

THE IMPACT OF CONTEXT ON SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION: EXAMINING THE
EFFECTS OF LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL ROLES

By

JOSEPH HOWARD COTLER

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to extend the current understanding of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), investigating aspects of group contexts (Brown & Abrams, 1986) and its implications. Some common contexts, prevalent in the literature, have been selected. These include: *intergroup and intragroup* contexts, *social roles* (Turner, 1990) extending to aspects of leader/follower perceptions (Cicero, Pierro & van Knippenberg, 2010), and *newly-formed versus established group* context (Lickel, Hamilton & Sherman, 2001). As such, the thesis is divided into six chapters, of which four are dedicated to the presentation of the empirical data. The first two studies focus on understanding and examining the development of a social identity between new and established groups, in the context of British university students. The last two studies are dedicated to understanding developed identification in established groups, and the effects of leaders as special group members, on that identification. Together these two programmes provide further understanding of context within social identity theory, and the impact of social roles within groups.

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Chapter 1

EXPLORING THE IMPACT OF GROUP TYPE, GROUP CONTEXT, LEADERSHIP, AND ROLE IDENTITY ON SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION

1.0 Overview

Over the past 40 years, research on group composition and group behaviour has migrated beyond the focus of personality metrics that once dominated the field, and moved towards evaluating groups as an extension of the individual's identity and an interconnecting entity (Borg, 1960; Tajfel, Billig & Bundy, 1971; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Jetten, Spears & Postmes, 2004; Jans, Postmes & Van der Zee, 2012). This change has been driven by the decline in value of analysing specific personality traits as related to group performance (Hoffman, 1959; Halfhill Sundstrom, Lahner, Calderon & Nielsen, 2005), to emphasizing social groups' influence on individuals' attitudes, intentions and behaviours, which can be independent and supersede individual choices (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Inkso, Schopler, Kennedy, Dahl, Graetz & Drigotas, 1992; Brown, Vivian & Hewstone, 1999). These effects manifest themselves as preferences for other individuals that have shared group memberships, and biases against individuals who do not share group memberships, even if it is against their best interest to do so (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

This discovery has led to a multitude of research that has explored questions such as: "how", "when", and "why" individuals identify with some people and not with

others, as well as the implications of this shared identity. What has resulted from this of research, is a series of hypotheses and conclusions, with a fundamental premise of when two disparate groups come in contact, cooperation will improve relations between the two and individual identification with opposing group members will also improve (Allport, 1954; Rothbart & Hallmark, 1988; Brewer, 1996; Bouas & Komorita, 1996). On the other hand, when in competition with one another, intergroup relations will deteriorate and individuals' identification with his/her own group will improve, while identification with the opposing group will decline (Cairns, Kenworthy, Campbell & Hewstone, 2006; Ouwerkerk, De Gilder & De Vries, 2000). This pattern in turn has been used to predict people's attitudes and behaviours based upon the group with which people identify (for reviews see Rise, Sheeran & Hukkelberg, 2010; Connor & Armitage, 1998). The predictive ability of social identification has been used for many policies from planning for net migration between countries and populace reactions (Louis, Esses & Lalonde, 2013), to predicting crowdsourced creative content in online social media (Shen, Lee & Cheung, 2014). Thus, the principles of social identity theory have a wide-ranging impact in future planning for governments, businesses, and communities.

However, overlooked in much of this research is the role and impact of different sets of contextual issues, not limited to the social context (i.e. cooperation/competition) (Deschamps & Brown, 1983). This includes the types of groups that have been looked at, for example, a student group (Charters, Duffy & Nesdale, 2013). A few exceptions might be noted. For example, social impact theory (Latane, 1981) examines group

context as it relates to both identification and behaviour, however, there is a crucial difference between examining context as it relates to social impact and context as it relates to social identity theory. Social impact theory frames context as the immediacy and the proximity of both groups and situation. Social impact theory is concerned with how the number of group participants and their spatial alignment within a scenario influences group identification and behaviour (Latane & L'Herrou, 1996; Leader, Mullen & Abrams, 2007).

This thesis extends the concept of social context beyond the numeric calculation of group members and their positioning in relation to influence. Large national political decisions or existential threats to ingroups without a discernable origin do not function as a spatially organized context, but rather as a conflict towards group norms which exist as an abstract collective consensus on the group behaviour and attitudes. Furthermore, there are other types of contexts that may influence identification which are not relevant in social impact theory. Aspects of identity such as role identification or the attitudes of a group leader may be just as influential as the number of group members, yet as social contexts, they go unexamined in the paradigm of social impact theory, and in many cases, social identity theory. The purpose of this thesis is to offer, analyse and fill this gap in the literature, by exploring the influence of context and the effects that it has on identification, intentions to act as an individual or as a group member, attitudes, norms and preferred modes of behaviour. In so doing, this thesis offers an analysis and clarification of key points regarding context in social identity theory:

1. This thesis will extend the current understanding of the how group types differ when examining through the lens of a social identity perspective.
2. This thesis will examine the transitions that individuals make between the self- and the group, as well as transitions between group memberships.
3. This thesis will explore the findings of identity transitions and evaluate them in applied intergroup contexts.

Together, these points will extend social identity theory by offering specific situations in which individual intentions and behaviours will change relative to what is predicted with current knowledge.

1.1 Social Identity Theory

While there are several aspects to social identity and social relations, the purpose of social identity theory is to understand and provide a detailed description of how one both perceives the world in which he or she operates, and how one interacts with that world. This social world is the most important construct in which the individual engages on a daily basis (Hogg, Abrams, Otten & Hinkle, 2004). Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979;1986) is based on the postulate that individuals have preferences for others who are similar to themselves, and have biases against individuals who are dissimilar to themselves. The efficacy of this model has been well established (Deaux & Martin, 2003; Zomeren, Postmes & Spears, 2008). According to the model, a social identity is formed through shared characteristics that differentiate the individual from other people (Jans, Postmes & Van der Zee, 2012). If these characteristics are shared by other individuals, the prime individual will form an attachment or connectedness to that other individual based on those

shared characteristics that separate those individuals from those who do not share those characteristics (Abrams, 1990). This can be observed at sporting events where audience members do not physically participate or get involved in any capacity that contributes to the competition, they may still feel connected to the team that is competing, and share in the celebration when the team wins, as the audience shares a geographical characteristic with the team being from the same general location (Weisel & Bohm, 2015).

Individuals define their experiences by these shared characteristics which form a set of norms and values. These norms and values influence personal attitudes and intentions of the person (Turner, 1992). Tajfel and Turner (1979; 1980) observed that the social world which individuals perceive and interact with through categorization of similar and dissimilar individuals, is the world in which individuals primarily operate (Buhrmester, Gomez, Brooks, Morales, Fernandez & Swann Jr, 2012). One aspect of this social world is the formation of social groups, therefore, group membership is an important aspect of social identity as it influences self-concept and becomes an important source of standards for the individual (Postmes, Spears, Lee & Novak, 2005). As such, the core of social identity theory provides an important shared sense of connectedness for members (Pedersen, Walker & Glass, 1999; Lee, 2001).

This connection with the group has been shown to improve individual self-esteem by attaching one's self-esteem with the group's social esteem thereby buffering the effects of negative attitudes (Abrams & Hogg, 1988). Simultaneously, this connection also promotes positive attitudes among group members, such that the more connected the individual is towards the group, the more positive the perceptions of a behaviour enacted by

the group (attitudes) would be (Kaiser, Hagiwara, Malahy & Wilkins, 2009). Finally, in addition to promoting positive perceptions of a group behaviour, this connection also makes it more likely that the group member would plan to enact a group behaviour with other group members (collective intentions), but not necessarily a planned individual behaviour (personal intention) (Bratman, 2015). This connection with other group members, as a result of group membership, is a critical component to social identity theory.

1.2 Group Membership

Within social groups, individuals compare themselves both positively and negatively to other individuals of social standing in a hierarchical fashion (Tajfel, 1970). However, in comparing oneself to others, the self-concept is reorganized to incorporate into a group membership (Tajfel, 1981). Part of the process of social identity theory itemizes and categorizes other individuals into salient constructs of similarity and dissimilarity for the individual. Although when the self is included in the social identity processes, the individual is depersonalized, and is incorporated into a group entity comprised of individuals, who are categorized as socially similar (Hogg & Turner, 1985; Hogg & Hains, 1996; Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Abrams, Wetherell, Cochrane, Hogg & Turner, 1990). This aspect of social identity theory in which the self is integrated with other socially similar individuals is known as group identification.

Social identification incorporates the entire social world in which an individual operates, and group identification is one aspect of that social world. Group identification distinguishes the extent to which one shares intentions with other individuals, as well as the extent to which the individual feels distinct from individuals that do not have group

membership (Abrams & Hogg, 1990). In the context of a group identity, a group comprised of individuals who perceive each other as similar is known as an ingroup. On the other hand, individuals who collectively act as a group yet are perceived as distinct non-members are known as an outgroup.

The relationship between the individual and the group can vary depending on the salient context. When social pressure exists, but the personal identity is salient, individuals are more likely to resist the pressure to change their attitudes and behaviour to conform with the group (Abrams, 1990). However, when an individual's social identity is salient (if they categorize themselves as similar to others), then social pressure by the group will more likely result in a change in behaviour to conform with the group's (Abrams, 1990). Therefore, the extent to which one identifies with a social group and, changes one's behaviour to conform with the group, is highly contextualized and is influenced on how self-aware the individual is of group-based social pressure (Hewstone, Islam & Judd, 1993; Abrams & Brown, 1989). The extent to which one identifies with a social group therefore has a wide range of outcomes.

1.2.1 Spectrum of Group Identification

The extent to which one identifies with a social group is largely dependent on how salient the social group is to the individual's self-identity (Brewer & Pierce, 2005). Understanding how salient a social group is to an individual's self-identity, and therefore the extent to which one identifies with a group is crucial in understanding a member's intentions, attitudes and future behaviour regarding that group (Brown, Vivian & Hewstone, 1999). Salience of social pressure is an enigma for researchers because it is

difficult to manipulate (Abrams, 1984). However, some techniques have been employed to examine how identity can influence behaviour and attitudes, one of which is to partition members into high and low-identifiers. High-identifiers strongly associate their own identity with the group's and are therefore more subject to group social pressure, where low-identifiers are not (Viki, Abrams & Winchester, 2013). Thus, when evaluating individual tendencies, it has been observed that high-identifiers are more likely to overlook deviant members' behaviour while low-identifiers would not (Hutchison & Abrams, 2003). This is because high-identifiers are consistently aware of social group pressure and they are motivated to hold positive views of the group even when presented with contrary information (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987).

Low-identifiers do not retain the same level of salient social pressure and are therefore affected to less of an extent than high-identifiers (Viki et al., 2013). Examination of social identification is therefore contingent upon the degree to which social pressure to conform is relevant to the individual. One source of social pressure originates from intergroup conflict between two social groups (Rothbart & Hallmark, 1988). Though low-identifiers may not have any impetus to conform their behaviour to the group standard, when placed in a situation that is in direct competition with an outside group, identification with one's own group becomes salient for the individual and thus, low-identifiers are more motivated to conform to group behaviour and identify more closely with other group members (Ouwerker, de Gilder & de Vries, 2000). Conflict between groups not only strengthens low-identifiers' connection with other group members, but is a mechanism that consistently improves ingroup identification among group members and decreases feelings

of shared similarities towards outgroup members (Al Ramiah, Hewstone & Schmid, 2011; de Dreu, 2010; Steinel, Van Kleef, Van Knippenberg, Hogg, Homan & Moffitt, 2010; Cikara, Botvinick & Fiske, 2011). Thus, a consistent method of making social identity and social group pressure salient, is to introduce intergroup conflict. Members, regardless of identifier status, will feel the need to defend and promote positive attitudes about the group (Abrams, 1990).

1.3 Group Formation

Some researchers postulate that interpersonal attraction (relationships that are built through mutual liking) is responsible for the individual identifying with the group entity (Lott & Lott, 1965). Further research indicated that interpersonal attraction does not affect identification with other group members, when groups are randomized or artificially constructed (Hogg & Turner, 1985). This would suggest attraction is an outcome of group identification and not a cause, as motivation for long term identification as a group identity still forms, even in artificially created new-groups (Christian, Bagozzi, Abrams & Rosenthal, 2012). A more robust hypothesis is that identifying with a group is motivated by one's anxiety and self-esteem (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Hogg & Hains, 1996). Membership in high status social groups has been shown to improve feelings of self-esteem (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Barker, 2009). It has also been demonstrated that low self-worth and self-esteem motivate individuals, who are not part of a social group, to become members or form their own social group based on distinct categorizations (Barker, 2009; Abrams et al., 1990; Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990). This denotes that membership in, or formation of a social group and subsequent identification with said group, acts as a buffer against anxiety

derived from lowered self-esteem or outside influences (Herrara & Sani, 2012; Iyer, Jetten, Tsivrikos, Postmes & Haslam, 2009; Ellemers & Jetten, 2013).

1.3.1 Established Groups

Most studies examining social identity theory utilize, in their paradigms, established groups. Such groups have formed groups norms and modes of behaviours based on experience (Cassidy, Quinn & Humphreys, 2011; Mulvey, Hitti, Rutland, Abrams & Killen, 2014; Ufkes, Otten, Van der Zee, Giebels & Dovidio, 2012). The defining traits of established groups, as opposed to other types of groups, are: their members have internalized the rules and standards of the group, they are committed to group's goals, and they have worked together in a for a period of time (Hogg, Abrams, Otten & Hinkle, 2004). On the other hand, members of newly formed groups may not yet have internalized group norms and expected behaviours regarding groups membership (Somlo, Crano & Hogg; 2015; Livingstone, Young & Manstead, 2011).

Within the group literature, studies have demonstrated that both commitment to the group (Levine & Moreland, 2004) and intentions to act with the group (Bagozzi & Lee, 2002), are critical for maintaining a group identity. They are also likely the key social variables in understanding the change between newly-formed group and established group. When maintenance of a group identity fails, the group dissolves, which most often occurs due to loss of group members (Levine & Moreland, 2004). This can occur for a number of reasons. However, the most common, is due to intragroup conflict that arises among members such that the group cannot agree on set goals or paths to achievement (Levine & Moreland, 1994; Arrow, Poole, Henry, Wheelan & Moreland, 2004). Even after the

dissolution of established groups, positive feelings for the group still remain among ex-group members indicating that an individual's social identity is permanently changed due to being a member of an established social group, regardless of whether the group still exists (Arrow et al., 2004; Moreland & McMinn, 1999). The impact that an established group can have on an individual member is one that is not observed in newly-formed groups (Arrow et al., 2004). Yet, few studies exist which explore the fundamental differences in identity formation between members of established groups and members of newly-formed groups, and whether the formation of a group identity is truly different between the two.

1.3.2 Newly-Formed Groups

Whereas established groups have been discussed as having their own set of guidelines and rules for group outcomes in a social identity framework, newly-formed groups operate as a different context in terms of attitudinal and behavioural outcomes. Newly-formed groups are social groups that purportedly share collective goals, but members have only recent contact with one another without fully understanding one another's motivations and intentions. Therefore, identity formation may be subject to greater contributions from the individual members with less impact on decision making and collaboration (Postmes, Haslam & Swaab, 2005; Postmes, Spears, Lee & Novak, 2005). However, it is unknown if this is the case. Within the framework of social identity theory, little attention has been paid to new group formations as many studies use either existing social groups or experimental social groups without critical analysis dedicated towards comparisons between the two. What is known regarding new group formation, is that individuals who are members of a newly-formed group may be personally influenced by

social pressure from the group, but retain a greater level of personal distinctiveness without committing to group actions (Christian et al., 2012; Postmes et al., 2005). Additionally, prolonged interaction and discussion increases the likelihood of individuals adopting collective group action, indicating a transition from new group to established group (Thomas, McGarty & Mavor, 2016; Levine & Moreland, 1994). The social pressure exerted by a new group may influence how a member intends to behave on a personal level, but does not affect whether that individual will act with other group members when it first forms (Christian et al., 2012).

Though active group discussion and interaction promotes the transition from new group to established group (Thomas et al., 2016), it is unclear specifically when groups transform from a newly-formed group, to an established group. One hypothesis suggests that as the group continues to interact and succeed, the social pressure exerted by the group is more closely conformed to while the group reacts more harshly towards members that do not conform to the social pressure (Hutchison, Abrams, Gutierrez & Viki, 2008). However, identifying and removing deviancy within new groups may only be ancillary as members can form a group identity and perceived entitativity through cooperation among ingroup members without the comparisons of outgroups or deviant members (Gaertner, Iuzzini, Witt & Orina, 2006; Jans, Postmes & Van der Zee, 2012). Regardless, consistent interaction among group members builds and reinforces a group identity while potentially eliminated undesirable members. This then becomes the basis of normative judgements and decision making within the group where the group acts as a collective entity, rather than as several individuals (Marques et al., 1998; Levine & Moreland, 1994). These group

agreements can be seen influencing the group's decision making over time, as members who are established or veteran members of a group, are expected to uphold and carry out the group norms. On the other hand, members who are new arrivals to the group, are given leeway to deviate from the group norms without being judged as harshly (Somlo, Crano & Hogg, 2015). However, there are several moderating factors which impact the formation of a social identity and the extent to which members identify with their group.

1.4 Moderators of Identification

Within the literature (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Leader, Mullen & Abrams, 2007; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Abrams & Emler, 1991), several factors moderate the extent to which individuals identify with other members of their social group: *group norms and values, social context, group diversity, and leadership*. Group norms (Hogg & Hains, 1996; Jetten, Spears & Manstead, 1996) are a set of tacit agreements that motivate group behaviour and are enforced by group members as to how other members should act. Changes to group norms in either naturally occurring groups or through experimental manipulation result in alterations to ingroup identification as well as changes to individual behaviour strategies (Jetten, Spears & Manstead, 1996). Social context is incorporated into the original minimal group formation paradigm of social identity (Tajfel, 1982), and denotes how group competition increases pro-group attitudes and behaviours that reinforce group identification. Yet, experimental observations have had mixed outcomes. Group diversity (Ufkes, Otten, Van Der Zee, Giebels & Dovidio, 2012; Hutchison, Jetten, Christian & Haycraft, 2006; Abrams, Rutland & Cameron, 2003) relates to how ingroup members see outgroups as less variable and more homogeneous with one another than their own group

members (Haslam, Oakes, Turner & McGarty, 1995). However, when perceived outgroup homogeneity is manipulated and ingroup members perceive them as more diverse, identification with outgroup members is strengthened, if the contact is seen as cooperative (Brown, Vivian & Hewson, 1999). Leadership literature (Fransen, Haslam, Steffens, Vambeselaere, Cuyper & Boehn, 2014; Mead & Maner, 2012; Steffens, Haslam & Reicher, 2014; Graf, Schuh, van Quaquebeke & van Dick, 2011) indicates that special group members have disproportionate influence over other group members and can activate a change in group social pressure through the group norms (Abrams, Randsley de Moura, Marques & Hutchison, 2008). These four constructs, while not all a direct part of social identity theory, have been shown to hold an important role in the identification process.

1.4.1 Group Norms

When an individual identifies with a social group, he or she perceives other group members not only as being similar to themselves, but also being bound by a shared sense of connectedness that permeates the group (Abrams, Frings & Randsley de Moura, 2005). Creating this shared sense of collective self among group members requires members to agree on a tacit set of values and behaviours which the group holds as its core foundation. These group agreements provide the social pressure which compels group members to conform to the agreed upon group behaviours and actions that represent the group as an entity. These agreements pertaining to how the group should behave and act are known as group norms (Abrams & Hogg, 1999). Importantly, group identification can be predicted by the extent to which the group member adheres to group norms and conform with said group behaviour (Abrams & Hogg, 1990, Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell,

1987; Abrams, Frings & de Moura, 2005). When members do not abide by the group norms, they are considered deviant by other group members (De Moura & Abrams, 2013). Group norms are potentially the strongest factor in influencing social identity, as studies have demonstrated that manipulating or making group norms salience directly influences individual behaviour (Bolsen, 2011; Jost, Chaikalis-Petrtsis, Abrams, Sidanius, Van der Toorn, Bratt 2012). Manipulation of other factors such as prototypicality, homogeneity, or the leader's need to be accepted by the group, indirectly effects individual behaviour by acting as a mediator between attitudes, identification and behaviour (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan & Nauts, 2012; Brown, Vivian & Hewstone, 1999; Steinel, Van Kleef, Van Knippenberg, Hogg, Homan & Moffitt, 2010).

Additionally, manipulation of group norms is found not only to affect attitudes and identification, but behaviour as well. This occurs through the process in which ingroup members attempt to differentiate themselves from similarly perceived outgroup members (Jetten et al., 1996). In a study where participants were told that outgroup members were changing their monetary allocation strategy to give an unfair advantage to their group, ingroup members were more likely to adopt the same unfair practices to give their group an advantage (Jetten et al., 1996). Though the presence of outgroup members was a fabrication, none the less it demonstrated the willingness and quickness in which individuals will change their behaviour to less scrupulous methods, to apply the concept of 'defending one's ingroup'. In the framework of social identification, this is useful, as the greater the extent to which one agrees with the group norms, the greater the likelihood of identifying with that group.

1.4.2 Group Cooperation and Group Competition

One of the earliest discoveries of social identity was that groups would have distinctly different identification and behavioural outcomes when placed in competition with one another (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). It was suggested that during periods of intergroup conflict, the outgroup is perceived as undifferentiated to the ingroup and thus, outgroup members are depersonalized and dehumanized in the eyes of ingroup members (Tajfel, 1982). This led to the hypothesis that all forms of intergroup conflict promote cohesiveness among ingroup members, even those that are considered peripheral or deviant, and this conflict increases the rate of biases and negative attitudes against outgroup members (Johnson & Johnson, 1984; Stenstrom, Lickel, Denson & Miller, 2008; Mackie, Devos & Smith, 2000). Therefore, in terms of influencing identification, intentions, and behaviour, one of the most complete methods is to induce competition between the ingroup and an outgroup.

The change in intentions, attitudes and behaviour during periods of competition reflect the core principles of social identity theory, that individual group members feel a need to protect the group identity from active harm and promote positive attitudes pertaining to the group as any attack or detrimental perceptions about the group is indistinguishable from an attack or detrimental perception on the individual's identity (Al Ramiah, Hewstone & Schmid, 2010). Members' personal identities are intertwined with the group identity such that a threat to one is a threat to all. This explains how extreme high-identifiers engage in self-sacrificial behaviour when there is the presence of absolute

conflict to the group identity. In such a scenario, the ingroup member believes the group will be destroyed if the individual does not act (Swann Jr. et al., 2014).

In contrast to the changes in identification and behaviour associated with group competition, it was therefore believed that cooperation between ingroups and outgroups would lead to more positive attitudes, behaviours and identification with outgroup members. The basis for this theory predates social identity theory and is derived from the personalization of intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954). It states that the more contact an individual has with a personally unfamiliar group, the less prejudice and biases that individual would have towards said group. In studies which manipulated these behavioural norms, outgroup liking and identification was highest when stable and consistent cooperation between ingroup and outgroup existed, and ingroup identification among group members was high (Monotya & Pittinsky, 2011). These findings suggest that while conflict and competition may be the disproportionate strategy in which groups respond to intergroup contact, if cooperative behaviour is introduced as a constant context and attitudes towards the outgroup are positive, then ingroup identifiers will have greater identification with outgroup members than if those conditions are not met. While intergroup contact has been shown to meaningfully impact group identification, it comes with stipulations (Pettigrew, 1998). Most obviously, is that the contact must be initiated with the intention of cooperation and not in the intention of conflict. However, the other three are where discrepancies regarding cooperative contexts on attitudes and identification become apparent. Those tenants are: the group status' must be equal, groups must have common goals, and there must be authority support. While some of these can be unfulfilled

and biases are still found to decrease (Pettigrew, 1998), there are many cases where results from cooperating groups diverge due to one or more of these conditions not being met.

One common issue of achieving meaningful cooperation under intergroup contact is perceptions of shared goals. When ingroups recognize shared commonalities between ingroup norms and outgroup norms, intergroup threat is reduced and there are increases in positive outgroup attitudes (Riek, Mania, Gaertner, McDonald & Lamoreaux, 2010). Thus, attempts to utilize contact as a mechanism for group cooperation must rely on making salient the common characteristics that the norms for the ingroup share with the norms for the outgroup. As group norms are a prime force behind many of the mechanisms which cause changes to ingroup and outgroup identification, it is unsurprising that the last tenant of fulfilling intergroup contact to provide meaningful cooperation between groups is related to individual group members who have more influence over the group norms than the other members. It is also one of the four factors which is hypothesized to directly influence group identification: authority or leadership.

While manipulation of group norms and group context in an experimental context have been shown to impact group identification, more ingroup bias is displayed in naturalistic groups indicating it is more difficult to manipulate norms in a non-controlled setting (Jetten et al., 1996; Weisel & Bohm, 2015). However, there are conditions in which naturally occurring groups can change norms as well. Predominantly, these changes can be implemented by a leader (Abrams, Randlsey de Moura, Marques & Hutchison, 2008), which highlights why leadership, in the right conditions, can moderate group identification.

1.4.3 Group Diversity

A third moderator which influences identification formation, is the extent to which group members see other members of their group as similar or dissimilar, and the relative comparison to how that member sees outgroup members as similar or dissimilar to one another. Measures of group variability (e.g. how close in attributes to the prototypical mean all group members are) have demonstrated that groups can have widely disparate levels of homogeneity and heterogeneity (Park & Judd, 1990). Yet, the actual heterogeneity does not affect the perceived heterogeneity without interference. The principle finding stems from the outgroup homogeneity effect which states that “people see members of outgroups as less variable and more similar to each other than members of ingroups” (Haslam, Oakes, Turner & McGarty, 1995). This remains the case even though by definition, ingroups are more likely to be homogenous than general outgroups (Judd, Park, Yzerbyt, Gordijn & Muller, 2005). This has the effect making it more likely that ingroup members perceive an outgroup as a threat, because an outgroup represents a much larger, undifferentiated presence than the ingroup (Haslam & Oakes, 1995).

The analogy would be akin to the ingroup perceiving the intergroup relationship as David versus Goliath. In actuality, it may be closer to two boxers of the same weight class. To the ingroup, the outgroup represents a much larger force than it is. This is supported by evidence showing a decreased homogeneity effect when the outgroup is presented as a smaller sized group than the ingroup (Haslam & Oakes, 1995; Bernd, 1995). This homogeneity effect causes ingroups to behave as if they are in conflict with a larger force, thereby defending against potential negative attitudes towards the ingroup by having higher rates of ingroup identification (Castano & Yzerbeyt, 1998). Subsequent experiments

therefore attempted to evaluate the conditions under which this perception of ingroup/outgroup homogeneity could be manipulated.

Several attempts have been made to examine the interactions of perceived ingroup/outgroup homogeneity on group cooperation. When outgroups are made salient through competition, ingroups see the outgroup as more homogeneous than they normally would if the groups were not in competition with one another (Judd & Park, 1988). However, just as intergroup contact does not necessarily result in intergroup identification, cooperation also does not necessarily lead to perceived heterogeneity of the ingroup or outgroup (Aksoy, 2015). Perceived heterogeneity can in fact, hinder cooperation between ingroups and outgroups (Aksoy, 2015). When a group identity is heterogeneous, perceived threat and therefore biases towards outgroup members can increase if members highly identify with the group (Falomir-Pichastor & Frederic, 2013). This is related to the status tenant of group cooperation and contact. It is decidedly ambiguous as studies have come to different conclusions where some show low status groups to be more homogeneous than high status groups, and some show low status groups to be less homogeneous than high status groups (Badea, Brauer & Rubin, 2012). The mixed findings of group homogeneity is another reason to examine intergroup and intragroup relations as they pertain to identification. By examining the composition of groups, and how that composition is perceived, we may move closer to understanding how diversity impacts group relationships.

1.4.4 Leaders

While social identity theory describes the process in which biases and preferences are formed between ingroups and outgroups, it does not address how group intentions and behaviours are influenced by the leaders of those groups. Leaders can maintain personal intentions and attitudes that may or may not conform to the group norms (Maner & Mead, 2010). A recurring trait of leadership in the literature, is that all leaders maintain some level of influence over other people (House & Javidan, 2004; Hogg, Martin, Epitropaki, Mankad, Svensson & Weeden, 2005; Thomas, Martin & Riggio, 2013; Abrams, Travaglino, De Moura & May, 2014; Conger, 1989; Baur, Ellen III, Buckley, Ferris, Allison, McKenny & Short, 2016). In the context of a social group, a leader is a special group member which the group imbues with selective power and privileges to motivate and direct the group towards achieving its goals (Hogg & Abrams, 1990; Bass, 1990; Haslam, Oakes, McGarty, Turner & Onorato, 1995). The process by which this happens involves depersonalized social attraction, similar to one hypothesis of group identification (Hogg & Terry, 2000), where the group perceives the individual as having traits and attributes that create an unequal status in the intergroup relations thereby empowering that individual to become leader of the group (Hogg, 1991; Ensari & Murphy, 2003).

While prototypical leaders are the more common occurrence in observable leadership, there are conditions under which groups select non-prototypical members as group leaders (Chang, Turan & Chow, 2015; Rast III, Hogg & Tomory, 2015; Rast III, Gaffney, Hogg & Crips, 2012). Non-prototypical members are selected for a leadership position usually during periods of uncertainty for the group, such as a gap in obvious leader succession, or when individual group members feel uncertain as to whether a prototypical

leader would be most effective in specific context (Rast III et al., 2012). In such periods of uncertainty, members seek factual and concrete information about group prototypes and are willing to endorse and identify with any leader that provides this information, even if the leader is non-prototypical (Hogg & Turner, 1987; Gaffney, Rast III, Hackett & Hogg, 2014). When non-prototypical group members are elected as leaders, the group norms conform to the leader's own norms rather than the leader needing to conform to the group norms (Abrams, Moura, Marques & Hutchison, 2008). However, this is not an indefinite license to violate group norms as leaders who severely transgress fundamental group norms are repudiated by the group (Abrams, Travaglino, Randsely de Moura & May, 2014). Yet, there are many lesser transgressions of norms in which group members grant leniency towards the leader due to social identity biases that would otherwise not be given to neutral leaders or outgroup leaders (Randsley de Moura & Abrams, 2013). This would suggest that while non-prototypical leaders can alter the group norms, this is contingent on the level of support the leader has from the group and whether group members believe the leader has seriously violated the group's trust or core group norms.

While leaders have the capacity to promote ingroup identification and positive attitudes towards the outgroup, leaders also have the capacity to cause harm to the ingroup by decreasing members' identification with the social group. Leaders who use their influence by attacking or belittling their own group members cause intragroup conflict to form, an overall decrease in ingroup identification. This creates the potential for abandonment of the social group in which members will seek the membership of other groups (Schyns & Schilling, 2013; Pelletier, 2012). Such actions taken by the group leader

indicates a greater likelihood of revolt within the group, where other members will challenge the leader for the position (Pelletier, 2012). This creates ambiguity and within-group conflict, which can create factionalism where ultimately subgroups secede from the group entity (Dovidio, Saguy & Scnoble, 2009; Crano & Seyranian, 2009). However, this is not a common occurrence in group dynamics, as such extreme leader who are prone to non-socially desirable behaviour, such as attacking individual members, may only be preferential to group who are in conflict with outgroups towards whom they may be losing decisively (Teixeira, Demoulin & Yzerbyt, 2011). Additionally, when leaders prioritize their own motivations and goals ahead of the group's, they may act counterproductively towards the group goals which causes negative reactions within the group (Maner & Mead, 2010). Likewise, leaders who perceive their position as tenuous will actively encourage deviance from the group norms among subordinates which cause intragroup conflict, a conflict of intention in how to act as a group, and a decrease in overall group identification (Lian, Ferris & Brown, 2012; Latane, 1981; Rodriguez-Bailon, Moya & Yzerbyt, 2000).

