0.066	0.052	1.276	0.202
EXIT	-0.029	0.026	-1.137	0.255
VOICE	0.034	0.039	0.883	0.377

OBSTRUCT WITH

CREATE	-0.043	0.024	-1.774	0.076
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EXEMPLIFY	-0.021	0.021	-1.032	0.302
HELP	-0.056	0.035	-1.606	0.108
PERSUADE	0.016	0.031	0.525	0.599
EXIT	-0.012	0.028	-0.419	0.675
VOICE	0.014	0.033	0.438	0.661
ATTACK	-0.002	0.028	-0.088	0.930

Intercepts

LIWC_ANGER	0.000	0.090	0.000	1.000
LIWC_INCL	0.000	0.069	0.000	1.000
LIWC_EXCL	0.000	0.072	0.000	1.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.000	0.085	0.000	1.000
POLARIZATI	0.000	0.041	0.000	1.000
MUTUALISM	0.000	0.074	0.000	1.000
CREATE	0.000	0.054	0.000	1.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.000	0.035	0.000	1.000
HELP	0.000	0.075	0.000	1.000
PERSUADE	0.000	0.068	0.000	1.000
EXIT	0.000	0.038	0.000	1.000
VOICE	0.000	0.062	0.000	1.000
ATTACK	0.000	0.071	0.000	1.000
OBSTRUCT	0.000	0.042	0.000	1.000
AFFORDANCE	0.000	0.080	0.000	1.000
EFFICACY	0.000	0.044	0.000	1.000
DELIBERATI	0.000	0.090	0.000	1.000
BLAME	0.000	0.040	0.000	1.000

Residual Variances

LIWC_ANGER	0.969	0.014	71.176	0.000
LIWC_INCL	0.995	0.008	131.337	0.000
LIWC_EXCL	0.756	0.040	19.076	0.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.993	0.009	108.888	0.000
POLARIZATI	0.995	0.006	178.599	0.000
MUTUALISM	0.974	0.007	133.499	0.000
CREATE	0.979	0.016	63.046	0.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.997	0.002	414.032	0.000
HELP	0.958	0.024	39.832	0.000
PERSUADE	0.998	0.003	295.748	0.000
EXIT	0.995	0.004	277.198	0.000
VOICE	0.993	0.009	110.840	0.000
ATTACK	0.863	0.044	19.477	0.000
OBSTRUCT	0.983	0.010	98.089	0.000
AFFORDANCE	0.998	0.001	694.159	0.000
EFFICACY	0.974	0.023	42.063	0.000
DELIBERATI	0.983	0.008	117.758	0.000
BLAME	0.995	0.002	508.845	0.000

Group AVOIDANT

LIWC_INC ON

LIWC_DISCR	-0.191	0.127	-1.503	0.133
LIWC_EXC ON LIWC_DISCR	0.658	0.052	12.551	0.000
POLARIZA ON LIWC_DISCR	0.041	0.081	0.507	0.612
LIWC_INCL	-0.034	0.022	-1.539	0.124
LIWC_EXCL	-0.045	0.107	-0.425	0.671
MUTUALIS ON LIWC_DISCR	-0.053	0.054	-0.967	0.334
LIWC_INCL	0.104	0.089	1.171	0.242
LIWC_EXCL	-0.147	0.126	-1.167	0.243
SYSTEMSE ON LIWC_DISCR	0.008	0.141	0.060	0.953
LIWC_INCL	0.032	0.049	0.652	0.514
LIWC_EXCL	-0.042	0.078	-0.532	0.595
DELIBERA ON POLARIZATI	-0.072	0.028	-2.591	0.010
SYSTEMSECO	-0.115	0.049	-2.337	0.019
LIWC_EXCL	0.121	0.086	1.401	0.161
LIWC_INCL	-0.050	0.027	-1.848	0.065
MUTUALISM	0.146	0.053	2.737	0.006
AFFORDAN ON POLARIZATI	-0.035	0.039	-0.892	0.372
SYSTEMSECO	0.038	0.028	1.373	0.170
MUTUALISM	-0.062	0.031	-2.013	0.044
BLAME ON POLARIZATI	-0.074	0.021	-3.543	0.000
AFFORDANCE	-0.080	0.017	-4.654	0.000
SYSTEMSECO	-0.059	0.025	-2.327	0.020
MUTUALISM	-0.069	0.059	-1.164	0.244
EFFICACY ON AFFORDANCE	0.090	0.041	2.184	0.029
LIWC_ANG ON BLAME	0.006	0.042	0.154	0.878
AFFORDANCE	-0.058	0.020	-2.953	0.003
EXEMPLIF ON LIWC_ANGER	0.053	0.056	0.945	0.345
EFFICACY	-0.041	0.017	-2.451	0.014
DELIBERATI	-0.028	0.061	-0.457	0.648

HELP ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.074	0.075	-0.994	0.320
EFFICACY	-0.003	0.092	-0.035	0.972
DELIBERATI	-0.045	0.035	-1.280	0.201

PERSUADE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.146	0.144	1.021	0.307
EFFICACY	0.027	0.044	0.617	0.537
DELIBERATI	-0.071	0.025	-2.837	0.005

EXIT ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.115	0.032	3.596	0.000
EFFICACY	0.022	0.032	0.680	0.497
DELIBERATI	0.075	0.054	1.374	0.169

VOICE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.015	0.117	-0.131	0.896
EFFICACY	-0.080	0.012	-6.910	0.000
DELIBERATI	-0.065	0.024	-2.741	0.006

ATTACK ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.398	0.010	41.457	0.000
EFFICACY	-0.008	0.017	-0.449	0.653
DELIBERATI	-0.043	0.062	-0.701	0.483

OBSTRUCT ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.221	0.097	2.294	0.022
EFFICACY	-0.070	0.053	-1.310	0.190
DELIBERATI	0.103	0.073	1.413	0.158

CREATE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.151	0.028	-5.344	0.000
EFFICACY	-0.006	0.035	-0.167	0.868
DELIBERATI	0.083	0.063	1.314	0.189

MUTUALIS WITH				
POLARIZATI	-0.101	0.017	-5.817	0.000

LIWC_INC WITH				
LIWC_EXCL	-0.081	0.045	-1.783	0.075

EXEMPLIF WITH				
CREATE	0.012	0.023	0.505	0.614

HELP WITH				
CREATE	0.007	0.050	0.141	0.888
EXEMPLIFY	0.063	0.024	2.630	0.009

PERSUADE WITH				
CREATE	-0.081	0.040	-2.018	0.044

EXEMPLIFY	-0.066	0.049	-1.338	0.181
HELP	0.148	0.093	1.589	0.112

EXIT WITH

CREATE	0.076	0.051	1.487	0.137
EXEMPLIFY	-0.056	0.033	-1.680	0.093
HELP	-0.100	0.034	-2.974	0.003
PERSUADE	-0.089	0.045	-1.995	0.046

VOICE WITH

CREATE	-0.040	0.062	-0.648	0.517
EXEMPLIFY	-0.057	0.037	-1.527	0.127
HELP	0.105	0.077	1.359	0.174
PERSUADE	0.055	0.038	1.425	0.154
EXIT	-0.008	0.026	-0.321	0.749

ATTACK WITH

CREATE	-0.065	0.013	-4.830	0.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.062	0.022	2.799	0.005
HELP	-0.014	0.070	-0.198	0.843
PERSUADE	-0.031	0.056	-0.554	0.579
EXIT	-0.034	0.035	-0.963	0.336
VOICE	-0.053	0.016	-3.367	0.001

OBSTRUCT WITH

CREATE	-0.013	0.039	-0.349	0.727
EXEMPLIFY	-0.039	0.070	-0.561	0.575
HELP	-0.075	0.042	-1.776	0.076
PERSUADE	0.022	0.057	0.389	0.698
EXIT	0.045	0.056	0.806	0.420
VOICE	-0.117	0.041	-2.815	0.005
ATTACK	-0.138	0.110	-1.256	0.209

Intercepts

LIWC_ANGER	0.000	0.126	0.000	1.000
LIWC_INCL	0.000	0.052	0.000	1.000
LIWC_EXCL	0.000	0.170	0.000	1.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.000	0.169	0.000	1.000
POLARIZATI	0.000	0.131	0.000	1.000
MUTUALISM	0.000	0.157	0.000	1.000
CREATE	0.000	0.061	0.000	1.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.000	0.091	0.000	1.000
HELP	0.000	0.220	0.000	1.000
PERSUADE	0.000	0.151	0.000	1.000
EXIT	0.000	0.109	0.000	1.000
VOICE	0.000	0.162	0.000	1.000
ATTACK	0.000	0.138	0.000	1.000
OBSTRUCT	0.000	0.072	0.000	1.000
AFFORDANCE	0.000	0.098	0.000	1.000
EFFICACY	0.000	0.045	0.000	1.000

DELIBERATI	0.000	0.052	0.000	1.000
BLAME	0.000	0.082	0.000	1.000

Residual Variances

LIWC_ANGER	0.997	0.002	435.879	0.000
LIWC_INCL	0.963	0.049	19.748	0.000
LIWC_EXCL	0.567	0.069	8.205	0.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.997	0.007	143.960	0.000
POLARIZATI	0.998	0.005	208.167	0.000
MUTUALISM	0.947	0.015	61.310	0.000
CREATE	0.970	0.018	54.924	0.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.995	0.009	113.564	0.000
HELP	0.992	0.012	85.923	0.000
PERSUADE	0.973	0.039	24.740	0.000
EXIT	0.981	0.012	82.926	0.000
VOICE	0.989	0.007	137.562	0.000
ATTACK	0.839	0.012	68.958	0.000
OBSTRUCT	0.935	0.031	30.026	0.000
AFFORDANCE	0.994	0.006	163.199	0.000
EFFICACY	0.992	0.007	133.952	0.000
DELIBERATI	0.947	0.036	26.027	0.000
BLAME	0.981	0.008	116.812	0.000

R-SQUARE

Group MUTUALIST

Observed Variable	Estimate	Two-Tailed		
		S.E.	Est./S.E.	P-Value
LIWC_ANG	0.010	0.006	1.734	0.083
LIWC_INC	0.017	0.011	1.581	0.114
LIWC_EXC	0.299	0.041	7.348	0.000
SYSTEMSE	0.017	0.014	1.176	0.239
POLARIZA	0.005	0.006	0.833	0.405
MUTUALIS	0.055	0.022	2.469	0.014
CREATE	0.027	0.006	4.618	0.000
EXEMPLIF	0.011	0.005	2.148	0.032
HELP	0.047	0.029	1.583	0.113
PERSUADE	0.010	0.005	2.015	0.044
EXIT	0.012	0.008	1.409	0.159
VOICE	0.002	0.003	0.458	0.647
ATTACK	0.128	0.034	3.766	0.000
OBSTRUCT	0.010	0.005	1.770	0.077
AFFORDAN	0.013	0.010	1.381	0.167
EFFICACY	0.028	0.011	2.504	0.012
DELIBERA	0.055	0.028	1.986	0.047
BLAME	0.000	0.001	0.487	0.626

Group COOPERATIVE

Observed Variable	Estimate	S.E.	Two-Tailed Est./S.E.	P-Value
LIWC_ANG	0.001	0.002	0.695	0.487
LIWC_INC	0.008	0.010	0.878	0.380
LIWC_EXC	0.234	0.024	9.720	0.000
SYSTEMSE	0.007	0.008	0.853	0.394
POLARIZA	0.013	0.008	1.616	0.106
MUTUALIS	0.013	0.010	1.231	0.218
CREATE	0.019	0.015	1.275	0.202
EXEMPLIF	0.014	0.012	1.157	0.247
HELP	0.015	0.016	0.916	0.360
PERSUADE	0.003	0.002	1.270	0.204
EXIT	0.004	0.003	1.434	0.152
VOICE	0.015	0.010	1.467	0.142
ATTACK	0.255	0.047	5.379	0.000
OBSTRUCT	0.011	0.006	1.930	0.054
AFFORDAN	0.010	0.007	1.472	0.141
EFFICACY	0.107	0.026	4.083	0.000
DELIBERA	0.019	0.019	1.021	0.307
BLAME	0.027	0.030	0.882	0.378

Group COMPETITIVE

Observed Variable	Estimate	S.E.	Two-Tailed Est./S.E.	P-Value
LIWC_ANG	0.031	0.014	2.276	0.023
LIWC_INC	0.005	0.008	0.652	0.515
LIWC_EXC	0.244	0.040	6.157	0.000
SYSTEMSE	0.007	0.009	0.806	0.420
POLARIZA	0.005	0.006	0.972	0.331
MUTUALIS	0.026	0.007	3.529	0.000
CREATE	0.021	0.016	1.325	0.185
EXEMPLIF	0.003	0.002	1.049	0.294
HELP	0.042	0.024	1.763	0.078
PERSUADE	0.002	0.003	0.581	0.562
EXIT	0.005	0.004	1.403	0.161
VOICE	0.007	0.009	0.830	0.406
ATTACK	0.137	0.044	3.102	0.002
OBSTRUCT	0.017	0.010	1.707	0.088
AFFORDAN	0.002	0.001	1.219	0.223
EFFICACY	0.026	0.023	1.129	0.259
DELIBERA	0.017	0.008	2.067	0.039
BLAME	0.005	0.002	2.586	0.010

