THE ROLES OF INGROUP IDENTIFICATION, PRIOR COMMITMENT, AND GROUP NEEDS IN PREDICTING REACTIONS TO GROUP DEFECTION

by

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ABSTRACT

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Three experiments were conducted to explore the effects of group member defection (versus control) on reactions by ingroup members. In Study 1, emotional reactions were less positive toward defectors than toward controls, especially as a function of Ingroup Identification. In Studies 2 and 3, target Commitment level (low or high) to the group was added as a factor in the experimental design, and participants were led to believe that they would be having a discussion with either a highly or less committed ingroup member, or with either a (previously) highly or less committed defector. In Studies 2 and 3, Ingroup Identification negatively predicted evaluations of defectors but not of ingroup members, whereas Commitment positively predicted evaluations of ingroup members but not of defectors. In Study 3, group needs mediated the link between Membership Status (ingroup member versus defector) and target ratings. Theoretical and practical contributions of these findings are discussed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Defection from groups happens all the time. People leave their religions, political parties, sports teams, and other important groups. Some examples of defection are highly publicized, as in the case of Abdul Rahman who was threatened with the death penalty for converting to Christianity in early 2006 (Labott, 2006), which violates the Islamic-based Afghan constitution. Another newsworthy incident of defection concerned Vermont Senator James Jeffords in May, 2001, when he decided to leave the Republican Party to become an Independent. This shifted control of the Senate to the Democratic Party (Snow, Karl, King, & Garrett, 2001). In the article, it was noted that Republicans wanted to make "Jeffords pay a price for disloyalty" which suggests negativity toward him due to his defection (Snow et al., 2001). These are just two recently publicized examples, but there are undoubtedly countless other instances of people leaving groups that go unnoticed outside of the groups concerned. Group defection is an important topic not only because it can be a major life decision on the part of the individual leaving a group, but also because of the social and psychological consequences that may arise within the group as a result of disaffiliation. Of course, not all group defectors are threatened with capital punishment, as illustrated in the opening example. Nevertheless, individuals may be ostracized, harassed, disowned, intimidated, or worse, if they leave certain groups. Under other circumstances, however, individuals may be actively encouraged to leave a group, or may be forcibly expelled.

What factors influence the negative, or sometimes positive, reactions to defection from groups? From a research perspective, individual and group processes concerning reactions to defection have simply not been examined systematically. That is, not only is there a lack of research on this topic, but there exists no theoretical framework for understanding it in the first

place. The current research project begins to fill the theoretical and empirical gap in this important topic concerning group membership regulation and individuals' fit within a group's overall functioning.

Theoretical Background and Empirical Precedents

Over the past few decades there have been a handful of studies that have examined an individual leaving a group (Batson & Ahmad, 2001; Clark, 1998; Clark, 2001; Dawes, McTavish, & Shaklee, 1977; Hauk & Nagel, 2001; Kiesler & Pallak, 1975; Zdaniuk & Levine, 2001), which can also be referred to as defection or disaffiliation. The three main ways that defection has been researched have been via minority influence experiments (e.g., Clark, 1998, 2001; Kiesler & Pallak, 1975), studies within the game theory tradition (e.g., Batson & Ahmad, 2001; Dawes et al., 1977; Hauk & Nagel, 2001), or research on group loyalty versus disloyalty (e.g., Zdaniuk & Levine, 2001). Each research paradigm was aimed at particular aspects of defection and the characteristics of the individuals or groups involved.

Minority influence research is concerned with the ways of influencing members of a particular majority group to defect to a minority position. Clark (1998, 2001) examined defection from the majority using the '12 Angry Men' paradigm. Although this is important research from a social influence perspective, it is unlike the current research, which is aimed instead at understanding group members' reactions to defection.

Game theory research puts participants in some type of cooperative or competitive dilemma-type game with differing rewards depending on whether they (a) cooperate with other participants and get a small reward, or instead (b) compete against them and get a larger reward at the expense of the other players. Switching from cooperative play to competitive play constitutes "defection" in this research. Many studies have used the Prisoner's Dilemma in order to study this type of defection (Batson & Ahmad, 2001; Dawes et al., 1977; Hauk & Nagel, 2001). Similar to minority influence research, game theory research typically uses ad hoc laboratory groups and generally focuses on the factors that lead to individual defection, which also does not parallel the present research.

One game theory study, however, did inadvertently examine reactions to defection by other players. Dawes et al. (1977) remarked in their article that not only were the individuals who defected worried about seeing the other participants, but that those other participants who did not defect, and who were consequently punished by the lack of a reward, showed extreme negative feelings and reactions toward the defectors. This is pertinent to the present research because it illustrates that even with ad hoc laboratory groups with a trivial reward structure, group members can still respond extremely negatively toward someone who defects from an expected cooperative interaction.

Other research has examined defection in terms of group loyalty and disloyalty. Zdaniuk and Levine (2001) defined loyalty as not just behavior that benefits the group, but behavior where an individual chooses to sacrifice for the good of the group over personal gain. This may include remaining in a group even though defecting would bring greater benefits to the individual. Levine and Moreland (2002) argued that negative reactions would be stronger when a member was disloyal and defected from the ingroup, because he or she was not only diminishing the value of the ingroup, but increasing the value of an outgroup at the same time. Levine and Moreland also hypothesized that strength of ingroup identification (see Tajfel & Turner, 1986) would play a role in reactions to loyalty and disloyalty, such that both positive and negative reactions would be more extreme from individual group members who were highly identified with their group, compared to those who were less identified.

Singer, Radloff, and Wark (1963), in the only (to my knowledge) experiment to empirically examine group member reactions to defection, created a group setting with both "renegades" (individuals that defected to join another group) and "heretics" (non-conforming / dissenting ingroup members, who prevented the group from attaining a goal), as well as control ingroup and outgroup members. They found that group members rated other ingroup members the most favorably, and that they rated heretics as more favorable than renegades. This research is related to the present studies because it shows that responses are more negative toward defectors as compared to ingroup members generally, even dissenting ones.

1.1 A Phenomenon in Search of a Theory

Although a few studies have examined group defection, I note again that there has been no systematic empirical study of group defection, and no theoretical framework from which to make predictions concerning group members' reactions to it. In other words, whereas the prediction that defection will generally elicit negative reactions in group members has intuitive appeal, it fits within no existing theory.

For the current research, a group can be thought of as a set of individuals who categorize themselves to be a part of a distinct entity. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) proposes that when group memberships are important and salient, individuals will act to protect the group's positive image when threatened or when group negativity is implied. Social identity comes from comparisons between the individual's ingroup and outgroup. If the comparison favors a different group, the theory states that the individual may then, in turn, strive to leave the group or try to make it better (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Hutchison and Abrams (2003) conducted a study to evaluate how reactions to deviants may be influenced by the participant's level of ingroup identification. Based on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), Hutchison and Abrams postulated that individuals who highly identify with the group will be more critical of fellow group members who threaten the positive image of the group, compared to low identifiers. They found that high identifiers, compared to low identifiers, evaluated normative members more positively and deviant members more negatively. Deviants were seen as a threat to the integrity of the group, but only by those participants who were high identifiers to the group. Although this study investigated deviant ingroup members rather than ingroup members who left the group, it still provides valuable insight and parallel for the current study.

Based on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), as well as on related theoretical (Levine & Moreland, 2002) and empirical (Hutchison & Abrams, 2003) precedents, I expect that when a group member defects, the positive ingroup image may be threatened, which may result in negative reactions from the remaining group members. Defectors should elicit similar

responses to that of deviants, because both can be viewed as threats to the group. Such negativity should be especially pronounced for those higher in ingroup identification, because these are the group members who are most concerned about the integrity and image of the group.

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1

Overview and Hypotheses

For Study 1, I manipulated whether participants thought about people leaving (disaffiliation) an ingroup of their choice. As a control condition, participants thought about people joining (affiliation) an ingroup. Next, in order to examine Ingroup Identification as a moderator, I manipulated whether participants thought about and thus categorized themselves (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) within a highly important or less important group to them. In each condition, participants were asked about their identification with the group chosen, and then rated how they felt when thinking about someone joining or leaving their chosen group.

Participants' emotional reactions were hypothesized to be more positive in the affiliation condition than in the disaffiliation condition. This main effect was expected to be qualified by an interaction with Ingroup Identification, such that the difference in emotional reactions to affiliation and disaffiliation were predicted to be greater as a function of Ingroup Identification.

2.1 Method

Participants and Design

One hundred seventeen undergraduates (85 female, 29 male, 3 unspecified; mean age 19.6 years, SD = 2.29) at a public university in the southern US participated in this study in exchange for partial course credit. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions of a 2 (Group Importance: high versus low) X 2 (Membership: affiliation versus disaffiliation) between-subjects factorial design.

Materials and Procedure

Upon arrival, the experimenter gave participants a packet and explained that they would be completing a questionnaire having to do with thoughts and feelings pertaining to social groups and group members. At the top of the first page, participants were instructed, "Please list at least five groups that you are a member of by choice (e.g., clubs, hobbies, religion, political, Greek, education, sports, etc.)", followed by several blank lines. Following this, they were asked to indicate which of those groups was most (or least, between subjects) important to them, personally. They were then asked to briefly explain how and why they became a member of the group, and how long they had been a member of it.