1.4.5 Role Identification versus Group-Based Identification

Another avenue of research which has the potential to influence social identification and therefore is ideal for inclusion in this thesis, is that of social roles. While group identification focuses on the extent the individual feels a sense of connectedness with other group members, role identification theory focuses on how an individual feels a sense of connectedness both with their occupational task within the social group, and with others who perform the same occupational task (Joshi & Fast, 2013). While social roles have commonly been thought of as the position which a person occupies in a social structure

(Cicero, Pierro & van Knippenberg), a closer examination adds to that description the expected behavior which that position is supposed to take up given a set of circumstances (Stryker & Burke, 2000). The role which an individual occupies within a group is found to both influence self-esteem and identification with the group, but only some roles produce this outcome (Reitzes & Mutran, 1994). Groups where members can accrue roles as a status symbol or seek to acquire different combination of roles do not impact identification at all (Reitzes & Mutran, 1994).

Role identity, drawn from sociology, argues that roles are independent from group or social norms and create their own set of standards and behaviours based upon the circumstances required of the individual who occupies the roles (Turner, 1990). This is in conflict with social identity theory which states that all group members are influenced by group expectations vocalized in the group norms (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Due to this discrepancy of influences on behaviour between the group and the role, role identification has largely been the subject of sociological studies which examines how gender or sex role are evaluated within populations. Additionally, the sociological framework studies how roles interact with other behaviours or roles (Kuntsche, Astudillo & Gmel, 2016; Bosak, Sczesny & Eagly, 2012; Harway, 2012), and has been less influential in social identity research. Research exploring role identity as it relates to social identity have used sample populations of university students to evaluate the dynamic between identifying with one's role and identifying with one's group (Jost, Chaikalis-Petritsis, Abrams, Sidanius, van der Toorn & Bratt, 2011). These studies focus on political ramifications of role rebellion within the group as a whole and found that intragroup conflict in where individuals with similar

roles are competing against group members with dissimilar roles can cause a subdivision within the ingroup such that individuals may identify more with their role type than with the ingroup, leading to protest and the formation of subgroups that can break from the main ingroup (Jost, Chaikalis-Petrtsis, Abrams, Sidanius, van der Toorn & Bratt, 2011; Verkuyten & Poulisasi, 2006; Joshi & Fast, 2013; Merolla, Serpe, Stryker & Schultz, 2012).

Additionally, studies examining role theory and the theory of planned behavior (Terry, Hogg & White, 1999; have found that an individual's self-identified role is both predictive of past behaviour, and is mediated by an individual's intention to act when predicting future behaviour (Rise, Sheeran & Hukkelberg, 2010). In other words, a social behaviour may not occur if the target behaviour does not coincide with the norms and role the individual has chosen. The social norms imposed by a role are similar to the social norms imposed by the group, except that individuals do not have influence in forming the social norms for a role type (where they may as a group member) (Deaux, 1993). Individuals are therefore more likely to select roles which are already congruent with their own personal norms rather than select a role which is incompatible with their personal identity (Deaux & Burke, 2010). However, there is little research regarding the compatibility between one's self-selected role and what role is required by the group, as well as how this impacts upon intentions and identification with the group.

1.5 Overview of Chapters

The previous findings within the social identity literature have left significant gaps in our knowledge concerning the effects that context has and the resulting conditions which can affect an individual's identification with other ingroup members, as well as outgroup members. These fractures in social identity knowledge are addressed in two programmes of research across 5 studies in the subsequent chapters. These chapters include: examining social identification between newly-formed and established groups (Chapter 2), examining the impact of role identification in a group context (Chapter 3), the impact of leader perceptions and leader behaviour on ingroup norms and identification as well as outgroup norms and identification (Chapter 4), and applying those leader perceptions to a real-world context of established groups, in which a large subset of voter behaviour, group identification, and group norms are examined (Chapter 5).

Chapter 2

EXPLORING SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION IN NEWLY-FORMED AND ESTABLISHED GROUPS

2.0 Introduction

As outlined in Chapter 1, social identity theory postulates that individuals categorise their worldview into discrete ingroup/outgroup categories based upon shared characteristics (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Abrams & Hogg, 1990). The literature indicates that this categorization creates bias in the form of preferential treatment for ingroup members as opposed to that of outgroup members (Tajfel & Turner, 1980; Tajfel, 1981). However, these studies do not account for differences in ingroup identification between groups that are already established versus those that are newly-formed; nor have they fully explored what influence this might have on behaviours (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Kollok, 1998; Livingstone, Shepherd, Spears & Manstead, 2015). While groups have shared intentions and norms which allow for the formation of a group identity, these intentions and norms may represent different social constructs depending on the type of group and the cultural background (Bagozzi & Lee, 2002). Therefore, it is possible that while one group may have shared intentions that direct group members on when the group should take a collective action, shared intentions for a different group type may be predicated on a single individual deciding that he or she will act with the group on a specific action. The difference is one of individuality versus a collectivism, such that individualistic groups may claim a collective intention by saying “I intend to perform a group’s act” while collectivist groups may say

“we intend to perform a group act” (Tsai & Bagozzi, 2014), This may also extend to other facets of the group such as commitment, prototypicality, and importantly, identity.

2.1 Group Identity Formation

Identification with one’s group should be understood as a process in which members reinforce their connection to the group norms and other members over time, rather than as a singular moment (Clapham, 2003). This process of identification can be viewed as transitory in that one may shift from one identity to the next (Anderson & Tulloch, 2000; Christian, Clapham, Thomas & Abrams, 2012). For instance, identifying with a peer group in high school changes to accommodate new peers when one moves on to university, and so too, the peer group identity changes (Burke & Stets, 2006). These studies describe how identity transitions from one state to another, which is crucial to understanding how identity changes over time and does not remain static.

Understanding group identification in any one instance must also be accompanied by understanding how and why group identification changes (Gonzalez, Lickel, Gupta, Tropp, Kanacri, Mora, De Tezano-Pinto, Berger, Valdenegro, Cayul, Miranda, Saaverda & Bernadino, 2017). Group identification describes how the individual perceives him/herself as connected to other ingroup members and the group entity through shared collective norms and beliefs (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Hutchison, Abrams, Gutierrez & Viki, 2008). The theory of self-categorization (Haslam, Powell & Turner, 2000) states that the degree to which the individual sees him or herself as a part of a group unit is proportional to the level of abstraction. These levels are defined by categorical salience such that the first level defines an individual in terms of personal identity and the second in terms of a social identity with other group members (but not outgroup members). This self-categorization

makes clear that salient group identities will form when the differences between two groups are greater than the differences within the groups (Haslam et al., 2000). The difficulty in operationalising group identification as an outcome of self-categorization, lies in the heterogenous nature of groups themselves, as different social identities are activated through different salience levels (Haslam et al., 2000). However, further studies have demonstrated that the statement 'I identify with my group' does an adequate job of activating saliency such that multiple group outcomes are found to be both valid and reliable (Postmes, Haslam & Jans, 2013).

While the extent to which one identifies with a group can be influenced by shared norms, a common theme in identity literature suggests that identification, and changes to identification, are a form of self-preservation and attitudinal buffering by incorporating oneself into a social identity that protects one from stereotypes and negative attitudes directed at one's personal identity (Jost, Chaikalis-Petrtsis, Abrams, Sidanius, van der Toorn & Bratt, 2011). That is, identification is influenced by whether individuals perceive themselves as being perpetually disadvantaged, or if the group is perceived as having a high-status advantage relative to oneself. Within the framework of social identity theory, this perception would result from the natural tension between ingroups and outgroups, such that ingroup members would perceive outgroup actions as being disadvantageous to the ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Therefore, a component of creating and maintaining an ingroup identity, is the need for similar individuals to buffer themselves from actions that would impact them negatively (Herrera & Sani, 2013; Iyer, Jetten, Tsivrikos, Postmes & Haslam, 2009).

Consequently, evaluating one's identification with a social group has sometimes been streamlined from being a continuous variable in examinations, to being dichotomous, whether someone highly identifies with their group or not (Abrams & Hogg, 1990). While not entirely congruent with one another, both forms of identification (as a continuous variable and as a dichotomous one), have produced similar results (Liss, O'Connor, Morosky & Crawford, 2001; Feshbach, 1967), however, continuous evaluation of identification is preferred in analysis. Highly identified members are less likely to deviate from group norms, more likely to hold a negative view of other members deviating from the group norms and want the group to be more homogeneous (Hutchison & Abrams, 2013). Whereas lowly identified members are less likely to commit to the group or form collective intentions to act with other group members (Ellemers, Spears & Djoose, 1997). Thus, understanding what promotes identification with a group and what discourages identification with a group is paramount to determining whether the group entity will continue in the future, and in what capacity.

2.2 Group Type Differences: Intentions and Behaviour

While the literature does examine emergent groups as they compare to established groups (Ensari & Murphy, 2003; Chen, Zhu & Zhou, 2015; Lopez & Ensari, 2014), few studies have examined group type differences in newly-formed and established groups with the goal of observing if identification formation is different between the two, or if they are in fact, similar group types with regards to how both form group identities. Studies into new and established groups have suggested that emergent or 'newly-formed' groups form collective intentions with other group members over time as it is not necessarily a spontaneous event (Christian, Bagozzi, Abrams & Rosenthal, 2012). These collective

intentions are planned actions that are formed as a group entity as opposed to an individual forming a singular I-intention (Bratman, 2015).

Individual group members reinforce other group members' collective intentions and goals while members negotiate what norms the group will have (Meeussen, Delvaux & Phalet, 2013). However, previous studies indicate that the route in which individuals form a group identity from a set of intentions can be substantially different depending on cultural attitudes (Bagozzi & Lee, 2002). That means new groups may form a group identification differently compared to the identity of an already established group. Therefore, establishing a predictive model of identity formation and changes in the lifecycle of a group is critical. It is also central to this chapter to examine the differences in intentions, commitment, and behaviours between newly-formed and established groups to better understand identity formation. As together, these three variables elaborate on whether members intend to act with the group, how committed they are to the group goals or whether they are able to commit to the group goals, and the resulting behaviour stemming from the formed intentions and commitment.

All three play important functions in planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991), and identifying differences between newly-formed and established group in how they may plan out actions may lead to observations of whether newly-formed and established groups are distinct group types from one another. In previous studies of commitment and intentions (Bagozzi & Lee, 2002), behaviour is evaluated as participation in a group activity. However, this method does not assess the extent and contributions each individual made as part of the group entity. Therefore, a more robust analysis of group intentions and group

commitment should incorporate group behaviour as a gestalt construct in which each member must discuss and contribute to the overall final product.

2.3 Prototypicality in Newly-formed and Established Groups

One way in which identification towards the group is increased is through perceived prototypicality. Members who perceive themselves to be more similar to other group members and therefore, prototypical of the group dynamic are recorded as having a greater identification with the group (Hogg, Hains & Mason, 1998; Steffens, Schuh, Haslam, Perez & Van Dick, 2015; Chen, Guan & Hui, 2012). Likewise, members who are perceived as atypical are relegated by the group and are less likely to identify with other group members (Pinto, Marques, Levine & Abrams, 2010). This is consistent with interpretations of social identity theory, because categorizations of ingroups and outgroups rely on perceived similarity of other group members towards oneself. Therefore, a group prototype representative of the group norms, allows individuals to form positive or negative attitudes about other group members based on how closely those members resemble the group prototype. This is most likely to occur in established groups, as groups with established norms have a more defined outline of what is and is not acceptable within the group (Abrams, Wetherell, Cochrane, Hogg & Turner, 1990; Rubin, 2012). This is because members who would be considered deviant have already been eliminated from the group context or been classified as a “black sheep” and marginalized from the group (Pinto, Marques, Levine & Abrams, 2010). Whereas in groups with newly-formed norms, members who would be considered deviant have yet to be identified as such and would therefore still be a part of the group context. Thus, in forming and maintaining a group identity, prototypicality of the group norms would likely be more important in established

groups than it would in newly-formed groups, as established groups are more conscientious about maintaining a traditional set of group practices and behaviours by removing those members who do not adhere to the group prototype (Hutchison, Abrams, Gutierrez & Viki, 2008).

2.4 Group Commitment

Another factor that has been linked to groups' performance has been group commitment, or the degree to which individual members will maintain their group membership in the future (Levine & Moreland, 1994). One reason commitment to the group has been important, is because future commitment or past joint behaviour within a group, may be associated with higher identification and group behaviour as an indirect result of committing to the group previously, and thus as only established groups existed prior to the experiment, we may observe a stronger relationship between commitment and behaviour (Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1997). In a study of 88 students, participants were less committed to the group's future when they had less identification with said group. Importantly, this also preceded desired individual mobility away from the group entity, as members who were not committed wanted permeable group memberships (Ellemers et al., 1997). This indicates identification is linked to behaviour through commitment, as members who identify less with their current group may see themselves as more of an individual agent and exploring other group memberships and opportunities to perform different group behaviours. This suggests that through identification and commitments, group membership might be transitory.

2.5 Research Questions

The aim of this study is to examine the inter-relationships amongst collective intentions, group identification, commitment to the group, and prototypicality between both newly-formed and established groups to evaluate if there are differences of group type both in their formation of group identities, and the extent to which members identify with their groups.

There are three key research questions regarding this chapter:

1. Using social identity theory as a framework and applying this amongst a population of newly-formed and established group members, it is predicted that established group members will have greater identification, collective intentions, collective social esteem, prototypicality, and group commitment than members of newly-formed groups. Additionally, high-identifiers will have greater intentions, esteem, prototypicality and commitment than low-identifiers.
2. While they may differ in the extent, there should be no differences in the patterns of identification between newly-formed and established groups. However, there may be differences in commitment-behaviour patterns and intention-behaviour patterns between newly-formed and established groups, as well as group type differences of behaviour, based on identification.
3. Collective social esteem, group commitment, collective intentions, and prototypicality should be determinants of identification for both group types, yet each group type should prioritize the determinants differently for group identification.

2.6 Method

2.6.1 Participant Characteristics

The participants were 237 students from the University of Birmingham, forming two group types, newly-formed groups and established groups. Newly-formed groups were comprised of members who had never worked together before, whereas established groups were comprised of members who had worked together for at least five weeks. The newly-formed groups consisted of 15 groups with 120 participants (92 females, 28 males), with an average of 8 group members. The age range of participants was 18 to 21 ($M = 18.90$, $SD = 0.95$). The established groups consisted of 13 groups and were made up of 117 students from university sports teams (45 females, 72 males), which included 9 participants in each group. The age range of participants in the established groups was 18 to 32 ($M = 19.80$, $SD = 1.85$) years.

2.6.2 Participant Recruitment

The newly formed groups were recruited using the University of Birmingham, Recruitment Participation Scheme (RPS). Individuals responded to an advertisement for the study, which explained that the study examined, 'How groups make decisions and how they communicate amongst members'. Due to the nature of the recruitment, participants in the newly-formed groups may have been in contact with one another prior to the start of the study. However, as each group was open to students in all course years, an effort was made to randomize the makeup of each newly-formed group.

The participants forming the established groups were recruited via email and face-to-face invitations. As with the newly formed groups, the study goals were explained to potential participants. Groups were selected based on positional or skill stratification (e.g. team members that practice in subgroups such as offensive linemen were paired together in

groups). The lacrosse team, American football team and cheerleading squad were selected as established groups. Also, and importantly, each member of the team was willing to participate. Participants were informed that in addition to participating in a group task, there would be a second group task with their groups 2 weeks after the first task was completed. Finally, all team members had worked with one another in a group setting for a period of at least five weeks, which enabled them to work as established groups.

2.7 Measures

Participants were given questionnaires, based on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Abrams & Hogg, 1999), which aimed to evaluate group identification, group commitment, prototypicality and collective intentions.

Group Identity

Group identification (Abrams & Hogg, 1999; Christian, Abrams & Armitage, 2003; Phinney, 1990; Postmes & Branscombe, 2002) measured the individual's connectedness to the group entity. The scale included 5 questions pertaining to group identification (e.g. I have a lot in common with other group members, I regret being a member of this group, I'm glad to be a member of this group, I feel strong ties to other group members, and I don't feel a sense of being connected with other group members. Responses were given on 6-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). The average of all 5 items was used as a measure of group identity; $\alpha = 0.73$ (*Newly-formed groups* $\alpha = 0.65$, *Established groups* $\alpha = 0.70$).

Collective Intentions

Collective intentions included three items that examined the individual's likelihood to act collectively as a group agent (Christian et al., 2012). The items "We intend to meet

together during the next week and discuss our performance”, “We intend to meet during the next week” and “Other group members and I will meet up later” were answered on 7-point Likert scale from 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree). The mean of the two item responses was taken as a measure of collective intentions to meet with the group with a high score indicate a greater personal intention; $\alpha = 0.79$ (*Newly-formed groups* $\alpha = 0.89$, *Established groups* $\alpha = .71$).

Prototypicality

Prototypicality (Hogg, 2001), a measure of how representative an individual is of the group, included two items (e.g. I am a good example of other team members, I am a good example of my team) with responses ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (completely). The mean of the three items was taken as a measure of prototypicality with a high score indicating greater prototypicality with the group $\alpha = 0.75$ (*Newly-formed groups* $\alpha = 0.81$, *Established groups* $\alpha = 0.66$).

Group Commitment

Group commitment (Abrams & Hogg, 1999; Ellemers, Kortekaas & Ouwerker, 1999) measured the individual’s commitment to meet as a group to discuss performance and beliefs about representing the group. Specifically, it included two items to ascertain how willing the individual was to work with the rest of the group again (e.g. “How committed are you to working with this group in the future?”, and “How committed are you to working with them in the future”). Responses were given on 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (completely). The mean of the two items was taken as a measure of commitment with a high score indicating greater commitment to the group; $\alpha = 0.75$ (*Newly-formed groups* $\alpha = 0.80$,

Established groups $\alpha = 0.52^1$). Differences in reliability for established group responses may be due to differences in team schedules, and whether members responded as if they were or were not scheduled to practice together. Factor analysis indicated commitment was still the largest factor for the construct.

Collective Esteem

Collective esteem consisted of four subscales: private collective self-esteem; membership esteem; public collective self-esteem and importance of group to identity. There are sixteen items in total (*Importance of Group to Identity*: In general, belonging to social groups is an important part of my self-image; The social groups I belong to are an important reflection of who I am; The social groups I belong to are unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am; Overall, my group memberships have very little to do with how I feel about myself. *Private Esteem*: Overall, I often feel that the social groups of which I am a member are not worthwhile; I feel good about the social groups I belong to; I often regret that I belong to some of the social groups I do; In general, I'm glad to be a member of the groups I belong to. *Public Esteem*: Overall, my social groups are considered good by others; Most people consider my social groups, on the average, to be more ineffective than other social groups; In general, others think that the social groups I am a member of are unworthy; In general, others respect the social groups that I am a member of. *Membership Esteem*: I am a cooperative participant in the social groups I belong to; I often feel I'm a useless member of my social groups; I feel I don't have much to offer to the social groups I belong to; I am a worthy member of the social groups I belong to). All responses were given on 7-point Likert

¹ A second time point was collected for this study, but was not used. 'Group Commitment' was reliable for established groups at time 2 ($\alpha = 0.69$), indicating a valid construct that could be used.

scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The mean of the four subscales was taken as a measure of collective social esteem with a high score indicating greater collective social esteem, $\alpha = 0.85$ (*Newly-formed groups* $\alpha = 0.88$, *Established groups* $\alpha = 0.85$).

Group Behaviour

The group behaviour tasks were two group-cognitive tasks (Eddy, 1971; also see Ensari, Christian, Kuriyama, & Miller, 2012) which asked participants to rank order 15 items that they would need to survive in a situation. One version of the task stated ‘You and your group are stranded on an island in the south pacific with the following items (15 survival items listed), You have very little time to prioritise which items to take. There are 15 items - - in which order would you begin to take them? Discuss your reasons and recommendations as a group. You might circle the 5 most important and cross out the 5 least important, then rank the items within each of these groupings. You must come to an agreement and quickly rank order them from most (1) to least (15) important. Place these final ranks in the column labelled GROUP RANKINGS. You will have 15 minutes for this.’

A second version was given to half of the groups which changed the scenario from being lost at sea, to being stranded on the moon. However, 15 survival items were still asked to be ranked in order of their importance. The total number of correct responses were tallied and measured against the total number of incorrect responses which produced a group accuracy score. Accuracy scores were converted from percentages to decimal scoring ranging from 0 (no correct responses) to 1.0 (perfect response accuracy).

Demographics

Socio-demographic information including age, gender, course, year of study, ethnicity and nationality, was collected using open-ended items.

2.8 Procedure

Following recruitment and groupings as outlined above, participants were first asked to complete a written consent form. The experimenter explained that each participant had the right to withdraw at any time. Participants in the newly-formed groups received course credit for their participation in the study, whereas participants in the established groups received a small gift (food) following the completion of the study. Groups were asked to devise a team name, to make identity with this group more salient. Next, group members were given a copy of the NASA/Shipwreck task and told to work together to create a single set of responses by cooperating with one another. The group was asked to record their group responses and we told participants that the experimenter would return in 15 minutes. After collecting the completed sheets, the experimenter then distributed the questionnaires assessing the key study variables. The participants were given 10 minutes to complete the questionnaires. The experimenter waited outside the room. After 10 minutes, the experimenter re-entered the room and collected the completed questionnaires and thanked/debriefed the participants. Participants were asked to reconvene in two weeks with their group, to repeat the study with using the task (NASA/Shipwreck) they had not completed at time 1.

2.9 Results

Preliminary Analysis

Generally speaking, participants in the established groups reported stronger identification ($M = 4.39$, $SD = 0.75$) than newly formed group members ($M = 3.19$, $SD = 0.75$), $t(227) = 12.14$, $p < 0.001$. Importantly, however, participants in both conditions reported values above the means on all of the scales. To test if there were differences on

the psychological variables (e.g. identification, prototypicality, intentions, commitment) by socio-demographics, a series of One-way Analyses of the Variance (ANOVAs) were conducted. There were two statistical differences of note. Participants who reported their age as 18 years old (first year students), had significantly weaker group identification ($M = 3.47$, $SD = 1.00$) than older participants; and women reported lower means on identification, commitment, and collective intentions measures, $F(1,218) = 4.80$, $p < 0.05$. However, gender was an artefact to group type with more women participating in the newly formed groups ($n = 92$; men $n = 28$), ($N = 45$) $\chi^2 = 34.74$, $p < .01$. Since newly-formed groups formed a weaker group identity than established groups, first year students and female students formed a weaker group identity than their counterparts. Finally, because two behavioural tests were used to check if there was an effect of the task variation on performance, an independent samples t-test was conducted. There was a significant difference on behaviour due to the task $t(235) = 14.31$, $p < 0.001$. Participants completing the NASA task ($M = 0.71$, $SD = 0.10$) had greater task accuracy than participants completing the shipwreck task ($M = 0.44$, $SD = 0.18$).

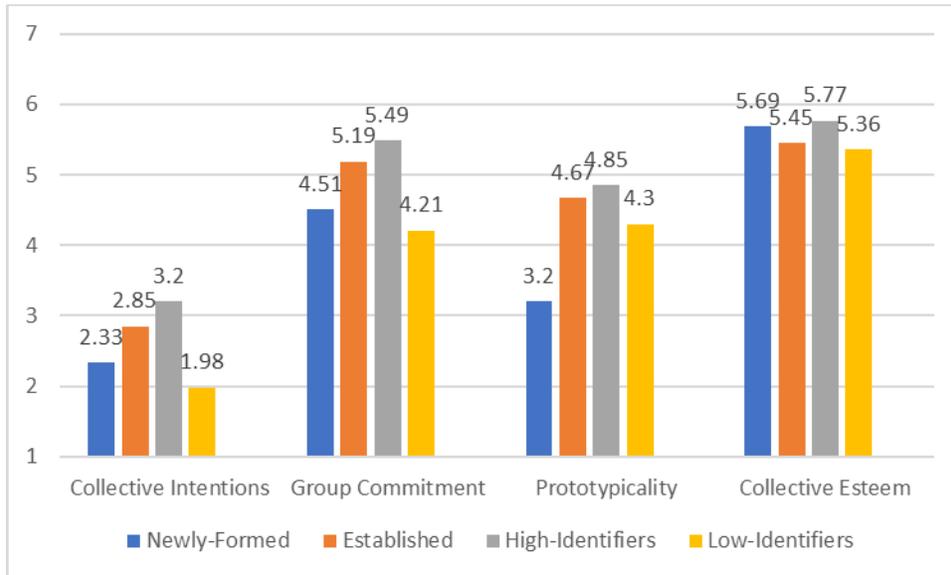
Differences in Identification and Other Social Variables by Group Types

A mean split was used in which participants with an identification score above 3.775 were considered to be high-identifiers, and participants with an identification score below 3.775 were considered to be low-identifiers. As group identification has been previously reported being associated with the other social variables for both newly-formed and established groups, a 2 (newly-formed groups, established groups) x 2 (high-group identifiers, low-group identifiers) Multivariate Analysis of the Variance (MANOVA) was conducted, examining effects of these variables on: collective intentions, group

commitment, prototypicality, and collective social esteem²(H1). To summarize, there was a main effect of group type on *group commitment* $F(1,196) = 7.97, p < 0.01, \eta^2 = 0.04$, where established group members had greater commitment than newly-formed group members (See Fig. 1). Additionally, there was a main effect of group type on *collective esteem* where established group members have lower collective esteem than newly-formed group members. However, there were no differences between newly-formed and established groups on either *prototypicality* or *collective intentions*. On the other hand, there were main effects of group identification on *collective intentions* $F(1,196) = 19.50, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.07$ and *prototypicality*, $F(1,196) = 10.33, p < 0.01, \eta^2 = 0.04$ as well as *group commitment*, $F(1,196) = 29.28, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.11$ and *collective social esteem*, $F(1,196) = 9.67, p < 0.01, \eta^2 = 0.10$. High-identifiers reported these variables to a greater degree than low-identifiers (See Fig. 1). Importantly, there were no significant interaction effects between group type and group identification on any of the major social variables ($p > .05$).

² While there is an equal split of genders within the study as a whole, there is a greater concentration of men in the established and women in the newly formed groups

Fig. 1. Social Variables by Group Type and Identification



Patterns of Identification

To examine hypothesis 2, correlational analyses were used to examine the inter-correlations among the variables with group identification; and to further examine the differences in patterns between the group types, Z-tests were conducted to evaluate if the magnitude of the correlations significantly differed between the group types.

SOCIAL IDENTITY IN MULTIPLE CONTEXTS

Table 1: *Correlation of Variables Separated by Group Type*

Established (N=117) below diagonal, Newly-formed (N=120) above diagonal

| | <i>M(SD)</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>4</i> | <i>5</i> | <i>6</i> | <i>Correlation Differences Between Established and Newly-formed groups on Group Identification (Z-score)</i> |
|---------------------------------|--------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|--|
| <i>1. Identification</i> | 3.19(.75) | | .44*** | .27** | .31** | .37*** | .17 | |
| <i>2. Group Commitment</i> | 4.39(.75) | .41*** | | .28** | .42*** | .07 | .16 | Z = 0.24 (N = 218, p > .05) |
| <i>3 Prototypicality</i> | 4.11(1.43) | .34*** | .11 | | .17 | .44*** | .04 | Z = -0.52 (N = 209, p > .05) |
| <i>4. Collective Intentions</i> | 5.62(1.33) | .35** | .34*** | .27** | | -.11 | .04 | Z = -0.37 (N = 226, p > .05) |
| <i>5. Collective Esteem</i> | 4.33(.96) | .32*** | -.03 | .17 | .10 | | -.15 | Z = 0.42 (N = 217, p > .05) |
| <i>6. Behaviour</i> | 4.91(.93) | .15 | .23* | -.10 | -.12 | .06 | | Z = 0.12 (N = 229, p > .05) |
| | 2.09(1.30) | | | | | | | |
| | 3.30(1.83) | | | | | | | |
| | 5.55 (.68) | | | | | | | |
| | 5.45 (.71) | | | | | | | |
| | .56 (.18) | | | | | | | |
| | .62 (.21) | | | | | | | |

Note: Higher values indicate a stronger relationship between the specified variables. Z-tests were conducted on correlations between Identification and the specified second variable between newly-formed and established groups. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The results of the correlations indicated that, within the context of newly-formed groups, identification is correlated with commitment, prototypicality, collective social esteem, and collective intentions. Likewise, for established groups, identification is also associated with commitment, prototypicality, collective social esteem and collective intentions. Though the pattern was similar for both groups, the magnitude of the correlations differed; no significant differences were found. With regard to collective intentions to act (H2) for both of the group types, intentions are linked to prototypicality for established groups ($r = .27, p < 0.05$), but not for newly-formed groups ($r = .17, p > 0.05$). Additionally, only established group members' behaviour was associated with group commitment ($r = .23, p < 0.05$), whereas newly-formed groups had no such association ($r = .16, p > 0.05$).

Predicting Identification for Newly-formed and Established Groups

It is hypothesised that while patterns of identification for newly-formed and established groups would be similar, identification for established group members would rely on different social variables, as determinants of their identification than newly-formed group members (H3). Therefore, two step-wise multiple regressions analyses were conducted. For newly-formed groups, variables are entered in the following order: collective social esteem, group commitment, collective intentions, and prototypicality. For established groups, variables are entered in the same order as newly-formed groups.

Table 2: Hierarchical Regression Predicting Group Identification in Newly-Formed

Groups

| Predictor/Step | B | R | R ² | R ² ch. | F | df |
|-----------------------------|--------|-----|----------------|--------------------|----------|-------|
| 1. Collective Social Esteem | .38*** | .38 | .14 | .14 | 17.46*** | 1,105 |
| 1. Collective Social Esteem | .35*** | .58 | .33 | .19 | 25.65*** | 2,105 |
| 2. Group Commitment | .44*** | | | | | |
| 1. Collective Social Esteem | .37*** | .60 | .36 | .02 | 18.82*** | 3,105 |
| 2. Group Commitment | .36*** | | | | | |
| 3. Collective Intentions | .17* | | | | | |
| 1. Collective Social Esteem | .39*** | .60 | .36 | .00 | 14.04*** | 4,105 |
| 2. Group Commitment | .37*** | | | | | |
| 3. Collective Intentions | .18* | | | | | |
| 4. Prototypicality | -.04 | | | | | |

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 3: Hierarchical Regression Predicting Group Identification in Established Groups

| Predictor/Step | B | R | R ² | R ² ch. | F | df |
|-----------------------------|--------|-----|----------------|--------------------|----------|------|
| 1. Collective Social Esteem | .35*** | .35 | .12 | .12 | 12.23*** | 1,90 |
| 1. Collective Social Esteem | .37*** | .56 | .32 | .20 | 20.45*** | 2,90 |
| 2. Group Commitment | .44*** | | | | | |
| 1. Collective Social Esteem | .36*** | .59 | .35 | .03 | 15.30*** | 3,90 |
| 2. Group Commitment | .36*** | | | | | |
| 3. Collective Intentions | .19 | | | | | |
| 1. Collective Social Esteem | .32*** | .62 | .38 | .04 | 13.30*** | 4,90 |
| 2. Group Commitment | .35*** | | | | | |
| 3. Collective Intentions | .13 | | | | | |
| 4. Prototypicality | .21* | | | | | |

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

For newly-formed groups, at Step 1, collective social esteem accounted for 14% of the variance in group identity, $F(1,105) = 17.46$, $p < 0.001$. At Step 2, collective social esteem and group commitment explained 33% of the variance in identification, with both collective esteem and commitment ($R^2_{\text{change}} = .19$) emerging as significant predictors $F(2,105)_{\text{change}} = 29.12$, $p < 0.001$. At Step 3, collective social esteem, group commitment,

and collective intentions accounted for 36% of the variance in group identification, with collective social esteem, group commitment, and collective intentions ($R^2_{\text{change}} = .02$) all emerging as significant predictors, $F(3,105)_{\text{change}} = 3.78, p < 0.05$. At Step 4, prototypicality was entered into the model but was not a significant predictor of group identification in newly-formed groups $F(4,105)_{\text{change}} = 0.07, p > 0.05$. In all, the model was significant and accounted for 36% of the variance in group identification for newly-formed groups $F(4,105) = 14.04, p < 0.001$. Collective social esteem, group commitment, and collective intentions were the significant predictors of group identification.