Group AVOIDANT

Observed Variable	Estimate	S.E.	Two-Tailed Est./S.E.	P-Value
LIWC_ANG	0.003	0.002	1.495	0.135
LIWC_INC	0.037	0.049	0.752	0.452
LIWC_EXC	0.433	0.069	6.275	0.000
SYSTEMSE	0.003	0.007	0.398	0.691
POLARIZA	0.002	0.005	0.502	0.616
MUTUALIS	0.053	0.015	3.434	0.001
CREATE	0.030	0.018	1.677	0.093
EXEMPLIF	0.005	0.009	0.599	0.549
HELP	0.008	0.012	0.651	0.515
PERSUADE	0.027	0.039	0.691	0.489
EXIT	0.019	0.012	1.626	0.104
VOICE	0.011	0.007	1.512	0.131
ATTACK	0.161	0.012	13.188	0.000
OBSTRUCT	0.065	0.031	2.073	0.038
AFFORDAN	0.006	0.006	0.995	0.320
EFFICACY	0.008	0.007	1.092	0.275
DELIBERA	0.053	0.036	1.459	0.144
BLAME	0.019	0.008	2.211	0.027

Cluster-specific models syntax

usevariables are group LIWC_anger

LIWC_discrep

LIWC_incl

LIWC_excl

SYSTEMSECOLOGY

POLARIZATION

MUTUALISM

CREATE

EXEMPLIFY

HELP

PERSUADE

EXIT

VOICE

ATTACK

OBSTRUCT

AFFORDANCE

EFFICACY

DELIBERATION

BLAME

type;

cluster = group;

grouping = type(1=mutualist, 2=cooperative, 3=competitive, 4=avoidant);

Analysis: type=complex;

Define: center all (grandmean);

!! Original Model

MODEL:

liwc_incl on liwc_discrep;

liwc_excl on liwc_discrep;

polarization on LIWC_discrep LIWC_incl LIWC_excl;

mutualism on LIWC_discrep LIWC_incl LIWC_excl;

systemsecology on LIWC_discrep LIWC_incl LIWC_excl;

deliberation on polarization systemsecology LIWC_excl LIWC_incl mutualism;

affordance on polarization systemsecology mutualism;

blame on polarization affordance systemsecology mutualism;

efficacy on affordance;

LIWC_anger on blame affordance;

EXEMPLIFY on LIWC_anger efficacy deliberation;

HELP on LIWC_anger efficacy deliberation;

PERSUADE on LIWC_anger efficacy deliberation;

EXIT on LIWC_anger efficacy deliberation;

VOICE on LIWC_anger efficacy deliberation;

ATTACK on LIWC_anger efficacy deliberation;

OBSTRUCT on LIWC_anger efficacy deliberation;

CREATE on LIWC_anger efficacy deliberation;

mutualism with polarization;

liwc_incl with liwc_excl;

!!Modification Indices Adjusted and trimmed group-specific models

MODEL MUTUALIST:

mutualism on liwc_incl;

systemsecology on liwc_incl;

deliberation on systemsecology LIWC_excl LIWC_incl;

affordance on deliberation systemsecology polarization liwc_excl;

efficacy on affordance deliberation;

LIWC_anger on blame deliberation polarization LIWC_incl LIWC_excl;

EXEMPLIFY on LIWC_anger efficacy mutualism;

HELP on LIWC_anger affordance LIWC_excl;

PERSUADE on LIWC_anger LIWC_excl;

Voice on liwc_excl;

EXIT on LIWC_anger liwc_excl;

ATTACK on LIWC_anger polarization;

OBSTRUCT on deliberation mutualism;

CREATE on deliberation affordance LIWC_incl LIWC_excl;

MODEL COOPERATIVE:

polarization on LIWC_discrep LIWC_excl;

systemsecology on polarization;

deliberation on mutualism;

blame on polarization;

affordance on polarization deliberation;

efficacy on affordance;

HELP on liwc_excl;

VOICE on deliberation;

ATTACK on LIWC_anger efficacy;

OBSTRUCT on blame efficacy;

CREATE on LIWC_anger affordance;

MODEL COMPETITIVE:

mutualism on liwc_incl;

deliberation on LIWC_excl LIWC_discrep;

blame on affordance mutualism;

efficacy on affordance;

LIWC_anger on polarization blame mutualism;

HELP on liwc_anger liwc_incl;

PERSUADE on liwc_discrep liwc_excl;

EXIT on liwc_anger;

ATTACK on liwc_anger liwc_incl;

OBSTRUCT on liwc_anger liwc_incl;

CREATE on deliberation LIWC_incl;

MODEL AVOIDANT:

deliberation on polarization systemsecology mutualism;

blame on polarization affordance systemsecology;
LIWC_anger on affordance mutualism;
EXEMPLIFY on liwc_excl;
HELP on mutualism liwc_excl;
PERSUADE on deliberation polarization liwc_excl;
EXIT on liwc_anger liwc_excl;
VOICE on efficacy deliberation liwc_discrep liwc_excl;
ATTACK on LIWC_anger systemsecology polarization;
OBSTRUCT on LIWC_anger;
CREATE on LIWC_anger systemsecology;
EXEMPLIFY on efficacy liwc_excl;

Cluster-specific models results

MODEL FIT INFORMATION

Number of Free Parameters 508

Loglikelihood

H0 Value	-11833.443
H0 Scaling Correction Factor for MLR	7.0812
H1 Value	-11518.152
H1 Scaling Correction Factor for MLR	4.8108

Information Criteria

Akaike (AIC)	24682.885
Bayesian (BIC)	27887.451
Sample-Size Adjusted BIC	26273.250

($n^* = (n + 2) / 24$)

Chi-Square Test of Model Fit

Value	522.717*
Degrees of Freedom	320
P-Value	0.0000
Scaling Correction Factor for MLR	1.2064

Chi-Square Contribution From Each Group

MUTUALIST	127.670
COOPERATIVE	136.569
COMPETITIVE	148.283
AVOIDANT	110.195

* The chi-square value for MLM, MLMV, MLR, ULSMV, WLSM and WLSMV cannot be used

for chi-square difference testing in the regular way. MLM, MLR and WLSM chi-square difference testing is described on the Mplus website. MLMV, WLSMV, and ULSMV difference testing is done using the DIFFTEST option.

RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error Of Approximation)

Estimate	0.025
90 Percent C.I.	0.021 0.029
Probability RMSEA \leq .05	1.000

CFI/TLI

CFI	0.946
TLI	0.885

Chi-Square Test of Model Fit for the Baseline Model

Value	4451.579
Degrees of Freedom	684
P-Value	0.0000

SRMR (Standardized Root Mean Square Residual)

Value	0.027
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STDYX Standardization

	Estimate	S.E.	Two-Tailed Est./S.E.	P-Value
Group MUTUALIST				
LIWC_INC ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.132	0.042	-3.162	0.002
LIWC_EXC ON				
LIWC_DISCR	0.547	0.037	14.695	0.000
POLARIZA ON				
LIWC_DISCR	0.030	0.043	0.696	0.486
LIWC_INCL	-0.042	0.025	-1.700	0.089
LIWC_EXCL	0.023	0.026	0.893	0.372
MUTUALIS ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.020	0.033	-0.601	0.548
LIWC_INCL	0.215	0.050	4.256	0.000
LIWC_EXCL	-0.041	0.034	-1.211	0.226
SYSTEMSE ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.024	0.027	-0.900	0.368
LIWC_INCL	0.095	0.047	2.033	0.042
LIWC_EXCL	-0.053	0.038	-1.398	0.162
DELIBERA ON				
POLARIZATI	0.003	0.033	0.105	0.917
SYSTEMSECO	0.165	0.069	2.383	0.017
LIWC_EXCL	-0.091	0.031	-2.921	0.003
LIWC_INCL	0.097	0.037	2.611	0.009
MUTUALISM	-0.069	0.045	-1.535	0.125

AFFORDAN ON				
POLARIZATI	-0.045	0.012	-3.860	0.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.078	0.031	2.554	0.011
MUTUALISM	0.021	0.036	0.573	0.567

BLAME ON				
POLARIZATI	0.006	0.014	0.408	0.683
AFFORDANCE	-0.008	0.016	-0.478	0.632
SYSTEMSECO	-0.010	0.014	-0.685	0.493
MUTUALISM	-0.012	0.014	-0.836	0.403

EFFICACY ON				
AFFORDANCE	0.152	0.036	4.234	0.000

LIWC_ANG ON				
BLAME	0.084	0.026	3.302	0.001
AFFORDANCE	0.024	0.029	0.821	0.412

EXEMPLIF ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.075	0.021	-3.621	0.000
EFFICACY	0.068	0.030	2.280	0.023
DELIBERATI	0.026	0.038	0.690	0.490

HELP ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.100	0.024	-4.228	0.000
EFFICACY	0.128	0.085	1.506	0.132
DELIBERATI	-0.056	0.038	-1.474	0.141

PERSUADE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.123	0.020	6.028	0.000
EFFICACY	0.003	0.028	0.114	0.909
DELIBERATI	-0.033	0.025	-1.330	0.183

EXIT ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.079	0.034	2.329	0.020
EFFICACY	-0.014	0.019	-0.717	0.473
DELIBERATI	0.000	0.021	0.003	0.998

VOICE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.005	0.028	0.190	0.849
EFFICACY	0.000	0.030	-0.005	0.996
DELIBERATI	-0.044	0.043	-1.005	0.315

ATTACK ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.341	0.043	8.026	0.000
EFFICACY	-0.009	0.027	-0.336	0.737
DELIBERATI	0.005	0.014	0.364	0.716

OBSTRUCT ON

LIWC_ANGER	0.074	0.032	2.327	0.020
EFFICACY	-0.027	0.022	-1.267	0.205
DELIBERATI	-0.055	0.019	-2.982	0.003
CREATE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.049	0.026	-1.895	0.058
EFFICACY	0.021	0.029	0.736	0.462
DELIBERATI	0.102	0.024	4.302	0.000
AFFORDAN ON				
DELIBERATI	0.079	0.033	2.415	0.016
LIWC_EXCL	-0.082	0.030	-2.780	0.005
EFFICACY ON				
DELIBERATI	0.147	0.051	2.881	0.004
LIWC_ANG ON				
DELIBERATI	-0.061	0.021	-2.932	0.003
POLARIZATI	0.145	0.059	2.455	0.014
LIWC_INCL	-0.081	0.018	-4.534	0.000
LIWC_EXCL	0.230	0.071	3.229	0.001
EXEMPLIF ON				
MUTUALISM	0.067	0.024	2.749	0.006
HELP ON				
AFFORDANCE	0.196	0.028	6.947	0.000
LIWC_EXCL	-0.157	0.054	-2.913	0.004
PERSUADE ON				
LIWC_EXCL	-0.098	0.021	-4.764	0.000
VOICE ON				
LIWC_EXCL	-0.085	0.028	-3.003	0.003
EXIT ON				
LIWC_EXCL	0.111	0.037	2.964	0.003
ATTACK ON				
POLARIZATI	0.101	0.047	2.125	0.034
OBSTRUCT ON				
MUTUALISM	-0.085	0.017	-4.924	0.000
CREATE ON				
AFFORDANCE	0.141	0.036	3.937	0.000
LIWC_INCL	0.092	0.028	3.228	0.001
LIWC_EXCL	-0.089	0.037	-2.386	0.017
MUTUALIS WITH				

POLARIZATI	-0.023	0.009	-2.646	0.008
LIWC_INC WITH				
LIWC_EXCL	-0.202	0.031	-6.472	0.000
EXEMPLIF WITH				
CREATE	0.061	0.025	2.392	0.017
HELP WITH				
CREATE	0.043	0.040	1.064	0.287
EXEMPLIFY	0.051	0.032	1.595	0.111
PERSUADE WITH				
CREATE	0.057	0.023	2.424	0.015
EXEMPLIFY	0.039	0.025	1.588	0.112
HELP	0.070	0.036	1.975	0.048
EXIT WITH				
CREATE	0.000	0.035	-0.009	0.993
EXEMPLIFY	-0.031	0.013	-2.317	0.020
HELP	-0.053	0.017	-3.168	0.002
PERSUADE	0.001	0.018	0.070	0.944
VOICE WITH				
CREATE	-0.038	0.027	-1.408	0.159
EXEMPLIFY	-0.012	0.028	-0.433	0.665
HELP	0.002	0.024	0.084	0.933
PERSUADE	0.049	0.026	1.898	0.058
EXIT	0.024	0.053	0.449	0.653
ATTACK WITH				
CREATE	-0.005	0.026	-0.199	0.842
EXEMPLIFY	-0.031	0.010	-3.124	0.002
HELP	-0.043	0.026	-1.656	0.098
PERSUADE	-0.008	0.023	-0.330	0.741
EXIT	0.004	0.019	0.194	0.846
VOICE	-0.021	0.032	-0.660	0.509
OBSTRUCT WITH				
CREATE	-0.011	0.023	-0.499	0.618
EXEMPLIFY	-0.052	0.011	-4.603	0.000
HELP	-0.065	0.021	-3.179	0.001
PERSUADE	0.018	0.022	0.826	0.409
EXIT	0.053	0.039	1.377	0.168
VOICE	0.000	0.021	-0.021	0.983
ATTACK	0.116	0.050	2.338	0.019
Intercepts				
LIWC_ANGER	0.000	0.099	0.000	1.000
LIWC_INCL	0.000	0.076	0.000	1.000

LIWC_EXCL	0.000	0.079	0.000	1.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.000	0.079	0.000	1.000
POLARIZATI	0.000	0.050	0.000	1.000
MUTUALISM	0.000	0.050	0.000	1.000
CREATE	0.000	0.062	0.000	1.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.000	0.052	0.000	1.000
HELP	0.000	0.103	0.000	1.000
PERSUADE	0.000	0.036	0.000	1.000
EXIT	0.000	0.047	0.000	1.000
VOICE	0.000	0.058	0.000	1.000
ATTACK	0.000	0.055	0.000	1.000
OBSTRUCT	0.000	0.050	0.000	1.000
AFFORDANCE	0.000	0.046	0.000	1.000
EFFICACY	0.000	0.058	0.000	1.000
DELIBERATI	0.000	0.081	0.000	1.000
BLAME	0.000	0.034	0.000	1.000