Next, they completed items measuring their level of identification with the group that they had indicated as being most (or least) important. These items were: "As a member of this group, I feel satisfied with myself.", "Overall, being a member of this group has very little to do with how I feel about myself." (reversed), "Being a member of this group is very rewarding.", "Being a member of this group is central to my sense of who I am.", "How close do you feel to other members of this group?", and "To what extent are you committed to the relationships you have as a member of this group?" These items were all measured on 7-point scales with higher numbers indicating stronger endorsement. In addition to these items, I also included an Inclusion of the Ingroup in the Self scale (see Tropp & Wright, 2001), which asks respondents to indicate which of a series of seven partially and increasingly overlapping circles represents their relationship with their group. A higher score on this measure indicated a greater overlap between "Myself" and "My Group".

Following this, participants in the affiliation condition were asked, "In general, when someone joins this group, do you feel...", and those in the disaffiliation condition were asked, "In general, when someone leaves this group, do you feel...". In both conditions, this header was followed by a series of emotions, including *happy*, *irritated*, *cheerful*, *depressed*, *angry*, *disgust*, *sad*, and *pride*. Each of these was answered its own 7-point scale (1=*not at all*, 7=*extremely*).

Finally, participants answered basic demographic questions, including age and gender. When finished, participants were thanked for their participation, debriefed, and excused.

2.2 Results and Discussion

To create an index of emotional reaction, I reverse-coded the negative emotion items (angry, depressed, irritated, disgust, and sad) and averaged them with the positive emotion items (happy, cheerful, and pride). Thus, a higher score on this index indicates greater positive emotion.

The seven items measuring Ingroup Identification were highly intercorrelated, and were averaged into an index of identification. There was a strong main effect of Group Importance on this identification score, F(1, 115) = 67.75, p < .001, $\eta^2 = .37$, confirming a successful manipulation of group importance. Those in the high importance condition identified with their group more strongly (M = 5.34, SD = .92) than did those in the low importance group (M = 3.68, SD = 1.24).

Table 2.1 Means, Standard Deviations, Cronbach's Alpha, and Intercorrelations Among Variables, Study 1

	М	SD	α	1	2	3	4
1. Membership Status							
2. Group Importance				-0.01			
3. Ingroup Identification	4.5	1.37	0.86	-0.18	0.61**		
4. Positive emotion	4.83	1.15	0.81	0.72**	0.08	-0.05	

2.3 Moderated regression

In order to test the key hypotheses, I conducted a series of regression analyses for the positive emotion index. Instead of using Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) to analyze the interaction between the experimental factors Membership Status and Group Importance, I chose to use Ingroup Identification as a continuous predictor, along with the Membership Status variable, in a model predicting reported emotional reactions. Identification was chosen because, as a continuous variable, it would provide a richer source of information regarding participants' attachment and identification with their group than would the dichotomous Group Importance

variable. This is also justified given (a) the main effect of Group Importance on Ingroup Identification, and (b) the high correlation (see Table 2.1) between the Group Importance manipulation and Ingroup Identification.

For the models reported here below, the Membership Status variable was entered as -1 (disaffiliation) and 1 (affiliation), so that positive coefficients indicate more positive emotion in the affiliation condition, whereas negative coefficients indicate more positive emotion in the disaffiliation condition. Ingroup Identification was coded with higher numbers indicating greater identification, and thus interpretation of any main effects is straightforward. Ingroup Identification was also first centered (each value minus the variable mean), in order to reduce multicollinearity in the models. Interactions will be interpreted below using simple slopes analysis (Aiken & West, 1991).

For predicting positive emotion, two regression models were tested sequentially. First, the main effect terms (Membership Status and Ingroup Identification) were entered together. Then, the cross-product interaction term was entered in the next step. An interaction is signified by a significant effect for the cross-product term, and a significant change in \mathbb{R}^2 with the addition of the interaction term to the model. Unstandardized regression coefficients (B) will be reported.

In the first model, $R^2 = .53$, F(2, 114) = 63.32, p < .01, there was a main effect for Membership Status, B = .84, t(113) = 12.52, p < .01 $sr^2 = .53$, such that positive emotion was reliably greater in the affiliation than in the disaffiliation condition, confirming the first hypothesis. There was a marginal main effect for Ingroup Identification, B = .09, t(113) = 1.87, p < .07 $sr^2 = .01$. In the next model, the expected interaction between Membership Status and Ingroup Identification was obtained, B = .26, t(113) = 5.20, p < .01 $sr^2 = .09$. The addition of the interaction term resulted in a significant change to the model ($\Delta R^2 = .09$, F(1, 113) = 27.09, p < .01).

Simple slopes analyses, regressing positive emotion onto Identification as a function of Membership Status clarified the nature of the interaction. Dummy codes were used such that the join and leave conditions were coded as 1, 0 (respectively) when comparing the leave

condition and 0, 1 (respectively) when comparing the join condition. When participants thought of individuals joining their group, the slope of the line was positive and significant, B = .35, t(113) = 4.79, p < .01 $sr^2 = .08$. When participants were asked to think about individuals leaving their group, the slope was negative and significant, B = -.166, t(113) = -2.47, p < .02 $sr^2 = .02^1$. Thus, positive emotion increased as a function of identification for individuals joining the group, and decreased as a function of identification for individuals leaving.

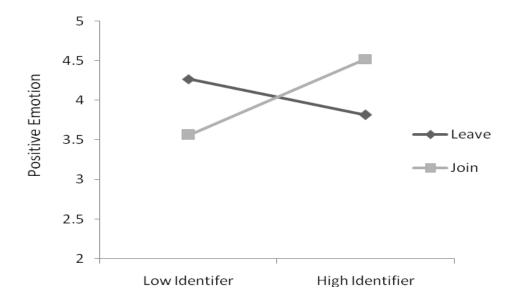


Figure 2.1 Simple slopes of positive emotion regressed onto Ingroup Identification, as a function of Membership Status

In study 1, as expected, people reported more positive emotion when thinking about people joining versus leaving their group. Crucially, this relationship was moderated by the subjective importance of the group, both as an experimental manipulation (see endnote 1) and as a continuous, quasi-experimental variable (Ingroup Identification), presented above. Group type (e.g., religious, political, sports) had no effect on any model tested, indicating that the effects were robust and reliable across a range of different kinds of groups.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 2

Study 1 showed that there are indeed differences in how individuals feel and react toward someone who is joining their group versus someone who is leaving their group. However, Study 1 had some limitations. Although I used an experimental manipulation of group importance, I didn't actually manipulate the importance of the chosen groups. Instead, I created two experimental conditions which differed along the importance dimension and which yielded wide variability for Ingroup Identification. For Study 2, I held the group constant and assessed levels of Ingroup Identification, to again be used as a quasi-experimental predictor.

For Study 1, I had no control over who the participants were thinking about when considering people joining or leaving their group. It was unclear whether they were thinking about actual instances of affiliation or disaffiliation, or about people joining or leaving hypothetically, which may have been a source of error variance. To control for potential confounds regarding the target of social judgment, in Study 2, I designed an experiment wherein participants believed that they would be interacting with a fellow student who was either a current member of their group or a defector from their group.

As far as the listed groups were concerned, participants in Study 1 were asked to list any group that they considered themselves to be a member of. Although I found consistency of effects across different group types, I felt it was important to control for this as well. When categorizing the groups that participants chose, religious groups made up 22.2% of the total, only exceeded by academic groups at 25.6%. The category of academic groups contained many different groups and thus, it would be very difficult to make manipulations for each specific group and have a believable cover story (see below). Thus, based on the more limited number of religious affiliations listed, I chose to use religion as the group type in Studies 2 and 3.

Finally, in Study 1 I examined reactions to people leaving as well as joining groups. Employing affiliation as the comparison group may have artificially inflated differences in emotional reactions between Membership conditions, and so to attempt a more conservative test of the disaffiliation hypothesis, Studies 2 and 3 will compare evaluations of disaffiliators to evaluations of current ingroup members.

Commitment Level

In addition to Ingroup Identification, I added to Study 2 another variable that I expected to moderate the anticipated main effect of disaffiliation on target evaluations: Commitment to the group. Commitment is an important variable because it represents positive group enhancement. Therefore, defection by a more committed member, compared to a less committed member, translates as a greater loss to the group which will result in a decreased positive response. This expectation was based in the reasoning that more committed ingroup members represent greater value to the group (see Levine & Moreland, 2002) than do less committed ingroup members, and thus that their (viz., highly committed members) defection represents a greater relative loss to the group.

Overview and Hypotheses

In Study 2, Membership Status (defector versus ingroup member) and Commitment (high or low) to the group were manipulated orthogonally. With respect to evaluations of the target individuals, I expected a main effect of Membership Status, such that defectors would be evaluated less positively than would ingroup members. Commitment to the group (Levine & Moreland, 2002) was expected to predict positive reactions differentially within the two levels of the Membership Status factor. Specifically, more committed ingroup members were expected to be evaluated more positively than were less committed ingroup members, whereas more (previously) committed defectors were expected to be evaluated less positively than were less (previously) committed defectors.

Ingroup Identification was also expected to interact with Membership Status. It was anticipated that Ingroup Identification would also predict positive reactions differentially for

ingroup members and defectors. It was expected that as participants' level of identification increased, they would rate defectors significantly less positively and ingroup members significantly more positively.

I also hypothesized a 3-way interaction between Membership Status, Commitment, and Ingroup Identification. For the defectors, the simple effect of Ingroup Identification was anticipated to be negative and significantly stronger in the high Commitment condition than in the low Commitment condition. For ingroup members, the simple effect of Ingroup Identification was expected to be positive and significantly stronger in the high Commitment condition than in the low Commitment condition.