For established groups, at Step 1, collective social esteem explained 12% of the variance in group identity for established groups, $F(1,90) = 12.23, p < 0.001$. At Step 2, collective social esteem and group commitment accounted for 32% of the variance in group identification, with both collective esteem and group commitment ($R^2_{\text{change}} = .19$) emerging as significant predictors, $F(2,90)_{\text{change}} = 25.32, p < 0.001$. At Step 3, collective esteem, group commitment and collective intentions accounted for 36% of the variance in group identification. However, only collective esteem and group commitment ($R^2_{\text{change}} = .03$) were significant predictors, $F(3,90)_{\text{change}} = 3.74, p > 0.05$. At Step 4, prototypicality was entered into the model, and accounted for a further 4% of the variance in identification for established groups. Collective esteem, group commitment, collective intentions and prototypicality accounted for 38% of the variance in group identification, with collective social esteem, group commitment, and prototypicality ($R^2_{\text{change}} = .04$) emerging as significant predictors, $F(4,90)_{\text{change}} = 5.11, p < 0.05$. In all, the model accounted for 38% of the variance found in group identification for established groups $F(4,90) = 13.30, p <$

0.001. Collective social esteem, group commitment, and prototypicality were significant predictors of group identification.

Additionally, a 2(newly-formed/established group) x 2(high identification/low identification) ANOVA was conducted to examine the impact on group behaviour, controlling for task type (NASA/ship). The results show a significant difference between newly-formed and established groups on the behaviour measure $F(1,228) = 7.32, p < 0.01, \eta^2 = 0.03$, with newly-formed groups performing significantly better ($M = 0.61, SD = 0.21$) than established groups ($M = 0.54, SD = 0.18$). However, there was no interaction effect with identification $F(1,228) = 1.76, p > 0.05$.

2.10 Discussion

This study had three main aims. First, the study sought to examine differences between newly-formed and established groups in the extent to which members identify with their respective groups. Building on the first aim, the second aim was to demonstrate that the patterns of identification were similar between the two groups, even though the extent to which they identify were different. In conjunction with these findings, attempts were made to examine the differences in intentionality and how it relates to commitment and behaviour between the two groups. Third, the study sought to investigate the degree to which the social variables accounted for group identification, and the importance each group type places on different determinants.

Social Identity

The findings support the efficacy of social identity theory, within an application to both newly formed and established groups (Lickel, Hamilton, Wierzchowska, Lewis, Sherman & Uhles, 2000). Specifically, while there are mean differences between the

groups, the correlation analyses indicated that patterns of identification between newly-formed and established groups were more similar than they were different. That is, for newly formed groups, group commitment, collective intentions, and social collective esteem had the strongest relationships with identification, while prototypicality had the weakest association. For established groups, prototypicality was equally related to group identification, along with social collective esteem, group commitment, and to a lesser extent, collective intentions. Whereas researchers (Weisel & Bohm, 2015) have previously thought that the pattern would be greatly divergent, the findings here illustrate that is not the case, thus implying that if the focus of study is identification and not behavioural performance, newly formed groups may well provide a meaningful measure.

Turning to established groups, both collective intentions and commitment to the group were significant predictors of identification, yet group commitment was indicative of group behaviour only for established groups. Established groups had been working together for several weeks prior to the study. As such, norms and preferences for conduct have been reinforced over time. In turn, this leads to greater identification among group members, where newly-formed groups do not have such reinforcement, and thus have not yet had an opportunity to cultivate the shared understandings necessary for commitment to the group to be developed into actionable behaviour, or a stronger identity (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Meeussen, Delvaux & Phalet, 2014; Jost et al., 2011; Christian et al., 2012). This would support previous findings in which adherence to group norms predicted group identification and therefore, was expected to predict group behaviour (Hogg & Terry, 2000; Terry, Hogg & White, 1999).

Consistent with the literature (Levine & Moreland, 2004; Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1997), this study demonstrates that group members who highly identify with their social group, whether newly formed or established, are more likely to commit to working together, and are more likely to perceive themselves as prototypical of the group. Additionally, in terms of identification, whether highly identified or not, members of established groups were more likely to draw a sense of collective esteem from the group than were their newly-formed group counterparts. One argument might be that newly formed groups are construed as more transitory in nature at first (Lickel, Hamilton & Sherman, 2001). This construal acts as a double-edged sword both diminishing their ability to take value from the group (i.e., inhibit the draw of esteem), while at the same time tempering their ability to invest in the group (i.e., commitment to the group). However, the transitory and uncertain nature of new-groups is hypothesized to eventually collapse into more certain group construal, in which the self becomes more invested in the group, and therefore the esteem becomes more dependent on the group (Hogg & Adelman, 2013).

Collective Intentions

The study offers a more complete story, extending previous work, about the development of collective intentions (Bratman, 2015; Bagozzi & Lee, 2002; Christian et al., 2012; Brewer & Gardner, 1996). The results suggest that collective intentions are prioritised in newly-formed groups, where prototypicality and norms are ambiguous and not yet formed, to motivate group functioning and performance. In established groups, on the other hand, norms are better understood by the members, and therefore prototypicality of membership and social influence are exercised. It is then somewhat surprising that collective intentions are not as strong for as those of established groups, because collective

intentions are typically associated group goals that might be linked to norms (Christian et al., 2012). It should therefore be easier for established group members, if this is the case, to desire to act together. Yet, this is not the pattern observed. One plausible explanation for the diminished importance of intentions for established groups is that there is a hierarchy of social responses with ‘intentions to act together’ and ‘commitment to the group and its actions’ both falling on a spectrum, although differentially applied. Cognitive motives might be necessary at the start, but the findings suggest that normative understandings are necessary for continued behavioural performance (also see Christian, Armitage & Abrams, 2003; Hutchison et al., 2008; Somlo et al., 2015). In all, there was unexpected news concerning the efficacy of collective intentions, but the study did demonstrate how intentions might operate differently between new and established groups, and the importance of examining collective intentions longitudinally amongst a range of social groups (Lickel, Hamilton, Wierzchowska, Lewis, Sherman & Uhles, 2000; Lickel, Schmader & Hamilton, 2003).

Caveats

In sum, this chapter aimed to investigate social identity theory within the context of newly-formed and established groups. By applying this group context to explore identification, and intentions to act together, the chapter extends current understanding and potentially answers important questions about identity formation, such as the importance of prototypicality in identity formation in established groups, without a similar importance in newly-formed groups. Turning to the behaviour measure, another strength of this study is the measure of behaviour, which uses task accuracy as opposed to more traditional theory of planned behaviour (TPB Ajzen 1991) style measures. While some might argue that this

is not a good match with the principle of correspondence (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1975), arguably it could be a stronger indicator. Although not reported here (see Chapter 3), a measure of attendance which would correspond to traditional behaviour measures as outlined by the TPB model, was collected. The problem is that relying on it as a dependent measure does not shed light on how the group might perform together as a whole, nor if there was any benefit to the extended relationships that might be found amongst the established group members. For this reason, rather than focusing on attendance or behaviour that might be under the volitional control of the individual group member, a measure of group performance was used.

While there were a number of strengths with the study, there are also some shortcomings worth note. There were more women represented in the newly-formed groups than men, and younger students were overrepresented in newly-formed groups than established groups. However, other studies examining collective intentions have reported a similar representation of women (Christian et al., 2012; Tsai & Bagozzi, 2014), and Bagozzi and Lee (2002) had similar representations of men in their established groups, thus support that findings are reliable and not an artifact. Additionally, as first year students are new to the university, it is logical that they would be more represented in new groups. Future research might consider the pattern of determinants identity and the relationship between identification-intention and behaviour in more detail. That is, collective intentions were more significant when predicting members' identification within newly formed groups, whereas established groups more reliant on member prototypicality for motivating identification. These differences suggest there might be changes in the needs for people, but also for groups over time (Arrow et al., 2004). Moving forward, as argued by Christian

(2012) and Bagozzi (2002), in addition to understanding the unique contribution of newly formed and established groups in formed identification and social intentions, it might also be useful to have a clearer understanding of the composition of the groups and its impact longitudinally.

While this study examined the collective intention formation differences between newly-formed and established groups, it was also assumed that group members are homogenous in their approach to group formation. However, individuals are likely to have different attitudes and identities that they bring to the social group, which would affect how they integrate into the social group. The next chapter will focus on how individuals identify with a specific role, and how this role identity is related to the overall group identity with regards to intention formation.

Chapter 3

THE IMPACT OF ROLE IDENTIFICATION AND SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION ON COLLECTIVE INTENTIONS OVER TIME

3.0 Introduction

In Chapter 2, it was demonstrated that while newly formed and established groups differ on the extent to which members identify with their groups, the correlation patterns were similar, specifically among collective intentions, collective social esteem, group commitment, and prototypicality, on identification. This suggests that different social groups, whether established or newly-formed, may in fact be more similar to one another in identity formation, than previously thought (Horwitz, Shutts & Olson, 2014; Klein & Licata, 2001; Prytherch, Sinnott, Howells, Fuller-Love & O'Gorman, 2012). While both newly-formed and established groups had similar patterns of correlations for identification, there were some differences in the magnitude of importance that these variables have in predicting a group identity. Building on the themes emerging in Chapter 2, we introduced another context variable: social roles.

To begin, there are two competing hypotheses about group composition and its impact on group identity and efficacy in the literature. One of these is the homogeneity hypothesis, which suggests that group members focus on similarities, and therefore produce their work products quickly and with greater accuracy (Campion, Medsker & Higgs, 1993). The diversity hypothesis, on the other hand, suggests that diverse groups are better, because

they are able to solve complex problems (such as the behavior measure task in these studies) and to create more innovative solutions (De Dreu & West, 2001). There is mixed evidence to support both perspectives, and most researchers commonly endorse a possibility that both approaches are useful, but that conditions for performance and tasks determine which is most optimal (Van Knippenberg, Dreu & Homan, 2004). In this chapter, I argue that the homogeneity-heterogeneity debate is focused too much on group composition, and the best approach is to examine the compatibility between the self-identity and the group identity as a function of optimum group processes. In reviewing the role literature, we will see how individual and group construal both influence the group identity.

Within this context of role identity theory, individuals contribute within certain behavioural parameters of the role, which may create its own identity while also being part of the group identity. That is, members' contributions to the group is typically seen as linked to the overall behavior and performance (Burke & Tully, 1977; Stryker & Burke, 2000; Stets & Burke, 2000). One such study discovered that creating a social role of "recycler", resulted in the uptake of said social role among participants (Collier & Callero, 2005). More importantly, participants who adopted this social role, identified with their roles, such that their own personal norms were shaped by the norms of the role they occupied. Here, identification with a role can be achieved individually, or it can be achieved through a set of expectations, depending on which is more salient. Within some contexts, individuals with highly salient role identities, but less salient social identities, can associate more strongly with others of the same role than other group members of the wider

group (Deaux, 1993; Deaux & Burke, 2010). For example, using the example above, if a group had a member who identified as a “recycler”, came into contact with other non-group members who shared the role identification, this could promote greater identification with the other similar-role members than the individual’s the rest of the group (Settles, Jellison & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). However, the reverse can also be true for those who identification is linked to the wider group-based identification and not the role-identification. For the latter, the members internalize their role as an extension of the group and therefore are more likely to identify with the group and not the role (Buhrmester, Gomez, Brooks, Morales, Fernandez & Swann Jr., 2012; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006). A key factor in determining whether role identity or group identity guides perceptions and behavior is the endorsement by the individual, and presumably the endorsement by other group members, which potentially might also be impacted by the assessment of the group and the esteem drawn from it (Iyer et al., 2009; Turner, 1990; Bettencourt et al., 2007).

3.1 Role Identification

A social role, according to role theory (Turner, 1990), is a comprehensive pattern of attitudes and behaviours that embody a strategy for dealing with a set of scenarios, which are socially identified (also see Stryker & Serpe, 1994). Some researchers (Fingerhut & Peplau, 2006; Eagly & Steffen, 1984) examine social roles only in reference to sociological behavioural stereotypes, and not for identification purposes (e.g. sex roles in the workplace, or homosexual/heterosexual role behaviours). Therefore, they only ascribe value differences based on perceived behavioural characteristics, but not as a salient group, or based on group norms. On the other hand, several researchers have used social roles as a

means to explore social identity, because roles can have a set of social norms much in the same way group norms are created (Burke, 2006; Callero, 1985). This discrepancy is based on the way in which the dominant disciplines -sociology and social psychology - and their perspectives are applied to investigate the relationship between identification and social groups. One outcome directly connected to this disparity is that there is no standardized measure of 'roles' that has been used across studies.

Two avenues appear to inform the way in which role identification is perceived. First, roles are personally based and therefore not linked to a group context (Serpe, 1987). Studies which examine the individual's role identity, for example, examined students and their completion of coursework, focusing on personal norms and behaviours only as a measure of personal role identity (also see, Kuntsche, Astudillo & Gmel, 2016). Other studies have adopted a different approach, evaluating role in the context of a group. Callero (1985) evaluated "blood donor" as a role identity, but evaluated not only donors' attitudes and perceptions of the role, but also how others in their lives, and other blood donors feel about their personal contributions as a donor. In this way, Callero (1985) observed role identity not only as a function of self-identity, but also how it related to group identity. It was shown that behaviour was positively predicted by both role identification and group attitudes towards the role behaviour. However, failure to engage in role behaviour did not cause a change in personal identification, even when the group disapproved. This suggests there is a degree of potential separation between personal and group identity with regarding social roles.

One way of examining the personal role-group role dynamic, is to evaluate role identity not as a traditional question of extent, but to use previous evaluations of diversity within groups. Belbin (1983) devised individual roles based on characteristics (e.g. confident) to describe social motives of roles. While his goal was to examine diversity-to-performance within groups, it can also be used to evaluate the role each individual identifies with, but at the same time, the role the group perceives is the function of that individual in group-related processes. In this way, role-identity follows a narrative approach to describing individual group contributions, rather than quantifying the degree to which each member contributed.

An interesting question, within the context of social groups, is whether the role that an individual perceives himself/herself to be performing, is the role that the other group members also assess the individual to be performing? Mullen and Hogg (1998) suggests where there is a 'mismatch' between the perceptions of the self and group that the roles can be described as 'ambiguous' or not easily identifiable to a prototype, and therefore described as a form of intragroup uncertainty. This uncertainty is proposed to be a driving force behind behavioural and membership change, as individuals seek to reduce uncertainty (Hogg, 2000). Thus, changes in role ambiguity should be observed longitudinally. Such members within the group have neither concrete function nor behaviour within the group. As such, uncertainty lends to both a negative an unstable state, typically for the individual group member as well as for the group (Mullin & Hogg, 1998), because it results in periods of tension in locus of control for self and that of group agency, with ambiguous member contemplating whether they should fully identify with the group.

3.2 Self-Group Identity and Intentions

One possible way to integrate both role identity and group identity is by examining their relationships to collective and personal intentions. As highlighted in Chapter 2, collective intentions are a measure of the motivational impetus to act together and to perform a specific target behaviour (Christian et al 2012). Building on this, both Tuomela (1995) and Tsai & Bagozzi (2014) argue that collective intentions are preparations for an action conceived by the group entity with individuals acting as agents of or with the group, rather than as a self-agent. In contrast, a personal intention is an individual intention to perform a target behaviour acting as an agent of the self only (Ajzen, 1991; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; 1981). The difference between the two types of intentions is the difference between saying “I intend to go for a walk today” (personal) and “we intend to go for a walk today” or “my family and I intend to go for a walk today” (both collective) (Bagozzi & Dholakia, 2002). In the context of groups these statements have been demonstrated as effective constructs in determining collective intentionality (Christian et al., 2012). By examining the impact social roles have on both collective and personal intentions, we can evaluate whether group agency or self-agency is influenced more by the compatibility between identity created from the role and identity created from the group.

In support of collective intentions and its application, several studies suggest that the formation of collective intention is indicative of the formation of a social identity with a group (de Boer, 2008; McIntyre, Paulson, Lord & Lepper, 2004; Christian, Clapham, Thomas & Abrams, 2012). In a study of undergraduate students, both personal and collective intentions were found to influence group identification, yet group norms had no

influence on collective intentions (Christian, Bagozzi, Abrams & Rosenthal, 2012). What this suggests is that expectations set by the group can influence one form of behavioural intention without influencing the other, while still affecting group identification. Yet where these studies examined new groups, or stigmatized groups (Christian & Clapham et al., 2012), the current study builds from the previous chapter by examining both newly-formed and established groups. Building from previous studies, the expectations are that contexts where group identity is more salient (e.g. group roles are compatible with the self-roles) would result in influences on collective intentions, but not personal intentions, while contexts where the self-identity is more salient (e.g. group roles and self-roles are incompatible) would result in effects on personal intentions but not collective intentions.

3.3 Leaders and non-Leaders and Role Identification

Closer to the current research, Joshi and Fast (2013) examined roles in the context of social power, assessing the choice of roles, and the outcomes on interpersonal relations. As an individual identifies more with the role, and less with the group, intragroup relations suffer as a result of this discrepancy (Joshi & Fast, 2013). Yet, when social roles do not offer varying degrees of influence or power, social roles have been found to facilitate the integration of the personal identity and the group identity (Sluss & Ashforth, 2007). Because leaders are considered more essential to the group functions than non-leaders, they have greater power within the group than followers, creating issues when this difference becomes salient (Rodriguez-Balio, Moya & Yzerbyt, 2000). Yet these issues are mediated by identification with the group (Loi, Chan & Lam, 2014).

Leadership studies which examine social roles of leaders and followers, do not always present their findings as discrepancies in social influence or social power (Cicero, Pierro & van Knippenberg, 2010). Due to the mediating effect of identification, differences in social power only become salient when making direct references to the leader's influence over follower, rather than the unique roles each member contributes to the group (Zhang, Tsingan & Zhang, 2013; Blickle, Kane-Frieder, Oerder, Wihler, von Below, Schutte, Matanovic, Mudlagk, Kokudeva & Ferris, 2013). Integrating these findings into social identity, as group identity is enhanced when individuals are valued through their unique contributions to the group (Postmes, Spears, Lee & Novak, 2005), the leader-follower power dynamic suggests that while the roles remain distinct in their overall contributions to the group, interpersonal relations and group identity is maintained. However, if both roles are viewed as competing for social power, then it is likely interpersonal conflict will arise.

Previous studies have examined leadership either as a quantitative construct to evaluate the relationship between leaders and group members (Dulebohn, Bommer, Liden, Brouer & Ferris, 2012), or as a categorical construct to ascribe narrative functions and future behaviours to an individual leader (Morey, Thyne, Hayden & Senters, 2012). The two perspectives suggest that evaluating leadership as a quantitative hierarchical construct would lead to greater differences between leaders and followers on such things as group identification, as individual accumulation of power is the result of one member being ranked above another members; whereas, evaluating leaders and non-leaders as social roles would lead to less differences because each individual can identify with their own unique contributions to the group without a loss of social power (Callero, 1985; Charng, Piliavin &

Callero, 1988). Therefore, this study will aim to use the intragroup context of social roles, to evaluate the methodological approaches of leadership both as a role and as a quantitative score of leadership ability. This is done to evaluate if social roles as a narrative function, mediate the discrepancies of perceived social power between leaders and follower, in the same manner as group identification.

3.4 Role Identification & Avenues for Extension

While the importance of role identification is not disputed, there are two traditional, previously stated disagreements about how one comes to identify with a role. The first: identification with the social role originates from the group or social structure's need to occupy a specific function, and therefore highly-identified group members would occupy that role for 'the good of the group' (Brenner, Serpe & Stryker, 2014). Second: optimal group distinctiveness (Postmes et al., 2005) is achieved through the differences in membership, and these differences shape the group to a unique social identity for individuals (Jans, Postmes & van der Zee, 2011). While an integrated framework for which role identification can originate from both the group and the individual, is desired, several components are missing (Stryker & Burke, 2000).

The primary issue being that social roles, are examined between the self and social structure as a whole (i.e. the academia organization) (Stryker et al., 2012), rather than individual groups. This is an issue because the cornerstone of social identity theory is the minimal group formation paradigm (Tajfel, 1982). Even though social identity can be expanded well beyond small groups (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski & Sulloway, 2003), testing hypotheses in small groups is the principle methodology in social psychology due to

communication issues as groups add members (Brewer & Kramer, 1986). This is not the case from the social psychology perspective, as the scope of sociological research extend beyond the small group paradigm (Markovsky, 2010). Due to the lack of sociological interest of social roles in small group formations, there are no set standards for assessing social roles as they relate to groups. Studies which use social roles in a group context (Jans et al., 2011; Haslam et al., 2006; Joshi & Fast, 2013; Bettencourt et al., 2007), are not consistent across role types or context.

One widely available research tool advocated by Belbin (1981), reviews role categories on individual functionality within the group. This role inventory ascribes members a social role based on qualitative traits. For example, individuals who mediate intragroup conflicts and promote cooperation are designated as the Coordinator, while individuals whose primary function is to think creatively and abstractly are designated as the Plant. Belbin (1981) promoted this inventory as a way to improve group identification and performance by advocating that group diversity, through composition of diverse roles, is responsible for the improvement, whereas homogeneity of roles is responsible for decreases in identification and performance. In this way, Belbin was proposing an operationalized account of social roles through the diversification of the group. However, as group diversity can have both positive and negative influences on group identification, intentions and performance (van Knippenberg, De Dreu & Homan, 2004), reviews of Belbins' social roles inventory has been mixed at best.

Some researchers have supported the social roles inventory, by demonstrating that social roles control for social power within a group, by eliminating hierarchical references

among group members (Fisher, Macrosson & Semple, 2000). This is important as a crucial issue with social roles and leadership is the salient power differences between leader and follower (Joshi & Fast, 2013). However, researchers have also criticized the social roles inventory as being of poor validity in measuring both the constructs and the overall diversity of the group (Batenburg, van Walbeek & der Maur, 2013). Despite such criticism, Belbin's team roles inventory (1983) remains widely circulated in workplace and industrial organizations, where team composition is a priority research concern (Sommerville & Dalziel, 1998). Yet, other studies have also demonstrated that the original hypothesis of group diversity only improves group outcomes in certain conditions (Meslec & Curseu, 2015).

These studies question the validity of individual social roles, but conclude that collapsing social roles into more meaningful categories relevant to the groups, have valid outcomes for group analysis (Meslec & Curseu, 2015). To increase the utility of the model, Henry & Stevens (1999) suggest collapsing across roles that may or may not be salient to a specific social group, into distinct larger social roles. Specifically, they identified leadership and leadership potential versus other roles as one possible way to do this (Henry & Stevens, 1999; Manning, Parker & Pogson, 2006). Using qualitative analyses, Henry & Stevens (1999) were able to collapse the multitude of social roles into 'leaders' and 'non-leaders' without affecting the perceptions of social power corresponding to each role. In this way, they were able to discover improvements to group behaviour, where other studies failed (Manning, Parker & Pogson, 2006), based on role composition dedicated to these

new groupings. However, only group performance was tested, while identification, collective intentions, and personal intentions were not included.

3.5 Research Questions

There are three main hypotheses investigated in this chapter. They are as follows:

1. While the literature suggests that there might be many role functions, and subsequently many roles with which individuals can identify, it is also possible that social roles could be viewed through a more-narrow lens. On the basis of the literature (Joshi & Fast, 2013), it is expected that roles will form a continuum based on social power. Yet, issues that arise due to differences in social power will be less salient when groups evaluate members in terms of their social roles, versus when groups evaluate members by their personal discrepancies in social power in the group.
2. Ambiguity can result from groups not agreeing on individual contributions, yet role ambiguity must be resolved over time as uncertainty is unstable (Hogg, 2000). This ambiguity would have negative effects on group processes, but specifically for the member in question, leading either to full acceptance of group membership, or leaving the group.
3. Because an aim of the study is to investigate the importance of both role identity and group identification, matching/congruency between self and group roles leads to stronger identification with the group and collective intentions, but will not impact personal intentions with the potential to decrease personal intentions.

3.6 Participants

The participants were 186 University of Birmingham students at time 1, and 160 at Time 2. Of the 237 participants taking part in the original study, 51 did not properly complete the role identity task, thus resulting in the 186 participants at Time 1. Of these participants, 94 were undergraduate psychology students and 92 were students from athletic teams at the University of Birmingham. At Time 2, 26 participants did not return to complete the study, yet this data was incorporated to identify which types of group members were leaving the group. Of the 51 participants who did not complete the role identity task properly, 26 were from newly-formed groups and 25 were from established groups³. Participants (N = 186) were all between 18 and 32 years of age ($M = 19.37$, $SD = 1.60$). The majority of the participants (N = 103) were female. Additionally, a majority of the participants described themselves as European White (73.7%).

3.7 Measures

As outlined in Chapter 2, the participants were given questionnaires, which aimed to evaluate group identification, group commitment, prototypicality, and collective and personal intentions, using Likert-type scales. In addition, social roles/ role identification was also measured and is presented below.

Personal Intentions

Personal intentions measured the individuals' intention to act with the group but on an individual level using the "I-intention" (Ajzen, 1991). Personal intentions consisted of two items (e.g. "I intend that my group and I meet next week to discuss our performance", "I

³ This did not constitute a significant difference in the exclusion $\chi^2(1) = 0.00$, $p > 0.05$.

intend that my group and I meet next week) on a 7-point Likert scale of 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree). The mean of the two item responses was taken as a measure of personal intentions to meet with the group, with a high score indicate a greater personal intention ($\alpha = 0.83$).

Social Roles

To assess social role identification, participants were given a list of characteristics (creative, imaginative, problem-solver) and asked to write the name of the fellow participant who they thought best exemplified these characteristics on the blank below the description. Participants also had to put their own name down for one of the roles, which was described by the list of characteristics. The role task was adapted from Belbin (1981) theory of social roles and included the following roles: plant (i.e. creative, imaginative), resource investigator (i.e. outgoing, enthusiastic), coordinator (i.e. mature, confident), shaper (i.e. challenging, dynamic), team-worker (i.e. cooperative, diplomatic), monitor evaluator (i.e. strategic, discerning), implementer (i.e. practical, reliable), completer-finisher (i.e. conscientious, painstaking) and specialist (i.e. single-minded, dedicated set of skills). They were instructed to read the descriptions of the roles and the characteristics, and then to write the name of the fellow participant who best exemplified the characteristics in the space provided. Responses were first coded based on the frequency of assignment, such that a participant being characterised as a 'plant' by 50% of the group members would result in that percentage being assigned as a score. Scores were standardized creating an index which was later standardized.

All participants, in addition to assigning roles to members of their groups, also assigned roles to themselves. The procedure and coding followed the same protocol.

Leadership

To capture the leadership ratings that might be linked to the descriptive roles, participants were asked to indicate the ‘leadership abilities’ associated with occupying each of the descriptive roles. They were asked: ‘How would you rate [insert name/self]’s leadership abilities’ and responses were recorded on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (much less than most) to 7 (much more than most). As with the assignment of roles, this was also done for the self-role assessment too.

3.8 Procedure

We used the procedure outlined in Study 1 (Chapter 2). The only notable difference was that prior to the study commencing, a participant from each group was randomly selected and asked to be ‘a facilitator’. The ‘facilitator’ was given a list of 16 words related to the task that could be searched on their smartphones and delineated to the other group members. They were told that this might aid the group and that this represented a specialized skill set. The remaining task and measures were administered as outlined in the previous chapter. The participants were asked to come back two weeks later to engage in a different group task and answer the questionnaires similar to the administration at Time 1.

3.9 Results

Preliminary Outcomes

A series of one-way ANOVA analyses were conducted to test whether there were differences between participants who had completed the roles measures and those who had not done so. While there were no differences between the two populations with regards to collective intentions, personal intentions, or identification, there was a difference in perceptions of leadership and skills $F(1,231) = 6.657, p < .01$, with those who had *not*

completed the social role measures reporting that they had lower perception of leadership ($M = 2.88$, $SD = 0.90$) than those who had completed all measures included ($M = 3.25$, $SD = 0.88$).

Role Identification

In this study, participants were asked to allocate roles to individuals and to themselves. Table 4 presents a breakdown, detailing the frequency with which they assigned social roles to peers and to themselves.

Table 4: *Descriptions of Social Roles and Self-Group Selection*

| Role | Self-Selected Roles | Group-Designated Roles |
|--|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Plant (e.g. Creative)</i> | 19 | 17 |
| <i>Resource-Investigator (e.g. Outgoing)</i> | 28 | 21 |
| <i>Coordinator (e.g. Mature)</i> | 20 | 20 |
| <i>Shaper (e.g. Dynamic)</i> | 15 | 15 |
| <i>Monitor- Evaluator (e.g. Sober)</i> | 15 | 6 |
| <i>Implementer (e.g. Practical)</i> | 12 | 8 |
| <i>Team-Worker (e.g. Diplomatic)</i> | 28 | 18 |
| <i>Completer-Finisher (e.g. Conscientious)</i> | 19 | 11 |
| <i>Specialist (e.g. in-depth knowledge)</i> | 25 | 7 |
| <i>Ambiguous Role</i> | 5 | 63 |
| Total | 186 | 186 |

As part of the analysis, 'role ambiguity' or the absence a consensus score at time 1 or time 2 was also evaluated (See Table 4). Prior to the analysis the data were coded with (0) reflecting incongruency between self and group roles and (1) for congruency between self and group roles.

Perception of Social Role Information

To evaluate participant interpretation of information about social roles (H1), the optimum solution is to collapse the roles into broader, but distinct categories, which would make self and group compatibility meaningful (see Manning, Parker & Pogson, 2006). Therefore, principle component analysis was used based on the standardized group-rated social role scores. To do this, in addition to identifying which social roles were similar to one another, group-rated leadership was included in the analysis to evaluate which roles were associated with greater perceived leadership. As the purpose was to identify which social roles corresponded to leadership positions, only the first factor was included which accounted for 24.11% of the variance. These roles then were labelled as 'leadership roles' whereas those roles that were not associated with the group-rated leadership scores were labelled 'non-leadership roles'. A loading value of $>.4$ was used to collapse the roles into categories as this threshold has been shown to be meaningful (Tabachnik & Fidell, 2007 pg. 649). Additionally, as we were observing only roles that individuals occupy and not roles that individuals do not occupy, only positive loadings were associated with leadership scores.