Residual Variances

LIWC_ANGER	0.892	0.027	33.347	0.000
LIWC_INCL	0.983	0.011	88.858	0.000
LIWC_EXCL	0.701	0.041	17.196	0.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.983	0.014	68.591	0.000
POLARIZATI	0.995	0.006	173.864	0.000
MUTUALISM	0.945	0.022	42.832	0.000
CREATE	0.928	0.016	57.932	0.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.983	0.007	151.166	0.000
HELP	0.890	0.020	43.608	0.000
PERSUADE	0.981	0.006	170.986	0.000
EXIT	0.977	0.010	94.519	0.000
VOICE	0.992	0.006	177.694	0.000
ATTACK	0.863	0.037	23.269	0.000
OBSTRUCT	0.982	0.006	160.161	0.000
AFFORDANCE	0.973	0.014	69.752	0.000
EFFICACY	0.951	0.016	59.218	0.000
DELIBERATI	0.945	0.028	33.903	0.000
BLAME	1.000	0.001	1328.334	0.000

Group COOPERATIVE

LIWC_INC ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.092	0.052	-1.756	0.079
LIWC_EXC ON				
LIWC_DISCR	0.484	0.025	19.440	0.000
POLARIZA ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.082	0.025	-3.263	0.001
LIWC_INCL	-0.079	0.032	-2.446	0.014
LIWC_EXCL	0.074	0.023	3.293	0.001

MUTUALIS ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.035	0.065	-0.535	0.593
LIWC_INCL	0.071	0.064	1.118	0.264
LIWC_EXCL	-0.056	0.071	-0.788	0.431

SYSTEMSE ON				
LIWC_DISCR	0.029	0.036	0.802	0.422
LIWC_INCL	-0.066	0.027	-2.431	0.015
LIWC_EXCL	-0.063	0.067	-0.938	0.348

DELIBERA ON				
POLARIZATI	0.082	0.082	0.993	0.321
SYSTEMSECO	-0.009	0.028	-0.318	0.750
LIWC_EXCL	-0.025	0.044	-0.554	0.580
LIWC_INCL	-0.055	0.094	-0.586	0.558
MUTUALISM	-0.094	0.036	-2.578	0.010

AFFORDAN ON				
POLARIZATI	-0.077	0.028	-2.778	0.005
SYSTEMSECO	0.056	0.031	1.807	0.071
MUTUALISM	0.082	0.070	1.162	0.245

BLAME ON				
POLARIZATI	-0.009	0.004	-2.144	0.032
AFFORDANCE	0.149	0.092	1.619	0.105
SYSTEMSECO	-0.024	0.016	-1.461	0.144
MUTUALISM	-0.073	0.029	-2.565	0.010

EFFICACY ON				
AFFORDANCE	0.327	0.040	8.168	0.000

LIWC_ANG ON				
BLAME	0.025	0.019	1.360	0.174
AFFORDANCE	-0.028	0.028	-0.998	0.318

EXEMPLIF ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.040	0.043	-0.944	0.345
EFFICACY	0.112	0.041	2.731	0.006
DELIBERATI	0.003	0.030	0.109	0.913

HELP ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.051	0.104	-0.491	0.623
EFFICACY	0.106	0.034	3.103	0.002
DELIBERATI	-0.016	0.059	-0.274	0.784

PERSUADE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.023	0.030	0.755	0.450
EFFICACY	-0.049	0.031	-1.576	0.115
DELIBERATI	0.010	0.023	0.430	0.667

EXIT ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.024	0.042	-0.566	0.571
EFFICACY	-0.062	0.039	-1.587	0.112
DELIBERATI	-0.008	0.010	-0.794	0.427

VOICE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.014	0.023	0.611	0.541
EFFICACY	0.030	0.037	0.803	0.422
DELIBERATI	-0.119	0.036	-3.333	0.001

ATTACK ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.491	0.048	10.311	0.000
EFFICACY	-0.114	0.027	-4.132	0.000
DELIBERATI	0.013	0.040	0.318	0.750

OBSTRUCT ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.050	0.038	1.292	0.196
EFFICACY	-0.105	0.027	-3.831	0.000
DELIBERATI	-0.010	0.026	-0.372	0.710

CREATE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.092	0.034	-2.723	0.006
EFFICACY	0.056	0.065	0.861	0.389
DELIBERATI	-0.012	0.027	-0.430	0.667

SYSTEMSE ON				
POLARIZATI	-0.028	0.016	-1.725	0.085

AFFORDAN ON				
DELIBERATI	0.199	0.128	1.548	0.122

HELP ON				
LIWC_EXCL	-0.180	0.067	-2.706	0.007

OBSTRUCT ON				
BLAME	0.157	0.089	1.768	0.077

CREATE ON				
AFFORDANCE	0.148	0.052	2.856	0.004

MUTUALIS WITH				
POLARIZATI	0.031	0.038	0.812	0.417

LIWC_INC WITH				
LIWC_EXCL	-0.078	0.060	-1.293	0.196

EXEMPLIF WITH				
CREATE	0.038	0.063	0.598	0.550

HELP WITH				
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CREATE	0.070	0.029	2.439	0.015
EXEMPLIFY	-0.086	0.033	-2.617	0.009

PERSUADE WITH

CREATE	0.230	0.137	1.681	0.093
EXEMPLIFY	-0.002	0.019	-0.093	0.926
HELP	-0.013	0.041	-0.315	0.753

EXIT WITH

CREATE	-0.051	0.020	-2.480	0.013
EXEMPLIFY	0.030	0.063	0.477	0.633
HELP	-0.035	0.029	-1.195	0.232
PERSUADE	0.013	0.034	0.394	0.694

VOICE WITH

CREATE	-0.052	0.043	-1.218	0.223
EXEMPLIFY	0.045	0.038	1.181	0.238
HELP	-0.082	0.023	-3.641	0.000
PERSUADE	-0.006	0.018	-0.355	0.722
EXIT	0.042	0.089	0.470	0.639

ATTACK WITH

CREATE	-0.022	0.020	-1.065	0.287
EXEMPLIFY	-0.001	0.022	-0.050	0.960
HELP	0.108	0.062	1.742	0.082
PERSUADE	0.022	0.032	0.697	0.486
EXIT	0.029	0.047	0.627	0.531
VOICE	-0.109	0.023	-4.723	0.000

OBSTRUCT WITH

CREATE	-0.044	0.042	-1.061	0.289
EXEMPLIFY	-0.012	0.025	-0.463	0.643
HELP	-0.061	0.045	-1.352	0.176
PERSUADE	0.030	0.032	0.934	0.350
EXIT	0.064	0.059	1.071	0.284
VOICE	0.061	0.059	1.033	0.302
ATTACK	0.153	0.055	2.791	0.005

Intercepts

LIWC_ANGER	0.000	0.103	0.000	1.000
LIWC_INCL	0.000	0.095	0.000	1.000
LIWC_EXCL	0.000	0.126	0.000	1.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.000	0.038	0.000	1.000
POLARIZATI	0.000	0.044	0.000	1.000
MUTUALISM	0.000	0.051	0.000	1.000
CREATE	0.000	0.047	0.000	1.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.000	0.077	0.000	1.000
HELP	0.000	0.168	0.000	1.000
PERSUADE	0.000	0.082	0.000	1.000
EXIT	0.000	0.057	0.000	1.000

VOICE	0.000	0.066	0.000	1.000
ATTACK	0.000	0.039	0.000	1.000
OBSTRUCT	0.000	0.074	0.000	1.000
AFFORDANCE	0.000	0.043	0.000	1.000
EFFICACY	0.000	0.072	0.000	1.000
DELIBERATI	0.000	0.099	0.000	1.000
BLAME	0.000	0.094	0.000	1.000

Residual Variances

LIWC_ANGER	0.999	0.002	568.572	0.000
LIWC_INCL	0.992	0.010	102.831	0.000
LIWC_EXCL	0.766	0.024	31.757	0.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.993	0.008	128.353	0.000
POLARIZATI	0.987	0.008	124.751	0.000
MUTUALISM	0.987	0.010	96.425	0.000
CREATE	0.961	0.021	45.876	0.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.986	0.012	80.179	0.000
HELP	0.954	0.036	26.773	0.000
PERSUADE	0.997	0.003	396.083	0.000
EXIT	0.995	0.003	313.085	0.000
VOICE	0.985	0.010	97.510	0.000
ATTACK	0.745	0.047	15.695	0.000
OBSTRUCT	0.963	0.029	32.705	0.000
AFFORDANCE	0.951	0.053	17.976	0.000
EFFICACY	0.893	0.026	34.200	0.000
DELIBERATI	0.981	0.019	51.560	0.000
BLAME	0.973	0.030	32.192	0.000

Group COMPETITIVE

LIWC_INC ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.070	0.054	-1.303	0.192
LIWC_EXC ON				
LIWC_DISCR	0.494	0.040	12.314	0.000
POLARIZA ON				
LIWC_DISCR	0.075	0.047	1.599	0.110
LIWC_INCL	-0.030	0.028	-1.053	0.293
LIWC_EXCL	-0.025	0.033	-0.764	0.445
MUTUALIS ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.010	0.050	-0.194	0.846
LIWC_INCL	0.144	0.017	8.513	0.000
LIWC_EXCL	-0.049	0.029	-1.660	0.097
SYSTEMSE ON				
LIWC_DISCR	0.021	0.023	0.933	0.351
LIWC_INCL	0.015	0.049	0.310	0.757
LIWC_EXCL	0.074	0.060	1.230	0.219

DELIBERA ON				
POLARIZATI	0.026	0.033	0.765	0.444
SYSTEMSECO	-0.002	0.019	-0.087	0.931
LIWC_EXCL	-0.165	0.047	-3.504	0.000
LIWC_INCL	0.027	0.039	0.701	0.483
MUTUALISM	-0.040	0.026	-1.525	0.127

AFFORDAN ON				
POLARIZATI	-0.022	0.025	-0.881	0.378
SYSTEMSECO	0.032	0.028	1.139	0.255
MUTUALISM	-0.015	0.031	-0.498	0.619

BLAME ON				
POLARIZATI	-0.015	0.020	-0.761	0.447
AFFORDANCE	-0.053	0.019	-2.765	0.006
SYSTEMSECO	0.005	0.011	0.479	0.632
MUTUALISM	-0.046	0.012	-3.682	0.000

EFFICACY ON				
AFFORDANCE	0.162	0.072	2.258	0.024

LIWC_ANG ON				
BLAME	0.138	0.019	7.200	0.000
AFFORDANCE	-0.099	0.056	-1.774	0.076

EXEMPLIF ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.038	0.024	-1.575	0.115
EFFICACY	0.017	0.026	0.647	0.518
DELIBERATI	0.028	0.026	1.067	0.286

HELP ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.160	0.026	-6.222	0.000
EFFICACY	0.106	0.067	1.584	0.113
DELIBERATI	-0.063	0.029	-2.167	0.030

PERSUADE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.009	0.035	0.251	0.802
EFFICACY	0.045	0.035	1.298	0.194
DELIBERATI	-0.021	0.040	-0.518	0.605

EXIT ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.063	0.026	2.451	0.014
EFFICACY	-0.024	0.021	-1.123	0.262
DELIBERATI	0.021	0.022	0.968	0.333

VOICE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.013	0.035	0.386	0.699
EFFICACY	0.076	0.064	1.203	0.229
DELIBERATI	-0.038	0.027	-1.408	0.159

ATTACK ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.368	0.057	6.406	0.000
EFFICACY	0.026	0.044	0.592	0.554
DELIBERATI	0.017	0.039	0.427	0.669
OBSTRUCT ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.129	0.044	2.943	0.003
EFFICACY	0.032	0.043	0.759	0.448
DELIBERATI	-0.006	0.026	-0.237	0.812
CREATE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.055	0.036	-1.518	0.129
EFFICACY	0.095	0.058	1.631	0.103
DELIBERATI	0.080	0.039	2.019	0.043
DELIBERA ON				
LIWC_DISCR	0.092	0.036	2.564	0.010
LIWC_ANG ON				
POLARIZATI	0.077	0.030	2.610	0.009
MUTUALISM	-0.057	0.032	-1.788	0.074
HELP ON				
LIWC_INCL	0.153	0.043	3.546	0.000
PERSUADE ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.057	0.029	-1.952	0.051
LIWC_EXCL	-0.097	0.034	-2.875	0.004
ATTACK ON				
LIWC_INCL	0.136	0.046	2.958	0.003
OBSTRUCT ON				
LIWC_INCL	-0.088	0.036	-2.435	0.015
CREATE ON				
LIWC_INCL	0.121	0.035	3.417	0.001
MUTUALIS WITH				
POLARIZATI	0.004	0.018	0.253	0.800
LIWC_INC WITH				
LIWC_EXCL	-0.107	0.041	-2.593	0.010
EXEMPLIF WITH				
CREATE	0.195	0.074	2.648	0.008
HELP WITH				
CREATE	0.049	0.044	1.107	0.268

EXEMPLIFY	0.070	0.042	1.657	0.097
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PERSUADE WITH

CREATE	0.030	0.040	0.761	0.447
EXEMPLIFY	0.091	0.042	2.179	0.029
HELP	-0.031	0.048	-0.634	0.526

EXIT WITH

CREATE	-0.036	0.018	-1.977	0.048
EXEMPLIFY	-0.021	0.014	-1.530	0.126
HELP	0.011	0.025	0.447	0.655
PERSUADE	-0.016	0.025	-0.645	0.519