3.1 Method

Participants and Design

Seventy-two undergraduate students at a public university in the southern US, enrolled in various psychology courses, participated for partial course credit. Those who were suspicious of the cover story (e.g., participants who didn't think the other person was "real" or thought the questionnaire was pre-made; n = 7), and one participant who was agnostic and who arrived at the study without a religious affiliation, were not included in the analyses, which left a total sample of 64 participants (44 female, 20 male; mean age 24.0 years, SD = 7.3). Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions in this 2 (Target Membership Status: group member versus defector) X 2 (Commitment: low versus high) between-subjects factorial design. Participants' identification with their religious group (assessed in a mass pretesting early in the semester) was employed as a quasi-experimental factor in the design. Participants were recruited by the researcher via the e-mail address that they supplied in the pretest. In addition to direct recruitment, potential participants emailed the researcher directly to schedule an appointment.

Materials and Procedure

In the departmental pretest, participants were asked to select their religious affiliation from a list, then four items measured the strength of identification that they felt toward their

religious group. The questions, assessed on 5-point scales (1=not at all; 5=extremely), were: "How important is your religious group membership to your sense of personal identity?", "How central to your sense of personal identity is your religious group membership?", "How committed are you to the relationships you have within your religious group?" and "How rewarding is membership in your religious group?".

An initial e-mail correspondence asked potential participants for timeslots when the student was available to participate in the study, as well as their name, gender, and religious affiliation. Participants were told in the e-mail correspondence that this study would be focusing on interactions between two students who shared a religious group membership.

Upon arrival to the laboratory, participants (tested individually) were told that because the first phase of the study was to be done in separate rooms, they could begin reading and filling out the informed consent document in one of the rooms, while the researcher continued to wait for the other participant to arrive. The researcher then left the participant in the room to read the consent document and went through the motions outside the room as though another participant had arrived. In reality, there was no other participant in this study. After signing the consent document, the participant was given the initial questionnaire (see Appendix A) in which they described their own religious affiliation and level of involvement.

While the participant was filling out the initial questionnaire, the experimenter excused herself to check on the (bogus) other participant. After waiting approximately eight minutes, the experimenter returned to collect the completed questionnaire from the actual participant. The experimenter then left with the participant's completed form in order to ostensibly switch it with the (bogus) other participant's completed form. The researcher then returned with a (previously prepared) handwritten, completed questionnaire that had supposedly been filled out by the other participant (see Appendix B). This form contained the manipulations of Membership Status and Commitment. The participant discovered either that the other participant was a fellow religious ingroup member or that he or she had recently defected from the group, as well

as the whether he or she had (or had had) a high or low Commitment level to the group at the time of the experiment.

Along with the (bogus) partner's completed questionnaire, the participant was given the main dependent measures to fill out. The form measured initial impressions and expectations regarding the upcoming interaction and the person on 5-point scales (see Appendix C). After giving the forms to the participant, the researcher left and waited approximately 10 minutes. Because the other participant ostensibly had received the forms first, the researcher entered the other room first and went through the motions of collecting the completed forms from the other (bogus) participant.

The researcher then entered the actual participant's room where he or she was asked to gather any belongings in order to move rooms to start the interaction part of the study. The experimenter led the participant into the other room which had eight chairs in a line. The participant was informed that his/her partner had just gone to get a quick drink of water from a nearby drinking fountain and would be right back, and was casually instructed to go ahead and take a seat in one of the lined up chairs. A backpack was placed next to one of the chairs on the very end with a pen and a folded consent document on the chair to make it more realistic that there was another participant in the study.

Past research (Bogardus, 1933; Brewer, 1968; Elder, Douglas, & Sutton, 2006; Triandis & Triandis, 1960) has used different means of measuring social distance between groups as a measure of intergroup or interpersonal relations in regards to their intimacy and interactions. In the current study this was measured by surreptitiously noting how far away the participant chose to sit. After asking a few questions to check the suspicion level of the cover story, the participant was debriefed on the study in its entirety and given credit.

3.2 Results and Discussion

Because the participant-to-item ratio was too small (64:17, or 3.77) to conduct and interpret a factor analysis, the factors were computed based on the face validity of items pertaining to the upcoming social interaction and items pertaining to rating the target person.

The factor that included the items rating the person consisted of trustworthy, intelligent, openminded, uneducated, unkind, and deceitful; the last three items were reverse-coded so that a higher score indicated positive person ratings. One other positive item, honest, was removed from the composite because I was concerned that the interpretation was ambiguous with respect to positive or negative valence. One negative person item, biased, was removed because of the low item-total correlation (.17), and because of the increase in the alpha (4%) based on its deletion. The other factor that consisted of the items rating the upcoming interaction included pleasant, fun, enjoyable, warm, awkward, competitive, cold, uncomfortable and irritating; the last five were reverse-coded so that a higher score indicated anticipating a positive interaction. Hereafter, these indexes will be referred to as 'Social Interaction ratings' and 'Person ratings', respectively. For both, a higher score indicates greater ratings of positivity. As in study 1, the items measuring Ingroup Identification were highly intercorrelated, and were averaged into an index of identification.

Table 3.1 Means, Standard Deviations, Cronbach's Alpha, and Intercorrelations Among Variables, Study 2

	М	SD	α	1	2	3	4	5
1. Status								
2. Commitment				-0.06				
3. Identification	3.62	1.22	0.93	0.02	0.05			
4. Person Ratings	3.61	0.55	0.77	-0.12	0.17	-0.17		
5. Social Interaction Ratings	3.4	0.58	0.84	0.33**	0.04	0.11	.49**	

The purpose of the social distancing scale was to get a behavioral measure in addition to the self-report data. Upon analysis, it was found that there was a severe restriction of range and a very small amount of variance between the conditions. Most individuals chose to sit either two or three seats away from the potential partner regardless of the condition they were in. Therefore, because it did not prove to be a useful measure, it will not be discussed further.

3.3 Moderated regression

In order to test the key hypotheses, I conducted a series of regression analyses for the Social Interaction and Person ratings. I used Ingroup Identification as a continuous predictor as in Study 1, along with the Membership Status and Commitment variables, in a model predicting Social Interaction and Person ratings.

For the models reported here below, the Membership Status variable was entered as -1 (defector) and 1 (ingroup member), so that positive coefficients indicate more positive ratings toward a fellow ingroup member, whereas negative coefficients indicate more positive ratings toward a defector. The Commitment variable was entered as -1 (low committed member) and 1 (highly committed member), so that positive coefficients indicate more positive ratings for the more committed member and negative coefficients indicate ratings for the less committed member. Ingroup Identification was coded with higher numbers indicating greater identification, and thus interpretation of any main effects is straightforward. Ingroup Identification was again centered in order to reduce multicollinearity in the higher-order models. Interactions will be interpreted below using simple slopes analysis (Aiken & West, 1991).

Regression models were tested sequentially for the Social Interaction ratings and for the Person ratings. First, the main effect terms (Membership Status, Commitment, and Ingroup Identification) were entered together. Next, the three cross-product interaction terms were entered in the next step. The 3-way interaction term was entered in the third, and final, step. An interaction is signified by a significant effect for the cross-product term, and a significant change in R² with the addition of the interaction term to the model.

Social Interaction ratings

In the first model, $R^2 = .13$, F(3, 60) = 2.87, p < .05, there was a main effect for Membership Status, $(B = .190, t(56) = 2.67, p = .01, sr^2 = .10)$ such that the Social Interaction ratings were more positive for ingroup members compared to defectors. There were no main effects for Commitment or for Ingroup Identification (B = -.014, t(56) = -.19, p = .85; B = .052, t(56) = .82, p = .42; respectively); levels of Commitment and Ingroup Identification did not

predict the Social Interaction ratings. In the next model, the expected statistical interaction between Membership Status and Ingroup Identification was significant, (B = .157, t(56) = 2.47, p < .02, $\rm sr^2$ = .08), but the statistical interaction between Membership Status and Commitment was not (B = .061, t(56) = .85, p = .40). The statistical interaction between Ingroup Identification and Commitment was not expected, nor was it found to be significant (B = .006, t(56) = .098, p = .92). The addition of the interaction terms resulted in a significant change to the model (ΔR^2 = .11, F(3, 57) = 2.81, p < .05). In the final step, the three-way statistical interaction between Membership Status, Commitment, and Ingroup Identification was not significant, B = -.008, t(56) = .121, p = .90. The addition of the three-way interaction did not result in a significant change to the model (ΔR^2 = .00, F(1, 56) = .02, p = .90).

Simple slopes analyses were conducted to determine the nature of the statistical interaction between Membership Status and Ingroup Identification. For this interaction, Social Interaction ratings were regressed onto Ingroup Identification as a function of Membership Status. Dummy codes were used such that the ingroup member and defector conditions were coded as 1, 0 (respectively) when comparing the defector condition and 0, 1 (respectively) when comparing the ingroup member condition. It was found that Ingroup Identification predicted the Social Interaction ratings of ingroup members, B = .216, t(60) = 2.7, p < .01, $sr^2 = .09$, but did not predict the Social Interaction ratings of defectors, B = -.094, t(60) = -1.26, p = .21.

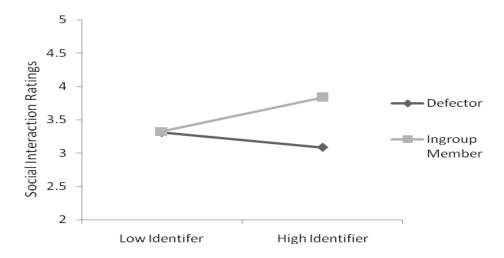


Figure 3.1 Simple slopes of the Social Interaction ratings regressed onto Ingroup Identification, as a function of Membership Status

Thus, when asked to rate an upcoming social interaction with an ingroup member, as the participant's level of Ingroup Identification increased, the Social Interaction ratings increased significantly. Participants' level of Ingroup Identification did not predict the Social Interaction ratings of defectors.