Table 5: *Factor Loadings Based on a Principal Components Analysis for 9 Social Roles Corresponding with Leadership (N = 186)*

| | Leadership |
|-------------------------------------|------------|
| | Position |
| Group-Rated Leadership Score | .87 |
| Plant | .48 |
| Resource Investigator | .68 |
| Coordinator | .45 |
| Shaper | .27 |
| Monitor Evaluator | -.13 |
| Teamworker | -.70 |
| Implementer | -.32 |
| Completer-Finisher | -.49 |
| Specialist | .04 |

Note. Factor loadings <0.4 are suppressed from leadership roles.

Factor analysis results support collapsing the social roles into two categories: Resource-Investigator, Coordinator, and Plant roles into the category of leadership; and, Shaper, Monitor Evaluator, Implementer, Completer-Finisher, Teamworker, and Specialist could be grouped into the category of non-leadership roles. Next, to test if the two categories differed, an ANOVA was conducted to evaluate if there were differences in group-rated leadership among leaders, non-leaders, and ambiguous-role members. There were significant differences among the leaders, non-leaders, and ambiguous members,

$F(2,185) = 40.35$ $p < 0.001$. Post-hoc testing revealed members in leader social roles had the highest group-rated leadership scores ($M = 3.66$, $SD = 0.60$). Members designated as occupying non-leader roles had the lowest group-rated leadership scores ($M = 2.69$, $SD = 0.60$). Members with ambiguous roles ($M = 3.08$, $SD = 0.61$) had leader-scores in between leaders and non-leader, which were significantly different than both. While outside of the primary research questions in this Chapter, there was no confounding effect of group type on perceived leadership skills $F(1,185) = 0.20$, $p > .05$. This indicates that the roles and agreement in the way in which members see themselves and one another, was not affected by the group type (established/newly formed) to which members belong.

To evaluate the differences in leadership as a social role and quantitative construct (H1), a 2 (newly-formed/established) x 2 (group-designated leader social role/non-leader social role) ANOVA was conducted to examine differences of group identification. When examining leadership as represented by social roles, there are no differences between leaders and non-leaders on group identification $F(1,130) = 1.25$, $p > 0.05$.

A second 2 (newly-formed/established) x 2 (high leadership/low leadership) ANOVA was conducted to evaluate if there are identification differences when examining leaders as a quantitative construct. Dissimilar to analysing leadership by social roles, there was a significant effect on group identification by quantitative leadership score $F(1,130) = 10.77$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.08$. Members with high leadership scores ($M = 4.01$, $SD = 1.07$), had greater identification with the group than members with low leadership scores ($M = 3.68$, $SD = 0.84$).

Correlations

Correlational analyses were conducted to examine the inter-correlations among collective intentions, personal intentions, identification, group-rated leadership, self-rated leadership, prototypicality, and collective social esteem. Other social variables such as group commitment were not included in the analysis as they were not central to the role identification hypotheses.

SOCIAL IDENTITY IN MULTIPLE CONTEXTS

Table 6: Correlations of Major Variables

N = 186

| | M(SD) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|-----------------------------|-------------|---|--------|------|--------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1. Collective Intentions | 2.72(1.71) | | .74*** | -.07 | .03 | .02 | .26*** | .13 | .43*** | .38*** |
| 2. Personal Intentions | 2.51(1.65) | | | -.09 | .00 | -.12 | .13 | .14 | .25*** | .21** |
| 3. Group-rated Leadership | 3.13(.72) | | | | .42*** | .19** | .22** | .11 | .04 | -.08 |
| 4. Self-rated Leadership | 3.30 (1.04) | | | | | .24** | .34*** | .28*** | .17* | .09 |
| 5. Collective Social Esteem | 5.51 (0.69) | | | | | | .37*** | .19* | .24*** | .01 |
| 6. Prototypicality Time 1 | 4.59 (0.98) | | | | | | | .53*** | .44*** | .35*** |
| 7. Prototypicality Time2 | 4.75 (1.18) | | | | | | | | .37*** | .47*** |
| 8. Identification Time 1 | 3.81 (0.98) | | | | | | | | | .71*** |
| 9. Identification Time 2 | 3.79 (1.07) | | | | | | | | | |

Note: Higher values indicate a stronger relationship between the specified variables.

* $p < .05$, ** $P < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

The correlations indicate that while collective and personal intentions are highly correlated ($r = .74, p < 0.001$), the two forms of intentions are not equally correlated to group identification. The relationship between collective intentions and group identification ($r = .43, p < 0.001$) is stronger than the relationship between personal intentions and group identification ($r = .25, p < 0.001$). The difference in relationship strength between personal/collective intentions and group identification was found to be significant, $Z = 1.91, p < 0.05$. While there is a weak relationship between prototypicality at Time 1 and prototypicality at Time 2 and ($r = .19, p < 0.05$), there is a much stronger relationship between identification and Time 1 and identification at Time 2 ($r = .71, p > 0.0001$), even though there is a relationship between prototypicality and identification both at Time 1 ($r = .44, p < 0.001$), and Time 2 ($r = .47, p < 0.001$).

Role Ambiguity

To test whether there was a high degree of correspondence between the roles that participants viewed other group members as performing and those that they assigned to themselves over time, a series of chi-square tests were conducted (H2).

Table 7: Descriptive Statistics and Chi-Square Results of Role Ambiguity⁴

| Variable | Descriptive | X ² (df) | Sig. |
|---------------|--|---------------------|------|
| Group type | Newly-formed: (Ambiguous = 22, Unambiguous = 72) | .68(1) | .41 |
| | Established: (Ambiguous = 17, Unambiguous = 75) | | |
| Year of study | First year: (Ambiguous = 21, Unambiguous = 68) | .72(2) | .70 |
| | Second year: (Ambiguous = 8, Unambiguous = 38) | | |
| | Third year +: (Ambiguous = 9, Unambiguous = 35) | | |
| Gender | Female: (Ambiguous = 20, Unambiguous = 83) | .34(1) | .56 |
| | Male: (Ambiguous = 19, Unambiguous = 64) | | |

To further explore the effects of role ambiguity (H2), a one-way ANOVA was conducted in which the social variables were compared between members with ambiguous roles and members with unambiguous roles. There was a significant difference of collective social esteem between members with ambiguous roles and members with unambiguous roles $F(1,177) = 5.21, p < 0.03$. Members with ambiguous group roles ($M = 5.30, SD = 0.86$) have significantly lower collective social esteem than members with unambiguous group roles ($M = 5.58, SD = 0.63$). Additionally, while there was no significant effect of role ambiguity on personal intentions $F(1, 176) = 0.78, p > 0.05$, there was a significant difference between members with ambiguous role and members with unambiguous roles on collective intentions $F(1,183) = 4.07, p < 0.05$. Members whose group roles are ambiguous

⁴ There were no significant differences of ambiguous roles across the 28 participating groups $\chi^2(27) = 30.22, p > 0.05$.

($M = 2.23$, $SD = 1.42$) form weaker collective intentions than members whose group roles are unambiguous ($M = 2.85$, $SD = 1.76$).

A 2 (prototypical/non-prototypical) x 2 (ambiguous role/unambiguous role) ANOVA was conducted to test the effects of prototypical notions of membership and role ambiguity on group identification. A median split was used to determine whether participants were prototypical or non-prototypical, with participants being considered prototypical if they scored 4.67 or greater on prototypicality, or non-prototypical if they scored below 4.67. While there was no interaction effect between prototypicality and role ambiguity on identification $F(1, 165) = 0.24$, $p > 0.05$, there was a significant main effect of role ambiguity on group identity $F(1, 165) = 4.71$, $p < 0.03$, $\eta^2 = 0.03$. Members whose roles are clear to them ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 0.97$), have stronger identification with the group than those members whose roles are ambiguous ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 0.87$).

As with social roles at Time 1, there were no differences between newly-formed groups ($N = 11$) and established groups ($N = 14$) in members who were reported as having ambiguous roles $\chi^2(1) = 0.14$, $p > 0.10$. In examining role ambiguity from Time 1 to Time 2, of the 39 participants whose group roles were ambiguous, 15.4% ($N = 6$) remained in an ambiguous role, while 59.0% ($N = 23$) were designated with unambiguous roles at Time 2. Importantly, of the 39 participants whose roles were ambiguous at Time 1, 25.6% ($N = 10$) dropped out of the study at Time 2. In contrast, of the 147 participants whose roles were unambiguous at Time 1, only 12.2% (18) dropped out of the study at Time 2. Both the transition from ambiguous roles to unambiguous roles, and the difference between ambiguous and unambiguous role drop-out rates at Time 2 represent a significant effect over time $\chi^2(2) = 4.90$, $p > 0.05$.

To evaluate the longitudinal effect of role ambiguity on group identification a 2(ambiguous/non-ambiguous Time 1) x 2 (ambiguous/non-ambiguous Time 2) repeated measures ANOVA was conducted analysing the change to group identification over time. The results indicated a significant effect of role ambiguity on identification over time $F(1,141) = 5.04, p < 0.05, \eta^2 = 0.03$. Group members who are initially designated with ambiguous roles ($M = 3.68, SD = 1.07$) have less identification with the group than members whose roles are unambiguous at Time 1 ($M = 3.96, SD = 0.97$). However, at Time 2, members whose group roles were ambiguous improve their identification with the group ($M = 3.97, SD = 1.09$) to statistically similar levels as members whose group roles were unambiguous from the beginning ($M = 3.79, SD = 1.08$). The majority of members whose roles were initially ambiguous, either solidified their roles and became unambiguous (59%) or dropped out of the study entirely (25%), for which there can be no identification data, therefore this analysis represents the change in identification for members transitioning from ambiguous roles to unambiguous roles.

Congruency Between the Self and the Group

To evaluate the hypothesis that congruency between self-selected roles and group-designated roles would result in greater collective intentions (H3), a 2 (congruent roles/incongruent roles) x 2 (established/newly-formed) MANOVA was conducted with collective intentions and personal intentions as the dependent variables. There was a significant main effect of role congruency on collective intentions, $F(1,177) = 4.90, p < 0.05, \eta^2 = 0.04$. Members whose self-identified roles and group designated roles were congruent ($M = 2.96, SD = 1.84$) had greater levels of collective intentions than members whose self-identified and group designated roles were incongruent ($M = 2.31, SD = 1.41$).

Importantly, while there was a significant main effect on collective intentions, personal intentions remained unaffected by role congruency $F(1,177) = 2.30, p > 0.05$. Members whose self-selected roles were congruent with their group-designated roles ($M = 2.67, SD = 1.80$) did not have statistically different personal intentions than members whose self-selected roles were incongruent with their group-roles ($M = 2.25, SD = 1.36$). The differences in effect on collective intentions and personal intentions constituted a trend of a multivariate effect of role congruency $F(2,172) = 2.46, p < 0.10, \eta^2 = 0.03$, indicating a difference between the effect on collective intentions and non-significant differences on personal intentions.

There was no effect of role congruency on group identification $F(1,180) = 1.35, p > 0.05$, as participants whose self-identified role and group-designated role were congruent ($M = 3.91, SD = 0.99$) did not have significantly higher group identification than members whose self-identified roles and group-designated role were incongruent ($M = 3.64, SD = 0.95$). As role congruency did not show statistical effects on group identification, a 2 (self-identified leader role/ self-identified non-leader role) x 2 (group-designated leader role/group-designated non-leader role) ANOVA was conducted to understand why. There was a main effect of group designated roles only, $F(1,140) = 3.68, p < 0.05, \eta^2 = 0.03$. Members whose group designated them as having a leader role ($M = 3.88, SD = 0.92$), had greater identification with the group than members whose group designated them as having non-leader roles ($M = 3.65, SD = 0.73$), regardless of whichever role the individual self-identified.

3.10 Discussion

In the present study, there were three hypotheses which were tested to examine the influence of social roles on social identity. This first sought to identify if individuals processed social roles into smaller categories (i.e. leaders and non-leaders), and if doing so influenced perceptions of unique contributions, rather than creating hierarchical distinctions between group members. The second, was to identify members' whose groups evaluated them as neither leaders or non-leaders, but instead had ambiguous roles within the group, and how this role ambiguity is resolved. The final hypothesis, sought to examine if matching between one's self-identified role and the role the group designates, results in greater identification and intentions to act with the group.

The first hypothesis demonstrated that there were no differences in the emergence of leaders between newly-formed and established groups, in that there were equal number of leader roles and non-leader roles between newly-formed and established groups, as well as equal numbers of high leadership ability members in both groups. In conjunction with the previous Chapter, this again shows the similarities between newly-formed groups and established groups by demonstrating how leaders emerge similarly between the two.

Members who were designated with a leader social role had similar identification with the group than members who were designated with a non-leadership social role. However, when examined by rank, leaders had stronger identification with the group than non-leaders. These differences highlight the importance of social roles within a group context. Groups can compress meaningful information about members roles into easily identifiable categories. Yet, there is equivalent identification among all group members due to the contributions each individual makes to the group (Jetten, Spears & Postmes, 2004; Settles, Jellison, Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). By ascribing a role to each member, all members feel as if they

personally contribute to the overall group function and can identify with their own role within the group (Turner, 1990). On the other hand, when examining leadership without the context of social roles, members create a hierarchical order based on the social power of leadership. This distinction creates conflict within the group as there is a power differential between members with high leadership ability and members with low leadership ability (van der Kam, Janssen, van der Vegt & Stoker, 2014).

The second hypothesis was concerned with role ambiguity, and the nature of individuals in a transitory state, when the group could not agree in what capacity the individual member contributed to the group. Results showed that ambiguous roles are not a product of gender, age, or group type. There were no differences in the concentration of members with ambiguous roles among any of the major variables suggesting that the sociological approach to understanding role identity and role transitions (Turner, 1990; Kuntsche, Astudillo & Gmel, 2016), is lacking. Specifically, the lack of differentiation between first year students and more veteran students is surprising, as previous sociological and identity studies indicate transition periods (i.e. when a new university student enters their first year) are unique in that researchers typically observe the process by which an individual adapts their previous identity to one more compatible with the social context (Stryker & Serpe, 1994; Burke, 2006). What the current findings show, is that nature for a member's role to be ambiguous, is not predetermined by a sociological marker or structure, but appears in approximately 1/5 of the population subset regardless of group type, group, gender or age. If one were to extrapolate this sample population, it would suggest that groups of 5 or more members have to contend with the idea that the group does not

recognize the function and contributions of some of their members. The implications of this are seen in the subsequent results.

As implied by previous studies of role ambiguity (Hogg, 2000), members whose group roles were ambiguous had both weaker collective intentions and weaker collective social esteem compared to other members whose roles were unambiguous. Yet, similarly to role congruency, personal intentions remained unaffected by role ambiguity. Uncertainty in one's group role was previously found to be associated with paranoia about one's status within the group and lead to negative performance and efficacy outcomes (Zhou et al., 2016; Showail et al., 2013; Mullin & Hogg, 1998). In place of group efficacy, this study evaluated role ambiguity in relation to collective intentions and personal intentions as highlighted that collective intentions represent one's agency with the group (Meijers, 2003), while personal intentions represent one's self agency independent from the group (Gilbert, 2009). As individuals with ambiguous roles were found have lowered collective intentions but similar personal intentions compared to members with unambiguous roles, this would suggest a markedly lowered perceived collective agency among members with ambiguous roles, but an intact self-agency. This one outcome should be disconcerting for group functionality as it demonstrates another way in which group members may have independent personal agendas separate from the group's agenda. As the goal of most group entities is continuation through the overlapping of members' norms with the group's norms (Swann Jr., Gomez, Jetten, Whitehouse & Bastian, 2012), this may be made more difficult when the group cannot determine the specific functionality and contributions of group members.

The ambiguity of one's group role does not go unnoticed by the member in question either. Observations regarding role ambiguity indicated group identification was weaker for members whose group roles were ambiguous. It was expected that high prototypicality might moderate the effect of ambiguity on group identification as previous studies demonstrated a similar moderating effect on leader efficacy (Cicero, Pierro & van Knippenberg, 2010). However, what was discovered in the current study was that no amount of perceived prototypicality by the individual will prevent that individual from identifying less with the group when their roles are ambiguous. In this way, it is a false narrative for the group to propose that members whose roles are ambiguous or uncertain should 'think and behave like model group members in order to get ahead' (Ridgeway, 1978). By having ambiguous roles (through intragroup conflict), members' identification with the group will already have been lessened, and it is unknown if group agreement on the individual's role result in a positive change in identification, or if the individual takes it upon him/herself to reaffirm their group membership.

What can be concluded is that members' whose roles are ambiguous as determined by the group, have less positive collective social esteem compared to their unambiguous members. As highlighted by previous studies, group membership acts as a buffer for the individual against negative stereotypes and affect (Abrams & Brown, 1989). As role ambiguity is hypothesized to be a state of transitory flux in which the group is deciding whether the individual is a full contributory member or a more marginal member (Hogg, 2000), the individual internalizes this social identity transition and does not receive the same benefits of identity buffering from group membership that other, fully contributory group members receive. Through these observations, role ambiguity can be seen as a

transitory, but ultimately unstable state, in which group members participate and act in accordance with the group norms, but social outcomes are more negative and ultimately more destructive for the group entity (Hogg & Adelman, 2013).

The third hypothesis was concerned with members whose group roles are unambiguous, but whose self-identified role and group-designated role were not congruent with one another. When a member's self-identified role is the same as the role the group identifies for that member, collective intentions are stronger than when the member's self-identified role and the role the group designates for that member are incongruent. Though collective intentions are stronger, personal intentions remain unaffected, indicating that role identification when integrated in social identity theory, has a separate influence on the personal identity and personal behaviour than it does on group identity and group behaviour. Additionally, though congruency between group and self-role did not directly influence group identification, this was due to the influence that group roles had over group identity where self-identified roles had little influence over group identity. When the group assigned a leadership role to a group member, that member was more likely to have a stronger identification with the group than if the group designated a non-leadership role.

As with Study 1, the results for social identity theory (Jetten, Spears & Postmes, 2004; Jans, Postmes & van der Zee, 2012) are mixed. Previous studies have suggested that congruency between a role within a group that one perceives one's self as performing, and the evaluation of other group members about the role that one is performing are thought to lead to increases in collective intentions, stronger wellbeing (esteem), and a greater likelihood that one will perform group behaviours. When incongruency is high, by implication, we would expect to see decreases in collective intention formation, weaker

esteem, and lower group identification (Rise, Sheeran & Hukkelberg, 2010). This is somewhat supported, yet there are also some interesting caveats. A focus on the extent of homogeneity or heterogeneity, as a context dependent variable in determining group outcomes (Campion et al., 1993; Knippenberg et al., 2004), undervalues how role identification fits in to the overall framework of group dynamics and social identification.

Here, it is not any one particular role which improves behaviour for a group, or improves collective intentions for a group, but rather it is how the self-role and the group-role need to be compatible in order for optimum group functionality. And, while group identification was only influenced by one set of roles (e.g. the group-designated roles), it was striking that identification, in this context, was not more strongly correlated with identification. This may explain why previous studies have found mixed results when examining perceived homogeneity on group identification (Castano & Yzerbyt, 1997), such that it depends on the context in which it is being examined. These differences in collective intentions, however, did not translate into differences in personal intentions. This provides further evidence suggesting a fundamental difference between personal intentions and shared intentions (Bratman, 2015; Meijers, 2003; Bagozzi & Lee, 2002), and how social context within a group can impact one without affecting the other. In this study, collective intentions increased as the result of compatible roles between what the individual self-identified and what the group designated while intentions to act at a personal level remained unchanged. These results support the suggestion that a prerequisite for ingroup cohesion, identification and agency is the compatibility between the self and the group without necessarily impacting self-construal.

In this study, social identity theory was expanded by exploring the relationship between group identification and an individual's self-selected role identification. Within this context, several patterns emerged which suggested that social identity is indeed impacted by the individual's personal role and whether the social group agrees with the role that the individual occupies. Collective intentions, used to determine the extent to which the individual will act on the group's behalf, increased only for those members where the group entity agreed with the member on their self-selected role in the group, and for members whose role within the group was unambiguous. For those members who disagreed on their role within the group or had ambiguous group roles, collective intentions were starkly lower. However, personal intentions remained unaffected by role congruency. Group identification was also markedly weaker for members whose roles were ambiguous within the group compared to members whose roles were unambiguous. This is useful for future analysis of social identity theory as most studies examine individual identification with the group and the group behaviour. Very few examine the impact that intragroup conflict due to role identification can have on the group entity. Fewer still evaluate the differences in social identification between examining leadership as a social role and evaluating leadership as a hierarchical ranking. These findings indicate that within the framework of social identity, group identification, collective intentions, and group behaviour can be inhibited by discrepancies in group communication on social roles.

Where this chapter and the previous chapter examined group functioning within a self-contained context, applied social identity must contend and take into account both ingroup and outgroup relationships. Therefore, the next chapter will examine identification

outcomes as it relates to the ingroup-outgroup dynamic, and the ways in which this dynamic is moderated.

INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH PROGRAMME 2

I would like to take the opportunity to summarise the importance of the findings reported in Chapters 2 (Study 1) and Chapters 3 (Study 2), and demonstrating they work together forming the basis for concepts that will be examined in the latter portion of the thesis. In Study 1, I reported that newly formed and established groups were similar in their patterns of determinants with regards to identification. Interestingly, behaviour was associated with commitment for established groups, but had no relation in newly formed, not even via intentions. These findings extended intention literature (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977), as most studies which observe group intention to enact a behaviour (Bagozzi & Lee, 2002), do not examine behaviour as a collective action, with each member contributing to the behaviour. It was additionally discovered that prototypicality is important for facilitating identification in established groups, but not an important determinant of identity formation in newly-formed groups.

In Study 2, I report that ambiguous and mismatched roles can have mixed effects. They can either signal processes which appear consistent with Lewin's (1947b) theory of change (i.e. lead to experimentation and therefore role function), or they lead to decrease in identification and facilitate leaving of group, consistent with Hogg (2000). Congruency between self-identified roles and group-designated roles follows a similar pattern. Integration of role and group perspectives enhance understanding of the potential differences between the functions of collective and personal intentions. Greater consistency in the role identity, as assigned by the individual and the group, lead to higher

collective intentions, whereas lower integration of individual and group results in more prominent personal intentions.

In terms of roles, and the collapsing of multiple narratives into leader/non-leader roles in Study 2, individuals appear to process continuous information (such as leadership ability) and compress it into salient categories. By doing so, group members avoid conflict of social power (Joshi & Fast, 2013) through the unique contributions made by these categorical roles. This work helped to clarify the issues surrounding leadership as social roles (Belbin, 1983; Batenburg & van Walbeek, 2013), but further exploration felt required in order to examine these concepts in applied issues and social problems. The stronger links to social problems means most, but not all, of the variables would remain relevant to the questions, and that considerable piloting would be necessary to ensure thorough understanding of the additional variables that might be included for explanatory purposes. Those additional variables are: group norms, identification as single item measures, prototypicality as single item measures, and reciprocal measures relating to both ingroups and outgroups.

The themes of group and role ambiguity from the first programme of research (Chapters 2 and Chapters 3), will be carried forward into the second programme of research. In Chapter 4 (Study 3), the new variables and measures are piloted in a newly-formed intergroup context to examine the relationship between ingroup members and outgroup members. The effects of leadership and context are explored in a social identity framework, in which the ecological validity of the introduced variables is evaluated. In Chapter 5 (Study 4), the piloted variables and measures are introduced into a large-scale

applied intergroup context with real-world consequences. In transitioning to social problems contexts, identification (with both ingroup members and outgroup members) is carried forward, as is behaviour and prototypicality. However, prototypicality includes both the self and the leader. New to the second programme of research, is the evaluation of norms, too better understand construal and behaviour. Additionally, perceptions of leaders are included in the second programme. Social collective esteem and intentions are not utilised in the second programme of research, although support and personal intentions to support a leader are. The first programme of research provided an in-depth analysis of two of moderators of group identification as stated in Chapter 1: Group diversity and role-based identification. By pivoting from an ingroup only programme of research, to an ingroup-outgroup paradigm, the second programme of research will examine the additional moderators of group identification: group cooperation/competition and group leaders.

Chapter 4

EFFECTS OF GROUP CONTEXT AND LEADERSHIP ON SOCIAL IDENTITY: PRELIMINARY TEST OF MEASURES

4.0 Introduction

The aim of this Chapter is to offer a theory framework, integrating the background literature thus far, and to present/pilot test preliminary study findings of constructs, such as group norms and outgroup identification that will be used in large scale main studies (reported in Chapter 5).

4.1 Social Identity and Cooperative and Competitive Contexts

As discussed in Chapter 1-3, social identity theory postulates that perceptions of ingroup homogeneity depends upon the degree to which the outgroup is perceived as an opposing force (Bartsch & Judd, 1993). Thus, when examining identity of ingroups and outgroups through both competitive/cooperative contexts, a few common themes emerge about how individuals perceive both groups. Cooperation between groups promotes inclusion of outgroup members by ingroup members and promotes more positive attitudes associated with the outgroup (Badea, Brauer & Rubin, 2012; Johnson & Johnson, 1984; Karasawa, Karasawa & Hirose, 2004; Crisp et al., 2010). However, in a competitive context, where ingroup members' goals went against the goals of non-group members, perceptions of outgroup similarity were exceedingly lower (Montoya & Pittinsky, 2013).

These results indicate that intergroup relations are dependent on the context in which members are placed, but also the degree to which they identify with other group members.

However, the different outcomes between both competitive and cooperative contexts are not equal. While cooperative contexts result in the ingroup adjusting their behaviour to be more inclusive to the outgroup, in a competitive context, the self-serving behaviour towards the ingroup far exceeds the selfless behaviour in the cooperative condition (Erev, Bornstein & Galili, 1993; Augenblick & Cunha, 2015). The same differences can be observed in group members' attitudes towards each other and the outgroup as well (Gong, Baron & Kunreuther, 2009). Additionally, while group competition can promote greater identification among ingroup members (Cikara, Botvinick & Fiske, 2011), recent studies demonstrate that the changes are more incremental in nature (Crisp, Hutter & Young, 2009). Thus, rather than acting as in symmetry, such that ingroup members will automatically have more positive attitudes and more positive identification with the ingroup during a competitive context, and an equal degree of deferential attitudes and identification towards the outgroup in a cooperative context, research would suggest a more complex, and asymmetrical process is occurring.

4.2 Relationship Between Norms and Behaviour

Given that the studies reported in Chapter 2 and 3 focused on ingroups, not much attention has been paid to outgroups in the thesis. With the focus on cooperation and competition, the notion of an outgroup becomes quite important. From an intergroup perspective, if ingroup members evaluate the outgroup as having similar norms and goals as their own norms, then it can be inferred that the relationship between ingroup and outgroup is not one of divisiveness but rather inclusion (Ensari & Miller, 2002). While it may or may

not indicate that identification has changed between the two groups (Abrams, Rutland & Cameron, 2003), it does suggest a more inclusive model in which ingroup and outgroup members are observing more shared characteristics with one another, than trying to “win” against their counterpart (Turner, Hewstone, Voci & Vonofakou; Rothbart & Hallmark, 1988).

Group norms are a set of shared values that have been demonstrated to be a preferable method in examining collective group behaviour and the shared processes that underlie the group’s intention to act as an entity (Pagliaro, Ellemers & Barreto, 2011). Such values represent an ideological motivation that both influences collective action, as well the establishing normative standard and understanding for preferences of behaviour (Glasford, Pratto & Dovidio, 2008; Doll & Dick, 1999). In a social identity, group norms are influential, as they annotate not only personal behaviour for individual members, but how members should think and act in relation to other groups (Rutland, Hitti, Mulvey & Abrams, 2015; Abrams & Hogg, 1990). Therefore, changes or perceived shared norms, can results in changes to identification and behaviour towards one’s group and reciprocal outgroup (Travaglino et al., 2014).

As group norms reflect the motivations of the group, through identification of how the group believes members should behave as well as the social environment they would like to exist, operationalising group motivations through group values is an indicator of understanding group norms (Glasford, Pratto & Dovidio, 2008). Any change to group norms can be accompanied by changes in both behaviour and attitudes towards that behaviour (Miller & Prentice, 2016; Ajzen, 1991). This is theorized to be the root of discrepancies in behavioural outcomes in cooperative and competitive contexts, as group

norms either facilitate or inhibit the intergroup contact that takes place, and thus inhibits or facilitates outcomes from those contexts (Tezanos-Pinto, Bratt & Brown, 2010). However, while several observations of social identity theory draw links between attitudes, behaviour, norms and identification as they pertain to the group context, others have hypothesized that there are additional factors which can also influence such outcomes in addition to group context (Hogg, 2001).

4.3 Leaders as Special Group Members

There are two approaches to leadership perceptions which have been applied in the literature: leaders as viewed as independent of their group context (Kinsella 2015), and leaders as special group members or interdependent with their group context (Pescosolido, 2002). A review of the social identity and leadership literature indicates that leaders may be thought as group members but operate in a special circumstance relative to other group members (Steffens, Haslam, Kerschreiter, Schuh & van Dick, 2014). The specialness of leaders is that they are in a unique position not only to shape group identity (Steffens et al., 2014), but also in some cases, to shape group norms where other members would not have that ability (Abrams et al., 2008). In some instances, leaders are the primary focus point for an individual's identification, and the group entity is secondary to the leader (Kotlyar & Karakowsky, 2007; Weiarter, 1997). Some argue that positive identification with the leader as an individual, is attributed to both the leader's charisma as well as the efficacy of the leader, which has been shown to increase both identification with the group the leader is associated with (Conger, Kanungo & Menon, 2000), and the group behaviour (Cole, Bedeian & Bruch, 2011).

This thesis takes the approach that leaders can both influence the group as well as be influenced by the group themselves, operating as an interdependent force in the group (Rast, Hackett, Alabastro & Hogg, 2014). This means the most common type of leader, is one who is prototypical of the group norms (Hogg, 2001; Hogg, Hains & Mason, 1998). This results in leaders being allowed a great deal more leniency to transgress the group norms in order to accomplish the group goals, than average group members (Randsley de Moura & Abrams, 2013). Leaders who display deviant behaviour or behaviour which violate group norms, is viewed as a reflection of the group identity and not just of the individual. Therefore, to act against the leader or display outward appearances of negative attitudes, would be considered disloyal (Zdaniuk & Levine, 2001). As going against the leader would be considered a transgression against group norms in most circumstances, leaders are able to deviate from the group norms more than normal group members (Rast, Gaffney, Hogg & Crisp, 2012).

Yet congruency between leader characteristics and group norms impact other group members. Studies of “good” and “bad” leaders, as defined by qualitative descriptions, demonstrate that bad leaders are correlated with negative attitudes and negative ingroup identification while good leaders are correlated with positive attitudes and positive ingroup identification (Schyns & Schilling, 2013). However, too often good/bad leadership is conflated with effective and ineffective or charismatic and non-charismatic leadership. Therefore, while these studies demonstrate that leaders have at least some potential to influence norms and attitudes within groups, it requires a more detailed look of how good/bad leaders relates to the concept of prototypical and non-prototypical as well as what those relationships mean for social identity, group norms, and behaviour.

There are traits and values which exemplify that leaders and ‘leader social roles’ (i.e. the organizational title which designates power and influence in the group). For example, in a study of 150 managers in Canadian organizations, Howell and Avolio (1992) found that unethical or villainous leaders were characterised as selfish, power-hungry, and insensitive. On the other hand, open-ended views of ethical or heroic leaders, classified them as selfless, brave and having moral integrity (Kinsella et al. 2015). These findings are important because group identification and particularly group members’ perception of the group norms are influenced by whether they perceive the leader to be a prototype of membership (e.g. adherents to the hero-norms as well as an effective leader), or whether they perceive the leader to be counter to those ideal prototypes (van Quaquebeke, Kerschreiter, Buxton & van Dick, 2009). Yet, these qualitative aspects of leadership are not indicative of the quantitative aspect of leader efficacy. Moreover, these narratives and reflections about the shared sense of the group and/or those of the leader, often do not capture well the group’s practices, nor its preferred modes of behaviour for achieving goals. The values system developed by Rokeach (1973) more closely resemble the characteristics and traits embodied by different leaders, and therefore would intertwine with group norms.