VOICE WITH

CREATE	0.000	0.021	-0.006	0.995
EXEMPLIFY	-0.025	0.021	-1.212	0.225
HELP	0.022	0.045	0.481	0.631
PERSUADE	0.018	0.037	0.495	0.621
EXIT	-0.053	0.025	-2.154	0.031

ATTACK WITH

CREATE	0.052	0.030	1.742	0.081
EXEMPLIFY	0.003	0.021	0.150	0.881
HELP	0.036	0.036	1.014	0.310
PERSUADE	0.065	0.050	1.300	0.193
EXIT	-0.032	0.025	-1.250	0.211
VOICE	0.029	0.039	0.749	0.454

OBSTRUCT WITH

CREATE	-0.033	0.023	-1.470	0.141
EXEMPLIFY	-0.022	0.020	-1.131	0.258
HELP	-0.043	0.035	-1.223	0.221
PERSUADE	0.017	0.030	0.561	0.575
EXIT	-0.011	0.029	-0.367	0.714
VOICE	0.018	0.033	0.539	0.590
ATTACK	0.011	0.026	0.398	0.691

Intercepts

LIWC_ANGER	0.000	0.088	0.000	1.000
LIWC_INCL	0.000	0.069	0.000	1.000
LIWC_EXCL	0.000	0.072	0.000	1.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.000	0.085	0.000	1.000
POLARIZATI	0.000	0.041	0.000	1.000
MUTUALISM	0.000	0.074	0.000	1.000
CREATE	0.000	0.052	0.000	1.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.000	0.035	0.000	1.000
HELP	0.000	0.070	0.000	1.000
PERSUADE	0.000	0.064	0.000	1.000
EXIT	0.000	0.038	0.000	1.000
VOICE	0.000	0.062	0.000	1.000

ATTACK	0.000	0.067	0.000	1.000
OBSTRUCT	0.000	0.041	0.000	1.000
AFFORDANCE	0.000	0.080	0.000	1.000
EFFICACY	0.000	0.044	0.000	1.000
DELIBERATI	0.000	0.088	0.000	1.000
BLAME	0.000	0.040	0.000	1.000

Residual Variances

LIWC_ANGER	0.960	0.015	62.754	0.000
LIWC_INCL	0.995	0.008	131.337	0.000
LIWC_EXCL	0.756	0.040	19.076	0.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.993	0.009	108.888	0.000
POLARIZATI	0.995	0.006	178.599	0.000
MUTUALISM	0.974	0.007	133.499	0.000
CREATE	0.966	0.018	52.937	0.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.997	0.002	415.512	0.000
HELP	0.935	0.028	33.572	0.000
PERSUADE	0.980	0.008	119.103	0.000
EXIT	0.995	0.004	276.724	0.000
VOICE	0.993	0.009	110.782	0.000
ATTACK	0.846	0.043	19.885	0.000
OBSTRUCT	0.974	0.011	89.739	0.000
AFFORDANCE	0.998	0.001	694.159	0.000
EFFICACY	0.974	0.023	42.063	0.000
DELIBERATI	0.976	0.011	90.023	0.000
BLAME	0.995	0.002	508.845	0.000

Group AVOIDANT

LIWC_INC ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.191	0.127	-1.503	0.133
LIWC_EXC ON				
LIWC_DISCR	0.658	0.052	12.551	0.000
POLARIZA ON				
LIWC_DISCR	0.041	0.081	0.507	0.612
LIWC_INCL	-0.034	0.022	-1.539	0.124
LIWC_EXCL	-0.045	0.107	-0.425	0.671
MUTUALIS ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.053	0.054	-0.967	0.334
LIWC_INCL	0.104	0.089	1.171	0.242
LIWC_EXCL	-0.147	0.126	-1.167	0.243
SYSTEMSE ON				
LIWC_DISCR	0.008	0.141	0.060	0.952
LIWC_INCL	0.032	0.049	0.652	0.514
LIWC_EXCL	-0.042	0.078	-0.532	0.594

DELIBERA ON				
POLARIZATI	-0.072	0.028	-2.591	0.010
SYSTEMSECO	-0.115	0.049	-2.337	0.019
LIWC_EXCL	0.121	0.086	1.401	0.161
LIWC_INCL	-0.050	0.027	-1.848	0.065
MUTUALISM	0.146	0.053	2.737	0.006

AFFORDAN ON				
POLARIZATI	-0.035	0.039	-0.892	0.372
SYSTEMSECO	0.038	0.028	1.373	0.170
MUTUALISM	-0.062	0.031	-2.013	0.044

BLAME ON				
POLARIZATI	-0.074	0.021	-3.543	0.000
AFFORDANCE	-0.080	0.017	-4.654	0.000
SYSTEMSECO	-0.059	0.025	-2.327	0.020
MUTUALISM	-0.069	0.059	-1.164	0.244

EFFICACY ON				
AFFORDANCE	0.090	0.041	2.184	0.029

LIWC_ANG ON				
BLAME	-0.002	0.033	-0.054	0.957
AFFORDANCE	-0.066	0.022	-2.987	0.003

EXEMPLIF ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.055	0.077	0.723	0.470
EFFICACY	-0.042	0.022	-1.884	0.060
DELIBERATI	-0.008	0.051	-0.155	0.877

HELP ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.036	0.054	-0.663	0.508
EFFICACY	0.031	0.061	0.508	0.611
DELIBERATI	-0.058	0.042	-1.387	0.165

PERSUADE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.097	0.126	0.770	0.442
EFFICACY	0.027	0.026	1.021	0.307
DELIBERATI	-0.019	0.019	-1.012	0.311

EXIT ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.112	0.047	2.368	0.018
EFFICACY	0.023	0.039	0.594	0.552
DELIBERATI	0.050	0.057	0.877	0.380

VOICE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.008	0.087	-0.089	0.929
EFFICACY	-0.071	0.032	-2.188	0.029
DELIBERATI	-0.029	0.026	-1.136	0.256

ATTACK ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.378	0.020	19.349	0.000
EFFICACY	-0.033	0.011	-3.081	0.002
DELIBERATI	-0.014	0.056	-0.250	0.802
OBSTRUCT ON				
LIWC_ANGER	0.221	0.097	2.293	0.022
EFFICACY	-0.070	0.053	-1.310	0.190
DELIBERATI	0.103	0.073	1.413	0.158
CREATE ON				
LIWC_ANGER	-0.167	0.027	-6.134	0.000
EFFICACY	-0.033	0.030	-1.076	0.282
DELIBERATI	0.108	0.063	1.733	0.083
LIWC_ANG ON				
MUTUALISM	-0.138	0.042	-3.292	0.001
EXEMPLIF ON				
LIWC_EXCL	-0.183	0.015	-12.393	0.000
HELP ON				
MUTUALISM	0.291	0.078	3.710	0.000
LIWC_EXCL	-0.247	0.073	-3.400	0.001
PERSUADE ON				
POLARIZATI	0.379	0.118	3.203	0.001
LIWC_EXCL	-0.209	0.056	-3.713	0.000
EXIT ON				
LIWC_EXCL	0.224	0.020	11.291	0.000
VOICE ON				
LIWC_DISCR	-0.127	0.028	-4.498	0.000
LIWC_EXCL	-0.187	0.048	-3.879	0.000
ATTACK ON				
SYSTEMSECO	0.166	0.017	9.853	0.000
POLARIZATI	0.071	0.038	1.882	0.060
CREATE ON				
SYSTEMSECO	0.176	0.054	3.281	0.001
MUTUALIS WITH				
POLARIZATI	-0.101	0.017	-5.817	0.000
LIWC_INC WITH				
LIWC_EXCL	-0.081	0.045	-1.783	0.075
EXEMPLIF WITH				

CREATE	-0.008	0.022	-0.389	0.698
HELP WITH				
CREATE	0.014	0.036	0.403	0.687
EXEMPLIFY	0.014	0.028	0.515	0.607
PERSUADE WITH				
CREATE	-0.084	0.042	-1.999	0.046
EXEMPLIFY	-0.093	0.053	-1.749	0.080
HELP	0.086	0.068	1.273	0.203
EXIT WITH				
CREATE	0.088	0.049	1.821	0.069
EXEMPLIFY	-0.015	0.031	-0.490	0.624
HELP	-0.040	0.035	-1.167	0.243
PERSUADE	-0.031	0.032	-0.962	0.336
VOICE WITH				
CREATE	-0.070	0.051	-1.362	0.173
EXEMPLIFY	-0.112	0.053	-2.101	0.036
HELP	0.049	0.060	0.816	0.414
PERSUADE	-0.011	0.028	-0.388	0.698
EXIT	0.046	0.023	1.980	0.048
ATTACK WITH				
CREATE	-0.101	0.016	-6.285	0.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.043	0.020	2.192	0.028
HELP	0.016	0.070	0.228	0.820
PERSUADE	-0.087	0.040	-2.165	0.030
EXIT	-0.016	0.029	-0.555	0.579
VOICE	-0.075	0.023	-3.193	0.001
OBSTRUCT WITH				
CREATE	-0.002	0.040	-0.039	0.969
EXEMPLIFY	-0.025	0.063	-0.393	0.694
HELP	-0.054	0.057	-0.939	0.348
PERSUADE	0.039	0.044	0.885	0.376
EXIT	0.028	0.059	0.471	0.637
VOICE	-0.114	0.044	-2.578	0.010
ATTACK	-0.129	0.108	-1.195	0.232
Intercepts				
LIWC_ANGER	0.000	0.124	0.000	1.000
LIWC_INCL	0.000	0.052	0.000	1.000
LIWC_EXCL	0.000	0.170	0.000	1.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.000	0.169	0.000	1.000
POLARIZATI	0.000	0.131	0.000	1.000
MUTUALISM	0.000	0.157	0.000	1.000
CREATE	0.000	0.061	0.000	1.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.000	0.028	0.000	1.000

HELP	0.000	0.115	0.000	1.000
PERSUADE	0.000	0.062	0.000	1.000
EXIT	0.000	0.045	0.000	1.000
VOICE	0.000	0.092	0.000	1.000
ATTACK	0.000	0.108	0.000	1.000
OBSTRUCT	0.000	0.072	0.000	1.000
AFFORDANCE	0.000	0.098	0.000	1.000
EFFICACY	0.000	0.045	0.000	1.000
DELIBERATI	0.000	0.052	0.000	1.000
BLAME	0.000	0.082	0.000	1.000

Residual Variances

LIWC_ANGER	0.978	0.012	78.343	0.000
LIWC_INCL	0.963	0.049	19.748	0.000
LIWC_EXCL	0.567	0.069	8.205	0.000
SYSTEMSECO	0.997	0.007	143.953	0.000
POLARIZATI	0.998	0.005	208.164	0.000
MUTUALISM	0.947	0.015	61.311	0.000
CREATE	0.932	0.036	25.776	0.000
EXEMPLIFY	0.962	0.011	84.785	0.000
HELP	0.818	0.087	9.378	0.000
PERSUADE	0.798	0.068	11.669	0.000
EXIT	0.931	0.010	91.146	0.000
VOICE	0.910	0.025	36.712	0.000
ATTACK	0.822	0.015	54.229	0.000
OBSTRUCT	0.936	0.031	30.428	0.000
AFFORDANCE	0.994	0.006	163.199	0.000
EFFICACY	0.992	0.007	133.952	0.000
DELIBERATI	0.947	0.036	26.027	0.000
BLAME	0.981	0.008	116.812	0.000

R-SQUARE

Group MUTUALIST

Observed Variable	Estimate	Two-Tailed S.E. Est./S.E. P-Value		
LIWC_ANG	0.108	0.027	4.045	0.000
LIWC_INC	0.017	0.011	1.581	0.114
LIWC_EXC	0.299	0.041	7.348	0.000
SYSTEMSE	0.017	0.014	1.176	0.239
POLARIZA	0.005	0.006	0.833	0.405
MUTUALIS	0.055	0.022	2.469	0.014
CREATE	0.072	0.016	4.465	0.000
EXEMPLIF	0.017	0.007	2.580	0.010
HELP	0.110	0.020	5.383	0.000
PERSUADE	0.019	0.006	3.394	0.001
EXIT	0.023	0.010	2.268	0.023

VOICE	0.008	0.006	1.434	0.152
ATTACK	0.137	0.037	3.709	0.000
OBSTRUCT	0.018	0.006	2.954	0.003
AFFORDAN	0.027	0.014	1.950	0.051
EFFICACY	0.049	0.016	3.083	0.002
DELIBERA	0.055	0.028	1.986	0.047
BLAME	0.000	0.001	0.487	0.627

Group COOPERATIVE

Observed Variable	Estimate	Two-Tailed S.E. Est./S.E. P-Value		
LIWC_ANG	0.001	0.002	0.695	0.487
LIWC_INC	0.008	0.010	0.878	0.380
LIWC_EXC	0.234	0.024	9.720	0.000
SYSTEMSE	0.007	0.008	0.968	0.333
POLARIZA	0.013	0.008	1.616	0.106
MUTUALIS	0.013	0.010	1.231	0.218
CREATE	0.039	0.021	1.868	0.062
EXEMPLIF	0.014	0.012	1.161	0.245
HELP	0.046	0.036	1.305	0.192
PERSUADE	0.003	0.003	1.180	0.238
EXIT	0.005	0.003	1.423	0.155
VOICE	0.015	0.010	1.465	0.143
ATTACK	0.255	0.047	5.365	0.000
OBSTRUCT	0.037	0.029	1.256	0.209
AFFORDAN	0.049	0.053	0.934	0.350
EFFICACY	0.107	0.026	4.084	0.000
DELIBERA	0.019	0.019	1.024	0.306
BLAME	0.027	0.030	0.882	0.378