Person ratings

In the first model, R^2 = .07, F(3, 60) = 1.6, p = .20, there were no main effects for Membership Status, Commitment, or Ingroup Identification (B = -.056, t(56) = -.837, p = .41; B = .059, t(56) = .884, p = .38; B = -.090, t(56) = -1.51, p = .14; respectively); positivity ratings of the target did not differ between ingroup members versus defectors, high versus low committed targets, or high versus low identifiers. In the next model, the expected statistical interactions between Membership Status and Commitment, and between Membership Status and Ingroup Identification were both significant, (B = .148, t(56) = 2.21, p < .04, p = .07 and B = .130, t(56) = 2.18, p < .04, p = .06, respectively). The statistical interaction between Ingroup Identification and Commitment was not expected, nor was it found to be significant, p = .021, p = .348, p = .73. The addition of the interaction terms resulted in a significant change to the model (p = .73.

= .15, F(3, 57) = 3.54, p < .03). In the final step, the three-way statistical interaction between Membership Status, Commitment, and Ingroup Identification was not significant, B = .091, t(56) = 1.52, p < .14. The addition of the three-way interaction did not result in a significant change to the model ($\Delta R^2 = .03$, F(1, 56) = 2.30, p < .14).

Because statistical interactions with Membership Status (for both Commitment and Ingroup Identification) were found to be significant, simple slopes analyses were conducted for both to determine the nature of the interactions. For the statistical interaction between Membership Status and Commitment, the Person ratings were regressed onto Commitment as a function of Membership Status. Dummy coding identical to that which was used to analyze the Social Interaction ratings (above) was used. It was found that Commitment predicted more positive ratings of ingroup members, B = .226, t(60) = 2.34, p < .03, $sr^2 = .08$, but did not predict either more or less positive ratings of defectors, B = -.036, t(60) = -.381, p = .71.

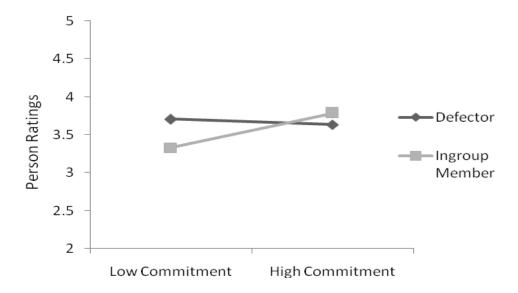


Figure 3.2 Simple slopes of the Person ratings regressed onto Commitment, as a function of Membership Status

Supporting predictions, ratings of positivity for highly committed ingroup members were significantly higher compared to less committed ingroup members. For defectors, contrary to

expectations, there was no significant difference between those who were previously highly committed and those with low levels of commitment previously.

For the statistical interaction between Membership Status and Ingroup Identification, the Person ratings were regressed onto Ingroup Identification as a function of Membership Status. It was found that Ingroup Identification (negatively) predicted ratings of defectors, B = .199, t(60) = .2.66, p = .01, $sr^2 = .10$, but did not predict positive ratings of ingroup members, B = .064, t(60) = .79, p = .43.

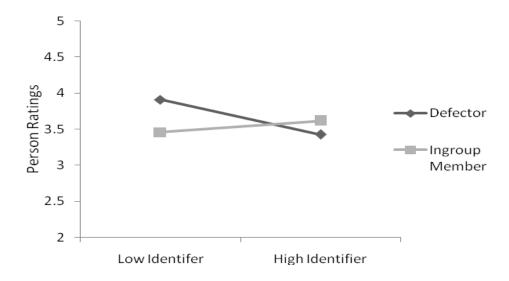


Figure 3.3 Simple slopes of the Person ratings regressed onto Ingroup Identification, as a function of Membership Status

As expected, when rating defectors, it was found that as the participant's level of Ingroup Identification increased, ratings of positivity decreased significantly. Participants' level of Ingroup Identification did not play a significant role in predicting how positively the target was rated when asked about fellow ingroup members.

In study 2, I found that, as expected, Commitment interacted (independently, but not conjunctively) with Membership Status when it comes to rating ingroup members and defectors. Defectors who were previously highly committed to the group were expected to elicit significantly less positivity than were defectors who had low levels of commitment previously,

but this hypothesis was not supported. The Membership Status X Commitment interaction was primarily driven by the findings that participants rated ingroup members with low levels of Commitment significantly less positively than they rated ingroup members with high levels of Commitment. Perhaps participants view the ingroup members who are more committed as assets to the group, while less committed ingroup members potentially take away resources and threaten the functioning of the group.

Participants who had higher levels of Ingroup Identification were anticipated to rate defectors less positively than those participants who had lower levels of Ingroup Identification, and this hypothesis received strong support. The ratings of positivity toward ingroup members did not differ as a function of Ingroup Identification. These differences as a function of Ingroup Identification were strong enough even to eclipse the expected main effect of Membership Status on target ratings.

The Membership Status X Ingroup Identification interaction was also found when examining the Social Interaction rating. When rating an upcoming social interaction with an ingroup member, as participants' scores of Ingroup Identification increased, the Social Interaction ratings were more positive. This was not the case when asked to rate an upcoming social interaction with a defector. There was no significant difference in the Social Interaction ratings as identification scores increased. Perhaps the high identifiers view a potential social interaction with a fellow member as normal and positive, whereas a low identifier may not know what to expect and may be apprehensive about what the other group member will say to him/her.

Study 2 empirically explored reactions to defection, and obtained support for two theoretically-derived moderators – target Commitment to the group, and participants' level of Ingroup Identification. In addition to exploring moderation, it is also important to investigate potential mediators of the effects. The next study was aimed at identifying some psychological mechanisms that underlie the differences in target ratings for ingroup members versus

defectors. Before describing the experiment, I first outline a theoretical model of group needs or motivations that can be threatened by disaffiliation.

CHAPTER 4

A THEORY OF GROUP NEEDS AND MEMBERSHIP REGULATION

The theoretical basis for Study 3 is an exposition of collective group needs (Kenworthy & Holovics, 2008) and how they are, in most cases, satisfied by affiliation and threatened by disaffiliation. This theoretical model does not focus on motivations for affiliation or disaffiliation at the individual level; rather, it will focus on the responses of members of 'open groups' (those that can be joined or left; see Choi & Thompson, 2005; Levine, Moreland, & Ryan, 1997; Ziller, 1965) toward the individual affiliator or disaffiliator. This model describes five collective psychological group needs that are satisfied when other people affiliate with an individual's group and that are threatened when fellow group members disaffiliate from the group. These proposed needs are (1) Existence, (2) Validation, (3) Prototype Integrity, (4) Entitativity, and (5) Goal Attainment.

Existence needs are those that concern the survival and continuation of the group. As individuals identify with groups and incorporate them into their self-concept, they become invested in the existence and continuation of the group. By observing affiliation, this need is satisfied, and by observing disaffiliation, this need is threatened.

Generally speaking, people who belong to the same group, such as a religion or a political party, tend to hold similar views and attitudes. Validation needs are those that concern the feelings of correctness and appropriateness that individuals are motivated to attain via perceptions of shared beliefs, morals, and attitudes. Group members will be more inclined to believe that their views, morals, or attitudes are valid and acceptable if everyone else in the group agrees. Therefore, validation needs are satisfied when someone affiliates with the group because it is one more person with similar views who signals the correctness of group views. On the other hand, when a person defects, validation needs are threatened because defection

calls into question the beliefs and views of the group and may cause the individual to question whether or not the consensus of the group is, in fact, the most acceptable way of thinking.

Prototype integrity needs are those that concern the collective image itself. Groups tend to have a set of characteristics, ideals, and norms which group members are expected to match. Indeed, it is this prototype that group members match when social factors increase depersonalized responding (see Turner et al., 1987; Turner, 1999). There are considerable pressures within groups to regulate members' behavior, and it is the prototype that is invoked to exert influence on 'deviant' individuals. When people look to join groups, they consider the prototype and then judge whether or not it fits with their own sense of self. As far as the integrity of the prototype is concerned, the group members will expect the prototype to be broad, stable, and easily understood (i.e., its integrity). Affiliators are compared to the prototype to ensure minimal deviance from it. Likewise, when observing disaffiliation, group members will compare the individual to the prototype. If the individual matches the prototype, group members may question the value and nature of it. By contrast, if the individual disaffiliator does not match the prototype, individuals may be able to cognitively discount the defection as being due to a poor match between the individual and the group. However, the mere occurrence of a mismatch between group members and the prototype may again call into question the very nature of the prototype itself.

Entitativity needs are those that concern the intragroup interactions, interdependence, and interconnectedness between members of a group (see Denson, Lickel, Curtis, Stenstrom, & Ames, 2006; Lickel et al., 2000). Dynamics within a group are important for efficient functioning, and therefore when a person affiliates or disaffiliates, it behooves the other members to evaluate how those group dynamics will change. Depending on the attributes of the individual, group members will decide whether the affiliation of an individual is likely to affect the group's entitativity positively or negatively. This is also the case with disaffiliation, where the group must consider how the dynamics will impact the group as a whole.

Finally, the model proposes group goal attainment needs. Groups have goals, whether they be long-term, short-term, clearly stated, or simply a vague, general idea. Every member has his or her own resources and abilities to help aid in the attainment of these goals, and this basic fact is directly linked to why group goal attainment needs may be threatened by disaffiliation. When an individual affiliates with a group, it is only natural for the present group members to begin determining how beneficial the new group member will be in helping to achieve collective goals. Conversely, when a group member disaffiliates, the group must consider resources that are being lost along with the individual, as well as whether and how they can be replaced.