Interestingly, although many studies have sought to describe narratives of leadership influence within group processes and group identification, relatively few attempts have been made to draw the leadership literature and group processes literature together using competition/cooperation, social influence of good/bad leadership, and evaluations of ingroup/outgroup perspectives. In previous chapters, social identity measures and leadership measures were composite scales in an attempt to incorporate all aspects of the constructs being measured. Yet in a large-scale applied study, this becomes

methodologically unreasonable. Additionally, composite indices of social identity are known to have multiple subcomponents which relate to different aspects of identification and can interfere with extrapolations of identity uncertainty (Wagoner, Belavadi & Jung, 2017). For these reasons, ingroup and outgroup identity measures are compressed into single-item measures, which previous studies have demonstrated, has validity in social identity contexts (Reysen, Katzarska-Miller, Nesbit & Pierce, 2013). Therefore, in addition to filling in the gap of the effects of leader and context on social identification, an aim was to test the ecological validity of the identification and normative measure, before applying the indices to a social problem within a real-world population.

4.4 Research Questions

There are three main hypotheses, based on the literature, which are tested here.

1. Reported ingroup identification and ingroup norms should be greater than outgroup identification and group norms respectively.
2. Perceptions of leaders will influence group behaviour, group norms, and group identity.
3. Introduced measure will be ecologically valid in accordance with expectations of social identity theory.

4.5 Method

There were 2 phases to the selection of measures.

Phase 1

A key aim for the study was to test the efficacy of the measures. Part of determining the efficacy was to identify leaders who would best exemplify villain-leaders and hero-leaders. Recent work by Hanke, Katja,Cabecinhas (2015) suggests that in an

international study of 6,902 students across 37 countries, there was considerable agreement within countries as to “good” hero-leaders and “bad” villain-leaders, but less consistency between countries on villain-leaders. Participants rated 40 leaders and found a reliable hierarchy of leadership with Einstein as the pinnacle hero-leader, and Hitler as the pinnacle villain-leader. Therefore, I sought to extend this by selecting the top 5 targets of each, testing the leader-like qualities of each using British students, and observing the social values which might be associated with each. As such, the aim of the study is to ensure the ecological validity of potential targets for Phase 2.

Participants & Method

Sixty participants (38 females, 20 males, with 2 missing points) were recruited from the University of Birmingham undergraduate psychology program. All participants were told that they would be viewing video clips of leaders, and that they would be asked to rate them across a series of perception and leadership dimensions. While there were 5 selected leaders, each participant viewed clips of only 2 leaders for experimental efficiency. The leaders were: Princess Diana, Winston Churchill, Saddam Hussein, Adolf Hitler, and Nelson Mandela. After viewing a target⁵, participants reported ‘How much would you identify this person as a villain?’, ‘How much would you identify this person as a hero?’, ‘To what extent does this person embody leadership qualities?’, and ‘How closely they identify with each of these values’. Responses were given on a 5-point Likert scale from 1

⁵ In compliance with fair use, videos were taken from the public domain. All videos had been used as prior teaching exercises and were not distributed among the participants, and the results of the data were also part of a teaching exercise.

(Not at all) to 5 (Completely), with each of the 18 instrumental values, and 18 terminal values (Rokeach, 1973; see Appendix A) presented for the final question.

Results

There were two aims for this phase of the preliminary study. The first was to examine and identify which targets were perceived as most leader-like, and the second was to ensure the efficacy and the ecological validity of the approach.

An ANOVA was conducted to compare leaders on villain-identification, hero-identification, and leadership qualities. The results indicated that Adolf Hitler ($M= 4.18$, $SD= 1.33$) represented the strongest identified villain $F(1,20) = 3.52$, $p = 0.07$, with the highest reported leadership ability ($M= 4.17$, $SD= 0.58$), $F(1,21) = 9.48$, $p < 0.01$.

Likewise, Winston Churchill was the strongest identified hero-leader ($M= 4.00$, $SD= 0.99$), $F(2,33) = 2.42$, $p < 0.10$, with the highest leadership rating ($M= 4.54$, $SD= 0.66$), $F(2,33) = 9.82$, $p < 0.001$. Additionally, the aim was also to identify the most frequently occurring values to ensure the measure of group norms was ecologically valid. Frequency analysis was used to determine the five most highly identified terminal and instrumental values associated with University students and were used to pilot the group norms measures. They were: loving, polite, helpful, responsible, broadminded, true friendship, family security, happiness, freedom, and self-respect.

Phase 2 used the findings from the pilot studies and incorporated them into a study of the impact of context and leaders.

4.5.1 Participants

The participants were 52 students (43 women, 9 men) from the University of Birmingham psychology programme. The age range of the participants was from 17 to 31

($M = 20.64$ years, $SD = 3.47$ years). The sample consisted, predominantly, of British citizens (73.1%), with European citizens (9.6%), and citizens from Asian countries (11.5%) comprising the remaining participants. Concerning ethnicity, participants were predominantly (59.6%) European in origin. Additionally, participants ranged between Year 1 of their studies to Year 7 (postgraduate), with the majority of students in either their first ($N = 17$) or second ($N = 18$) year of study.

4.6 Measures

The measures were based on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Abrams & Hogg, 1990) and leadership literature (Conger, 1999; Ensari & Murphy, 2003). Novel items were pilot tested as indicated above. The resulting measure was distributed to participants in phase 2.

Ingroup Identity

A single-item scale was used to measure how closely the participants identify themselves with other psychology students at University of Birmingham (Abrams & Hogg, 1999): “To what extent do you identify with other Psychology students at the University of Birmingham?”. Responses were given on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Frequently, if not always). A higher score indicated a greater level of identification with the ingroup.

Outgroup Identity

A single-item scale was used to measure how closely the participants identify with other students not in the psychology program at University of Birmingham: “To what extent do you identify with other students outside of your degree studies at the University of Birmingham?”. Responses were given on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (Not at all) to 5

(Frequently, if not always). A higher score indicated a greater level of identification with outgroup members.

Ingroup Instrumental Norms

To evaluate participants' opinion of ingroup instrumental norms (Rokeach, 1973), participants were asked "to what extent do you believe other psychology students at the University of Birmingham identify with these values". The values: loving, polite, helpful, responsible and broadminded) constituted participants' perception of ingroup instrumental norms. Participants responded to each value on a 5-point Likert scale from 1(Not at all) to 5 (Completely). The mean of the instrumental norm responses was used as a measure of assessment of the ingroup's instrumental norms ($\alpha = 0.82$)

Ingroup Terminal Norms

To evaluate participants' opinion of ingroup terminal norms (Rokeach, 1973), participants were asked "to what extent do you believe other psychology students at the University of Birmingham identify with these values". The values: true friendship, family security, happiness, freedom and self-respect constituted participants' perceptions of ingroup terminal norms. Participants responded to each value on a 5-point Likert scale from 1(Not at all) to 5 (Completely)., The mean of the terminal norm responses was used as a measure of assessment of the ingroup's terminal norms ($\alpha = 0.79$).

Outgroup Instrumental Norms

To evaluate participants' opinion of outgroup instrumental norms (Rokeach, 1973), participants were asked "To what extent do you believe other students outside your degree at the University of Birmingham identify with these values". The values: loving, polite, helpful, responsible and broadminded) constituted participants' perception of outgroup

instrumental norms. Participants responded to each value on a 5-point Likert scale from 1(Not at all) to 5 (Completely). The mean of the instrumental norm responses was used as a measure of assessment of the outgroup's instrumental norms ($\alpha = 0.81$).

Outgroup Terminal Norms

To evaluate participants' opinion of outgroup terminal norms (Rokeach, 1973), participants were asked "To what extent do you believe other students outside your degree at the University of Birmingham identify with these values". The values: true friendship, family security, happiness, freedom and self-respect constituted participants' perceptions of outgroup terminal norms. Participants responded to each value on a 5-point Likert scale from 1(Not at all) to 5 (Completely)., The mean of the terminal norm responses was used as a measure of assessment of the outgroup's terminal norms ($\alpha = 0.81$).

Charismatic Leadership

A seven-item measure was used to evaluate how charismatic the participant found the leader's behaviour (Conger & Kanungo, 1994; Ensari & Murphy, 2003): "Did the leader express confidence in the group's ability?", "Did the leader appear confident in his/her position as the leader?", "Was the leader's speech charismatic?", "What is the likelihood that the leader has a vision for his/her work group's future?", "The leader talks optimistically about the future", "The leader expresses confidence that goals would be achieved" and "The leader displays a sense of power and confidence". Responses were given on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Frequently, if not always). The mean of the responses was used as a measure of charismatic leadership ($\alpha = 0.87$).

Leader Behaviour

A nine-item measure was used to evaluate how effective the participant found the leader at directing group behaviour (Conger & Kanungo, 1994; Ensari & Murphy, 2003) including: “Did the leader stress the importance of working together as a group (teamwork)?”, “Did the leader stress the importance of winning/beating the competition?”, “Was the leader ‘directing’ or telling one of the followers to do something?”, “What is the likelihood that the leader is an inspirational leader?”, “The leader specifies the importance of having a strong sense of purpose”, “The leader talks enthusiastically about what needs to be accomplished”, “The leader goes beyond his self-interest for the good of the group”, “The leader is effective in representing you to higher authorities” and “The leader overall, leads a group that is effective”. Responses were reported on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Frequently, if not always) The mean of the responses was used as a measure of effective group leadership ($\alpha = 0.89$).

Behaviour

To measure behaviour, participants were asked, “How much of the 100,000 would you re-allocate to the school described in the scenario (you must take the same amount from each school).” Participants manually entered the amount that they would re-allocate to each school. The numeric value was calculated and used for a behaviour measure

Socio-demographics

The participants reported their gender, age, ethnicity, nationality and year of study using drop down menus or response fields.

4.7 Procedure

The participants were recruited via the School of Psychology’s Research Participation Scheme and received credit in exchange for participation. The participants

were told they were taking part in a study that investigated the impact of leaders and social perceptions of groups to which all people belong. They were told their data was confidential, and they could withdraw at any point in time without penalty. All participants completed written informed consent forms.

4.7.1 Administration of Measures

Upon agreeing to take part in the study, participants were met by the experimenter and shown to the lab for study administration. Study tasks were administered to participants individually, as opposed to collective group tasks. Participants were shown a short video that corresponded to the condition to which they had been randomly allocated (control-leader/competition, control-leader/cooperation, hero-leader/competition, hero-leader cooperation, villain-leader/competition, villain-leader/cooperation). Videos were of: hero-leader: Winston Churchill (Speech delivered to Parliament); villain-leader: Adolf Hitler (Speech to the German public); control-leader: Herald Haas (TED Talk - Merits of ubiquitous). Then, participants completed a series of questionnaires assessing charismatic leadership and leader behaviour. Following this, they were presented with one of two scenarios.

Competition condition:

‘We would like you to consider the following hypothetical scenario and ask for your views. The University of Birmingham is piloting a new programme in which students can bid for resources to fund internships within their own Schools in the University. The governing body overseeing the funds allocated to Schools includes students representing each of the five colleges and one representative from each School. You are Psychology’s representative. Importantly, this scheme will provide the average School/Department with funding for two internships. But, there are so many students in Psychology compared with other Schools that you just don’t see how all of them could have a fair chance if there are only two internships and not a third for them. In fact, you realize, after reviewing all the materials, that there is the possibility for one School to receive funding for a third internship. As a member of the committee overseeing the allocation of the funding, you

know that it will only be possible for the School of Psychology to have that third internship if you to re-allocate money (each school receives £100,000) from other Schools (to Psychology). After much review, you work out that you could reduce the size of the funding to each school, you can the fund the other Schools' request and still offer them 2 internships (although the amount for each would be substantially less than they expected). If you did that, you could have the funding to add a third internship to Psychology's account, which would benefit Psychology (though not you personally). This would solve the problem of ensuring better and more fair bids within Psychology and the other Schools would still have enough money to fund 2 students each.'

Cooperation conditions:

'We would like you to consider the following hypothetical scenario and ask for your views. In this hypothetical scenario, the University of Birmingham is piloting a new programme in which Schools/Departments can bid for more resources. The governing body overseeing the funds allocated to Schools includes students representing each of the five colleges and one representative from each School. You are Psychology's representative. Importantly, this scheme will provide the average School/Department with £100,000 for provision. But, some Schools have greater needs while others have lesser needs, depending in part on the number of students that might be recruited (though this is not a reflection on the academic excellence of the Schools. In this scenario, all are highly excellent). Some courses, such as Psychology, find it far easier to recruit, while others such as Media and Our Culture, find it more difficult. Easier recruitment means more money while more difficult recruitment means potential shortfall. Even though there many students in Psychology compared with other School, you just don't see how all would be fair if there wasn't more funding available to the other School. In fact, you realize, after reviewing all the materials, that there is the possibility for a group account held across the schools so that the other School might be able to draw out the surplus provided by Schools like Psychology. As a member of the committee overseeing the allocation of the funding, you know that it will only be possible for the Media and Our Culture to have enough funding if you were to re-allocate money from other Schools into the group account and persuade other representatives that this is the best course of action. After much review, you work out that you could reduce the size of the funding to each school, thus you could fund the other School to an appropriate level for them to continue excellence (although the amount for each would be substantially less than they expected). If you did that, you could have the funding to aid Media and Our Culture through the surplus in the account, which would benefit them (though not you personally nor your School). This would solve the problem of ensuring better and more equal outcomes for students in Media and Our Culture Dept/School and the other Schools would still have enough money though reduced and not to their expectation.

Finally, participants in all condition then completed social identity and group norm measures. Following completion, all participants were thanked and debriefed.

4.8 Results

Preliminary and Descriptive Results

To determine if there were gender or age differences on either identification or behaviour, two one-way ANOVAs were conducted to evaluate if there were differences in social variables due to the demographics of either gender or year of study. There were no differences on any variable for either gender, $F(1,50) = 0.52, p > 0.05$, nor year of study, $F(6,50) = 1.05, p > 0.05$, indicating data could be pooled for further examination.

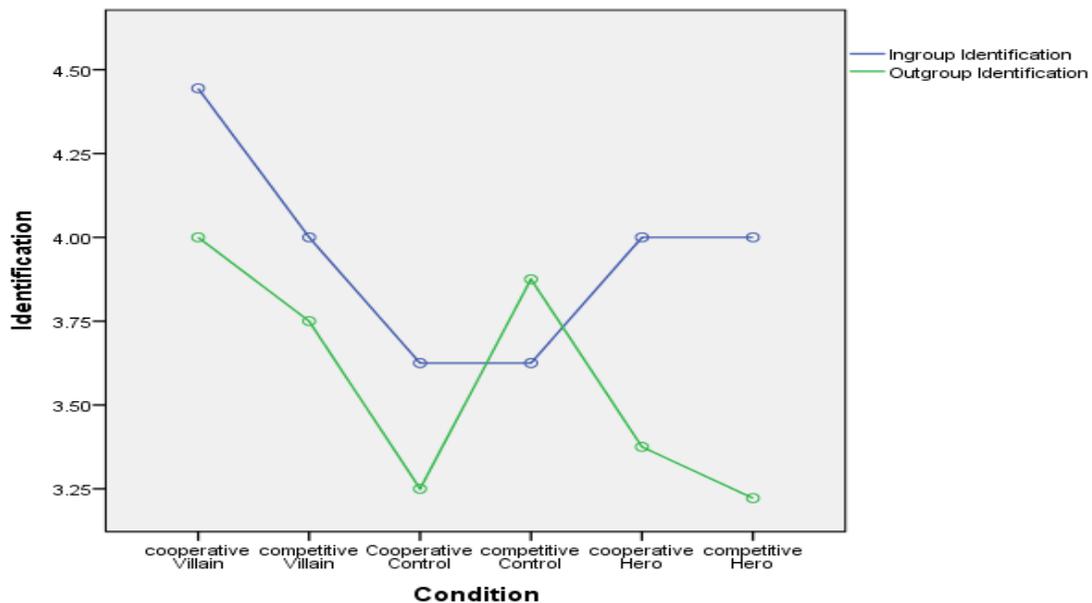
Behaviour

A 2 (high leader charisma/low leader charisma) x 6 (villain-competition/villain-cooperation/hero-competition/hero-cooperation/control-competition/control-cooperation) ANOVA was conducted on behaviour. Leader charisma was used in place of leader behaviour, as there were not enough participants who viewed the leader-hero and the leader-villain as having low-leader behaviour in some conditions. High charismatic leadership (1) was coded in a split above $M = 3.67$, while low charismatic leadership (0) was coded below the mean. There was a main effect of leader charisma $F(1,48) = 7.38, p < 0.01, \eta^2 = 0.16$. Participants who saw their leader as less charismatic ($M = 26,555.61, SD = 15,484.65$) engaged in greater group behaviour than participants who saw their leader as more charismatic ($M = 13,842.06, SD = 1,0562.39$). However, post-hoc testing revealed differences by condition. Participants who were competing against the outgroup and witnessed the villain-leader ($M = 34,285.71, SD = 18,126.54$), allocated money to themselves as at significantly higher proportion than any other condition, including participants who witnessed the hero-leader, and engaged in cooperative behaviour with the outgroup ($M = 15,416.67.58, SD = 9,920.22$), $p < 0.05$.

Ingroup and Outgroup Identification

To evaluate within-group differences between ingroup and outgroup identification, a mixed-design ANOVA was conducted in which reported ingroup and outgroup identification, were tested by condition (villain-competition/villain-cooperation/hero-competition/hero-cooperation/control-competition/control-cooperation). Results indicated a main effect of identification $F(1,44) = 7.81, p < 0.01, \eta^2 = 0.15$. Participants reported greater identification with the ingroup ($M = 3.95, SD = 0.83$) than the outgroup ($M = 3.58, SD = 0.86$). There was not enough statistical power to provide support for an interaction effect $F(5,44) = 1.20, p > 0.05, \eta^2 = 0.12$. However, descriptive analysis indicates the difference in identification between ingroup and outgroup was most prominent in the hero-competitive condition, see Fig. 2.

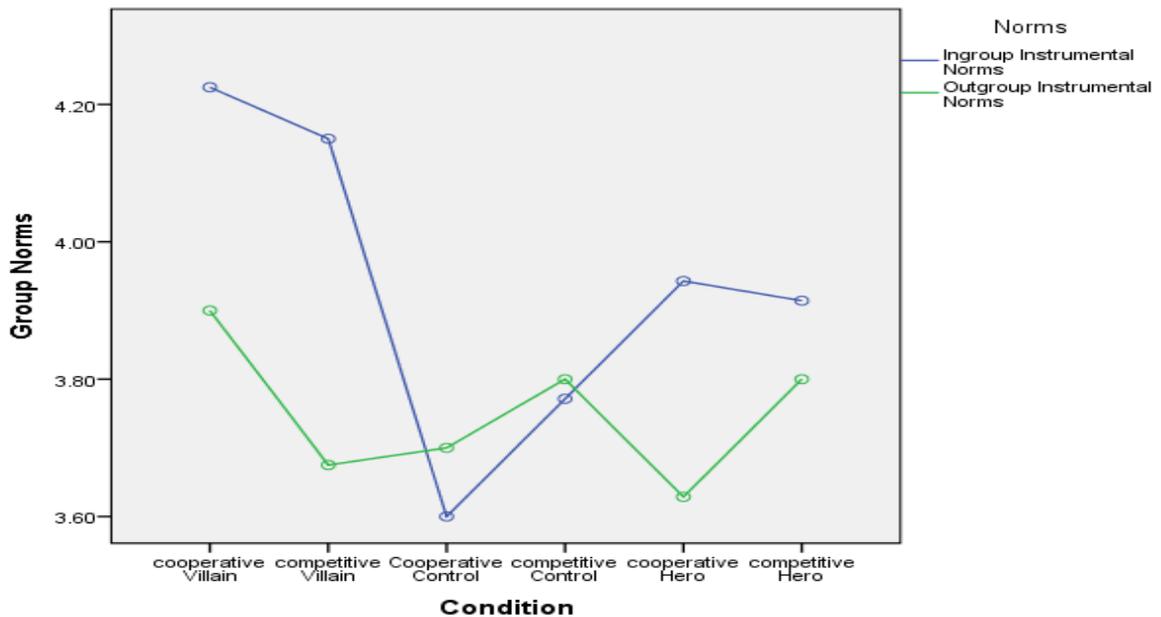
Fig. 2. Identification by Condition



Group Norms

To evaluate reported differences between ingroup and outgroup norms, a mixed-design ANOVA was conducted in which reported instrumental ingroup and outgroup norms, were tested by condition (villain-competition/villain-cooperation/hero-competition/hero-cooperation/control-competition/control-cooperation). Results indicated a main effect of group norms $F(1,39) = 5.03, p < 0.05, \eta^2 = 0.11$. Participants reported their perceptions of ingroup instrumental norms ($M = 3.93, SD = 0.70$) as more positive than their perceptions of outgroup instrumental norms ($M = 3.75, SD = 0.66$). However, condition did not influence reporting of ingroup and outgroup norms due to loss of power $F(5,39) = 1.30, p > 0.05, \eta^2 = 0.14$, see Fig 3.

Fig. 3. Instrumental Norms by Condition

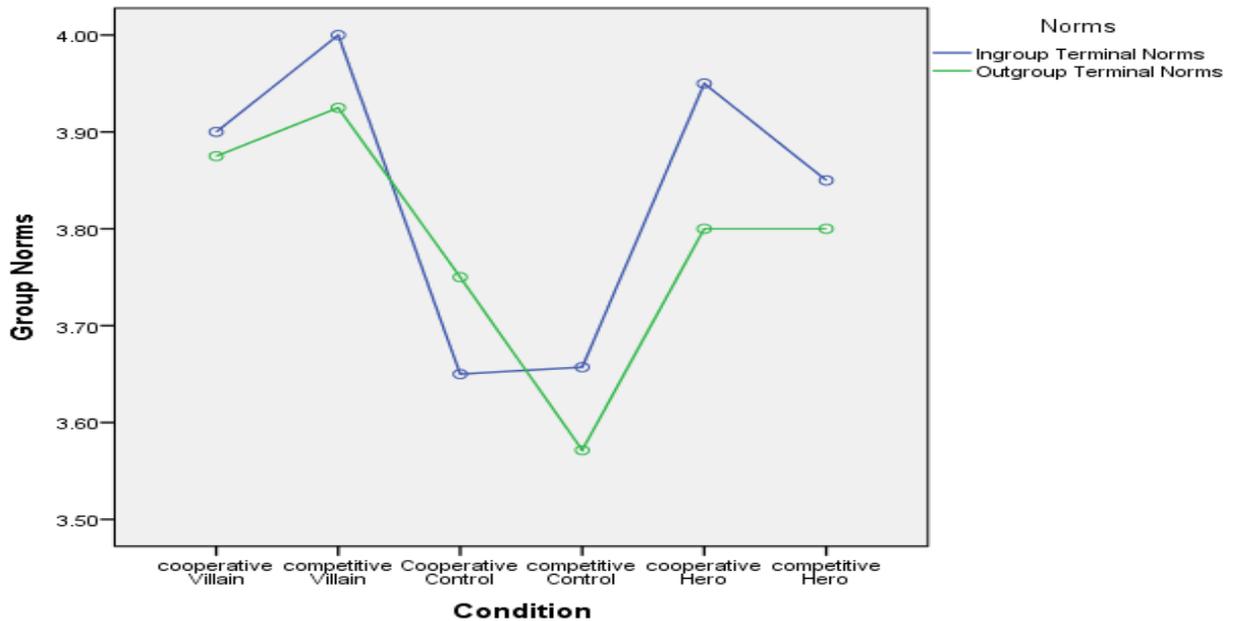


As there was no effect of condition on group norms, a second mixed-design ANOVA was conducted to evaluate the effects of leader behaviour (high/low) on ingroup

and outgroup instrumental norms. High leader behaviour (1) was coded in a split above $M = 3.56$, while low leadership efficacy (0) was coded below the mean. There was a significant interaction effect between behaviour and group norms $F(1,43) = 4.36, p < 0.05, \eta^2 = 0.09$. When the leader is viewed as effective, participant perceptions of ingroup norms ($M = 4.09, SD = 0.47$) are more positive than their perceptions of outgroup norms ($M = 3.75, SD = 0.58$). However, when the leader is viewed as ineffective, participant perception of ingroup norms ($M = 3.75, SD = 0.88$) are equal to their perceptions of outgroup norms ($M = 3.75, SD = 0.75$).

A third mixed-design ANOVA was conducted to evaluate participant perceptions of ingroup and outgroup terminal norms by condition (villain-competition/villain-cooperation/hero-competition/hero-cooperation/control-competition/control-cooperation). Unlike instrumental norms, participants did not report ingroup terminal norms differently than outgroup terminal norms $F(1,41) = 0.83, p > 0.05$, see Fig. 4.

Fig. 4. Terminal Norms by Condition



4.9 Discussion

In this Chapter, the aim of the study was to pilot new measures within an intergroup context before incorporating them into a large applied study. Additionally, another aim was also to demonstrate that both intergroup context as well as leadership, can influence group members' identification, norms and behaviour. In piloting the new concepts in an intergroup context, the validity of the measures was consistent with the expectations of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Abrams & Hogg, 1990). Members' ingroup identification was stronger than their reported outgroup identification, even though the groups were newly-formed, and divided between similarly aged students at the same university. This indicates a one-item identification measure is representative of social

categorisation principles by being consistent with social identity theory (Duck, Hogg & Terry, 1998).

In evaluation of the group norms, it was shown that perceptions of ingroup norms were stronger than perceptions of outgroup norms, but only for the instrumental norms. Terminal norms represent social environment end-states, whereas instrumental norms represent personal modes of behaviour (Rokeach, 1973). The differences between the two suggest that group members perceive the outgroup as thinking and behaving differently than the ingroup, yet do not think the outgroup desires a different social environment than the ingroup. Taken together, these findings demonstrate the validity of the proposed concepts in an intergroup setting by comparing the outcomes in the perceptions of ingroups versus outgroups.

In evaluating the contextual outcomes, several themes emerged. Similar to the previous study, leadership was shown to influence behaviour. Yet while there was a direct influence on behaviour when examining leader charisma (a quantitative aspect), the qualitative role of leadership (hero-leader/villain-leader) only influenced behaviour in conjunction with the context. In addition, while neither the qualitative role of leadership, nor the context influence the relationship between ingroup and outgroup norms, leader efficacy did. Members who saw their leader as ineffective reported the outgroup as having more similar norms to the ingroup, compared to members who saw their leader as effective. Combined, these two findings suggest that perceptions of leaders (through efficacy and charisma), influences both group behaviour and group norms. This is a unique contribution, as previous studies have shown the ability of leaders to influence ingroup norms (Abrams et

al., 2008), but this had not been applied to member perceptions of outgroup norms, only to outgroup favorability.

The findings suggest that espousing the concept that “good” leadership will trickle down to followers in order to act selflessly (Neubert, Carlson, Kacmar, Roberts & Chonko, 2009; Karakas, Fahri & Sarigollu, 2013), are incorrect. The results demonstrate the categorical villain influences members to perceive the outgroup as similar in the proper context. However, analysis of behaviour also demonstrates that in a different context, members can act more selfishly towards their own group against the outgroup than in other condition. This is supported by studies demonstrating the morally questionable behaviour enacted by group members on behalf of the leader role (Hoyt, Price & Poatsy, 2013). Taken together the findings suggest member identification and behaviour, with regards to the outgroup, is dependent upon the similarity of the leader to the group, but also one’s own similarity to the group (Bray, Thimpson & Wills, 2014).

The aim of this chapter was to explore the validity of new concepts arising from the previous chapters and integrating them into an intergroup context. In addition to establishing the validity of identification and group norm evaluations in a newly-formed context, hypotheses from the previous chapter were discovered in an intergroup context as well. Specifically, the transitory nature of group identification, where members could perceive both ingroup and outgroup similarly, is a logical extension of role ambiguity through the process of social change (Lewin, 1947b; Hogg, 2000). The results infer members’ ability to identify with both the ingroup and outgroup, based on their own group perceptions, and their perceptions of the leader’s influence. In the case of this study, leaders can create conditions under which members perceive the outgroup as similar to the ingroup.

However, this study examined leaders' impact on identification through the lens of archetypal prototypes. In applied contexts, while groups often use villain and hero metaphors to describe their own leaders and their actions, rarely does a complete separation of group values exist, such that the outgroup leader has no overlapping values, or superordinate identity in common with the ingroup. To examine how non-archetypal leaders would be received, they must be observed in an applied context. Therefore, the next chapter will examine leader-influenced identification in the applied context of a U.S. presidential primary in which archetypes are replaced with candidates who are either prototypical or non-prototypical towards the group norms.

Chapter 5

GROUP MEMBERSHIP: THE INFLUENCE OF CONTEXT AND LEADER BEHAVIOUR ON IDENTITY AND GROUP NORMS

5.0 Introduction

In the previous chapters, as well as in the wider literature, it was found that perceptions of norms and group identification are subject to change. They change depending on one's ambiguity about one's role within the group, and whether the group, or potentially the leader, also reinforces the concept of group social change. This chapter builds on the preliminary findings and measurement testing, reported in the previous chapter, and applies it to the context of the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. The study is divided into two phases: the U.S. primary election (June 2016), and the U.S. general election (Nov 2016). In the primary election, group members are choosing between two ingroup leaders to represent their group, through comparing them to two potential outgroup leaders. In the general election, group members are choosing between one ingroup leader and one outgroup leader to be elected as US President.

5.1 Social Identification

The US Presidential election offers an ideal context in which to investigate the impact of group context, norms, prototypicality, sociodemographic variables on identification. Because political parties are established groups, many researchers have suggested that identities conform to a categorised pattern as outlined by social identity

principles, demonstrating evidence that shared values, norms and preferences guide behaviours; and that these shared connections result in both ingroups as well as outgroups (Tajfel, 1982; Gaertner & Insko, 2000; Saguy & Dovidio, 2013; Binning, Brick, Cohen & Sherman, 2015; Prewitt-Freilino, Bosson, Burnaford & Weaver, 2012). When social groups become too large to coherently engage with their group members, a group leader is often required to facilitate both communication and to provide a representation of the group's norms (Leader, Mullen & Abrams, 2007; Charlier, Stewards, Greco & Reeves, 2016).

Previous studies have shown that some types of group contexts can increase the biases against outgroup members to such a degree that perceived similarity is too difficult (Glaser, 2003; Packer, 2014; Ouwerkerk, Gilder & de Vries, 2000). These studies show that the more established the group, the more disdain for the outgroup is built, and thus more difficult for reconciliation (Weisel & Bohm, 2015). However, these studies were conducted without the integration of a group leader. Therefore, in addition to highly salient groups and group contexts, the types of leaders present (whether representative of the group or not; atypical versus prototypical), and perceptions of leaders' behaviour, should greatly influence group identification and perceived norms. Because of the group size and social influence, group context and leader(ship) should have a much more robust role in shaping identification.