Group COMPETITIVE

Observed Variable	Estimate	Two-Tailed S.E. Est./S.E. P-Value		
LIWC_ANG	0.040	0.015	2.626	0.009
LIWC_INC	0.005	0.008	0.652	0.515
LIWC_EXC	0.244	0.040	6.157	0.000
SYSTEMSE	0.007	0.009	0.806	0.420
POLARIZA	0.005	0.006	0.972	0.331
MUTUALIS	0.026	0.007	3.529	0.000
CREATE	0.034	0.018	1.862	0.063
EXEMPLIF	0.003	0.002	1.050	0.294
HELP	0.065	0.028	2.332	0.020
PERSUADE	0.020	0.008	2.461	0.014
EXIT	0.005	0.004	1.403	0.161
VOICE	0.007	0.009	0.829	0.407
ATTACK	0.154	0.043	3.613	0.000

OBSTRUCT	0.026	0.011	2.350	0.019
AFFORDAN	0.002	0.001	1.219	0.223
EFFICACY	0.026	0.023	1.129	0.259
DELIBERA	0.024	0.011	2.182	0.029
BLAME	0.005	0.002	2.586	0.010

Group AVOIDANT

Observed Variable	Estimate	S.E.	Two-Tailed Est./S.E.	P-Value
LIWC_ANG	0.022	0.012	1.796	0.072
LIWC_INC	0.037	0.049	0.752	0.452
LIWC_EXC	0.433	0.069	6.275	0.000
SYSTEMSE	0.003	0.007	0.398	0.691
POLARIZA	0.002	0.005	0.502	0.616
MUTUALIS	0.053	0.015	3.434	0.001
CREATE	0.068	0.036	1.873	0.061
EXEMPLIF	0.038	0.011	3.371	0.001
HELP	0.182	0.087	2.086	0.037
PERSUADE	0.202	0.068	2.956	0.003
EXIT	0.069	0.010	6.788	0.000
VOICE	0.090	0.025	3.630	0.000
ATTACK	0.178	0.015	11.745	0.000
OBSTRUCT	0.064	0.031	2.076	0.038
AFFORDAN	0.006	0.006	0.995	0.320
EFFICACY	0.008	0.007	1.092	0.275
DELIBERA	0.053	0.036	1.459	0.144
BLAME	0.019	0.008	2.211	0.027

Appendix 4

Study 4.1 Measures

Table 4.1. List of Study 4.1 measures.

Variable name	Variable label	Variable scale
Collective autonomy		
colauto1	I need to feel that my group is in charge of its own destiny	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
colauto2	I want my group to be solely and completely responsible to what happens to it	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Greece-Europe relational perceptions		
RELGREUR1	Competition-Cooperation	1: Competition - 8: Cooperation
RELGREUR2	Submission-Domination	1: Submission - 8: Domination
RELGREUR3	Consensus-Conflict	1: Consensus - 8: Conflict
RELGREUR4	Respect-Prejudice	1: Respect - 8: Prejudice
RELGREUR5	Inequality-Equality	1: Inequality - 8: Equality
RELGREUR6	Solidarity-Exploitation	1: Solidarity - 8: Exploitation
RELGREUR7	Trust-Distrust	1: Trust - 8: Distrust
Political engagement		
polengage2	I take practical steps to advance my political convictions in my country.	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
polengage6	It has always been important to me to express my political views publicly	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
polengage7	I take practical steps to advance my political convictions in my country	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
polengage8	Political action is an important part of my life	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
polengage9	When government is not responsive, I try to achieve my political goals through other means (e.g. civil society, the internet, demonstrations)	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Political ideology		
libcon	In politics, people talk of “left” and “right.” Circle a number from 0 to 10 to show how left or right you are	0: Left - 10: Right
Relative socioeconomic status		
ses	Compared to other people in your society, what is your economic situation?	1: Much better - 3: The same - 6: Much worse
Temporal relative socioeconomic status		
ses1	Compared to one year ago, what is your economic situation?	1: Much better - 3: The same - 6: Much worse
Do you support each of the following actions as a response to the austerity crisis?		

Action1	Robbing food from supermarkets and distributing it to poor people	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action2	Attacking anti-riot police forces during demonstrations	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action3	Reconnecting illegally power to those that could not pay electricity bills	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action4	Burning cars of politicians	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action5	Publication of texts on the internet approving acts of political violence	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action6	Publication of texts on the internet inciting to public disobedience	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action7	Physical assault of politicians	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action8	Assault of politicians with eggs and yogurt	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action9	Occupation of public buildings and ministries	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action10	Blocking roads, ports and airports	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action11	Participation to public demonstrations against austerity measures	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action12	Refusal to pay any new taxes	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action13	Refusal to pay tolls	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action14	Taking collectively all money deposits from banks	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action15	Taking one's savings out of Greece to foreign banks to protect them	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action16	Keeping money home to be able to cope with tough moments	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action17	Petition to exit the Euro-zone	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action18	Boycotting foreign products	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action19	Buying only Greek products	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action20	Immigrating to a prosperous country to find a job	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action21	Striking	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action22	Signing a petition	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action23	Constructing a website/blog	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action24	Acting through participation in unions	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action25	Acting through participation in political	1: Strongly disagree - 10:

	parties	Strongly agree
Action26	Acting through participation in NGOs	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action27	Sending political e-mails	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action28	Increasing one's abilities and skills through education and training to be able to cope with the demands of the labor market	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action29	Participating to popular assemblies in neighborhoods	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action30	Participating to the rallies of the Indignated people	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Action31	Destroying public property	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Group commons cognitions		
possum (common fate)	What's bad for one group is bad for others.	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
zerosum	When some groups win, other groups lose.	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
Participative efficacy (not used)		
inteff1	It doesn't matter what I do, I can't affect anything that happens in politics. (R)	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
inteff2	Political participation in this country is pointless and ineffective. (R)	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
inteff3	My voice is heard in this political system.	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree
exteff3	Political views like mine have influence in my country's political system.	1: Strongly disagree - 10: Strongly agree

Table 4.2. Scales and scale reliability for Study 4.1.

Scale label	Scale variable name	Item variable names	Item labels	Cronbach's alpha	ICC
Collective autonomy	colauto	colauto1, colauto2	Table 1	0.77	0.62
Political engagement	polengage	polengage2, polengage6, polengage7, polengage8, polengage9	Table 1	0.91	0.67
Systemic responsibility attribution for the economic crisis in Greece	sysattr	Attr11, Attr14	Globalization, capitalism	0.49	0.32
Dominant responsibility attribution for the economic crisis in Greece	cptlattr	Attr1, Attr2	Employers, banks	0.63	0.46
Subordinate responsibility attribution for the economic crisis in Greece	consattr	attr3, attr13, attr15, attr16, attr18, attr19	Public sector employees, employees, trade unionists, citizens in general, extreme leftists, immigrants	0.82	0.43
International responsibility attribution for the economic crisis in Greece	intlattr	attr6, attr8, attr9, attr12	The international factor, the USA, the European Union, the powerful countries of the European Union	0.78	0.47

Appendix 4A

Study 4.1 Path Analysis Final Model

MPlus Syntax

```
Missing are all (99);
usevar = colauto
possum zerosum
RELGREUR1
RELGREUR2
relgreur3
relgreur4
RELGREUR6
RELGREUR7
consattr
cptlattr
sysattr
intlattr
ACTION29 action11 action22 action21 action2
action17 action20 action26 action1 action12
sex libcon polengage;

Analysis:
bootstrap=1000;

MODEL:
Relgreur1 on sex libcon;
relgreur2 on libcon;
relgreur3 on libcon;
relgreur6 on libcon;
relgreur7 on libcon;

sysattr on RELGREUR6 colauto;
cptlattr on RELGREUR1 RELGREUR2 polengage;
consattr on relgreur2 libcon;
intlattr on RELGREUR1 libcon zerosum;

ACTION29 on sysattr cptlattr RELGREUR1 RELGREUR7 possum polengage;
ACTION11 on sex libcon;
ACTION22 on relgreur4 RELGREUR6 zerosum;
ACTION21 on consattr RELGREUR6 libcon polengage possum;
ACTION2 on consattr cptlattr RELGREUR2 libcon;
```

ACTION17 on cptlattr RELGREUR6 sex libcon polengage;
action20 on intlattr;
action26 on intlattr;
action1 on cptlattr libcon;
action12 on relgreur3 libcon;

polengage with libcon colauto;
sysattr with cptlattr intlattr;
cptlattr with consattr intlattr;
action11 with action29 action22 action21;
action29 with action22 action21;
action22 with action21 action17;
action20 with action2 action22;
RELGREUR1 with RELGREUR2 relgreur3 relgreur4 RELGREUR7 RELGREUR6;
RELGREUR2 with relgreur3 relgreur4 RELGREUR6 RELGREUR7;
relgreur3 with relgreur4 relgreur6 relgreur7;
relgreur4 with relgreur6 relgreur7;
RELGREUR6 with RELGREUR7;

Model indirect:

action29 ind relgreur1 sex;
action29 ind cptlattr relgreur1;
action29 ind cptlattr relgreur2;
action29 ind sysattr relgreur6;
action29 ind sysattr colauto;

Output: cinterval(bcbootstrap) stdyx;

Path Analysis Final Model MPlus Output

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS

Number of groups	1
Number of observations	150
Number of dependent variables	19
Number of independent variables	7
Number of continuous latent variables	0

Observed dependent variables

Continuous
ACTION29 ACTION11 CONSATTR CPTLATTR SYSATTR INTLATTR
RELGREUR1 RELGREUR2 RELGREUR3 RELGREUR6 RELGREUR7
ACTION22
ACTION21 ACTION2 ACTION17 ACTION20 ACTION26 ACTION1
ACTION12

Observed independent variables

POSSUM ZEROSUM COLAUTO RELGREUR SEX LIBCON
POLENGAG

Estimator	ML
Information matrix	OBSERVED
Maximum number of iterations	1000
Convergence criterion	0.500D-04
Maximum number of steepest descent iterations	20
Maximum number of iterations for H1	2000
Convergence criterion for H1	0.100D-03
Number of bootstrap draws	
Requested	1000
Completed	1000

SUMMARY OF DATA

Number of missing data patterns	13
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COVARIANCE COVERAGE OF DATA

Minimum covariance coverage value 0.100

PROPORTION OF DATA PRESENT

Covariance Coverage					
	ACTION29	ACTION11	CONSATTR	CPTLATTR	SYSATTR
ACTION29	0.993				
ACTION11	0.993	1.000			
CONSATTR	0.993	1.000	1.000		
CPTLATTR	0.993	1.000	1.000	1.000	
SYSATTR	0.993	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
INTLATTR	0.993	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
RELGREUR	0.967	0.973	0.973	0.973	0.973
RELGREUR	0.973	0.980	0.980	0.980	0.980
RELGREUR	0.973	0.980	0.980	0.980	0.980
RELGREUR	0.973	0.980	0.980	0.980	0.980
RELGREUR	0.973	0.980	0.980	0.980	0.980
ACTION22	0.980	0.987	0.987	0.987	0.987
ACTION21	0.987	0.993	0.993	0.993	0.993
ACTION2	0.987	0.993	0.993	0.993	0.993
ACTION17	0.973	0.980	0.980	0.980	0.980
ACTION20	0.973	0.980	0.980	0.980	0.980
ACTION26	0.933	0.940	0.940	0.940	0.940
ACTION1	0.987	0.993	0.993	0.993	0.993
ACTION12	0.993	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
COLAUTO	0.987	0.993	0.993	0.993	0.993
RELGREUR	0.967	0.973	0.973	0.973	0.973
LIBCON	0.660	0.667	0.667	0.667	0.667
POLENGAG	0.993	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
POSSUM	0.993	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
ZEROSUM	0.993	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
SEX	0.993	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000

Covariance Coverage					
	INTLATTR	RELGREUR	RELGREUR	RELGREUR	RELGREUR
INTLATTR	1.000				
RELGREUR	0.973	0.973			
RELGREUR	0.980	0.973	0.980		
RELGREUR	0.980	0.973	0.980	0.980	
RELGREUR	0.980	0.973	0.980	0.980	0.980
RELGREUR	0.980	0.973	0.980	0.980	0.980
ACTION22	0.987	0.960	0.967	0.967	0.967
ACTION21	0.993	0.967	0.973	0.973	0.973
ACTION2	0.993	0.967	0.973	0.973	0.973
ACTION17	0.980	0.953	0.960	0.960	0.960
ACTION20	0.980	0.953	0.960	0.960	0.960
ACTION26	0.940	0.927	0.933	0.933	0.933

ACTION1	0.993	0.967	0.973	0.973	0.973
ACTION12	1.000	0.973	0.980	0.980	0.980
COLAUTO	0.993	0.967	0.973	0.973	0.973
RELGREUR	0.973	0.967	0.973	0.973	0.973
LIBCON	0.667	0.660	0.667	0.667	0.667
POLENGAG	1.000	0.973	0.980	0.980	0.980
POSSUM	1.000	0.973	0.980	0.980	0.980
ZEROSUM	1.000	0.973	0.980	0.980	0.980
SEX	1.000	0.973	0.980	0.980	0.980