This theoretical framework was developed so that researchers can begin to derive hypotheses not only about when affiliation and disaffiliation will result in certain kinds of collective reactions, but also about why. It was proposed that as individuals identify with their groups, they become sensitive to these collective needs, and embody them in their depersonalized group behaviors. It was expected that these five needs will be satisfied by affiliation to the group and threatened by disaffiliation from the group, and that they would mediate responses to individual affiliators and disaffiliators. Although the full model makes predictions for disaffiliation as well as affiliation to the group, Study 3 focused only on reactions to disaffiliation.

CHAPTER 5

STUDY 3

Conceptually speaking, Study 3 is nearly identical to Study 2, and was therefore expected to yield similar findings. The principal addition to the procedure was the inclusion of the measurement of the proposed mediating variables. Specifically, I measured the degree to which the target evokes feelings of need satisfaction or need threat, with respect to group existence, validation, prototype integrity, entitativity, and goal attainment.

A main effect for Membership Status was hypothesized, such that ingroup members were expected to be rated more positively than were defectors. Commitment and Ingroup Identification were hypothesized to be moderators, as in Study 2. For the Membership Status X Commitment interaction, defectors who were previously highly committed to the group were expected to be rated less positively than were less (previously) committed defectors. For the interaction between Membership Status and Ingroup Identification, defectors were expected to be rated less positively as participants' Ingroup Identification increased. Similar to Study 2, a 3-way interaction was expected between Membership Status, Commitment, and Ingroup Identification. For the defectors, the simple effect of Ingroup Identification was anticipated to be negative and significantly stronger in the high Commitment condition than in the low Commitment condition. For ingroup members, the simple effect of Ingroup Identification was expected to be positive and significantly stronger in the high Commitment condition than in the low Commitment condition.

5.1 Method

Participants and Design

One hundred thirty-two undergraduate students, enrolled in psychology courses at a public university in the southern US, participated for partial course credit. Those who were

suspicious of the cover story (e.g., participants who didn't think the other person was "real" or thought the questionnaire was pre-made; n = 5), and those who arrived at the study without a religious affiliation (i.e., unaffiliated agnostic; n = 2), were not included in the analyses, leaving a remaining sample of 125 participants (97 female, 28 male; mean age 22.5 years, SD = 7.12). Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions in this 2 (Target Membership Status: group member versus defector) X 2 (Commitment: low versus high) between-subjects factorial design. Participants' identification with the group (assessed in a mass pre-testing early in the semester) was employed as a quasi-experimental factor in the design. Participants were recruited by the researcher via the e-mail address that they supplied for the pretest. In addition to direct recruitment, potential participants could email the researcher directly to schedule an appointment.

Materials and Procedure

As in Study 2, Ingroup Identification was measured during the mass pre-testing and the students were contacted via the email address provided. The procedure for Study 3 was nearly identical to that of Study 2, with a few modifications. The scale that was used to measure ratings of positivity was increased from 5-point scale to a 7-point scale to increase variability in the scores.

The potential mediator variables were assessed on an additional form, which participants filled out after receiving the (bogus) partner's completed questionnaire. This form consisted of questions regarding the five needs believed to be satisfied or threatened by affiliation and disaffiliation to the group, using 7-point scales (see Appendix E). Along with that form, participants were given a second form that measured their initial impressions and expectations regarding the Social Interaction and Person ratings (see Appendix D). A final form asked the participant to list three potential discussion topics for the upcoming interaction (see Appendix F). The purpose of the final form was to give additional information pertaining to the upcoming interaction ratings, but will not be discussed in the current paper. The study was

concluded with a measure of social distance (which had restriction of range identical to Study 2) and full debriefing.

5.2 Results and Discussion

Because of the conceptual similarities between Studies 2 and 3, I anticipated similar findings. An exploratory factor analysis was conducted on all of the items and three components were extracted. The first component consisted of the eight Social Interaction items (pleasant, fun, enjoyable, warm, awkward, cold, uncomfortable, and irritating) which were reverse scored and computed into the Social Interaction ratings composite. One social interaction item, competitive, did not load onto the factor, and was therefore excluded from the composite. All Social Interaction items loaded > .40 and accounted for 39.8% of the variance (eigenvalue = 6.3). The second component consisted of the negative Person items (uneducated, unkind, deceitful) which all loaded > .43 and accounted for 9.9% of the variance (eigenvalue = 1.6) and the third component consisted of the positive Person items (trustworthy, intelligent, openminded) which all loaded > .56 and accounted for 8.6% of the variance (eigenvalue = 1.4). One positive Person item, honest, was taken out for reasons stated in Study 2. To remain consistent with Study 1, the negative items (α = .72) were reverse-coded and averaged with the positive items (α = .68), to form a single composite of Person ratings (α = .75).

As in Studies 1 and 2, the items measuring Ingroup Identification were highly intercorrelated, and were averaged into an index of identification. To check the validity of the self-reported pretest identification levels, blind coders rated the content of each participant's questionnaire. The coders were instructed to rate the content regarding the importance of the religion, centrality of the religion, and how rewarding the religion seemed to be to the participant. High reliabilities were found between the three raters for importance (α = .76), centrality (α = .72), and rewardingness (α = .67), therefore a rated composite was computed of the coders ratings for each variable. The rated composites were then correlated with the answers given by the participants on the pre-test. There were significant correlations between the rated composites and the self-reported answers for the measures of importance of the

religion (r = .44, p < .01), centrality of the religion (r = .49, p < .01), and how rewarding the religion was (r = .45, p < .01) to the participant.

An exploratory factor analysis was also conducted on the items that measured need satisfaction and threat. Although five factors were expected, only one component was extracted (all items loaded > .62), which accounted for 71.5% of the variance (eigenvalue = 15.02). Three of the items were reverse-coded so that a higher number equated to higher need satisfaction, and a mean score was calculated which will be referred to as Group Needs. This index was used to test mediation.

Table 5.1 Means, Standard Deviations, Cronbach's Alpha, and Intercorrelations Among Variables, Study 3

	М	SD	α	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Status									
2. Commitment				-0.02					
3. Identification	3.62	0.98	0.93	-0.10	0.06				
4. Person Ratings	5.59	0.78	0.75	0.26**	0.14	0.08			
5. Social Interaction Ratings	4.98	1.14	0.89	0.51**	-0.02	-0.01	0.64**		
6. Group Needs	3.9	1.68	0.98	0.87**	0.08	-0.09	0.41**	0.65**	

5.3 Moderated regression

To test the hypotheses, I conducted a series of regression analyses for the positive rating indices for the Social Interaction and Person variables. I used Ingroup Identification as a continuous predictor along with the Membership Status and Commitment variables, in a model predicting the Social Interaction and Person ratings. Again, Membership Status was entered as -1 (defector) and 1 (ingroup members); Commitment was entered as -1 (low committed member) and 1 (highly committed member); and Ingroup Identification was coded with higher numbers indicating greater identification and was centered to reduce multicollinearity in the higher-order models.

For Study 3, the regression model was tested sequentially (in a similar manner to Study 2) to analyze the positivity ratings. First, the main effect terms (Membership Status, Commitment, and Ingroup Identification) were entered together. Next, the three cross-product interaction terms were entered in the next step. Finally, the 3-way interaction term was entered in the third step.

Social Interaction ratings

In the first model, $R^2 = .26$, F(3, 120) = 14.15, p < .01, there was a main effect for Membership Status, (B = .586, t(116) = 6.54, p < .01, $sr^2 = .26$) such that the Social Interaction ratings were more positive for ingroup members compared to defectors. There were no main effects for Commitment or for Ingroup Identification (B = .016, t(116) = .18, p = .86; B = .041, t(116) = .44, p = .66; respectively). In the next model, contrary to Study 2, the statistical interaction between Membership Status and Ingroup Identification was not significant, (B = .143, t(116) = 1.52, p = .13), but the statistical interaction between Membership Status and Commitment was significant (B = .174, t(116) = 1.95, p = .05, $sr^2 = .02$). The statistical interaction between Ingroup Identification and Commitment was not expected, nor was it found to be significant (B = .067, t(116) = .72, p = .48). The addition of the interaction terms resulted in a marginally significant change to the model ($\Delta R^2 = .04$, F(3, 117) = 2.4, p < .08). In the final step, the three-way statistical interaction between Membership Status, Commitment, and Ingroup Identification was not significant, B = .070, t(116) = .75, p = .46, and the addition of the three-way interaction did not result in a significant change to the model ($\Delta R^2 = .00$, E(1, 116) = .56, E(1, 11

Simple slopes analyses were conducted to determine the nature of the statistical interaction between Membership Status and Commitment. For this interaction, the Social Interaction ratings were regressed onto Commitment as a function of Membership Status. It was found that Commitment did not predict the Social Interaction ratings with ingroup members, B = .174, t(119) = 1.36, p = .18, nor did it predict the Social Interaction ratings with defectors, B = .172, t(119) = -1.40, p = .16.

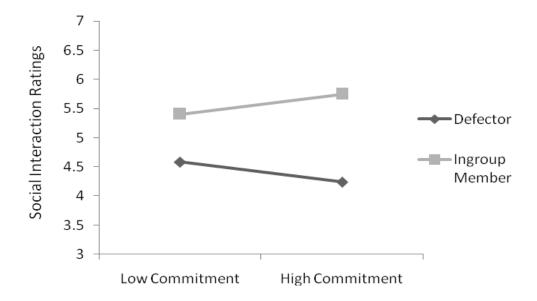


Figure 5.1 Simple slopes of the Social Interaction ratings regressed onto Commitment, as a function of Membership Status

Although the simple slopes were not significant, their respective directionalities are consistent with predictions. When asked to rate an upcoming interaction with an ingroup member, the more committed targets were rated more positively than were the less committed targets. When asked to rate an upcoming interaction with a defector, the previously less committed defectors were rated more positively than were the defectors who were previously more committed to the group.