5.2 Group Norms

In Chapter 4, the findings show that perception of ingroup and outgroup norms converged when members were cooperating with one another, yet groups may have been too new to properly observe differences in ingroup and outgroup norms due to the selected

leader's influence. Additionally, changes in the reporting of ingroup norms only applied to instrumental norms (i.e. norms regarding personal behaviour) such as 'ambitious', and not terminal norms (i.e. norms regarding end-state social environments) such as 'a world at peace'. As the participants in Chapter 4 were part of minimally-formed groups, the inclusion of context and leadership in the experiment would require reciprocal analyses of ingroup and outgroup norms with regards to applied established groups as well. Though the first experimental study (Chapter 2) noted the similarities in group identification between newly-formed and established groups, this was conducted in an intragroup context without the inclusion of an outgroup. Studies have suggested that perceptions of group norms demonstrate greater ingroup biases for established groups, when evaluated with relation to outgroups (Jetten, Spears & Manstead, 1996). For these reason, drawing on the notion conveyed in Jost's (2003) work, perceptions of group norms (both behavioural and environmental) should accompany ambiguity of one's representativeness within the group, as a potential pathway for intergroup identification and group member transitions (Mullin & Hogg, 1998).

5.3 Leader and Representation of the Group

As noted in the previous experimental study (Chapter 4), leaders can be identified as "good/bad" (Hoyt, Price & Poatsy, 2013; Kinsella et al., 2015). Yet, too often these terms are conflated between leader efficacy and leader perceptions (Gillet, Cartwright & van Vugt, 2011). What people construe as "good/bad" leaders, are often interpretations of the leaders' representativeness of group norms (Chang, Turan & Chow, 2015) or of the leader's behaviour (Teixeira, Demoulin & Yzerbyt, 2011). Taken together, these studies

demonstrated that leaders' perceptions and individuals' engagement with groups and leaders can be largely shaped by the group context. Competition with the outgroup promotes the acceptance of more non-prototypical leaders, so long as they are considered to be 'effective leaders' (Chang et al., 2012). although traditionally prototypical leaders are more likely to be endorsed and elected (Hogg, 2001).

Additionally, as context is important for framing of perceptions of leader "good/bad" leadership, it is expected that the hero/villain-leader description in the previous chapter, would be represented by prototypical/non-prototypical leaders in an applied study of a political context. Therefore, it would be expected that leader prototypicality would influence members' perceptions on both the ingroup and the outgroup, and importantly, how similarly perceived the two opposing groups are. These outcomes, perceptions of good or bad, may also be influence both by one's own perceived prototypicality (Hogg & Terry, 2000), as well as the leader's behaviour or efficacy (Cole, Bedeian & Bruch, 2011), and the leader's prototypicality (van Dijke & de Cremer, 2010). Both personal and leader prototypicality have been shown to impact group identification (Graf, Schuh, van Quaquebeke & van Dick, 2011).

Studies which examine both group context and leadership have resulted in several key findings. Under intergroup conditions, both prototypical and non-prototypical leaders risk group members identifying with them less, and thus impacting the identification of members with the ingroup, because they are perceived to be ineffective, or not meeting the members' needs (van der Kam, Janssen, van der Vegt & Stoker, 2014; Alabastro, Rast, Lac, Hogg & Crano, 2012). However, as this thesis has shown, a very similar pattern can occur

with group members who feel their role within the group is ambiguous (also see Hogg, 2000 for discussion of ambiguity). That is personal role ambiguity within the group, not just concern over the group, resulted in lower ingroup identification and less endorsement of ingroup norms by the ambiguous member. In the literature, group membership uncertainty, the similar to ambiguity, is often tied to leader prototypicality (Rast, Gaffney, Hogg & Crisp, 2011) and group identification. Members who believe their position, and potentially their “power”, in the group is uncertain, are more likely to endorse non-prototypical leaders that represent their interests. This would also extend to members who see themselves as more normative, and a better representation of the group’s preferences/modes of behavior, because those more non-normative are still perceived to be useful in advancing the group agenda (Teixera, Demoulin & Yzerbyt, 2011). Presumably, this is consistent with social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). As they are psychological variables, it is likely that we will not detect differences linked to traditional sociodemographic indicators (Tsui, Egan & O’Reilly, 1992; Christian and Abrams, 2004).

In previous chapters, intergroup cooperation was demonstrated to improve identification and with outgroup members only under certain conditions, as symmetrical attitudes and behaviours (e.g. equal monetary value given to outgroups during cooperative contexts and ingroups during competitive contexts) do not actually occur (Augenblick & Cunha, 2015). Rather, it is more likely that cooperative contexts instigate some level of attitudinal or behavioral similarities, but not nearly to the same extent as members gave to their own ingroups in a competitive context. Group context alone is ineffective in creating symmetry between perceptions of ingroups and outgroups (Rabbie, Benoist, Oosterbaan &

Visser, 1974). In order to understand how group context may influence outcomes in the current scenario of established political parties, we must integrate both leadership processes and group context to mimic the conditions found in the previous study (Chapter 4). As leadership endorsement is seen as strategic choices of representing norms (Teixeira, Demoulin, Yzerybyt, 2011), when leadership conditions in a cooperative context collapses to a choice between an ingroup leader and an outgroup leader, members who feel ambiguous within the group, may be more likely to transition from one party to the other, or identify more with the outgroup than their current ingroup. This would suggest that ambiguous members have not solidified their own group identities, and cooperation between groups is promoting a more positive identity with the outgroup than their own ingroup, in which their role is ambiguous (Lewin, 1947a; 1947b; Allport, 1954; Gong, Baron & Kunreuther, 2009).

5.4 Research Questions

To address these questions, two studies were carried out, exploring group identification, prototypicality, and leader behavior in the US. The research was conducted in two phases. Phase 1 reports the results of a study conducted prior to the US primary election, in which as outlined above, the main aim is to select a leader from multiple leaders to represent the party going into the US General Election. Phase 2 reports the results of a study conducted prior to the US general election, in which US citizens elected the President of the United States. The cross-sectional snapshots measure the same variables at both time points allowing for comparison across the dimensions. On the basis of the literature, there are four hypotheses which are tested in this chapter:

1. Chapter 2 demonstrated that there were few differences, and many similarities, between newly-formed and established groups with regard to determinants of identification. Therefore, the first hypothesis is that membership in either political party will not result in pattern differences in identification for either the outgroup or the ingroup.
2. Consistent with the findings reported in Chapter 4, it is predicted that both group context and leader's prototypicality, will influence the extent to which members identify with ingroup and outgroup members, as well as perceive the similarities between ingroup and outgroup norms.
3. Members' prototypicality will influence candidate support (i.e. voting intention), but the leader's behaviour may interfere with the relationship.
4. Member transitions from supporting an ingroup leader to an outgroup leader would be an indication of member ambiguity. This would result in increased identification with the outgroup when members are asked about ingroup leaders, and decreased support for the leader when members perceive the leader as not representative of their own personal self-interests.

5.5 Phase 1: U.S. Primary Election

5.5.1 Participants

One-hundred and ninety-six participants were recruited for Phase 1. All participants were in the US at the time of collection, and all had previously voted. Of the recruited participants, 98 were women and 98 were men. The mean age of all participants was 31.59 years ($SD = 9.61$). Of the recruited participants, 129 were Caucasian, 12 Black, 15 Asian,

28 Hispanic and 10 reported themselves as other or biracial. Finally, 111 participants reported themselves as supporting Democratic candidates while 85 participants reported themselves as supporting Republican candidates.

5.6 Measures

All measures were drawn from social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Abrams & Hogg, 1990) or the leadership literature (Conger & Kanungo, 1994; Ensari & Murphy, 2003), and were the subject of study in Chapter 4. All measures were recorded using 5-point Likert scales, unless otherwise noted. Equally, a higher score on the measure was indicative of a larger presence of the dimension, unless noted. (See Appendix A.)

Ingroup Identity

A single-item scale was used to measure how closely the participants identify themselves with other members of their political party (Abrams & Hogg, 1999): “To what extent do you identify with other members of your political party?”. Responses were given on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Very much). A greater score indicated greater identification with the ingroup

Outgroup Identity

A single-item scale was used to measure how closely the participants identify themselves with members of the opposite political party (Abrams & Hogg, 1999): “To what extent do you identify with members of the other political party?”. Responses were given on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Very much). A higher score indicated a greater level of identification with the outgroup.

Leader Prototypicality

A single-item measure used to evaluate the extent to which the supported leader is prototypical of the group (Ensari & Murphy, 2003): “To what extent do you think that the candidate embodies the group norms”. Responses were given on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Very much).

Self-Prototypicality

A single-item measure used to evaluate the extent to which the participant is prototypical of the group (Ensari & Murphy, 2003): “As a prototypical member of the party, I represent the interests and opinions of the party well”. Responses were given on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Very much).

Ingroup Instrumental Norms

To evaluate the extent to which participants perceived the ingroup to represent a shared set of personal behavioural norms, participants were asked ‘to what extent do you feel the ingroup (Republican/Democrat) embodies this value’. A total of 18 norms (Rokeach, 1973) associated with personal behavioural were listed in which participants answered the question for each individual item ($\alpha = 0.93$).

Ingroup Terminal Norms

To evaluate the extent to which participants perceived the ingroup to represent a shared set of social environment norms, participants were asked ‘to what extent do you feel the ingroup (Republican/Democrat) embodies this value’. A total of 18 norms (Rokeach, 1973) associated with the social environment were listed in which participants answered the question for each individual item ($\alpha = 0.93$).

Outgroup Instrumental Norms

To evaluate the extent to which participants perceived the outgroup to represent a shared set of personal behaviour norms, participants were asked ‘to what extent do you feel the outgroup (Republican/Democrat) embodies this value’. A total of 18 norms (Rokeach, 1973) were listed in which participants answered the question for each individual item ($\alpha = 0.94$).

Outgroup Terminal Norms

To evaluate the extent to which participants perceived the outgroup to represent a shared set of social environment norms, participants were asked ‘to what extent do you feel the outgroup (Republican or Democrat depending on their affiliation) embodies this value’. A total of 18 norms (Rokeach, 1973) were listed in which participants answered the question for each individual item ($\alpha = 0.93$).

Support for Candidate

A single-item measure was used to evaluate candidate support (candidate voting intention) by evaluating the level of support each participant felt for their preferred candidate. “On the scale below, please state the amount of support you feel towards the candidate”. Responses were given on an 11-point scale, from 0% to 100%, with discrete steps of 10% intervals. The responses were converted to standard intervals of 10, ranging from 0-100.

Leader Behaviour

A nine-item measure (as used in Chapter 4) was used to evaluate how effective the participant found the leader at directing group behaviour (Conger & Kanungo, 1994; Ensari & Murphy, 2003) including: “Does the candidate stress the importance of working together as a group (teamwork)?”, “Does the candidate stress the importance of winning/beating the

competition?”, “Does the leader suggest task strategies?”, “What is the likelihood that the candidate is an inspirational leader?”, “Talks about the most important values and beliefs”, “Talks enthusiastically about what needs to be accomplished”, “Goes beyond his self-interest for the good of the group”, “Is effective in representing you to higher authorities” and “Overall, leads a group that is effective” ($\alpha = 0.84$).

Socio-demographics

Socio-demographics questions were asked at the end of the survey in which participants reported: age, gender, ethnicity, homeownership, marital status, level of education, and prior voting behaviour.

5.7 Procedure

The participants were recruited via MTurk, Amazon’s social research platform. They were informed that they would be asked about their social attitudes and the upcoming election. The participants were told their responses would be confidential, and that they could withdrawal from the study at any time without penalty (i.e. would receive payment). Each participant completed written informed consent and was paid \$3.00 for their participation in the study.

Prior to the study commencing, participants were randomly allocated to intergroup or intragroup conditions. However, to ensure that they participants were allocated equally and to the most relevant condition (Democrat/Republican), they were asked who they were supporting in the election (Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders, Ted Cruz, and Donald Trump). Responses facilitated the correct versions of questionnaires and were presented for the randomly allocated conditions (i.e. if the participant selected Bernie Sanders as their supported candidate, the given questionnaires would reflect Democrats as the ingroup, and

Republicans as the outgroup). (Note: in the scenarios, options for both ingroup and outgroup were offered; all presentation of information in the scenarios was counterbalanced).

Cooperative conditions:

‘There is a box you can check on your tax form that allows the government to give \$2 to fund political campaigns. The pool of money has now reached \$50 million and you are on the committee that must decide how this money is shared out between candidates. Extra funds mean greater opportunity to access communities and thus potential voters. As a member of the committee overseeing allocation of the funding, you know that Cruz receives many donations compared with Sanders. Knowing this, you suggest more money should be given to the Democratic party than to the Republican party. This would ensure a fairer race to success, ensuring better and more equal outcomes for voters in the Democratic Party, while still ensuring that the Republican Party would have access to this extra funding, though it would be reduced and not to their expectation.

Competitive conditions:

‘There is a box you can check on your tax form that allows the government to give \$2 to fund political campaigns. The pool of money has now reached \$50 million and you are on the committee that must decide how this money is shared out. Extra funds mean greater opportunity to access communities and thus potential voters. Importantly, this scheme has provided funding for two candidates traditionally. But, there are so many candidates within the Democratic Party compared with the Republican that you just don't see how this is a fair allocation. As a member of the committee overseeing the allocation of the funding, you realize, after reviewing all the materials, that there is the possibility for one party to receive funding for two of their candidates while the other party would only receive funding for one. After much review, you decide that this extra funding should be allocated to two Democratic candidates, Clinton and Sanders, and one Republican candidate, Cruz. This would ensure a higher chance for success within the Democratic Party and would still provide enough money to fund the Republican candidate.

With regards to their preferred candidate, participants were asked the extent to which they supported that candidate. Following the scenarios, participants filled out questionnaires measuring identification, prototypicality, group norms, and socio-demographics information. Participants were also asked after the scenario to write down the

candidate they were supporting. After finishing these questionnaires, participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation in the experiment.

5.8 Results

Preliminary Analysis: U.S Primary Election

A series of ANOVA tests were conducted to test the differences between candidates across a number of variables including, the level of support participants reported having for candidates, and the extent to which the participants identified with their ingroups. There were no effects in the level of support, $F(3,195) = 1.48, p > 0.05$; and likewise, there was no effect of candidates on ingroup identification, $F(3,195) = 1.27 p > 0.05$. Next, a series of chi-square tests were conducted on socio-demographic variables: volunteer behaviour, gender, ethnicity, homeownership, marital status, education, and age, with the aim of evaluating if there were socio-demographic differences between Republican and Democratic group members (See Table 9).

Table 8: *Descriptive Statistics and Chi-Square Results of Demographic Information*

| Variable | Descriptive | X²(df) | Sig. |
|------------------------------|--|--------------------------|-------------|
| | <i>Republican (N = 85)</i> | | |
| | <i>Democrat (N = 111)</i> | | |
| (Volunteer) Behaviour | No: 74, Yes: 11 | 0.93(1) | 0.33 |
| | No: 91, Yes: 20 | | |
| Gender | Male: 55, Female: 30 | 12.98(1) | 0.001 |
| | Male: 43, Female: 68 | | |
| Homeownership | No: 45, Yes: 40 | 7.63(1) | .01 |
| | No: 80, Yes: 31 | | |
| Education | HS: 19, AA: 7, BA: 54, PG: 4 | 4.44(3) | .35 |
| | HS: 19, AA: 18, BA: 68, PG: 6 | | |
| Marital Status | Single: 49, Married: 28, Cohab: 5, Divorced: 2 | 2.73(3) | .44 |
| | Single: 71, Married: 29, Cohab: 4, Divorced: 6 | | |
| Ethnicity | White: 68, Black: 4, Asian: 5, Hispanic: 6, | 11.21(3) | .02 |
| | White: 61, Black: 8, Asian: 10, Hispanic: 22, | | |
| Age | (18-25): 14, (26-39): 53, (40-66): 18 | 8.44(2) | .02 |
| | (18-25): 37, (26-39): 61, (40-66): 13 | | |

To test Hypothesis 1, examining whether the two groups differ (Democrat/Republican) in determinants of identification, prototypicality group norms, and perceptions of the leaders we must further examine the patterns intercorrelations.

Table 9: *Intercorrelations for Key Study Variables by Group*

Republican (N = 85) above the diagonal, Democrat (N = 111) below the diagonal

| Variable | Means (SD) | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | 10. |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1.Ingroup Identification | 3.61 (1.00) | | -.17 | .18 | .63*** | .43*** | .35*** | .54*** | .64*** | -.31* | -.21 |
| | 3.68 (1.02) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2.Outgroup Identification | 1.90 (0.77) | -.02 | | -.08 | -.08 | -.17 | -.31** | -.30** | -.31** | .48*** | .41** |
| | 1.81 (1.01) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3.Leader Prototypicality | 3.75 (0.94) | .41*** | .03 | | .31** | .38*** | -.04 | .26** | .20 | -.28* | -.28* |
| | 3.82 (0.97) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4.Self-Prototypicality | 3.76 (0.94) | .74*** | .03 | .49*** | | .39*** | .15 | .62*** | .63*** | -.27* | -.20 |
| | 3.74 (1.02) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5.Leader Behaviour | 4.15 (0.59) | .45*** | -.19 | .58*** | .58*** | | .39*** | .61*** | .56*** | -.25* | -.09 |
| | 4.21 (0.64) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6.Candidate Support | 81.65 (18.05) | .40*** | -.16 | .29** | .31*** | .53*** | | .21 | .28** | -.31** | -.18 |
| | 76.31 (26.52) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7.Ingroup Instrumental Norms | 4.01 (0.64) | .67*** | -.02 | .43*** | .64*** | .50*** | .32*** | | .90*** | -.12 | -.04 |
| | 3.97 (0.82) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8. Ingroup Terminal Norms | 3.91 (0.67) | .62*** | -.01 | .40*** | .62*** | .50*** | .32*** | .94*** | | -.19 | -.08 |
| | 3.76 (0.82) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9. Outgroup Instrumental Norms | 2.91 (0.84) | -.04 | .46*** | .03 | .08 | -.08 | -.19 | .24* | .29** | | .85*** |
| | 2.58 (0.97) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10. Outgroup Terminal Norms | 3.00 (0.79) | .06 | .37* | .02 | .07 | -.02 | -.13 | .33*** | .33*** | .90*** | |
| | 2.68 (0.94) | | | | | | | | | | |

** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$ * $p < 0.05$;

The intercorrelations, reported for both Democrats and Republicans, indicate there are many shared patterns for determinants of identification with group norms and support for the candidates being significant for each group. However, inconsistent with H1, there were key differences linked to identification and the perceptions of leaders. For Republicans, there is no relationship between identification and leader prototypicality ($r = .18, p > 0.05$), whereas for Democrats, there was ($r = .41, p < 0.001$). For both Democrats ($r = .45, p < 0.001$) and Republicans ($r = .43, p < 0.001$), leader behaviour is strongly correlated with ingroup identification. Concerning outgroup identification and leaders however, for Democrats, outgroup identification does not impact their support for their candidate ($r = -.16, p > 0.05$). Yet, for Republicans, outgroup identification is negatively associated with their support for their candidate ($r = -.31, p < 0.01$).

Examining Support for Candidates and Prototypicality

Leader prototypicality was used as an independent measure, therefore a mean split was conducted in which leaders were considered prototypical if they scored above 3.75, and non-prototypical if they scored below 3.75. A median split was conducted on leader behaviour; leaders were considered effective if they scored above 4.22, and ineffective if they scored below 4.22.

To test hypothesis 2 and replicate findings in Chapter 4, cooperative/competitive contexts were merged with perceived leader prototypicality to create 4 conditions: a cooperative context when leader is prototypical, a cooperative context where leader is non-prototypical, a competitive context where leader is prototypical, and a competitive context where leader is non-prototypical. A 4 (cooperative/non-prototypical, competitive/non-prototypical, cooperation/prototypical, competitive/prototypical) x 2 (high-leader

behaviour/low-leader behaviour) ANOVA was conducted to examine the effects on candidate support. A significant interaction effect was discovered, $F(3,190) = 3.35, p < 0.05, \eta = 0.05$. Post-hoc testing revealed that there is little difference in candidate support when leaders are seen as effective regardless of the context or their prototypicality (See Fig. 5). However, when leaders are seen as ineffective, support is least when candidates are non-prototypical and members are cooperating with the outgroup ($M = 53.59, SD = 36.17$).

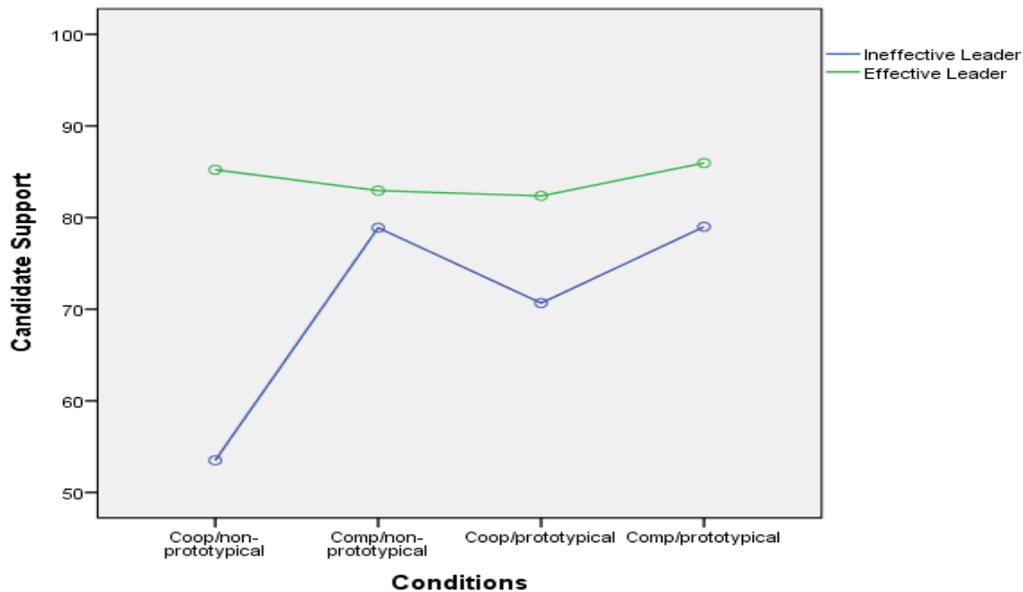


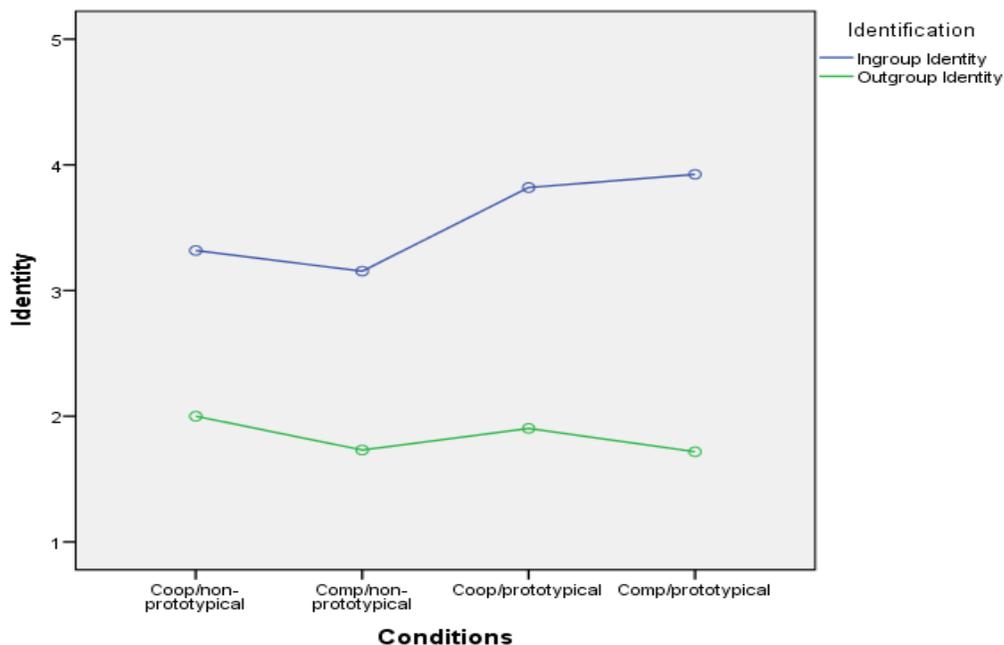
Fig. 5. Leader Behaviour and Context Influences on Candidate Support

Ingroup and Outgroup Identification

To examine the effects of context and leader perceptions on identification a mixed-design ANOVA was conducted in which reported ingroup and outgroup identification were compared across the 4 conditions. Results indicated a significant multivariate effect of

condition on identification $F(3,191) = 4.01, p < 0.01, \eta = 0.06$. Post-hoc testing revealed that regardless of group context, non-prototypical leaders cause members to more equally identify with both ingroups and outgroups than when a prototypical leader is present (see Fig. 6).

Fig. 6. Identification by Context



A 2 (high-leader behaviour/low-leader behaviour) x 2 (self-prototypical/self-non-prototypical) mixed-design ANOVA was also conducted to examine the effects on ingroup and outgroup identification. A multivariate effect of self-prototypicality was discovered $F(1,186) = 26.94, p < 0.001, \eta = 0.13$. Members who perceive themselves as non-prototypical report fewer differences between ingroup and outgroup identification than members who see themselves as prototypical (See Fig. 7). A multivariate effect of leader-behaviour was also discovered, $F(1,186) = 8.71, p < 0.01, \eta = 0.06$. Members who perceive

their leader as ineffective, report fewer differences between ingroup and outgroup identification than members who perceived their leader as effective (See Fig. 8).

Fig. 7. Identification by Prototypicality

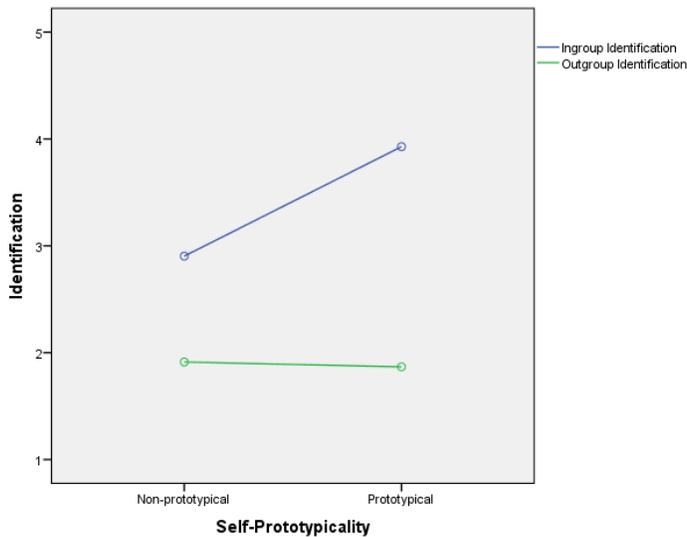
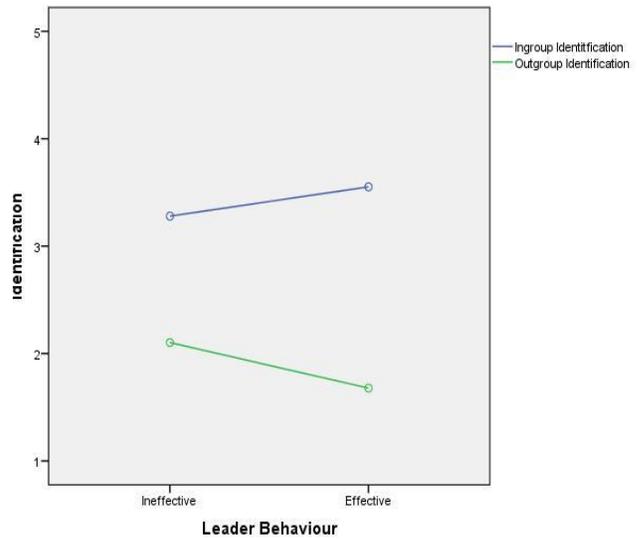


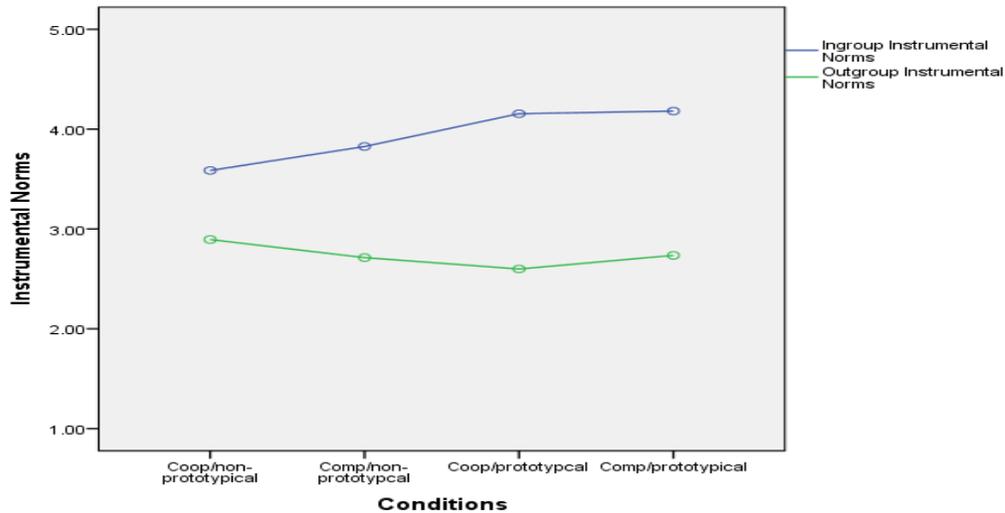
Fig. 8. Identification by Leader Behaviour



Group Norms

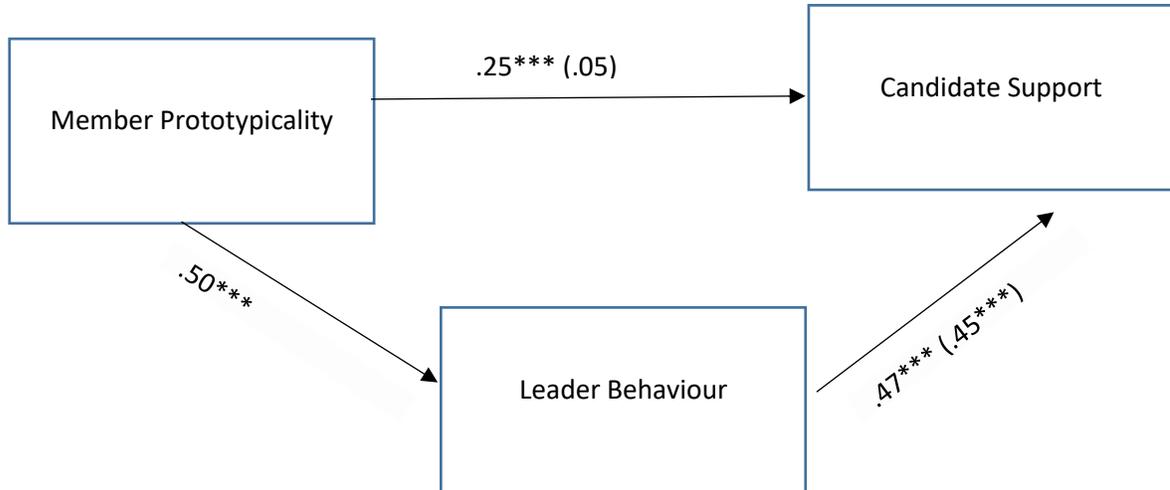
Similar to identification, a mixed-design ANOVA was conducted to evaluate reported ingroup and outgroup instrumental norms by condition (cooperation-non-prototypical-leader/competition-non-prototypical-leader/cooperation-prototypical-leader/competition-prototypical-leader). A multivariate effect was discovered, $F(3,171) = 5.95, p < 0.001, \eta = 0.09$. Ingroup and outgroup norms were seen as most similar when leaders were non-prototypical, and members were cooperative. Norms were most disparate when leaders were prototypical, and members were in a competitive context (See Fig. 9).