Covariance Coverage

	RELGREUR	ACTION22	ACTION21	ACTION2	ACTION17
RELGREUR	0.980				
ACTION22	0.967	0.987			
ACTION21	0.973	0.980	0.993		
ACTION2	0.973	0.980	0.987	0.993	
ACTION17	0.960	0.980	0.973	0.980	0.980
ACTION20	0.960	0.967	0.973	0.980	0.967
ACTION26	0.933	0.927	0.940	0.933	0.920
ACTION1	0.973	0.980	0.987	0.993	0.980
ACTION12	0.980	0.987	0.993	0.993	0.980
COLAUTO	0.973	0.980	0.993	0.987	0.973
RELGREUR	0.973	0.960	0.967	0.967	0.953
LIBCON	0.667	0.667	0.660	0.660	0.660
POLENGAG	0.980	0.987	0.993	0.993	0.980
POSSUM	0.980	0.987	0.993	0.993	0.980
ZEROSUM	0.980	0.987	0.993	0.993	0.980
SEX	0.980	0.987	0.993	0.993	0.980

Covariance Coverage

	ACTION20	ACTION26	ACTION1	ACTION12	COLAUTO
ACTION20	0.980				
ACTION26	0.920	0.940			
ACTION1	0.980	0.933	0.993		
ACTION12	0.980	0.940	0.993	1.000	
COLAUTO	0.973	0.940	0.987	0.993	0.993
RELGREUR	0.953	0.927	0.967	0.973	0.967
LIBCON	0.647	0.627	0.660	0.667	0.660
POLENGAG	0.980	0.940	0.993	1.000	0.993
POSSUM	0.980	0.940	0.993	1.000	0.993
ZEROSUM	0.980	0.940	0.993	1.000	0.993
SEX	0.980	0.940	0.993	1.000	0.993

Covariance Coverage

RELGREUR	LIBCON	POLENGAG	POSSUM	ZEROSUM

RELGREUR	0.973				
LIBCON	0.660	0.667			
POLENGAG	0.973	0.667	1.000		
POSSUM	0.973	0.667	1.000	1.000	
ZEROSUM	0.973	0.667	1.000	1.000	1.000
SEX	0.973	0.667	1.000	1.000	1.000

Covariance Coverage SEX

SEX	1.000
-----	-------

THE MODEL ESTIMATION TERMINATED NORMALLY

MODEL FIT INFORMATION

Number of Free Parameters 163

Loglikelihood

H0 Value	-6805.617
H1 Value	-6694.032

Information Criteria

Akaike (AIC)	13937.233
Bayesian (BIC)	14427.967
Sample-Size Adjusted BIC	13912.103
(n* = (n + 2) / 24)	

Chi-Square Test of Model Fit

Value	223.169
Degrees of Freedom	205
P-Value	0.1828

RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error Of Approximation)

Estimate	0.024
90 Percent C.I.	0.000 0.044
Probability RMSEA <= .05	0.990

CFI/TLI

CFI	0.983
-----	-------

TLI	0.974
-----	-------

Chi-Square Test of Model Fit for the Baseline Model

Value	1356.419
Degrees of Freedom	304
P-Value	0.0000

SRMR (Standardized Root Mean Square Residual)

Value	0.069
-------	-------

MODEL RESULTS

	Estimate	S.E.	Two-Tailed Est./S.E.	P-Value
RELGREUR ON				
LIBCON	-0.265	0.074	-3.574	0.000
RELGREUR ON				
SEX	0.751	0.253	2.969	0.003
LIBCON	0.221	0.073	3.036	0.002
RELGREUR ON				
LIBCON	0.269	0.088	3.048	0.002
RELGREUR ON				
LIBCON	0.320	0.077	4.153	0.000
RELGREUR ON				
LIBCON	-0.171	0.088	-1.931	0.053
SYSATTR ON				
RELGREUR6	0.313	0.097	3.220	0.001
COLAUTO	0.276	0.083	3.334	0.001
CPTLATTR ON				
RELGREUR1	-0.374	0.073	-5.134	0.000
RELGREUR2	0.250	0.067	3.719	0.000
POLENGAGE	0.141	0.073	1.947	0.051
CONSATTR ON				
RELGREUR2	0.281	0.080	3.525	0.000
LIBCON	0.216	0.089	2.432	0.015
INTLATTR ON				
RELGREUR1	-0.240	0.069	-3.462	0.001
LIBCON	-0.117	0.059	-1.994	0.046

ZEROSUM	-0.077	0.036	-2.169	0.030
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ACTION29 ON				
SYSATTR	0.260	0.099	2.630	0.009
CPTLATTR	0.204	0.076	2.689	0.007
RELGREUR1	0.272	0.101	2.691	0.007
RELGREUR7	0.346	0.110	3.144	0.002
POSSUM	0.103	0.056	1.850	0.064
POLENGAGE	0.249	0.075	3.318	0.001

ACTION11 ON				
SEX	-0.720	0.292	-2.466	0.014
LIBCON	-0.466	0.088	-5.300	0.000

ACTION22 ON				
RELGREUR4	-0.436	0.179	-2.444	0.015
RELGREUR6	0.514	0.174	2.948	0.003
ZEROSUM	-0.149	0.079	-1.893	0.058

ACTION21 ON				
CONSATTR	-0.159	0.085	-1.868	0.062
RELGREUR6	0.335	0.127	2.643	0.008
LIBCON	-0.330	0.102	-3.226	0.001
POLENGAGE	0.234	0.077	3.056	0.002
POSSUM	0.159	0.059	2.681	0.007

ACTION2 ON				
CONSATTR	0.199	0.102	1.959	0.050
CPTLATTR	0.194	0.101	1.917	0.055
RELGREUR2	-0.233	0.081	-2.871	0.004
LIBCON	-0.475	0.109	-4.351	0.000

ACTION17 ON				
CPTLATTR	0.242	0.107	2.265	0.024
RELGREUR6	0.318	0.151	2.107	0.035
SEX	-0.974	0.417	-2.338	0.019
LIBCON	-0.383	0.134	-2.854	0.004
POLENGAGE	-0.253	0.106	-2.389	0.017

ACTION20 ON				
INTLATTR	-0.393	0.136	-2.898	0.004

ACTION26 ON				
INTLATTR	-0.324	0.130	-2.491	0.013

ACTION1 ON				
CPTLATTR	0.243	0.118	2.068	0.039
LIBCON	-0.653	0.107	-6.121	0.000

ACTION12 ON				
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RELGREUR3	0.409	0.120	3.416	0.001
LIBCON	-0.573	0.121	-4.745	0.000

POLENGAG WITH

LIBCON	-2.270	0.472	-4.814	0.000
COLAUTO	1.440	0.385	3.739	0.000
RELGREUR4	0.353	0.210	1.680	0.093

SYSATTR WITH

CPTLATTR	0.733	0.258	2.848	0.004
INTLATTR	1.246	0.260	4.797	0.000

CPTLATTR WITH

CONSATTR	1.044	0.253	4.131	0.000
INTLATTR	0.722	0.208	3.467	0.001

ACTION11 WITH

ACTION29	0.749	0.347	2.161	0.031
ACTION22	1.681	0.574	2.929	0.003
ACTION21	1.684	0.440	3.825	0.000

ACTION29 WITH

ACTION22	1.236	0.512	2.412	0.016
ACTION21	1.118	0.382	2.925	0.003

ACTION22 WITH

ACTION21	2.601	0.541	4.806	0.000
ACTION17	1.703	0.637	2.674	0.007

ACTION20 WITH

ACTION2	2.270	0.537	4.230	0.000
ACTION22	1.166	0.728	1.601	0.109
ACTION29	-0.225	0.428	-0.526	0.599
ACTION11	0.123	0.477	0.257	0.797
ACTION21	0.389	0.485	0.803	0.422
ACTION17	0.740	0.576	1.285	0.199

RELGREUR WITH

RELGREUR2	0.816	0.272	3.005	0.003
RELGREUR3	-1.171	0.265	-4.410	0.000
RELGREUR4	-1.208	0.272	-4.434	0.000
RELGREUR7	-1.193	0.312	-3.827	0.000
RELGREUR6	-1.379	0.274	-5.033	0.000

RELGREUR WITH

RELGREUR3	0.106	0.272	0.389	0.698
RELGREUR4	-0.581	0.258	-2.249	0.025
RELGREUR6	-0.827	0.282	-2.931	0.003
RELGREUR7	-1.222	0.315	-3.878	0.000

RELGREUR WITH				
RELGREUR4	0.925	0.214	4.312	0.000
RELGREUR6	0.892	0.221	4.041	0.000
RELGREUR7	0.974	0.246	3.950	0.000

RELGREUR WITH				
RELGREUR6	1.305	0.289	4.520	0.000
RELGREUR7	1.536	0.335	4.591	0.000
COLAUTO	0.385	0.212	1.816	0.069

RELGREUR WITH				
RELGREUR7	1.982	0.373	5.314	0.000

ACTION2 WITH				
ACTION29	0.316	0.395	0.799	0.424
ACTION11	0.083	0.398	0.208	0.835
ACTION22	-0.480	0.662	-0.726	0.468
ACTION21	0.585	0.478	1.223	0.221

ACTION17 WITH				
ACTION29	0.365	0.386	0.948	0.343
ACTION11	-0.093	0.411	-0.227	0.820
ACTION21	0.113	0.469	0.241	0.810
ACTION2	0.462	0.551	0.838	0.402

ACTION26 WITH				
ACTION29	1.433	0.480	2.984	0.003
ACTION11	1.223	0.446	2.744	0.006
ACTION22	2.104	0.733	2.869	0.004
ACTION21	1.257	0.482	2.606	0.009
ACTION2	-0.183	0.573	-0.318	0.750
ACTION17	-0.199	0.610	-0.327	0.744
ACTION20	1.683	0.674	2.496	0.013

ACTION1 WITH				
ACTION29	0.157	0.430	0.366	0.714
ACTION11	-0.291	0.466	-0.625	0.532
ACTION22	-0.892	0.713	-1.251	0.211
ACTION21	0.611	0.459	1.330	0.184
ACTION2	4.372	0.658	6.646	0.000
ACTION17	1.049	0.600	1.747	0.081
ACTION20	2.389	0.621	3.846	0.000
ACTION26	0.572	0.657	0.871	0.383

ACTION12 WITH				
ACTION29	-0.281	0.465	-0.604	0.546
ACTION11	1.222	0.493	2.477	0.013

ACTION22	0.452	0.688	0.657	0.511
ACTION21	1.057	0.512	2.064	0.039
ACTION2	1.809	0.458	3.949	0.000
ACTION17	0.831	0.584	1.423	0.155
ACTION20	1.384	0.648	2.136	0.033
ACTION26	0.332	0.614	0.541	0.588
ACTION1	1.443	0.512	2.818	0.005

LIBCON WITH

COLAUTO	-0.674	0.465	-1.448	0.147
RELGREUR4	-0.427	0.248	-1.723	0.085

Means

COLAUTO	7.689	0.147	52.288	0.000
RELGREUR4	5.586	0.131	42.741	0.000
LIBCON	3.612	0.205	17.601	0.000
POLENGAGE	4.887	0.194	25.175	0.000

Intercepts

ACTION29	-1.102	1.345	-0.819	0.413
ACTION11	11.211	0.476	23.560	0.000
CONSATTR	2.551	0.393	6.493	0.000
CPTLATTR	7.274	0.593	12.259	0.000
SYSATTR	3.524	0.848	4.158	0.000
INTLATTR	9.699	0.401	24.185	0.000
RELGREUR1	2.172	0.499	4.356	0.000
RELGREUR2	2.344	0.309	7.594	0.000
RELGREUR3	3.373	0.359	9.389	0.000
RELGREUR6	7.183	0.250	28.742	0.000
RELGREUR7	6.709	0.302	22.241	0.000
ACTION22	6.065	1.283	4.728	0.000
ACTION21	5.109	1.110	4.602	0.000
ACTION2	3.949	0.974	4.055	0.000
ACTION17	4.596	1.812	2.536	0.011
ACTION20	8.273	1.083	7.639	0.000
ACTION26	7.974	0.981	8.125	0.000
ACTION1	4.807	1.034	4.651	0.000
ACTION12	8.312	0.555	14.964	0.000

Variances

COLAUTO	3.460	0.496	6.977	0.000
RELGREUR4	2.332	0.296	7.882	0.000
LIBCON	4.666	0.695	6.715	0.000
POLENGAGE	5.158	0.490	10.535	0.000

Residual Variances

ACTION29	3.487	0.452	7.710	0.000
ACTION11	3.792	0.702	5.402	0.000
CONSATTR	3.373	0.414	8.154	0.000
CPTLATTR	2.970	0.375	7.920	0.000

SYSATTR	3.187	0.300	10.615	0.000
INTLATTR	2.090	0.241	8.657	0.000
RELGREUR1	2.738	0.303	9.043	0.000
RELGREUR2	3.404	0.395	8.617	0.000
RELGREUR3	3.058	0.346	8.826	0.000
RELGREUR6	2.643	0.362	7.294	0.000
RELGREUR7	3.322	0.453	7.327	0.000
ACTION22	8.024	0.701	11.449	0.000
ACTION21	4.194	0.475	8.831	0.000
ACTION2	6.240	0.693	9.004	0.000
ACTION17	5.810	0.640	9.085	0.000
ACTION20	7.315	0.579	12.627	0.000
ACTION26	7.046	0.649	10.862	0.000
ACTION1	7.565	0.704	10.753	0.000
ACTION12	6.031	0.751	8.027	0.000