Person ratings

In the first model, R^2 = .09, F(3, 120) = 4.03, p < .01, there were main effects for Membership Status and for Commitment (B = .19, t(116) = 2.83, p < .01, sr^2 = .06, and B = .14, t(116) = 2.15, p < .04, sr^2 = .03, respectively), but not for Ingroup Identification (B = -.08, t(116) = -1.17, p = .25). Ingroup members were rated more positively than were defectors, and more committed individuals were rated more positively than were less committed individuals. There were no differences between the Person ratings for the high and low identifiers. In the next model, consistent with the findings in Study 2, the statistical interaction between Membership

Status and Commitment was marginally significant, B = .13, t(116) = 1.92, p < .06, $sr^2 = .03$, and the statistical interaction between Membership Status and Ingroup Identification was significant, B = .19, t(116) = 2.74, p < .01, $sr^2 = .05$. The statistical interaction between Ingroup Identification and Commitment was not expected, nor was it found to be significant, B = -.03, t(116) = -.44, p = .66. The addition of the interaction terms resulted in a significant change to the model ($\Delta R^2 = .08$, F(3, 117) = 3.92, p = .01). In the final step, the 3-way statistical interaction between Membership Status, Commitment, and Ingroup Identification was not significant B = .06, t(116) = .89, p = .38. The addition of the 3-way interaction did not result in a significant change to the model ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, F(1, 116) = .79, p = .38).

As in Study 2, because statistical interactions with Membership Status (for both Commitment and Ingroup Identification) were found to be significant, simple slopes analyses were conducted for both to determine the nature of the interactions. For the statistical interaction between Membership Status and Commitment, the Person ratings were regressed onto Commitment as a function of Membership Status. It was found that Commitment predicted positive ratings of ingroup members, B = .259, t(119) = 2.71, p < .01, $st^2 = .05$, but did not predict positive ratings of defectors, B = -.03, t(119) = -.32, p = .75.

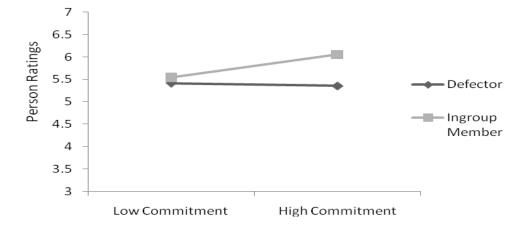


Figure 5.2 Simple slopes of the Person ratings regressed onto Commitment, as a function of Membership Status

Highly committed ingroup members were rated significantly more positively than were less committed ingroup members. For defectors, by contrast, there was no significant difference in the Person ratings between low commitment and high commitment conditions.

For the statistical interaction between Membership Status and Ingroup Identification, ratings of positivity were regressed onto Ingroup Identification as a function of Membership Status. It was found that Ingroup Identification (negatively) predicted the Person ratings of defectors, B = -.25, t(120) = -2.36, p = .02, $sr^2 = .04$, but did not predict the Person ratings of ingroup members, B = .11, t(120) = 1.16, p = .25.

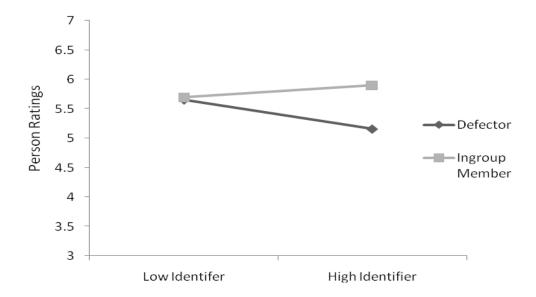


Figure 5.3 Simple slopes of the Person ratings regressed onto Ingroup Identification, as a function of Membership Status

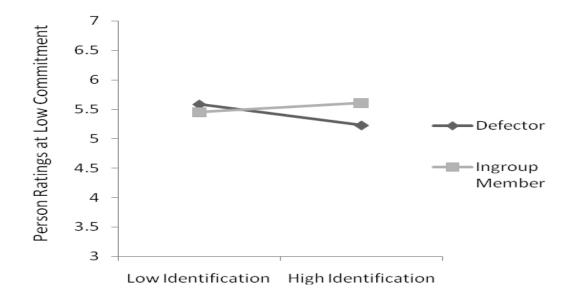
As expected, when rating defectors, it was found that as the participant's level of Ingroup Identification increased, ratings of positivity decreased significantly. Participants' level of Ingroup Identification did not play a significant role in predicting ratings of positivity when asked to rate fellow ingroup members.

5.4 Further Analyses

For ratings of ingroup members, I expected the simple effect of identification to be significantly positive, but stronger in the high Commitment versus the low Commitment conditions. By contrast, for defectors, I expected the simple effect of identification to be significantly negative, but stronger in the high Commitment versus the low Commitment conditions. A strong, idealized version of these relationships might be represented by a 3-way interaction between Membership Status, Commitment, and Ingroup Identification. However, because the direction of effects is expected to be the same within both high and low Commitment conditions, an expectation of a 3-way interaction may have been overly optimistic.

Although the 3-way interaction was not found to be significant for either outcome variable, in the light of both significant 2-way interactions for the Person rating, I explored the hypothesized simple effects of Ingroup Identification on the Person ratings for ingroup members and defectors within low and high Commitment conditions separately. Within the low Commitment conditions, Membership Status did not interact with Ingroup Identification. Specifically, Ingroup Identification did not predict the Person ratings for either ingroup members or defectors (B = .08, t(57) = .529, p = .60, and B = -.18, t(57) = -1.146, p = .27, respectively).

In the high Commitment conditions, by contrast, a Membership Status X Ingroup Identification interaction was obtained (B = .256, t(59) = 3.07, p < .01, $sr^2 = .14$). Simple slopes analyses showed that Ingroup Identification did not predict the Person ratings for ingroup members (B = .14, t(59) = 1.45, p = .15), but significantly predicted (negatively) the Person ratings for defectors (B = -.37, t(59) = -2.74, p < .01 $sr^2 = .08$).



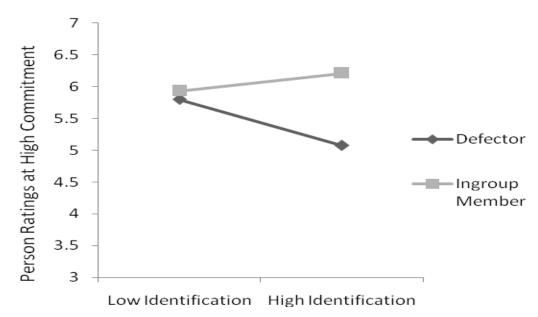


Figure 5.4 Simple slopes of the Person ratings regressed onto Ingroup Identification, as a function of Membership Status, for both low (top) and high (bottom) Commitment levels

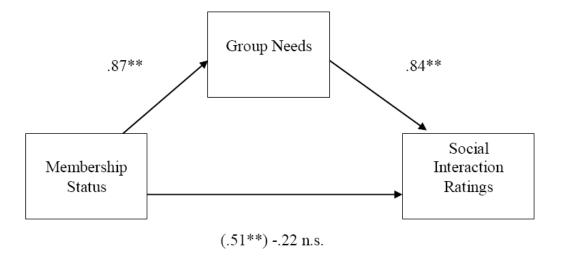
These findings lend support to the hypothesis that Ingroup Identification will negatively predict reactions to defectors, especially when defectors were previously more committed to the group.

CHAPTER 6

GROUP NEEDS: MEDIATION ANALYSES

It was predicted that group needs would serve as a mediator of the relationship between Membership Status and both the Social Interaction ratings and the Person ratings. The current research used a single-mediator model (MacKinnon, Fairchild, & Fritz, 2007) which dictates that the mediator (group needs) is in a causal sequence between the independent variable (Membership Status) and the dependent variable (Social Interaction or Person ratings). It was hypothesized that, based on whether their needs were satisfied (marked by a higher score on the group needs scale), participants would rate ingroup members and upcoming interaction with ingroup members more positively than they would defectors and upcoming interactions with defectors.

When investigating the path of Membership Status to the Social Interaction ratings, the relationship was found to be highly significant. The relationship between Membership Status and Group Needs was also significant. When both Membership Status and Group Needs were entered as predictors of Social Interaction rating, Group Needs was a significant predictor, but the mediated effect of Membership Status as a predictor dropped to a non-significant negative value (B = -22, p = .12; see upper portion of Figure 6.1). When a Sobel test was performed, it was found that the decrease was significant (z = 5.75, p < .01) (Preacher & Hayes, 2004). When exploring the paths to the Person rating, the findings were nearly identical. The mediated effect of Membership Status dropped to a significant negative value (B = -40, p < .05; see lower portion of Figure 6.1), and the Sobel test found the decrease to be significant (z = 4.52, p < .01).



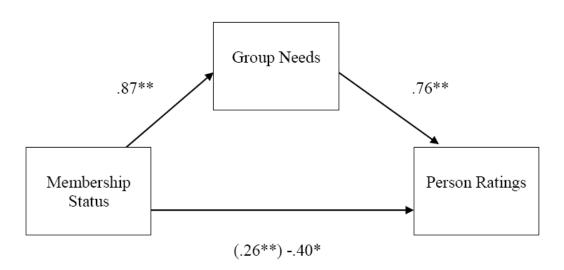


Figure 6.1 Mediation of Membership Status to Social Interaction ratings (top) and Person ratings (bottom), via Group Needs. * p < .05, ** p < .01.