Fig. 9. Instrumental Norms by Context



Based on the findings, a mediation test was conducted to evaluate if the relationship between self-prototypicality and candidate support is mediated by perceived leader behaviour (H3). To test this hypothesis, a series of regression analyses were conducted. The analyses revealed that leader behaviour predicted candidate support ($\beta = .45, t[188] = 6.04, p < 0.001$), and as member prototypicality was highly predictive of leader behaviour ($\beta = .50, t[188] = 7.92, p < 0.001$), member prototypicality was not a predictor of candidate support when leader behaviour was included ($\beta = .05, t[188] = 0.61, p > .05$), See Fig. 10. A Sobel (1982) test confirmed the mediation was significant ($z = 6.15, p < 0.001$).

Fig. 10. Mediation Analysis of Leader Behaviour. *Note* The numbers in parentheses are the β weights for indirect effects. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.001$, *** $p < 0.001$.



Phase 2: U.S. Presidential Election

The aim of Phase 2 was to examine context and prototypicality on identification, when group members were ambiguous. That is, within the context of the US, there were many voters who were registered with one party, but were unclear on whether they endorsed the candidate for leadership, and therefore ambiguous about their ‘role’ as a group member. This was in contrast to participants in Phase 1 who appeared clear on party and candidate

Participants

The participants were 155 U.S. citizens. Of the recruited participants, 45 were women and 964 were men aged between 22 and 68 ($M = 35.26$, $SD = 10.33$). Of those, 82

were Caucasian, 10 Black, 8 Asian, 4 Hispanic and 4 reported themselves as Native American. Finally, 64 participants reported themselves as supporting the Democrat party while 91 participants reported themselves as supporting Republican party.

Measures and Procedure

All measures were drawn from social identity theory (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) or the leadership literature (Conger & Kanungo, 1994; Ensari & Murphy, 2003), and were the same ones used in Phase 1 of this Chapter. All measures were recorded using 5-point Likert scales. Equally, a higher score on the measure was indicative of a larger presence of the dimension, unless noted.

Again, participants were recruited via MTurk. They were informed that they would be asked about their social attitudes and the upcoming election. The participants were told their responses would be confidential, and that they could withdrawal anytime without penalty. Prior to taking part, each participant completed written informed consent. and. The administration of the procedures followed that detailed above in Phase 1. The only difference was that instead of the contextual scenario incorporating four leaders (i.e. Sanders, Clinton, Trump, and Cruz), they only incorporated the two presidential candidates (i.e. Clinton and Trump). Following completion, were thanked, briefed and paid \$3.00 for their participation in the study.

Preliminary Analysis

As with Phase 1, A series of t-tests were conducted to test the differences between the candidates across the variables, including candidate support, and ingroup identification. There was no statistical difference in the level of support, $t(152) = 0.82, p > 0.05$. Neither

was there a difference between Democrat and Republican ingroup identification, $t(152) = 2.83$ $p > 0.05$.

To explore hypothesis 4, a correlational analysis was conducted. This allowed for the examination of determinants of identification; and to examine the patterns of correlations for each of the groups (Republican/Democrat), See Table 10.

Table 11: *Intercorrelations for Key Study Variables by Group*

Republican (n = 91) above the diagonal, Democrat (n = 64) below the diagonal

| Variable | Means (SD) | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. |
|----------------------------------|---------------|---------|---------|--------|---------|--------|--------|
| 1.Ingroup Identification | 2.56 (1.39) | | -.48*** | .03 | .81*** | .05 | .04 |
| | 2.92 (1.29) | | | | | | |
| 2.Outgroup Identification | 3.04 (1.27) | -.42*** | | .39*** | -.35*** | .25* | .29** |
| | 2.41 (1.27) | | | | | | |
| 3.Leader Prototypicality | 3.25 (1.00) | .08 | .25* | | .10 | .46*** | .49*** |
| | 3.44 (1.05) | | | | | | |
| 4.Self-Prototypicality | 2.47 (1.17) | .60*** | -.28* | .18 | | .15 | .17 |
| | 2.91 (1.29) | | | | | | |
| 5.Leader Behaviour | 3.68 (0.90) | -.04 | .21 | .48*** | -.03 | | .72*** |
| | 3.69 (0.80) | | | | | | |
| 6.Candidate Support | 67.44 (33.00) | .04 | .18 | .32** | -.01 | .57*** | |
| | 66.25 (31.95) | | | | | | |

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

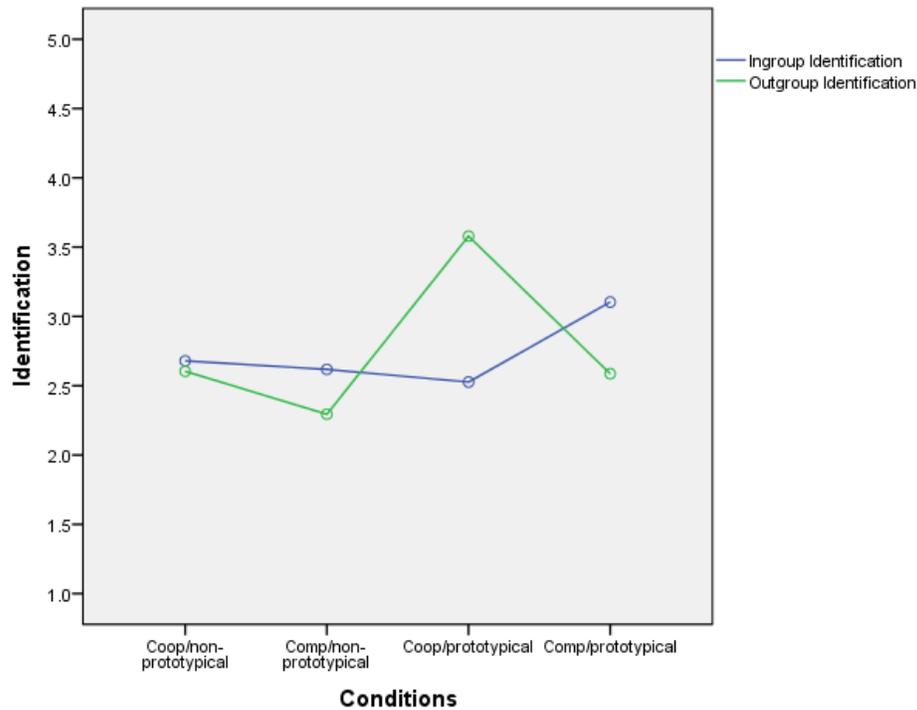
The intercorrelations, reported for both Democrats and Republicans, show several differences. Unlike in Phase 1 where there was no relationship between ingroup identification and outgroup identification, in Phase 2, both Democrats ($r = -.42$, $p < 0.001$) and Republicans ($r = -.48$, $p < 0.001$) have a negative relationship between ingroup and outgroup identification. While leader prototypicality had an effect of moderate magnitude on candidate support for both Republicans and Democrats in Phase 1, in Phase 2, both Democrats ($r = .32$, $p < 0.001$) and Republicans ($r = .49$, $p < 0.001$), the relationship is

positive between their support for their respective leader, and the leader's prototypicality. However, inconsistent with social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and potentially linked to the group context, perceptions of leader prototypical is positively associated with outgroup identification for both Democrats ($r = .25, p < 0.05$) and Republicans ($r = .39, p < 0.001$).

Group Identification and Context in a General Election

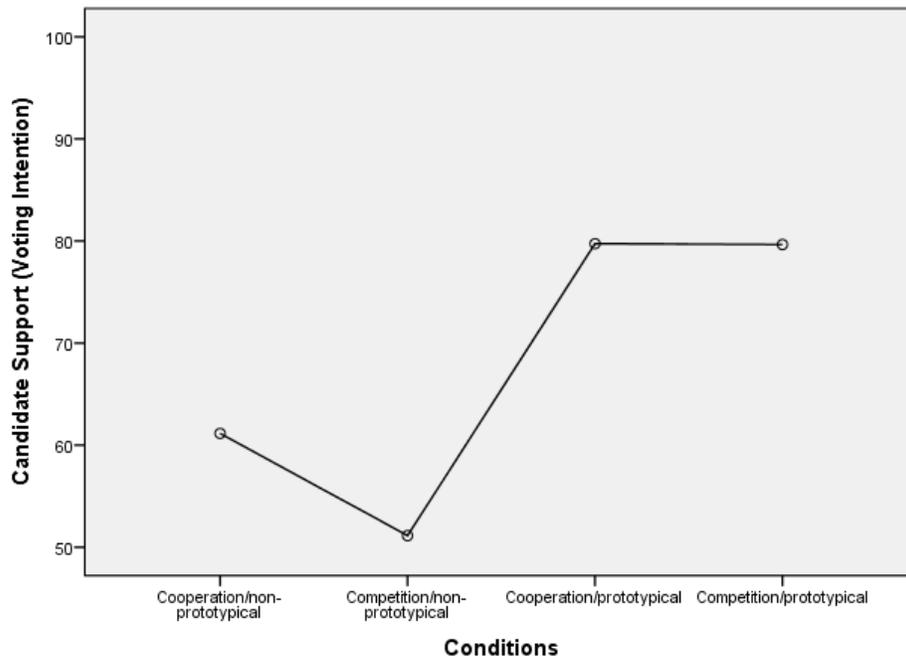
As the correlations for phase 2 showed an integration of outgroup identification with group leaders that was non-existent in phase 1, a mixed-design ANOVA was conducted in which condition (cooperation-non-prototypical-leader/competition-non-prototypical-leader/cooperation-prototypical-leader/competition-prototypical-leader) was tested on ingroup and outgroup identification. Results indicated a significant effect compared to previous identification analyses, $F(3,150) = 3.57, p < 0.01, \eta = 0.06$. While ingroup and outgroup identity were similar when leaders were perceived not to be prototypical, when leaders were perceived to be prototypical, there were significant increases in outgroup identification when members were in a cooperative context, which surpasses ingroup identification (See Fig. 11).

Fig. 11. Identification by Context During a General Election



Additionally, a one-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effects of condition (cooperative/non-prototypical, competitive/non-prototypical, cooperative/prototypical, competitive/prototypical) on candidate support. A significant effect was found, $F(3,153) = 7.65, p < 0.001, \eta = 0.13$. Though the previous analysis found gains in outgroup identification when leaders become more prototypical, members will still support prototypical leaders over non-prototypical leaders regardless of context (See Fig. 12).

Fig. 12. Candidate Support by Condition During a General Election



Changes in Support Between Time 1 and Time 2

In Phase 1, there was only a marginal effect of context on candidate support, $F(3,192) = 2.47, p = 0.06, \eta = 0.03$, which was demonstrated to interact with the leader's behaviour. In Phase 2, leadership context had a much greater effect on the extent to which the member would support the candidate, $F(3,153) = 7.65, p < 0.001, \eta = 0.13$.

5.9 Discussion

In this study, one aim was to demonstrate patterns of identification between Democrats and Republicans were similar, replicating the findings in Chapter 2. A second aim of this study was to demonstrate that “good/bad” or “hero/villain” leaders, were indicative not necessarily of ethical considerations, but considerations of group norms. Finally, I sought

to examine the role of leaders in group identification and membership, and how ambiguity towards group membership manifests. Results of Chapter 4 were reproduced, in that non-prototypical leaders influenced members to see the outgroup as more similar to themselves. However, as members transitioned from choosing an ingroup leader in a primary election, to choosing between only two leaders, the results deviated from previous findings. Members who viewed their leader as non-prototypical, still viewed ingroup members and outgroup members similarly. Yet, when placed in a cooperative context, members who viewed their leader as prototypical identified more with the other party than their own.

In a competitive context, ingroup identification was significantly higher than when leaders were non-prototypical. This suggests group context and leader perceptions play a profound role in members' identity in an intergroup context (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Allport, 1954; Rast et al., 2012). This could be seen in the correlational differences in Phase 2, where leader prototypicality was positively correlated with outgroup membership. This would suggest ambiguous members have already begun the process of dropping their current ingroup, for endorsing the outgroup leader. As such, they hold lowered views of their "ingroup" as their outgroup is their traditional ingroup. This the main pathway in which the findings reconciled with social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In moving from an ambiguous ingroup members to endorsing the outgroup leader, these members indicate membership transitions can result from uncertainty of one's role in one's group (Hogg, 2000), in which a leader with norms opposing the ingroup may be preferable for self-interest (Rast et al., 2012). As these members had worse identification with their ingroup, they were more likely to vote for the ingroup candidate who they viewed as representative of group norms than they believed the candidate did not represent group norms. This may be due to the

effectiveness of the leaders. The analyses demonstrate the impetus for members not voting for their candidate, is not whether they are viewed as prototypical of group norms, but how effective the leader is in leading the group. This coincides with previous research which shows non-prototypical leaders gaining power when they are viewed as more effective than prototypical leaders (Rast et al., 2015; Teixeira et al., 2011).

The data show group members who do not strictly abide by group norms, and waver in their support both of the group and somewhat of the leader. The implications of this continue the theme of ambiguity (Hogg, 2000), and demonstrate that group memberships, particularly during periods of leader selections, are more fluid than social categorisation would suggest (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy & Flament, 1971). The results integrate social identity theory with Lewin's (1947b) theory of social change. During periods of intragroup leader selection, members can feel as though their personal norms and goals are being represented by both group and leader. This satisfaction with the group and leader can be negated, with ingroup and outgroup seeming similar to the individual, due to the leader's behaviour or if they themselves, are more marginal members as represented by the findings on self-prototypicality and previous studies of marginal group members (Ellemers & Jetten, 2013). Yet once the context collapses into a choice between one ingroup leader and one outgroup leader, though individual behavioural intentions suggest they will still vote for their ingroup candidate, their identification with the group changes significantly depending on the context and perceptions of the leader. As such, this insinuates that they are unhappy with the group and group leader, and feel ambiguous about their personal role within the group.

This group uncertainty, as observed in Chapter 3, can cause fractures within the group and potentially cause ambiguous members to leave the group once the election is completed

(Mullin & Hogg, 1998). In previous studies, it has been shown the winner of a political election garners immediate support from opposing party members once they gain power (Binning, Brick, Cohen & Sherman, 2014). This was believed to be due to self-integrity or proximity to social power. However, the current data would suggest this may not be a facsimile. Ambiguous members of their own party may perceive the outgroup leader and party, as being more representative of their personal norms than their current ingroup. What this means, is group leaders and group members who think their group membership is stable, due to pre-existing matching of group and personal norms, may find a portion of their members identify more with the outgroup than they do with the ingroup given perceptions of the leader and group context. This would have the effect of ambiguous ingroup members transitioning over time to marginal outgroup members and using their social power to support the outgroup (Zhou et al., 2016; Hogg & Adelman, 2013).

The private versus public support could be behind the randomness to why some ambiguous members solidify their group membership, and some members drop their group membership in Chapter 3. As group ambiguity is inherently unstable (Hogg, 2000), it may be that perceiving whether it is social acceptable to leave the group, is the deciding factor in ambiguity resolution. This can be seen in recent studies in which though Democrats outnumber Republicans, more Democrats “switched brands” and identified or voted Republican, as anger at the ingroup increased and motivation for Democratic membership (what I have identified as membership ambiguity) decreased (Jost, 2017).

The discrepancy between identification and voting intention can be seen as an extension of previous literature in which non-prototypical members who endorse non-prototypical leaders, will identify more with the outgroup, but only in secret (Teixeira et al.,

2015). The crucial component to that finding is the secret endorsement, as other studies have shown members will receive repudiation from the group entity for promoting positive attitudes towards a salient outgroup in an open setting, because it is considered deviant (Cameira & Ribeiro, 2014; Pinto et al., 2010). Likewise, the same study saw a withdrawal of non-prototypical leader endorsement when the procedure was made public (Teixeira et al., 2015).

In this study, the group contexts were hypothetical in nature as was the response process, which participants knew they would be anonymous. What this means, is that members who are sympathetic towards the outgroup, will still visibly vote for the group's leader, but may switch allegiances when social norms allow them to do so, or anger at the ingroup for their ambiguity is great enough (Livingstone, Shepherd, Spears & Manstead, 2016; Randsley de Moura, Abrams, Retter, Gunnarsdottir & Ando, 2009). The difference between what group members think in private and what they verbalize in public may be why there are two opposite aspects to social identity, "private" and "public" (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990). While there is the need for group members, even marginal ones, to promote the group image and rigidly protect group norms (Toner, Leary, Asher & Jongman-Sereno, 2013), individual ambiguity within the group, results in a greater shared identity with the outgroup in secret. Likewise, prototypical members may tolerate the pro-outgroup attitudes of deviant members in public, to advance the group norms (Morton, Postmes & Jetten, 2007). In this framework, though groups prefer prototypical leaders (Hogg, 2001), a non-prototypical leader can have serious consequences for group membership and group behaviour.

While there were similarities in how Democrats and Republicans identified with their groups, unlike in Chapter 2, there were more differences in identification patterns

than were expected. Patterns of identification diverged when incorporating the outgroup and crucially, perceptions of leaders. Republicans were more likely to distance themselves from the outgroup depending on how they viewed the leader, while Democrats were more likely to identify with the ingroup, if they perceived the leader as being more prototypical. These results are more supportive of other approaches to group type differences (Bagozzi & Lee, 2002; Lickel et al., 2001). In those studies, groups with different social norms were shown to form group identities differently, and had different social interactions.

What the current data suggests is that unlike the findings in Chapter 2, group type differences in identification do exist between groups of similar social norms, but to identify these differences requires the inclusion of outgroup members in the context, as well as knowledge of the group leader. The study in Chapter 2 had neither of these things. This indicates that different group types may be both similar and distinct in their formation of a group identity, depending on how the context is formed. If the context is solely an intragroup one without a leader, then identity will form similarly. If the context is an intergroup one with different types of leaders, then identification between ingroup and outgroups may form differently. This could be why some studies have shown social identity differences between artificial and natural groups (Weisel & Bohm, 2015).

While this study has a number of strengths in that it integrates both leadership and social identity, and while succinctly counterbalancing group leaders, there were also some limitations. While the demographics profiles were useful in discerning people who were members of the Republican party and the Democratic party, it was clear there may be some confounds regarding perceptions of leadership. Fewer women were supporting Trump as a candidate, fewer homeowners were supporting Sanders, young people were more likely to

vote Democrat, and Democrats were more diverse in ethnic makeup than Republicans. While these are important issues to the voting population, and have been well known as demographic issues (Gerber, Huber & Washington, 2010), it does suggest confounding variables for understanding who may be prototypical and who may be non-prototypical as it is more likely that women would perceive Trump as a non-prototypical leader while men might perceive him as prototypical of themselves. This study cannot answer these questions as they relate to specific party candidates, it can only answer participants social responses to seeing leaders they perceive as either prototypical or not. It would have also greatly benefited this study to ask participant voting intention at the very end of the questionnaires in order to observe the full range of behavioural effects of the measures presented.

This study has addressed several implications surrounding the role and interaction between leaders and group context. While there are interesting practical applications about the conditions under which non-prototypical leaders might use creative group dynamics to offer an identity to group members, there are also additional theory driven questions. Particularly, what is the time frame in which members can remain ambiguous within their group? This would help groups and researchers predict when and how many group members could defect, and suggest ways of cementing the roles of ambiguous members.

Chapter 6

GENERAL DISCUSSION

6.0 Overview

The purpose of this thesis is to supplement the literature on social identity by exploring the areas in which few studies have been conducted. This includes the influence of group context and leadership, and the influence they possess on group identification, intentions to act as an individual or as a group member, groups norms, and ambiguity. Two programmes of research are used to provide a more holistic understanding of these interactions. Context effects present essential methodological questions to current experiments and applications, but they also extend the theory and its advancement, because they help to qualify prior groups within the literature, and give clarification for different outcomes. As such, we know more precisely that newly-formed groups and established groups are similar in their formation and maintenance of group identification, for example. Additionally, in terms of established and newly-formed groups, we also know how the role of each member within the group might influence identification, intentions, and behaviours.

Drawing out the theme of established groups, I develop a second research programme that tackles the question of context and its influence from the perspective of cooperative versus competitive contexts. This dichotomy, in addition to the newly formed versus established continuum, is based on another observation of groups and social psychological context raised by both minimum group paradigm (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy & Flament, 1971) and group development (Levine & Moreland, 2004). Specifically, in

addition to the age or group type (i.e. newly-formed versus established), it is demonstrated that group context such as cooperation and competition between groups, influence outcomes (for reviews see Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner & Christ, 2011). However, roles, and the role of the leader, can result in group members who are ambiguous about their role within the group, and seek to resolve their position uncertainty through closer identification with the ingroup, or a deviation towards the outgroup with the potential abandonment of the group as a whole. In short, this thesis takes an incremental view towards clarifying the role of (multiple) contexts, and their impact on variables central to social identity theory including, group identification, ingroup and outgroup attitudes, intentions, norms, and social behavior. In so doing secondary, but equally important contributions are made to the leadership and role identification literature using this novel approach.

In this thesis, the framework of social identification was examined in four distinct scenarios, integrating the literature on group types (newly-formed and established), social roles (self-identified roles versus group-designated roles), context (competitive versus cooperative), and leadership (prototypical/non-prototypical leaders). More specifically, the first study demonstrated the differences between newly-formed groups as compared to established groups on identification, intentions and collective esteem. This was used to evaluate if there are differences in group type between newly-formed and established groups. The impetus for these examinations was to expand upon the multiple pathways of group identification formation (Bagozzi & Lee, 2002). Yet, what was discovered was that newly-formed and established groups are more similar than they are different. The second study evaluated how group members with ambiguous roles have less identification and

esteem than their unambiguous counterparts, and are more likely to drop out of the group over time. The third study investigated cooperative and competitive contexts alongside leader type to pilot new measures and examine their implications for social identity. The final study expanded on the previous exploratory study of cooperative and competitive contexts alongside leader type, but utilised established groups which selected their own leaders, who were either prototypical or non-prototypical to the group norms. Together, the studies provide a comprehensive analysis of group formation and identification which shows not only how a group entity operates, but the conditions under which social identity theory and leadership theory integrate to form a more robust model of identification and behaviour.

6.1 Theory Contributions

In this thesis, I observed social contexts that have been underrepresented in other social identity experiments, and uncovered results that amend certain aspects of social identity theory and call into question the generalisation of identity theory outcomes which are applied across populations with little consideration for the group context. The aims of this thesis were to better understand group dynamics and how relationships between members and group, and leader and non-leaders impact social identity, not just in terms of ingroup perceptions, but outgroup perceptions as well. The thesis also aimed to identify intergroup and intragroup contexts in which people will operate against their normal preferences for ingroup members and biases against outgroup members, to evaluate how different social variables are impacted by said contexts. Each of the studies conducted

yielded an incremental improvement in the understanding of social identity theory and how groups interact with themselves and one another.

6.1.1 Differences and Similarities Between Newly-Formed and Established Groups

Previous studies of group evolution from newly-formed to established demonstrated that the major requirement to change from one to the other is improved commitment to the group and commitment to remain as a group member (Levine & Moreland, 1994).

Consistent with predictions, in the first study, members in newly-formed groups were found to have both less identification with their group and less intention to meet with the group again than established groups. However, newly-formed groups create a group identity similarly to the identity created by established groups. This suggests that outcomes for newly-formed groups and established groups are similar in how identification is modeled. What this entails for current and future researchers, is that although there may be skepticism about generalising outcomes of social identity from artificially created group of university students, in actuality, these groups are representative of other, more established groups that are found outside of experimental settings. However, there were some slight, but significant differences that existed between newly-formed and established groups. The primary difference between the two group types, was that prototypicality was more important for established groups than for newly-formed groups in predicting group identification.

The implications for social identity theory regarding these differences are that where new groups require concrete planned action in order for an identity to take form (Levine & Moreland, 2004), these planned actions are already built into established group

norms, such that there are already expectations that established group members will meet in the future. Therefore, determining collective action is not as important to the established identity as how representative individual members are of the group norms. As newly-formed group members have yet to codify what constitutes acceptable group action and attitudes, adherence to those actions and attitudes are not emphasized in the group identity as they are for established groups. Established groups have built their social identity on codifying their group norms, and thus, adherence to those norms becomes an important part of not only how group members identify with other group members (Hutchison et al., 2008), but also in how those group members behave.

In this way, while there were many similarities between newly-formed and established groups, the differences that did exist contribute to the theory of social identity by demonstrating both how different aspects of group entitativity are prioritized, and why those different aspects are prioritized. Due to cross-sectional differences, while identity formation for both groups were similar, the extent to which one identifies with their group was considerably greater for established group members than for newly-formed group members. It can be inferred that without a set of established norms or agreements, new groups do not yet have the same level shared sense of group entitativity in the same manner as established groups, even though they are progressing towards a shared set of goals. These findings share commonalities with differences in commitment and intentions between newly-formed groups and established groups, as previous studies have shown the greater the intention for collective action, the stronger the identification with the group in question (van Zomeren Postmes & Spears 2008).

It was also found that for newly-formed groups and established groups, both group commitment, but particularly collective social esteem were the largest factors in predicting an identity formation among group members. However, for established groups, prototypicality was more important in predicting identification, while for newly-formed groups, collective intentions had a bigger role in predicting identification with one's group. These outcomes support the hypothesis that while groups within the same social culture may have similar values and norms, and therefore may not be distinct from one another, groups have different stages of development and formation in which different social variables are more or less important to the identity of the group (Arrow, Poole, Henry, Wheelan & Moreland, 2004). In the early stage of group formation, intention to act together and continuing to meet collectively as a group is a primary concern for maintaining the group identity, when the group has established itself, these factors are less of a concern as they are already rote in the group's normal practices and therefore group identification is not predicated on whether or not the group intends to act collectively, as it is established that they will (Levin & Moreland, 2004).

On the other hand, other studies have shown that as group norms are reinforced within the group, members actively filter out other members who are considered deviant to the group norms (Marques, Abrams, & Serodio, 2001; Rubin, 2011; Hutchison et al., 2008). By derogating members who do not adhere to group norms, these groups place an active importance on creating a homogenous group entity that adheres to one set of tacit agreements. This process therefore, places a large emphasis on members being prototypical of the group norms in order to be considered a group member in good standing (Schmitt &

Branscombe, 2001). Thus, groups that have had time to reinforce the norms, and therefore are established social groups, are more likely to link prototypicality to the group identity, as it creates a framework for deciding who does and does not belong in the group. This would explain why prototypicality is more important for an established group's identity than it is for a newly-formed group.

While both newly-formed and established group members' identification vary in how important intentions and prototypicality are in creating that identity, the most important factor in determining both group types' identity, is an individual's sense of collective social esteem. This reflects previous research that demonstrated how group formation and group membership are important aspects of an individual's sense of self-worth (Abrams & Hogg, 1988). This is due to group members' need to promote positive attitudes about the group in order to buffer themselves against negative feelings of self-worth either individually or against the group as a whole (Gaertner, Iuzzini, Witt & Orina, 2006; Hogg, Abrams, Otten & Hinkle, 2004). This indicates that the purpose of social groups in the first place, is to promote positive affect among group members and act as a buffer to demonstrate that members are socially valued. In this way, the group concept is critical to an individual's sense of self-worth and self-esteem in buffering negative stereotypes and negative attitudes that may be directed at an individual's identity (Christian et al., 2010). However, if the stereotypes and attitudes directed at the social group are also negative, then buffering against a low-status identity is less useful as negative attitudes are still causing decreases to self-esteem and collective self-esteem (Clark et al., 2015). This is

why groups promote positive attitudes and feelings about the group even in potential low-status contexts (Kaiser, Hagiwara, Malahy & Wilkins, 2009).

Hence in this study, the greater one's collective social esteem, the greater one's identification with one's social group. Compared to studies examining cross-cultural groups, the results demonstrated that newly-formed and established groups are more similar than they are different, yet still have subtle variations between each other. Taken together, these findings would suggest in an intragroup context, artificial and natural groups are not as different, in terms of identity formation, as one previous studies expected (Weisel & Bohm, 2015). However, the current study only examines these group type differences in an intragroup study without the inclusion of the outgroup, which is distinct from Weisel & Bohm (2015).

6.1.2 Role Ambiguity in the Framework of Social Identification

In the second study, ambiguous group roles were examined in the context of their identification outcomes, and how they are resolved within the group, over time. Additionally, identification and intentionality were examined as an outcome of the compatibility between self-selected roles and group designated roles. This was done to demonstrate the overlap between self-construal and group-construal in the intentions one has to act collectively with a group (Joshi & Fast, 2013), and how identification with one's role can lead to an increase in identification with one's social structure (Burke, 1991; Stets & Burke, 2000). The results demonstrated that members whose groups were ambiguous on their social roles were more likely to identify less with the group, and more likely to leave the group when the group reconvened two weeks later. Importantly, there were no patterns

in role ambiguity such that ambiguous roles could be observed equally between both genders, group types and across ages.

Ambiguous group members as a concept, are contrary to traditional approaches to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) as it explicitly states individual categorisation places people and structures in to either similar or dissimilar groups. Members who have yet to determine their position within the group indicate a transitional phase for group members, as described by Lickel et al. (2000) and Lewin (1947b). What the current study suggests, is that individual members have their own perceptions of entitativity with the group, even if they identify with said group. Though the group may be established group newly-formed, individual members can vary on when they joined the group, and for what purpose. In this way, group membership may be more fluid than a binary description of ingroup and outgroup (Lickel et al., 2000). Ambiguous group members are products of this fluidity in that their position within the group is uncertain, which is unsustainable (Hogg, 2000).

Therefore, they either become unambiguous at time 2, at which point their identification with the group is similar to members whose roles have always been unambiguous, or they leave the group. This process would imply that social identity is not automatically set when groups are created, rather identification and membership take a period of time to become stable (Lewin, 1947a;1947b). For social identity theory, this means that there is a transition period where members can be dissuaded from becoming group members, or norms can be altered to reflect a different agenda. Additionally, it also means future research cannot treat artificial and natural groups as necessarily representative

of those concepts, as within those groups, membership ambiguity can affect group outcomes for both group types.

With regards to unambiguous social roles, when one's self-selected social role within the group, one's group-designated role are congruent, there is an increase in collective intentions compared to when the roles are incongruent. This implies, as suggested in previous studies (Wit & Kerr, 2002; Jans et al., 2011; Turner, 1990; Postmes et al., 2005), that the group identity is comprised of the individual parts of each member's contribution. It also supports the theory that just as intergroup conflict between ingroup members and outgroup members leads to a decrease in identification with the outgroup and lowered intentions to work with them, within-group conflict between the individual and other group members lowers prospective intentions to act collectively as a group (Bettencourt et al., 2007). This within-group conflict was represented as incongruences or misfits between what role the individual self-identified with, and which role the group identified as occupying, thus demonstrating how role congruency influences group formation and intention (Turner, 1990). The theoretical implications imply that the debate over whether groups thrive when homogeneous or heterogeneous is erroneous. Rather, it is not whether the group is specifically diverse or not, but whether the diversity, which exists, is compatible with the group needs. Thus, groups that are mostly homogeneous or mostly heterogeneous can both survive and thrive, so long as the relationship between the roles each member takes on and the roles the group requires to be filled are compatible in such a way that intentions to act collectively as a group are still maintained.