STANDARDIZED MODEL RESULTS

StdYX
Estimate

RELGREUR ON
LIBCON -0.332

RELGREUR ON
SEX 0.208
LIBCON 0.272

RELGREUR ON
LIBCON 0.300

RELGREUR ON
LIBCON 0.367

RELGREUR ON
LIBCON -0.198

SYSATTR ON
RELGREUR6 0.278
COLAUTO 0.264

CPTLATTR ON
RELGREUR1 -0.350
RELGREUR2 0.256
POLENGAGE 0.170

CONSATTR ON
RELGREUR2 0.270

LIBCON	0.232
INTLATTR ON	
RELGREUR1	-0.271
LIBCON	-0.163
ZEROSUM	-0.135
ACTION29 ON	
SYSATTR	0.228
CPTLATTR	0.174
RELGREUR1	0.216
RELGREUR7	0.291
POSSUM	0.135
POLENGAGE	0.255
ACTION11 ON	
SEX	-0.158
LIBCON	-0.453
ACTION22 ON	
RELGREUR4	-0.225
RELGREUR6	0.299
ZEROSUM	-0.137
ACTION21 ON	
CONSATTR	-0.124
RELGREUR6	0.224
LIBCON	-0.277
POLENGAGE	0.207
POSSUM	0.180
ACTION2 ON	
CONSATTR	0.143
CPTLATTR	0.131
RELGREUR2	-0.162
LIBCON	-0.367
ACTION17 ON	
CPTLATTR	0.167
RELGREUR6	0.201
SEX	-.0.174
LIBCON	-0.304
POLENGAGE	-0.211
ACTION20 ON	
INTLATTR	-0.221
ACTION26 ON	
INTLATTR	-0.187

ACTION1 ON	
CPTLATTR	0.146
LIBCON	-0.449

ACTION12 ON	
RELGREUR3	0.282
LIBCON	-0.454

POLENGAG WITH	
LIBCON	-0.463
COLAUTO	0.341
RELGREUR4	0.102

SYSATTR WITH	
CPTLATTR	0.238
INTLATTR	0.483

CPTLATTR WITH	
CONSATTR	0.330
INTLATTR	0.290

ACTION11 WITH	
ACTION29	0.206
ACTION22	0.305
ACTION21	0.422

ACTION29 WITH	
ACTION22	0.234
ACTION21	0.292

ACTION22 WITH	
ACTION21	0.448
ACTION17	0.249

ACTION20 WITH	
ACTION2	0.336
ACTION22	0.152
ACTION29	-0.045
ACTION11	0.023
ACTION21	0.070
ACTION17	0.114

RELGREUR WITH	
RELGREUR2	0.267
RELGREUR3	-0.405
RELGREUR4	-0.478
RELGREUR7	-0.396
RELGREUR6	-0.513

RELGREUR WITH

RELGREUR3	0.033
RELGREUR4	-0.206
RELGREUR6	-0.276
RELGREUR7	-0.363

RELGREUR WITH

RELGREUR4	0.346
RELGREUR6	0.314
RELGREUR7	0.305

RELGREUR WITH

RELGREUR6	0.526
RELGREUR7	0.552
COLAUTO	0.136

RELGREUR WITH

RELGREUR7	0.669
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ACTION2 WITH

ACTION29	0.068
ACTION11	0.017
ACTION22	-0.068
ACTION21	0.114

ACTION17 WITH

ACTION29	0.081
ACTION11	-0.020
ACTION21	0.023
ACTION2	0.077

ACTION26 WITH

ACTION29	0.289
ACTION11	0.237
ACTION22	0.280
ACTION21	0.231
ACTION2	-0.028
ACTION17	-0.031
ACTION20	0.234

ACTION1 WITH

ACTION29	0.031
ACTION11	-0.054
ACTION22	-0.115
ACTION21	0.108
ACTION2	0.636
ACTION17	0.158
ACTION20	0.321
ACTION26	0.078

ACTION12 WITH

ACTION29	-0.061
ACTION11	0.255
ACTION22	0.065
ACTION21	0.210
ACTION2	0.295
ACTION17	0.140
ACTION20	0.208
ACTION26	0.051
ACTION1	0.214

LIBCON WITH

COLAUTO	-0.168
RELGREUR4	-0.129

Means

COLAUTO	4.134
RELGREUR4	3.658
LIBCON	1.672
POLENGAGE	2.152

Intercepts

ACTION29	-0.497
ACTION11	5.050
CONSATTR	1.270
CPTLATTR	3.863
SYSATTR	1.815
INTLATTR	6.219
RELGREUR1	1.233
RELGREUR2	1.212
RELGREUR3	1.794
RELGREUR6	4.168
RELGREUR7	3.608
ACTION22	2.047
ACTION21	1.988
ACTION2	1.413
ACTION17	1.690
ACTION20	2.983
ACTION26	2.951
ACTION1	1.529
ACTION12	3.044

Variances

COLAUTO	1.000
RELGREUR4	1.000
LIBCON	1.000
POLENGAGE	1.000

Residual Variances

ACTION29	0.711
ACTION11	0.769
CONSATTR	0.835
CPTLATTR	0.838
SYSATTR	0.845
INTLATTR	0.859
RELGREUR1	0.883
RELGREUR2	0.910
RELGREUR3	0.865
RELGREUR6	0.890
RELGREUR7	0.961
ACTION22	0.914
ACTION21	0.635
ACTION2	0.800
ACTION17	0.786
ACTION20	0.951
ACTION26	0.965
ACTION1	0.765
ACTION12	0.809

R-SQUARE

Observed Variable	Estimate
ACTION29	0.289
ACTION11	0.231
CONSATTR	0.165
CPTLATTR	0.162
SYSATTR	0.155
INTLATTR	0.141
RELGREUR	0.117
RELGREUR	0.090
RELGREUR	0.135
RELGREUR	0.110
RELGREUR	0.039
ACTION22	0.086
ACTION21	0.365
ACTION2	0.200
ACTION17	0.214
ACTION20	0.049
ACTION26	0.035
ACTION1	0.235
ACTION12	0.191

TOTAL, TOTAL INDIRECT, SPECIFIC INDIRECT, AND DIRECT EFFECTS

	Estimate	S.E.	Two-Tailed Est./S.E.	P-Value
Effects from SEX to ACTION29				
Sum of indirect	0.204	0.121	1.687	0.092
Specific indirect				
ACTION29				
RELGREUR				
SEX	0.204	0.121	1.687	0.092
Effects from RELGREUR to ACTION29				
Sum of indirect	-0.076	0.032	-2.377	0.017
Specific indirect				
ACTION29				
CPTLATTR				
RELGREUR	-0.076	0.032	-2.377	0.017
Effects from RELGREUR to ACTION29				
Sum of indirect	0.051	0.024	2.149	0.032
Specific indirect				
ACTION29				
CPTLATTR				
RELGREUR	0.051	0.024	2.149	0.032
Effects from RELGREUR to ACTION29				
Sum of indirect	0.082	0.039	2.071	0.038
Specific indirect				
ACTION29				
SYSATTR				
RELGREUR	0.082	0.039	2.071	0.038
Effects from COLAUTO to ACTION29				

Sum of indirect	0.072	0.033	2.206	0.027
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Specific indirect

ACTION29				
SYSATTR				
COLAUTO	0.072	0.033	2.206	0.027

STANDARDIZED TOTAL, TOTAL INDIRECT, SPECIFIC INDIRECT, AND DIRECT EFFECTS

STDYX Standardization

			Two-Tailed	
Estimate	S.E.	Est./S.E.	P-Value	

Effects from SEX to ACTION29

Sum of indirect	0.045	0.026	1.735	0.083
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Specific indirect

ACTION29				
RELGREUR				
SEX	0.045	0.026	1.735	0.083

Effects from RELGREUR to ACTION29

Sum of indirect	-0.061	0.025	-2.390	0.017
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Specific indirect

ACTION29				
CPTLATTR				
RELGREUR	-0.061	0.025	-2.390	0.017

Effects from RELGREUR to ACTION29

Sum of indirect	0.045	0.021	2.098	0.036
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Specific indirect

ACTION29				
CPTLATTR				
RELGREUR	0.045	0.021	2.098	0.036

Effects from RELGREUR to ACTION29

Sum of indirect	0.063	0.030	2.084	0.037
Specific indirect				
ACTION29				
SYSATTR				
RELGREUR	0.063	0.030	2.084	0.037

Effects from COLAUTO to ACTION29

Sum of indirect	0.060	0.028	2.136	0.033
Specific indirect				
ACTION29				
SYSATTR				
COLAUTO	0.060	0.028	2.136	0.033

CONFIDENCE INTERVALS OF MODEL RESULTS

Lower .5% Lower 2.5% Lower 5% Estimate Upper 5% Upper 2.5% Upper .5%

RELGREUR ON

LIBCON	-0.490	-0.419	-0.398	-0.265	-0.154	-0.135	-0.104
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RELGREUR ON

SEX	0.135	0.279	0.367	0.751	1.189	1.288	1.517
LIBCON	0.033	0.085	0.109	0.221	0.342	0.370	0.414

RELGREUR ON

LIBCON	0.059	0.100	0.128	0.269	0.418	0.454	0.529
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RELGREUR ON

LIBCON	0.129	0.173	0.197	0.320	0.458	0.482	0.515
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RELGREUR ON

LIBCON	-0.406	-0.371	-0.342	-0.171	-0.042	-0.020	0.020
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SYSATTR ON

RELGREUR6	0.083	0.135	0.159	0.313	0.478	0.512	0.563
COLAUTO	0.068	0.122	0.148	0.276	0.423	0.462	0.506

CPTLATTR ON

RELGREUR1	-0.571	-0.523	-0.501	-0.374	-0.263	-0.240	-0.188
RELGREUR2	0.089	0.126	0.146	0.250	0.370	0.387	0.412
POLENGAGE	-0.034	0.005	0.029	0.141	0.269	0.294	0.340
CONSATTR ON							
RELGREUR2	0.075	0.120	0.148	0.281	0.406	0.432	0.478
LIBCON	-0.014	0.034	0.065	0.216	0.356	0.381	0.417
INTLATTR ON							
RELGREUR1	-0.423	-0.375	-0.353	-0.240	-0.128	-0.109	-0.061
LIBCON	-0.272	-0.241	-0.219	-0.117	-0.025	-0.009	0.016
ZEROSUM	-0.165	-0.143	-0.137	-0.077	-0.020	-0.007	0.013
ACTION29 ON							
SYSATTR	-0.009	0.061	0.098	0.260	0.414	0.440	0.502
CPTLATTR	-0.005	0.061	0.085	0.204	0.328	0.350	0.412
RELGREUR1	-0.037	0.070	0.101	0.272	0.432	0.460	0.526
RELGREUR7	0.089	0.145	0.180	0.346	0.531	0.577	0.657
POSSUM	-0.081	-0.016	-0.002	0.103	0.185	0.207	0.251
POLENGAGE	0.050	0.106	0.130	0.249	0.382	0.403	0.440
ACTION11 ON							
SEX	-1.520	-1.330	-1.248	-0.720	-0.277	-0.208	-0.066
LIBCON	-0.715	-0.634	-0.617	-0.466	-0.330	-0.304	-0.253
ACTION22 ON							
RELGREUR4	-0.883	-0.776	-0.713	-0.436	-0.127	-0.072	0.012
RELGREUR6	0.017	0.156	0.225	0.514	0.792	0.827	0.991
ZEROSUM	-0.361	-0.304	-0.274	-0.149	-0.017	0.004	0.072
ACTION21 ON							
CONSATTR	-0.418	-0.340	-0.317	-0.159	-0.030	-0.004	0.034
RELGREUR6	0.017	0.109	0.143	0.335	0.552	0.600	0.688
LIBCON	-0.664	-0.535	-0.499	-0.330	-0.169	-0.139	-0.070
POLENGAGE	0.040	0.080	0.106	0.234	0.359	0.381	0.434
POSSUM	0.022	0.048	0.068	0.159	0.263	0.280	0.326
ACTION2 ON							
CONSATTR	-0.086	0.007	0.032	0.199	0.367	0.399	0.451
CPTLATTR	-0.071	-0.008	0.034	0.194	0.364	0.402	0.470
RELGREUR2	-0.454	-0.394	-0.372	-0.233	-0.101	-0.075	-0.029
LIBCON	-0.767	-0.699	-0.663	-0.475	-0.307	-0.270	-0.215
ACTION17 ON							
CPTLATTR	-0.046	0.035	0.063	0.242	0.414	0.444	0.545
RELGREUR6	-0.071	0.008	0.057	0.318	0.556	0.605	0.680
SEX	-2.113	-1.868	-1.730	-0.974	-0.321	-0.204	0.044
LIBCON	-0.763	-0.676	-0.616	-0.383	-0.180	-0.134	-0.057
POLENGAGE	-0.546	-0.480	-0.440	-0.253	-0.086	-0.060	-0.010