6.1 Moderated Mediation

Group Needs served as a significant mediator for the paths between Membership Status and Social Interaction ratings, as well as between Membership Status and Person ratings. Given the significant Membership Status X Ingroup Identification interactions for all three studies discussed previously, it was hypothesized that the mediation model may itself be moderated by Ingroup Identification (Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007). Specifically, it was

predicted that the mediated effect between Membership Status and the outcome variables would differ depending on the level of Ingroup Identification. As shown in Table 6.1, this was indeed found to be the case. Mediation of the Membership Status effects only occurred at high and mean, but not low, levels of Ingroup Identification.

Table 6.1 Ingroup Identification as Moderating the Mediation of Membership Status to Outcomes via Group Needs, Study 3

		Indirect Effect	Standard Error	z-score	р
Social Interaction ratings	Low Identification	0.24	0.19	1.22	0.22
	Mean Identification	0.80	0.14	5.83	< .01
	High Identification	1.42	0.20	7.09	< .01
Person ratings	Low Identification	0.08	0.14	0.59	0.56
	Mean Identification	0.48	0.10	4.88	< .01
	High Identification	0.92	0.14	6.62	< .01

This was the case both for the Social Interaction model and the Person model. These results support the hypotheses that (a) group needs would serve as an underlying mechanism for differential ratings of ingroup members versus defectors, and (b) that this relationship would strengthen as an increasing function of Ingroup Identification. Individuals who identify weakly with the group did not base their ratings of the target (ingroup member or defector) on the needs of the group.

CHAPTER 7

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Each of these studies provided evidence supporting the hypothesis that when thinking about (Study 1) or encountering (Studies 2 and 3) someone who has left one's group, responses are less positive compared to when thinking about or encountering someone who has joined or who is a fellow ingroup member. This expectation was based on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), which proposes that we strive for a positive ingroup image. This positive image may be challenged or threatened by defection, and in turn, the remaining group members will respond negatively toward the defectors.

In Study 1, individuals with higher identification to the group had a greater positive emotional reaction when thinking about individuals joining their group, compared to those with lower identification. Conversely, as expected, as identification to the group increased, participants had less positive emotional reactions when thinking about individuals leaving their group. These results were promising, therefore further experiments were conducted in an attempt to replicate the general findings and explore another potential moderator as well as a mediator.

For Studies 2 and 3, two rating composites were formed. The first was a measure of the participant's rating of an upcoming social interaction with a target and the second was a measure of the participant's rating of the target. When exploring the Social Interaction factor in Study 2, Ingroup Identification significantly predicted anticipated positive interaction ratings as a function of Membership Status. Specifically, participants who were higher on the Ingroup Identification scale rated an upcoming interaction with an ingroup member more positively than did those who were lower on the scale, but there was no difference in ratings when asked about an interaction with a defector. For study 3, Commitment marginally predicted ratings of positivity

as a function of Membership Status, but Ingroup Identification as a predictor was non-significant. A possible reason for the lack of replication is that Study 3 included the Group Needs items, which may have primed the participants to really think about the person, and not focus as much on the Social Interaction items. Also, the Social Interaction variable may have been ambiguous to interpret, given the potential confound of how individuals feel about interacting with a stranger in general. Some participants may have rated the social interaction positively regardless of their condition, purely because they enjoy interacting with others.

The other composite was made up of items assessing how positively the participants rated the target individuals in general. The findings for this outcome variable were consistent between Studies 2 and 3. Commitment was found to predict the Person ratings as a function of Membership Status for Study 2 and marginally for Study 3. For both studies, participants rated ingroup members significantly more positively in the high Commitment condition, compared to the low Commitment condition. Neither study found a significant difference between defectors who previously had high Commitment and who previously had low Commitment, although the findings were in the anticipated direction. Participants seemed to differentiate between commitment levels of ingroup members, but not for the previous commitment levels of defectors. Perhaps when it comes to defectors, participants don't care either way because they have already left the group, whereas ingroup members are still potentially giving or taking resources away from the group so the commitment level is important to note.

For both Studies 2 and 3, Ingroup Identification predicted Person ratings differentially within the two levels of the Membership Status factor. Participants with higher levels of identification rated defectors significantly less positively than those with lower levels of identification, whereas there was no difference in ratings of the ingroup members depending on level of ingroup identification. High identifiers may care more about the positive image of the group than low identifiers, and may thus see defectors as being a bigger threat to the group. Ingroup members, whether more or less committed (at least via the present operationalization

of commitment), pose no such threat. Perhaps high identifiers viewed defectors as more threatening than did low identifiers, which led to less positive ratings.

In Study 3, support was found for the prediction that identification would strongly (negatively) predict ratings of defectors, especially if those defectors were previously highly committed. In examining Person ratings of defectors, the statistical interaction between Membership Status and Ingroup Identification was present in the high Commitment conditions, but not in the low Commitment conditions. Identification did not predict ratings of less committed defectors, but strongly predicted ratings of more committed defectors.

The group needs variable was found to be a strong mediator for the Membership Status effect (in Study 3). This lends support to the idea that negative reactions toward defectors are based on whether or not group needs are being satisfied or threatened. This was found to be the case for mean level and high identifiers, but not for low identifiers. This finding supports the argument that low identifiers may not care as much about the group in question and therefore will not be as affected by someone leaving.

7.1 Theoretical Implications

Defection can represent a rejection of the group, which, because individual and collective identities overlap (see Tropp & Wright, 2001), may cause feelings of personal rejection as well as doubt pertaining to the worthiness of the group as a whole. Upon encountering defection, high identifiers may feel more rejected than might low identifiers, because the individual and collective identities of the high identifiers will have a greater overlap. The current research gave support to this notion given that the high identifiers did not differ from low identifiers when rating ingroup members, but rated defectors significantly less positively.

Defection may also elicit subjective uncertainty (see Hogg, 2007) in the remaining members, potentially leading them to respond negatively to defectors. This is because, as Hogg argues, individuals strive for certainty in their lives. One way of obtaining this certainty is to join a group. Individuals can then rely on their group membership to provide a sense of stability when they are unable to get it on their own. Thus, observing defection can undermine the

stability and certainty of the group, resulting in negative feelings. Given that the defecting individual is responsible for the change, it is logical that the negativity is directed at the defector. Both of these theories provide some theoretical basis for why I found these differences in ratings of positivity toward ingroup members and defectors.

The obtained interaction between Membership Status and Ingroup Identification is also consistent with a social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) perspective, because the degree to which an individual group member identifies with the group often plays a role in how he/she responds to potential threats to the group – in this case, defection. Based on social identity theory, Hutchison and Abrams (2003) predicted and found that high identifiers did respond differently than low identifiers toward an ingroup deviant. Each study in the current paper found that, when asked about defectors, as participants' Ingroup Identification increased, their positivity ratings significantly decreased. Individuals who highly identify with a group will have a greater interest in maintaining the positive image of the group, as compared to low identifiers, who do not share that same degree of interest. Likewise, high identifiers are more invested in the group and will therefore respond more strongly than will low identifiers to a defector, who has taken away potential resources.

Commitment to the group was also found to play a role in the differing reactions to ingroup members and defectors. Consistent between Studies 2 and 3, ingroup members who were highly committed were rated more positively than were less committed members. By contrast, (and contrary to expectations), when participants were asked about defectors who had either high or low levels of Commitment, ratings of positivity did not differ. Perhaps participants only differentiated between the Commitment levels of the ingroup members because those were the individuals still providing some type of resources toward the group, whereas defectors, regardless of their previous level of Commitment, were providing nothing to the group. These consistent findings might also be interpreted as instances of relatively negative reactions to ingroup deviants (Hutchison & Abrams, 2003). Being less committed to and less involved with one's religious ingroup may be viewed as a form of deviance.

Although the current research has focused primarily on the negative responses to defection, it should be noted that in some cases, reactions to defection may be positive. If the needs of the group are affected in a good way by defection, then the reactions toward the person should be positive. If an individual is using the group for its resources but not helping the group in any way, defection would be seen as beneficial to the group and therefore positive (Levine & Moreland, 2002).

In the future, it would be beneficial to examine these effects with different types of groups. One limitation for the current research is that the group type used in Studies 2 and 3 was religious affiliation, which may have precluded stronger effects. Specifically, using this specific group type may have primed the participants to think about their religious teachings, which may advocate treating others fairly and not judging them. This may have primed individuals to be less negative toward defectors. It is noteworthy, however, that the predicted results were obtained even in the face of such potential opposing tendencies. Thus, I expect that the present findings would be replicated, perhaps even more strongly, using different group types (e.g., political affiliation, sorority/fraternity, nationality).

As stated in the introduction, research on group disaffiliation has been seemingly overlooked despite its numerous potential real-world applications. Instances of group disaffiliation and defection – ranging from the highly-publicized to the largely anonymous – occur all the time. Some occurrences involve very negative ramifications, which could potentially be prevented if the underlying causes of such reactions are understood.

Yet, it is also important to note that these negative reactions may serve important group functions. From an evolutionary standpoint, group memberships have been found to be very beneficial when it comes to the survival of an individual. When someone leaves a group, it may decrease the likelihood of the survival of the group in the future, which may increase collective concern for the welfare of the group in the remaining group members. The concern may elicit more identification with the group, which in turn, may increase dedication to the group and may prompt remaining members to stay in the group for a longer period of time. These processes

may also increase feelings of cohesion within the group, which has been shown to be beneficial for the group (Dion, 2000).