In this way, intragroup relationships are not only a product of ingroup identity (Brown & Abrams, 1985), but also whether the personal identity is compatible with the group identity. One explanation for this, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, may be that since collective intentions have been shown to be a greater priority in forming a group identity in the early stages of a group (Levine & Moreland, 2004), the formation of those intentions relies on the compatibility between the personal and group identity. If there are incongruences between the self-selected and group designated role that has yet to be resolved, then it is likely the formation of the group is still in a state of flux, where group norms cannot be established. In this scenario, establishing oneself as a cooperative group member requires the integration between the self and group construal (Joshi & Fast, 2013), as demonstrated through social roles.

However, while congruency between self and group social roles resulted in the formation of collective intentions, it did not impact the formation of personal intentions. This suggests that though social roles predicate how one will interact with the group and behave on behalf of the group (Stryker & Burke, 2000), this does not influence how that same individual will socially engage on their own volition. This study demonstrated that to act as an agent of the ingroup, there must be a level of cooperation between what the individual identifies as his or her role, and what functions the group needs the individual to engage in. Without this agreement, there is a more difficult path towards ingroup identification which has the potential to create ingroup conflict in which some models suggest that enough ingroup conflict eliminates the preferences ingroup members have for one another (Ariyanto, Hornsey & Gallios, 2010). Thus, without the agreement between

self and group role, the group context may not be salient for individual members in the future.

Taken together, these findings show the difficulties which entail forming a cohesive group, and maintain that group. Both mismatching in role congruency and member ambiguity can lead to negative social outcomes for the group. Yet, it may also be indicative of the ways in which groups become more entrenched in their norms and behaviours over time. It has been previously noted that the continuation of the group is a product of membership commitment to the group entity, in which those who are less committed are relegated from the group (Levine & Moreland, 2004; Arrow et al., 2004). This study further examines that phenomenon by noting how maintaining group cohesion is produced through the integration of the self-identity and the group identity. Those whose self-identity and group identity are less likely to commit to future group action, and those who have an ambiguous group function are likely to leave the group if that uncertainty is not resolved. It suggests that uncertainty within the group is a large motivating factor in group continuation (Mullen & Hogg, 1998), and the integration of self-identity and group-identity is insurance for the individual that the group will serve in the individual's best interests. This can be inferred from how members perceive social roles. By ascribing members social roles within the group, members can be removed from direct comparisons against one another by their contributions to the group entity. As discrepancy in perceived social power between group members results in negative outcomes for the group (Joshi & Fast, 2013), perceiving members as having unique contributions due to their role, facilitates intragroup relations without conflicts of power.

6.1.3 Group Context and Leader Perceptions

In the third study, new measures including ingroup/outgroup identification and group norms were examined under conditions where participants were either cooperating or competing against outgroup members. Participants were also presented with videos of historical leaders, which had connotations of heroic or villainous, to examine whether different types of leaders would influence their behaviour and group identification. The results demonstrated that use of the measures resulted in expected social identity outcomes, such that ingroup identification was consistently greater than outgroup identification, and ingroup norms were constantly greater than outgroup norms. As many of the measures were single-item measures, it added support to previous studies which have demonstrated the validity of single-item social identity measures (Reysen et al., 2013). This meant it was acceptable to deploy these constructs in a large-scale applied study of established groups.

With regards to social identity outcomes, there were indeed differences of norms, identification and behaviour, depending on both the group context and the group leader. Ultimately, the results showed that when participants were placed in a cooperative context and presented with a villain-leader, identification and norms were more similar between the perceptions of the ingroup and outgroup than during any other condition. Conversely, participants confronted with a villain-leader in a competitive context were more likely to allocate the most money towards their own group compared with other conditions. The results were surprising for a number of reasons, first and foremost being that expectations, bred by previous studies and literature, indicated that there should have been increases in ingroup identification during a competitive context (Ouwerkerk, de Gilder & de Vries,

2000). Yet, increases in ingroup identification were found simultaneously with increases in outgroup identification and attitudes in the cooperative context, but only when the villain-leader was present.

The implications for both leadership and social identity literature due to these findings, constitute an important revelation for both identity and leader. A common-sense observation of leadership in many fields, selflessness and more ethically-similar leaders inspire followers to both emulate them and promotes positive attitudes and identification towards the group but also the less fortunate (Karakas, Fahri & Sarigollu, 2013; Neubert, Carlson, Kaemar, Roberts & Chonko, 2009), is conditionally based when examining social interactions. In fact, positive perceptions of group norms and identification with both ingroup and outgroup are more likely to occur not when in the presence of an idyllic “hero”, but rather, in the presence of a “villain” or dark leader. This means that notion of followers being more empathetic, and willing to cooperate because some magnanimous figurehead said so, is not only incorrect, but the opposite of the actual response.

The results imply that in order to promote ingroups and outgroups to identify with one another, having a benevolent leader demonstrate cooperation may not actually work, whereas, presenting both groups with a villainous despot will, and telling them to work together will. This circumstance, in relation to the outgroup, would mean that commonalities are more salient between ingroup and outgroup (Crisp, Ensari, Hewstone & Miller, 2002) when the villain-leader is present compared to when the heroic-leader is present. Thus, the findings infer that there are multiple levels of identification and contexts in which one can identify with both ingroup and an outgroup with shared similarities

(Brewer & Gardner, 1996). This reinforces the literature linking social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) not only to intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954), but also leadership literature as it is only in the presence of different leaders that these effects are noticed.

One potential explanation may be due to the leaders themselves. While descriptions of heroes/villains or “ethical/unethical” leaders have existed both scientifically and colloquially (Naseer, Raja, Syed, Donia & Darr, 2016; Schyns & Schilling, 2013; Neubert et al., 2009). Too often are the concepts of “good” and “bad” leaders associated with their efficacy and behaviour. In this study while the leaders represented as heroes and villains demonstrated effects on group perceptions, equally strong effects were noted on leader behaviours, such that effective leaders cause a stark contrast between individual perception of ingroup norms and perception of outgroup norms.

Through these findings, it is suggested that what is nominally described as “heroes and villains” are better described as prototypical and non-prototypical leaders. That is not to say a non-prototypical leader cannot be a hero, but leaders are typically chosen as prototypical representatives of their groups (Hogg, 2001). It is in dire group contexts when non-prototypical leaders are endorsed as group leaders, because it is believed their extreme methods can help the ingroup (Chang et al., 2015). Ascribed villains should be examined as non-prototypical leaders to the group which is evaluating them. This can be observed by the difficulty in which studies have had in identifying cross-national “villains” (Hanke et al., 2015). Perceived villains to one ingroup may not necessarily fit that description to another

group, therefore what was classified as “hero/villain” in Chapter 4 is better reflected as prototypical/non-prototypical in Chapter 5.

In this study, I demonstrated that there are conditions under which group members will disregard the tradition ingroup-outgroup dynamic in favor of a more encompassing stance. The condition, however, is narrow and requires both meaningful cooperation as well as the presence of a non-prototypical to both ingroup members and outgroup members. Social dilemma studies consistently suggest it is more beneficial for individuals to compete when put into specific contexts and yet, are surprised when individuals cooperate (Marwell & Ames, 1981). From a social identity framework, the results suggest that cooperation, such that it improves intergroup relations, can be meaningful when both groups are presented with task, problem, or social influence that is greater than the group competition that would normally be between the two. This may create a common identity. As such common group problems are difficult to maintain and scale to larger groups, this helps explain why the group identification as the result of cooperation and competition is asymmetrical (West, Pearson, Dovidio, Shelton & Trail, 2009).

6.1.4 Social Identity During an Election: Broader Conclusions

Where the aim of Chapter 4 was to pilot new measures, and explore the effects of context and leaders on identification, Chapter 5 sought to apply those findings to a real-world scenario in which established groups were electing a leader. This chapter not only incorporated those findings, but included longitudinal evaluations of groups and group leaders to observe potential transitions of ambiguous group members who no longer identify with their current ingroup. What was discovered, was a similarity of effects

between leader and context on identification and norms as was found in Chapter 4. Members who viewed the leader as non-prototypical were more likely to perceive the ingroup and outgroup as similar, especially if they were in a cooperative condition with outgroup members. However, this was predicated on perceptions of the leader's behaviour. When members viewed the leader as effective, members were still more likely to support and vote for that leader regardless of the context. Yet, an ineffective leader found their support significantly decreased when they were seen as non-prototypical in a cooperative context. This draws together previous findings of perceived leadership into a real-world context, as previous studies have shown leader behaviour to be an influential mediator of leadership endorsement (Blickle et al., 2013).

The conclusion implies a number of things for the integration of leadership and social identity. While much has been made over the effects of prototypicality and leader efficacy (Fransen et al., 2015), when it comes to endorsement and support for a leader, ingroup biases are overcome when supporting a leader under a narrow set of circumstances. The leader must be ineffective, members must recognize a cooperative outgroup, and the leader must be perceived as non-prototypical of the group as well. However, the context still influences members' perceived identity with the group regardless of their support for the candidate. The effects of which, can be observed at Time 2.

At Time 1, group members were selecting the candidate they prefer to represent their group in a general election. As context, this means that the conflict is among same-group members who want leaders who represent themselves. At Time 2, group candidates have been selected, and the choice is between the ingroup leader and the outgroup leader.

Previous literature has demonstrated that electoral behaviour and leader identification is not merely a product of partisan ideology (Jost, 2017), and there are several factors which underlie the motivations and social cognition behind choosing a candidate. In previous chapters it was noted that when members were ambiguous in their group roles, they were more likely to leave the group than members who were unambiguous. In this study, members outgroup identification far exceeded ingroup identification for members who were in an intergroup context, and perceived the leader as prototypical. Yet members who were in a competitive context and perceived the leader as prototypical, identified far more with their ingroup than their outgroup. Additionally, members who saw their leaders as non-prototypical, identified with the ingroup and outgroup equally. A few conclusions can be drawn from this dynamic. As individual prototypicality was indicative of group identification, it is likely that members may feel their leader is representative of the group, yet not representative of their own personal issues. This would suggest members who evaluate their own role within their political group as ambiguous, as they may ascertain the group does not reflect their own norms and values, nor does the leader.

Though social identification would still expect them to vote for their party's nominee (Calhoun, 2006), the mismatch between their norms and the group norms are causing them to re-evaluate their position as a stable group member. However, their support for their candidate is still greater if they perceive the leader as prototypical of the group. This would indicate that they have not yet abandoned the group, as members did in Chapter 3, yet they are increasingly sympathetic to the outgroup. This is an untenable position for group members in this context (Hogg, 2000), as to reduce uncertainty, members must either

switch groups or reaffirm commitment to their group. Ultimately, what occurred in the election was a sizable migration of group membership from one party to the other, such that members who have been traditionally voting for one group, voted for the outgroup's leader (Krishna & Sokolova, 2017). These studies indicated members who switched voting patterns were more likely to feel that the opposing leader better represent their interest (Rao, 2017). This ambiguity was pervasive enough that the leader expected to lose the election, won the election. The implications for social identity theory from the findings in Chapter 3, extend to this chapter, as established groups with established members, are still subject to ambiguity which can cause instability in group membership levels and group identification (Lickel et al., 2000).

Together the findings insinuate that non-prototypical members who have a non-prototypical leader as their group leader, are self-aware in the knowledge that both their norms and the leader's norms do not match the traditional group norms, and therefore, are motivated to call into question the implicit biases against outgroup members who their supposed to react derogatory towards (Abrams & Hogg, 2004). As such, they may actively try to identify common characteristics that they share with outgroup members, thus increasing identification with said outgroup (Urada, Stenstrom & Miller, 2007). Under these conditions, it is possible to evaluate where principles of social identity can be bent so that ingroup members operate against the inherent intergroup biases that exist in social identification. However, the standard preferences and biases that exist are difficult to overcome without interference. The results show that when competition exists and a prototypical leader influences the social group, ingroup identification is far stronger than

when a non-prototypical leader is in place, or in cooperation. Therefore, one of the more effective options, would be to convince group members that their leader is non-prototypical of their group (Gleibs & Haslam, 2016). Though because prototypical leaders are more likely to be elected, intergroup biases and preferences will remain a routine factor in everyday life, as group competition is difficult to avoid.

The findings also show a crucial difference of context between applied scenarios and outcomes in a controlled setting such as Chapter 2. In Chapter 2, patterns of identification were shown to be similar between newly-formed and established groups irrespective of the extent to which members identified with their groups. However, in Chapter 5, patterns of identification were shown to have unique differences between Republicans and Democrats. First, this would support Jost's work (2017) in his assertion that ideological identification is unique between group types, and applying identification principles to one does not result in similar outcomes for the other. While he highlights social cognition as a primary factor in these distinctions, the differences in identification patterns in this study, are attributed to the leader. Republican identification with their group is far less influenced by the leader's prototypicality than Democrats. Conversely, Republicans disdain for Democrats is more influenced by their support for their leader. Yet, Democrats are more influenced by what they perceived are Republican norms in terms of whether they identify with Republicans.

These differences in identification patterns are dissimilar to findings in the previous chapter, and concur with findings which compare artificial and natural groups (Weisel & Bohm, 2015). The explanation for this is context. In the previous chapter newly-formed

groups and established groups were examined independently from one another without an outgroup, and without a leadership election. By incorporating both of these things, the outgroup becomes salient, as does the potential for an outgroup leader to have power. As outgroup dominance has been shown to influence perceptions of homogeneity and identification (Haslam & Oakes, 1995), it can be concluded that the potential for outgroup dominance, changes members' identification calculus based on their perceptions of both their leader, and the outgroup leader. This would imply group identity threat assessment (Hutchison, Jetten, Christian & Haycraft, 2006), changes between group types depending on the extent to which members identify with their leader, and the potential threat opposing leaders present to their own ingroup.

This study also extended theory contributions by highlighting the conditions when social identity outcomes can be generalised from artificial groups to established groups, and when identification outcomes are unique between those two groups. While there has been controversy surrounding whether identity formation is unique among group types (Arrow et al., 2004; Weisel & Bohm, 2015; Bagozzi & Lee, 2002; Jost, 2017), what can be concluded from the findings is that both positions (e.g. group types are unique, group types are not unique) are correct depending on the contexts. Specifically, the two important conditions are the presences of an outgroup, and the perceptions of the group leader. When two similar group types differ on their assessment of their group leaders, identification will form differently for each group, thus cannot be fully extrapolated from one to the other.

Additionally, if groups are being tested without the presence of an outgroup, patterns of identification will be more similar to one another as demonstrated by the outcomes of

established groups and newly-formed groups. These conclusions are not unprecedented as artificially-selected group leaders results in different identification outcomes than leaders selected by their own group members (Epitropaki & Martin, 2004). Therefore, studies which seek to generalize outcomes of social identity experiments conducted on artificial groups, to larger populations, must take into account the group leaders in place, and members perceptions of those leader.

6.2 Implications for Social Identity

Synthesizing the results from the studies, the findings indicate that while intergroup biases exist and though mean identification with one's own group is consistently higher, individual attitudes can be more inclusive towards outgroup members as well as attitudes towards one's ingroup can be negatively affected through specifics contexts. This thesis supports findings that identification, norms, and intentions are influenced by a number of different contexts including: group competition, cooperation, leadership, and social roles. Evidence of more robust attitudes towards outgroup members provide support for the concept of categorization of social group through superordinate and subordinate identities (Brewer, 1996; Calhoun, 1993). This is reflected in ingroup members identifying with outgroup members, and having more similar perceptions of ingroup and outgroup norms, when leaders, whose motivations and norms are non-prototypical to the group's, are present.

As contexts create scenarios where ingroup member generate more positive identification with outgroup members, perceived commonalities shift such that the ingroup sees outgroup members as part of a much larger ingroup with its own set of norms. Several

studies have previously demonstrated the existence of superordinate groups and threats (e.g. groups that have fewer shared characteristics with the ingroup than even those shared by the outgroup) (West, Pearson, Dovidio, Shelton & Trail, 2009; Kramer & Brewer, 1984; Batalha & Reynolds, 2012; Gomez, Dovidio, Huici, Gaertner & Cuadrado, 2008; Wenzel, Mummendey & Waldzus, 2007; Riek et al., 2010). In these studies, superordinate identities are theoretically composed through ingroup members and outgroup members recognizing their shared common group characteristics when conditions are such that intergroup biases do not have the traditional effect as normally seen in social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This can be seen not only as an extension of social identity theory (Abrams & Hogg, 1990) but as an integration with the theory of social change (Lewin, 1947b). Members who perceive their roles within the group are uncertain and ambiguous, seek to reduce that uncertainty (Hogg, 2000; Hogg & Adelman, 2013). In doing so, they identify shared commonalities they have with non-ingroup members. In some cases, this ambiguity leads to leaving the ingroup and joining a distinct outgroup. In other cases, this uncertainty reduction leads to reaffirmation of ingroup norms and identity. The data would suggest roughly 20% of group members feel ambiguous within their group and seek to reduce that ambiguity in some way.

This thesis demonstrated that social roles are fundamental to the construction of group intentions, and without the agreement between personal and group roles, intragroup conflict might be bred within the group, and keep it from operating at peak efficiency. Likewise, leaders were shown to have a profound influence on individual's identification to both ingroup and outgroup, especially in conjunction with differing group contexts. As

leaders can determine the extent to which members will identify and act on behalf of their group, it behooves future social identity theorists to include leadership and the leader's prototypicality as factors in future models, while calls into questions the merits of results that do not include leadership as an influential factor of a group identity.

In this thesis, norms, identification, and behavioural intentions towards ingroup and outgroup members are subject to change based on external forces such as leadership qualities or group-related role perceptions. By manipulating such contexts, it may be possible to reorganize identification with the group through superordinate group norms or subordinate group norms. As leaders influence the bias in perceiving ingroup and outgroup norms, employing non-prototypical leaders as mediators of intergroup conflict may be an applicable avenue. Further experimentation should evaluate the social contexts presented in the requirements it takes to convince ingroup members that outgroup members are merely part of a common superordinate group (e.g. how to affect psychology students to perceive the non-psychology student outgroup members primarily as fellow ingroup members under the shared characteristic of 'student'). Additionally, non-prototypical outgroup leaders may have the ability to sway ambiguous ingroup members to join their own group and potentially increase social power of the outgroup, at the expense of the ingroup, as seen in the 2016 election (Rao, 2017).

In the literature, social identity is often framed as a dynamic within a group or between two groups with opposing goals and norms (Abrams, Wetherell, Cochrane, Hogg & Turner, 1990). The conclusions drawn from these studies provided the foundation for current understanding of social interactions ranging from one's attitude when presented

with conflicting ingroup behaviour (Somlo, Crano & Hogg, 2015), to a group's intention of expelling deviant individuals from the group (Abrams, Rutland, Ferrell & Pelletier, 2008). However, these conclusions and analyses are incomplete when incorporating the multitude of contexts in which social interactions take place on a group level. One of the important aspects of this thesis is it does not evaluate social identity principles in a vacuum of ingroup versus outgroup without deference to the contexts in which it exists.

In combining a social identity perspective with leadership literature, I have observed how previous incarnations of ingroup and outgroup relations result different outcomes when the group leader is incorporated into the equation. In examining participant attitudes, I discovered that identification with one's ingroup and how similarly one sees the outgroup is predicated on both the prototypicality of the group leader, but importantly one's role within the group. If the group member perceives their status as ambiguous then that individual's identification with their ingroup is going to suffer as a result, as well as their collective esteem. In previous studies, while attitudes and identification are an important part of group identity literature, it is focused on the group as a whole and usually not focused on specific group members, such as the leader, or individual social roles. Only some studies focus on the deviancy or prototypicality of the group leader (Abrams, Travaglino, Randsley de Moura & May, 2014), which has shown to be an important factor in intragroup and intergroup processes. The strength of this study is that it incorporates both social roles, with regards to ambiguity and congruency, and perceptions of the leader, in a framework of social identity theory, which is a novel occurrence.

Previous examinations of social roles in a social identity context recorded behavioural and attitudinal changes when observing whether individuals identified more with one role than another (Serpe, 1987). However, in this thesis, I approached role identity from a different angle by exploring how one's role fit with the overall group entity, whether there could be group rejection of an individual role but still maintaining a positive group identity, and how uncertainty of one's role within the group occurs, and gets resolved. The findings that collective intentions are affected by incompatible matches of roles between the individual and the group but personal intentions remain unchanged indicates that this approach is useful within the framework of social identity.

By incorporating both personal intentions and collective intentions (in addition to behavioural and attitudinal components) in the experiments, I could observe differences in how one intends to act both independently and collectively. As research into collective intentions is relatively novel (Bratman, 2015; Zaibert, 2003), this allows for a more robust understanding of exactly how individuals behave within a group context. Including collective intentions highlighted how planned group action can be altered depending on whether the group is cooperating or competing, as how it is intrinsically part of the social identification process by which group members form likings for one another. Additionally, in identifying that ambiguous group members leave the group at higher rates than unambiguous members, I have demonstrated multiple points of utility which indicate social roles should be included in more identity theory work.

6.3 Limitations and Lessons Learned

While there have been several ways in which understanding of social identity has been extended through the observations found in this thesis, there are as well, several limitations both methodological and theoretical that are raised throughout this thesis. With regards to leaders and leadership, while identifying and applying villain-leaders to an experimental setting was the most convenient way in which I could prime participants with relevant leaders, it raises some profound ideas which are observed when examining the leaders in the framework of “heroes” and “villains”. Ultimately, in portraying heroes and villains as Winston Churchill and Adolf Hitler respectively, it was an acceptable demonstration that one represents all that is positive about leaders while the other represents all that is negative. While the pilot study indicated this line of thinking was correct, variations within the data indicated that not all participants thought positively about Winston Churchill and not all participants thought negatively about Adolf Hitler.

In the fourth study, the data indicated the narrative of leaders is one of perspective and not archetypes. Though some studies have identified that archetype heroes always display certain characteristics (Kinsella, Ritchie & Igou, 2015), what I found was that a specific leader can be identified as both a villain or a hero depending on which social group is being asked to evaluate the leader. Leaders who display deviant behaviour may still be regarded as a good leader by one group (de Moura & Abrams, 2013), yet may be considered villainous by other group who do not share the leader’s norms (DeCelles & Pfarrer, 2004).

This social identity paradigm of villains and heroes means that both studies which also examined leadership would never be able to find true exemplars of a hero or a true

exemplar of villain as these archetypes only exist for specific homogenized groups. Yet, in selecting the assortment of leaders I did, and allowing the sample population to canalize the choices to a specific leader for each category, I attempted to identify archetype leaders that would be relevant to the sample population of British undergraduate students at a university. However, in the second leadership study, it became clear that what was salient in terms of good and bad leaders for British university students, may not be salient for the Californian electorate in a presidential primary, as the results were predicated not on whether leaders had specific traits, but whether members considered the leaders representative as a whole to the group norms. Hence the limitation in identifying “hero” and “villain” leaders reinforces the thesis’ aim to demonstrate that attitudes and behaviours in a social identity framework are highly dependent upon the leadership context and group context, such that the terms “hero” and “villain” are a matter of group perspective and not universally held ideals. One potential study to examine this discrepancy between group norms and heroic/villainous leadership, would entail social groups reading and evaluating vignettes about a leader who either share or do not share the group’s norms. These vignettes would describe the actions that individual leader took to promote those norms. At the end of the vignette, participants would be provided a description of whether or not the leader was a member of their social group or the outgroup. Participants would then be asked to rate how heroic or how villainous they believed the leader’s actions to be. By comparing the four conditions (similar norms-ingroup, similar norms-outgroup, dissimilar norms-ingroup, dissimilar-outgroup) in which participants do not know the allegiance of the leader until after they have read their norms and actions, the results would provide evidence of

how influential the ingroup/outgroup label is for leaders in whether their actions are viewed as heroic or villainous.

Another contentious point in this thesis was the decision to utilise social roles from a team developmentalist and how those roles were incorporated into the overall structure of the thesis. Studies which examine social roles from a sociological perspective treat roles as a binary choice through which one is being engaged. The most common of these being whether an individual adheres to gender roles or spousal roles (Kuntsche et al., 2016). The difficulty in applying this framework to the current study is that in a group setting, each member must feel a sense of distinct contribution to the group that they themselves bring, rather than a potential substitute role for which other, more qualified members, already contribute (Thomas, Brown, Easterbrook, Vignoles, Manzi, D'Angelo & Holt, 2017). In current social identity literature, social roles are examined separate from a group entity that is no dyadic (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Therefore, the options to implement controlled social roles in a small-group setting were extremely limited and practically non-existent.

While the Belbin team roles (1983) have both critics and flaws in what they are supposed to represent (Manning, Parker & Pogson, 2006; Batenburg, van Walbeek & de Maur, 2013). Using them as categorical tools with associated traits allowed us to implement an experiment where both group member and group could evaluate and distribute social roles by what they believed to be appropriate for the individual and not as a pre-determined set. In team studies, the same outcome would have been accomplished by identifying what position the teammate played (i.e. shortstop, midfielder, point guard) and deferring to the group how suited the individual is in occupying that role. However, in the current setup,

implementing the Belbin social roles was the closest methodological tool that could be used, short of inventing a pantheon of social roles specifically for the study. However, such a study in which social roles are created for this purpose, would be useful and more accurate given the proper time and resources to evaluate them. In the current thesis however, it was necessary to collapse the Belbin roles into more meaningful categories as little data could be garnered by trying to compare incongruencies when participants were given such a multitude of choices to match individual and role. Therefore, a commonality had to be intertwined in the roles, and as leadership ability was already demonstrated to be a factor in the social roles selected (Batenburg, van Walbeek & de Maur, 2013), it was decided that the roles would be collapsed by whether they represented high leadership potential, or low leadership potential. While this yielded interesting results, it nevertheless means that other potential findings may be obfuscated because such effects would be associated with other social traits that were not examined such as anxiety or self-esteem.

6.4 Final Conclusions for Future Direction

One of the most important implications of this thesis has been to demonstrate the caveat researchers face when conducting group identification studies only socially homogenous samples such as university students. Previous studies demonstrated that culturally different group types have differing patterns of identification and intentionality (Bagozzi & Lee, 2002) and that effect of identification vary in magnitude depending on the starting enmity between the groups in question (Weisel & Bohm, 2015). In this thesis, the principle theory behind those discoveries are still fundamentally true for group with different socio-cultural norms, and leaders. However, the similarities demonstrated between

newly-formed and established groups, indicate outcomes can be extrapolated from one to the other. However, similarities and differences between Democrats and Republicans, highlight that extrapolating artificial group outcomes to natural group outcomes comes with caveats. Specifically, deviant or non-prototypical leaders will interfere with outcome extrapolation, as will the type of intergroup context.

Future research should be dedicated to several critical extensions of these findings. In extension to the implications, more research should be conducted to examine the impact that role identification has on social identity theory. With regards to this, it is crucial that a standardized set of experimental social roles be established in order for research to move beyond dyadic relationships and examine how social roles within social groups mimics their application within the cultural framework (e.g. president, vice president, chief financial officer etc.). One method would be to create stereotype characteristics for roles that are culturally understood in communities which could be easily tested (i.e. wizard, rogue, and warrior for people who play Dungeons and Dragons). This would allow for distribution and adoption of social roles, and how they influence identification within the group. It would also allow for standardized testing for roles which are culturally understood by a large sample population. Many of the factors observed, such as level of leader support, or even leadership prototypicality, are difficult applications in an artificial university setting due to the time necessary it takes for groups to codify their norms and then elect a group leader who is prototypical to those norms. Therefore, scaling the research to examine the outcomes not only in a university or political setting but several others in which homogeneity differs in varying degrees among groups would be beneficial in making sure

there are not special group types that have gone unobserved, where leadership influence is distinctly different from what was discovered. This should include an examination of different leadership procedures as it was previously shown that open versus secret leadership endorsements can influence people's reporting of their attitudes and identification (Teixeira et al., 2015).

One such study may be to incorporate whether the group has selection power over the leader (democracy) or whether the former leader or other entity has selection power over the future leader (autocracy). Such differences may interfere with the social identity outcomes discovered. The final extension is to run a series of analyses or meta-analysis to determine the degree to which superordinate identities can supplant traditional intergroup biases and preferences. This would be done by utilizing several contexts which highlight the need for ingroup members and outgroup members to work together, while examining the minimum number of common shared characteristics between ingroups and outgroups to which ingroup and outgroup members can continuously recognize those salient characteristics. The goal of which is to observe the creation of a new identity composed of both ingroup and outgroup members. In this way, researchers could apply the hypothesis to evaluate a threshold at which intergroup biases become less salient than recognizing the shared commonalities between groups (Batalha & Reynolds, 2012). Through this application, social identity research could help solve problems of intergroup biases that extend from small local community disputes, to larger overarching problems, such as racism and sexism.

Chapter 7

APPENDIX A

Rokeach Instrumental Values Survey (1973)

To what extent do you feel that the party embodies these values?

Ambitious

Broadminded

Capable

Cheerful

Clean

Courageous

Forgiving

Helpful

Honest

Imaginative

Independent

Intellectual

Logical

Loving

Obedient

Polite

Responsible

Self-Controlled

Rokeach Terminal Values Survey (1973)

To what extent do you feel that the party embodies these values?

A comfortable life

An exciting life

A sense of accomplishment

A world at peace

A world of beauty

Equality

Family security

Freedom

Happiness

Inner Harmony

Mature Love

National (country) security

Pleasure

Salvation

Self-respect

Social recognition

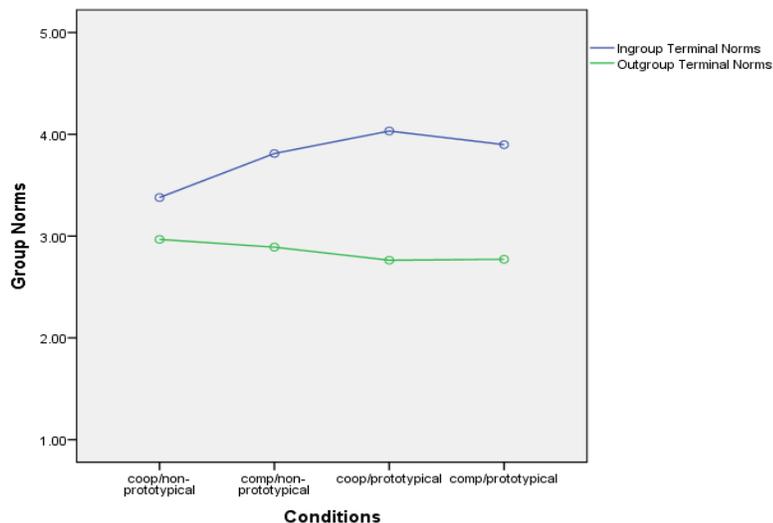
True friendship

Wisdom

APPENDIX B

Additional analysis to Chapter 5 demonstrates in addition to contextual effects on instrumental group norms, contextual effects also exist for terminal group norms during a Presidential Primary. A repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to evaluate reported ingroup and outgroup terminal norms by condition (cooperation-non-prototypical-leader/competition-non-prototypical-leader/cooperation-prototypical-leader/competition-prototypical-leader). A multivariate effect was discovered, $F(3,168) = 6.20, p < 0.001, \eta = 0.10$. Ingroup and outgroup norms were seen as most similar when leaders were non-prototypical and members were cooperative. Norms were most disparate when leaders were prototypical and members were in a competitive context (See Fig. 11). Similar effects were found for self-prototypicality on terminal group norms, $F(1,163) = 7.28, p < 0.01, \eta = 0.04$, and for leader behaviour on terminal group norms, $F(1,163) = 8.90, p < 0.01, \eta = 0.05$.

Fig. 13. Terminal Norms by Context During a Presidential Primary



Chapter 8

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