ACTION20 ON							
INTLATTR	-0.750	-0.674	-0.623	-0.393	-0.173	-0.136	-0.042
ACTION26 ON							
INTLATTR	-0.655	-0.585	-0.541	-0.324	-0.109	-0.068	0.000
ACTION1 ON							
CPTLATTR	-0.067	0.016	0.050	0.243	0.436	0.474	0.542
LIBCON	-0.926	-0.888	-0.849	-0.653	-0.491	-0.458	-0.401
ACTION12 ON							
RELGREUR3	0.104	0.192	0.230	0.409	0.636	0.664	0.730
LIBCON	-0.912	-0.833	-0.802	-0.573	-0.385	-0.356	-0.275
POLENGAG WITH							
LIBCON	-3.699	-3.183	-3.064	-2.270	-1.487	-1.372	-1.159
COLAUTO	0.571	0.747	0.870	1.440	2.145	2.338	2.580
RELGREUR4	-0.143	-0.035	0.036	0.353	0.736	0.801	0.928
SYSATTR WITH							
CPTLATTR	0.072	0.252	0.310	0.733	1.148	1.235	1.413
INTLATTR	0.617	0.752	0.845	1.246	1.678	1.777	1.933
CPTLATTR WITH							
CONSATTR	0.424	0.602	0.672	1.044	1.492	1.630	1.827
INTLATTR	0.199	0.326	0.405	0.722	1.083	1.137	1.268
ACTION11 WITH							
ACTION29	-0.076	0.099	0.231	0.749	1.348	1.477	1.732
ACTION22	0.090	0.546	0.718	1.681	2.615	2.821	3.308
ACTION21	0.712	0.922	1.018	1.684	2.529	2.649	2.960
ACTION29 WITH							
ACTION22	0.061	0.324	0.491	1.236	2.161	2.306	2.512
ACTION21	0.285	0.506	0.596	1.118	1.883	1.995	2.241
ACTION22 WITH							
ACTION21	1.175	1.601	1.771	2.601	3.451	3.679	4.088
ACTION17	0.148	0.554	0.708	1.703	2.840	3.035	3.415
ACTION20 WITH							
ACTION2	0.935	1.266	1.466	2.270	3.227	3.394	3.745
ACTION22	-0.993	-0.286	0.036	1.166	2.363	2.619	3.015
ACTION29	-1.331	-1.019	-0.917	-0.225	0.484	0.651	0.907
ACTION11	-1.173	-0.791	-0.682	0.123	0.875	1.057	1.246
ACTION21	-0.891	-0.608	-0.453	0.389	1.121	1.347	1.545
ACTION17	-0.755	-0.369	-0.179	0.740	1.677	1.873	2.170
RELGREUR WITH							

RELGREUR2	0.125	0.323	0.387	0.816	1.280	1.369	1.552
RELGREUR3	-1.936	-1.700	-1.635	-1.171	-0.752	-0.675	-0.531
RELGREUR4	-1.928	-1.774	-1.697	-1.208	-0.812	-0.699	-0.573
RELGREUR7	-2.140	-1.832	-1.752	-1.193	-0.714	-0.612	-0.446
RELGREUR6	-2.258	-1.954	-1.859	-1.379	-0.963	-0.863	-0.738
RELGREUR WITH							
RELGREUR3	-0.581	-0.418	-0.347	0.106	0.546	0.630	0.791
RELGREUR4	-1.304	-1.139	-1.061	-0.581	-0.197	-0.111	0.048
RELGREUR6	-1.605	-1.407	-1.341	-0.827	-0.392	-0.295	-0.148
RELGREUR7	-2.082	-1.958	-1.801	-1.222	-0.768	-0.676	-0.472
RELGREUR WITH							
RELGREUR4	0.433	0.536	0.606	0.925	1.307	1.375	1.528
RELGREUR6	0.411	0.514	0.582	0.892	1.297	1.405	1.564
RELGREUR7	0.391	0.529	0.630	0.974	1.420	1.497	1.634
RELGREUR WITH							
RELGREUR6	0.668	0.808	0.876	1.305	1.835	1.962	2.172
RELGREUR7	0.787	0.925	1.005	1.536	2.121	2.242	2.484
COLAUTO	-0.102	-0.005	0.061	0.385	0.752	0.812	0.956
RELGREUR WITH							
RELGREUR7	1.166	1.325	1.452	1.982	2.706	2.868	3.095
ACTION2 WITH							
ACTION29	-0.753	-0.461	-0.280	0.316	1.026	1.151	1.402
ACTION11	-0.916	-0.687	-0.553	0.083	0.746	0.852	1.137
ACTION22	-2.325	-1.919	-1.670	-0.480	0.520	0.750	1.087
ACTION21	-0.575	-0.274	-0.153	0.585	1.437	1.559	1.825
ACTION17 WITH							
ACTION29	-0.520	-0.372	-0.233	0.365	1.050	1.190	1.393
ACTION11	-1.072	-0.846	-0.704	-0.093	0.626	0.757	0.993
ACTION21	-1.192	-0.801	-0.689	0.113	0.869	0.957	1.190
ACTION2	-0.991	-0.628	-0.419	0.462	1.411	1.518	1.897
ACTION26 WITH							
ACTION29	0.400	0.599	0.747	1.433	2.339	2.481	2.774
ACTION11	0.221	0.438	0.541	1.223	2.027	2.194	2.403
ACTION22	0.350	0.811	0.928	2.104	3.395	3.634	4.124
ACTION21	0.157	0.387	0.517	1.257	2.064	2.237	2.563
ACTION2	-1.644	-1.360	-1.188	-0.183	0.740	0.889	1.214
ACTION17	-1.803	-1.433	-1.200	-0.199	0.784	0.940	1.214
ACTION20	0.114	0.419	0.608	1.683	2.841	3.070	3.479
ACTION1 WITH							
ACTION29	-1.064	-0.678	-0.547	0.157	0.871	0.983	1.308
ACTION11	-1.384	-1.197	-1.046	-0.291	0.503	0.621	1.029
ACTION22	-2.789	-2.367	-2.108	-0.892	0.233	0.433	0.900

ACTION21	-0.632	-0.338	-0.180	0.611	1.310	1.437	1.813
ACTION2	2.756	3.106	3.359	4.372	5.609	5.724	6.085
ACTION17	-0.602	-0.155	-0.003	1.049	1.994	2.144	2.435
ACTION20	0.964	1.243	1.439	2.389	3.420	3.613	3.984
ACTION26	-1.237	-0.671	-0.455	0.572	1.722	1.889	2.190

ACTION12 WITH

ACTION29	-1.540	-1.215	-1.038	-0.281	0.499	0.635	0.851
ACTION11	0.163	0.389	0.562	1.222	2.205	2.387	2.671
ACTION22	-1.427	-0.983	-0.745	0.452	1.512	1.725	2.160
ACTION21	-0.282	0.147	0.300	1.057	1.956	2.136	2.400
ACTION2	0.602	0.960	1.092	1.809	2.574	2.738	3.041
ACTION17	-0.660	-0.319	-0.150	0.831	1.794	1.973	2.371
ACTION20	-0.217	0.058	0.286	1.384	2.455	2.720	2.968
ACTION26	-1.239	-0.833	-0.656	0.332	1.402	1.617	1.988
ACTION1	0.152	0.395	0.549	1.443	2.304	2.442	2.737

LIBCON WITH

COLAUTO	-2.066	-1.704	-1.502	-0.674	0.006	0.128	0.468
RELGREUR4	-1.078	-0.952	-0.845	-0.427	-0.035	0.032	0.211

Means

COLAUTO	7.293	7.403	7.449	7.689	7.923	7.959	8.053
RELGREUR	5.258	5.325	5.366	5.586	5.794	5.825	5.933
LIBCON	3.026	3.198	3.259	3.612	3.920	3.987	4.129
POLENGAG	4.423	4.536	4.583	4.887	5.231	5.281	5.397

Intercepts

ACTION29	-4.342	-3.705	-3.288	-1.102	1.055	1.495	2.496
ACTION11	10.026	10.332	10.488	11.211	12.047	12.183	12.510
CONSATTR	1.586	1.768	1.910	2.551	3.233	3.362	3.556
CPTLATTR	5.597	5.874	6.128	7.274	8.153	8.296	8.543
SYSATTR	0.695	1.544	1.867	3.524	4.812	5.025	5.490
INTLATTR	8.729	8.995	9.114	9.699	10.443	10.570	10.722
RELGREUR	0.882	1.207	1.345	2.172	2.991	3.125	3.479
RELGREUR	1.577	1.788	1.898	2.344	2.907	3.011	3.153
RELGREUR	2.423	2.681	2.763	3.373	3.957	4.112	4.277
RELGREUR	6.511	6.681	6.762	7.183	7.577	7.652	7.793
RELGREUR	5.858	6.107	6.186	6.709	7.192	7.268	7.471
ACTION22	3.125	3.837	4.204	6.065	8.285	8.681	9.603
ACTION21	1.937	2.810	3.158	5.109	6.825	7.204	7.956
ACTION2	1.303	2.135	2.376	3.949	5.614	5.904	6.641
ACTION17	-0.561	0.965	1.672	4.596	7.482	8.031	8.868
ACTION20	5.429	6.184	6.488	8.273	10.082	10.449	11.044
ACTION26	5.493	6.113	6.417	7.974	9.648	9.989	10.422
ACTION1	2.158	2.677	3.172	4.807	6.570	6.905	7.501
ACTION12	6.763	7.176	7.372	8.312	9.188	9.307	9.677

Variances

COLAUTO	2.431	2.610	2.728	3.460	4.412	4.628	4.962
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RELGREUR	1.627	1.771	1.860	2.332	2.853	2.931	3.120
LIBCON	3.189	3.531	3.672	4.666	5.948	6.283	6.829
POLENGAG	4.007	4.301	4.421	5.158	6.079	6.227	6.585

Residual Variances

ACTION29	2.532	2.791	2.929	3.487	4.446	4.660	4.728
ACTION11	2.281	2.609	2.758	3.792	5.106	5.362	5.696
CONSATTR	2.412	2.698	2.783	3.373	4.190	4.408	4.639
CPTLATTR	2.149	2.338	2.449	2.970	3.746	3.918	4.240
SYSATTR	2.467	2.665	2.740	3.187	3.739	3.783	3.909
INTLATTR	1.562	1.685	1.761	2.090	2.554	2.604	2.786
RELGREUR	1.994	2.197	2.287	2.738	3.293	3.358	3.694
RELGREUR	2.434	2.710	2.878	3.404	4.205	4.331	4.503
RELGREUR	2.100	2.413	2.511	3.058	3.635	3.694	3.935
RELGREUR	1.850	2.021	2.140	2.643	3.362	3.496	3.723
RELGREUR	2.336	2.524	2.663	3.322	4.171	4.313	4.509
ACTION22	6.286	6.746	6.972	8.024	9.310	9.522	9.856
ACTION21	3.145	3.400	3.544	4.194	5.109	5.277	5.508
ACTION2	4.512	4.976	5.179	6.240	7.419	7.673	8.026
ACTION17	4.408	4.793	5.013	5.810	7.072	7.296	7.360
ACTION20	5.989	6.267	6.453	7.315	8.411	8.598	9.204
ACTION26	5.631	5.903	6.072	7.046	8.228	8.381	8.615
ACTION1	5.818	6.299	6.526	7.565	8.832	8.990	9.189
ACTION12	4.244	4.580	4.869	6.031	7.379	7.557	7.997

CONFIDENCE INTERVALS OF TOTAL, TOTAL INDIRECT, SPECIFIC INDIRECT, AND DIRECT EFFECTS

	Lower .5%	Lower 2.5%	Lower 5%	Estimate	Upper 5%	Upper 2.5%	Upper .5%
Effects from SEX to ACTION29							
Sum of indirect	0.002	0.043	0.061	0.204	0.448	0.518	0.664
Specific indirect							
ACTION29							
RELGREUR							
SEX	0.002	0.043	0.061	0.204	0.448	0.518	0.664

Effects from RELGREUR to ACTION29

Sum of indirect	-0.186	-0.151	-0.136	-0.076	-0.033	-0.026	-0.003
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Specific indirect

ACTION29

CPTLATTR							
RELGREUR	-0.186	-0.151	-0.136	-0.076	-0.033	-0.026	-0.003

Effects from RELGREUR to ACTION29

Sum of indirect	0.001	0.015	0.019	0.051	0.099	0.108	0.123
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Specific indirect

ACTION29							
CPTLATTR							
RELGREUR	0.001	0.015	0.019	0.051	0.099	0.108	0.123

Effects from RELGREUR to ACTION29

Sum of indirect	0.003	0.023	0.033	0.082	0.168	0.189	0.219
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Specific indirect

ACTION29							
SYSATTR							
RELGREUR	0.003	0.023	0.033	0.082	0.168	0.189	0.219

Effects from COLAUTO to ACTION29

Sum of indirect	0.007	0.023	0.032	0.072	0.145	0.154	0.189
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Specific indirect

ACTION29							
SYSATTR							
COLAUTO	0.007	0.023	0.032	0.072	0.145	0.154	0.189

CONFIDENCE INTERVALS OF STANDARDIZED TOTAL, TOTAL INDIRECT,
SPECIFIC INDIRECT,
AND DIRECT EFFECTS

STDYX Standardization

Lower .5%	Lower 2.5%	Lower 5%	Estimate	Upper 5%	Upper 2.5%	Upper .5%
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Effects from SEX to ACTION29

Sum of indirect	-0.022	-0.006	0.002	0.045	0.087	0.096	0.111
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Specific indirect

ACTION29

RELGREUR

SEX	-0.022	-0.006	0.002	0.045	0.087	0.096	0.111
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Effects from RELGREUR to ACTION29

Sum of indirect	-0.126	-0.111	-0.103	-0.061	-0.019	-0.011	0.005
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Specific indirect

ACTION29

CPTLATTR

RELGREUR	-0.126	-0.111	-0.103	-0.061	-0.019	-0.011	0.005
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Effects from RELGREUR to ACTION29

Sum of indirect	-0.010	0.003	0.010	0.045	0.079	0.086	0.099
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Specific indirect

ACTION29

CPTLATTR

RELGREUR	-0.010	0.003	0.010	0.045	0.079	0.086	0.099
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Effects from RELGREUR to ACTION29

Sum of indirect	-0.015	0.004	0.013	0.063	0.114	0.123	0.142
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Specific indirect

ACTION29

SYSATTR

RELGREUR	-0.015	0.004	0.013	0.063	0.114	0.123	0.142
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Effects from COLAUTO to ACTION29

Sum of indirect	-0.012	0.005	0.014	0.060	0.107	0.116	0.133
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Specific indirect

ACTION29

SYSATTR							
COLAUTO	-0.012	0.005	0.014	0.060	0.107	0.116	0.133

Beginning Time: 12:19:42
Ending Time: 12:21:46
Elapsed Time: 00:02:04