These studies can be viewed as a starting point for empirical research on group defection, with plenty of other possible moderators and mediators. One potential moderator of the relationship between Membership Status and Social Interaction and Person ratings might be attachment style. Similar to how adults have specific attachment styles to others (Hazan & Shaver, 1987), some research has shown that there are also specific attachment styles to groups (Smith, Murphy, & Coats, 1999). Smith et al. discussed evidence for two dimensions of group attachment: anxiety and avoidance. Whether an individual was high or low in attachment anxiety determined the degree of concern he/she had about being a worthwhile member of the group, as well as feelings of acceptance within the group. The dimension of avoidance pertained to the degree of closeness and dependence that the individual sought within the group (Smith et al., 1999). Based on these attachment styles, one might expect that an individual with a high degree of attachment anxiety, compared to a low degree, may feel less negative toward a defector, because the defection may make the individual look better and more worthy of being in the group by comparison. By contrast, individuals who have low avoidance, compared to high avoidance, may respond more negatively to a defector because they are losing the potential for closeness with others, which is a priority for them.

Another potential moderator of the relationship between Membership Status and Social Interaction and Person ratings may be the perceived validity or appropriateness of the reason for leaving the group. There is a multitude of reasons for why individuals leave groups. For religion, some reasons may be deemed valid by group members (e.g., the individual does not believe in a higher power or the teachings of the church anymore), whereas other reasons may be viewed as invalid or unjustifiable grounds for leaving the religion (e.g., not having money to pay the offering, problems with other members, or dating someone who wants you to change affiliations). Individuals who leave groups because of invalid reasons are likely to be rated more negatively, as compared to individuals who left because of valid reasons.

Lastly, group boundary permeability may moderate the relationship between Membership Status and Social Interaction and Person ratings. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) states that the permeability of the group boundaries is an important variable when it comes to identifying with the group. Ellemers, Van Knippenberg, de Vries, and Wilke (1988) conducted a study which measured ingroup identification for members in high or low status groups with boundaries that were either permeable or impermeable. They found that individuals in the low status groups with permeable boundaries, compared to those in groups with impermeable boundaries, had lower scores of ingroup identification. Given the differences in identification depending on the permeability of the boundaries, it is expected that defection from a group with impermeable boundaries will elicit a greater negative response compared to defection from a group with permeable boundaries.

Religious affiliation is one group type where defection may elicit feelings of negativity, but it is important for other group types and variables to be examined. Future research should empirically examine this topic in order to develop an understanding of the underlying mechanisms that cause either positive or negative reactions to defection. Hopefully, the current studies can serve as a foundation for future research on group disaffiliation, as well as an impetus for future work on group affiliation. Studying these phenomena will yield a greater understanding of group processes and group membership dynamics.

NOTES

Using Membership Status and Group Importance manipulations as between-subjects factors in a parallel ANOVA analysis, there was a main effect of Membership Status for positive emotion, F(1, 113) = 145.06, p < .01, $\eta_p^2 = .56$. There was no main effect of Group Importance, but Membership Status and Group Importance did interact, F(1, 113) = 18.03, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .14$. Whereas positive emotion was greater for affiliation than for disafilliation within both high and low importance groups (both ps < .01), (a) affiliation resulted in greater positive emotion within high importance groups than within low importance groups (p < .01), but (b) disaffiliation resulted in less positive emotion within high importance groups than within low importance groups (p < .05).

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

NOTE: this will be exchanged with the other participant
Age:
Sex:
Major:
Year at UTA (circle one): freshman sophomore junior senior other
What is your religious affiliation?
Briefly describe how you became a member of this religious group:
Write a few sentences regarding your involvement in the religious group as well as its importance to you personally:

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRES WITH MANIPULATIONS

Questionnaire for HIGH COMMITMENT-INGROUP MEMBER

NOTE: this will be exchanged with the other participant

Age: 20

Sex: m/f

Major: psychology

Year at UTA (circle one): freshman **sophomore** junior senior other_____

What is your religious affiliation? (same as participant's religion)

Briefly describe how you became a member of this religious group:

My family is (participant's religion) so I've been a part of this religion my entire life.

Write a few sentences regarding your involvement in the religious group as well as its importance to you personally:

[handwritten:] For as long as I can remember, I've gone to the services every week as well as participated in all of the many different functions and activities that have been put on. The religion is important to me because I believe in the teachings and feel glad to belong to the group.

Questionnaire for HIGH COMMITMENT-DEFECTOR

NOTE: this will be exchanged with the other participant

Age: 20

Sex: m/f

Major: psychology

Year at UTA (circle one): freshman **sophomore** junior senior other_____

What is your religious affiliation? (NONE)

Briefly describe how you became a member of this religious group:

My family is (participant's religion) so I've been a part of this religion my entire life.

Write a few sentences regarding your involvement in the religious group as well as its importance to you personally:

[handwritten:] Up until recently, I've gone to the services every week as well as participated in all of the many different functions and activities that have been put on. The religion is no longer important to me because I've recently come to the conclusion that I don't believe in the teachings and I don't consider myself a member of the group anymore.

Questionnaire for LOW COMMITMENT-INGROUP MEMBER

NOTE: this will be exchanged with the other participant

Age: 20

Sex: m/f

Major: psychology

Year at UTA (circle one): freshman **sophomore** junior senior other_____

What is your religious affiliation? (same as participant's religion)

Briefly describe how you became a member of this religious group:

My family is (participant's religion) so I've been a part of this religion my entire life.

Write a few sentences regarding your involvement in the religion as well as its importance to you personally:

[handwritten:] For as long as I can remember, I've gone to the services every once in awhile as well as participated in one or two of the many different functions and activities that have been put on. The religion is important to me because I believe in the teachings and feel glad to belong to the group.

Questionnaire for LOW COMMITMENT-DEFECTOR

NOTE: this will be exchanged with the other participant

Age: 20

Sex: m/f

Major: psychology

Year at UTA (circle one): freshman **sophomore** junior senior other_____

What is your religious affiliation? (NONE)

Briefly describe how you became a member of this religious group:

My family is (participant's religion) so I've been a part of this religion my entire life.

Write a few sentences regarding your involvement in the religious group as well as its importance to you personally:

[handwritten:] Up until recently, I've gone to the services every once in awhile as well as participated in one or two of the many different functions and activities that have been put on.

The religion is no longer important to me because I've recently come to the conclusion that I don't believe in the teachings and I don't consider myself a member of the group anymore.

APPENDIX C

DEPENDENT MEASURES FOR STUDY 2

Please fill out this form about the person you were matched up with before the interaction phase of the study.

How much do you think that your interaction with your partner will be:

	not at all		moderately		very much
pleasant	1	2	3	4	5
awkward	1	2	3	4	5
fun	1	2	3	4	5
competitive	1	2	3	4	5
cold	1	2	3	4	5
enjoyable	1	2	3	4	5
uncomfortable	1	2	3	4	5
warm	1	2	3	4	5
irritating	1	2	3	4	5

Given the limited information that you have about your partner, please indicate the degree to which you think he or she possesses the following traits:

	not at all		moderately		very much
honesty	1	2	3	4	5
biased	1	2	3	4	5
trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5
uneducated	1	2	3	4	5
intelligent	1	2	3	4	5
unkind	1	2	3	4	5
open-minded	1	2	3	4	5
deceitful	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX D DEPENDENT MEASURES FOR STUDY 3

Before the interaction phase of the study, please fill out this form regarding your discussion partner.

*PLEASE NOTE: This form will *not* be seen by your partner.

How much do you think that your interaction with your partner will be...:

	not at all			moderately			very much
pleasant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
awkward	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
fun	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
competitive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
cold	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
enjoyable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
uncomfortable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
warm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
irritating	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Given the limited information that you have about your partner, please indicate the degree to which you think he or she possesses the following traits:

	not at all		moderately				very much
honest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
unkind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
open-minded	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
deceitful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX E

GROUP NEEDS ITEMS

The following questions will ask you about what your Strongly Agree partner makes you think and feel about your group. For Agree Moderately Agree each item, pick a response that represents your best guess Neutral about your partner. Moderately Disagree After learning about this person... Disagree Strongly Disagree 1. This person makes me feel like my group is interconnected. 2. This person probably fills important roles in the group. 3. It is likely that this person encourages other people to join the group. 4. My group should be proud of this person. 5. This person makes me feel like my group is very unified. This person demonstrates the correctness of my group's views and б. This person jeopardizes the existence of my group. 8. This person is a good reflection of who I are as a group. 9. This person strengthens the image of my group. This person makes my group look bad. This person helps my group survive into the future. This person seems to be the ideal group member. This person enhances the bonds and connections between group This person helps my group to grow. This person seems to contribute a lot to the goals of my group. 16 This person makes my group look good. 17 This person is a good reflection of what group members are like. This person has a lot in common with most members of my group. This person demonstrates the value of my group, compared to other This person seems interested in helping my group attain its goals. This person makes me feel like my group is not very unified.

APPENDIX F

POTENTIAL DISCUSSION TOPICS

Potential Discussion Topics

Please write down three potential topics that you would like to discuss during the interaction
phase of this experiment. I will be looking at both of your selections and choosing from them.
Note: you can choose any topic you want.
Topic 1:
Topic 2:
Topic 3:

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Melisa Holovics completed her Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology at Niagara University in 2005. She then decided to pursue a graduate career in psychology at The University of Texas at Arlington. Under the supervision of Dr. Jared Kenworthy, Melisa received a Master's of Science degree in Psychology. Melisa's interests are mainly in group processes and social psychological research. She is especially interested in factors affecting identification within social groups. She plans on continuing her research with Dr. Kenworthy and completing her dissertation. Once she has completed this graduate program, Melisa plans on pursing a teaching career.