A multi-level approach to change in in-group identification: Comparative change of meaningfulness of social categories

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Abstract: Although previous research found that many factors facilitate in-group identification, past studies did not consider the interactive effects of intra-group and inter-group factors (e.g., ingroup social values). Therefore, my first purpose in this doctoral study was to explain in-group identification change from the perspective of comparative change of categories' meaningfulness. The questionnaire survey and The experiment supported the prediction that interaction with other in-group members and a high level of value synergistically promoted in-group identification and suggested a high level of context-dependent meaningfulness of inter-group factors. My second purpose was to develop this approach on a basis of multi-level influence processes among individual, interpersonal, group, social, and cultural factors. The minimal group paradigm and the longitudinal questionnaire survey focused on the effect of independent and interdependent self-construal, as an individual factor implying cultural-level differences, which present a threat to self-esteem from a personal task-relevant stress or interpersonal stress on in-group favoritism. For buffering threats to self-esteem, independents identify more than interdependents with the in-group. Moreover, the questionnaire survey allowed an examination of the effect of the in-group's social value as a sociallevel factor. The results showed that independents, who reported more threats to their self-esteem, identified more with the in-group only when the ingroup's value was high. Interdependents showed

less in-group identification, regardless of the ingroup's value. The results also suggested that such a multi-level approach enables a possible expansion from individual to cultural factors.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Many studies of in-group identification, understood to have an individual's self-concept derived from perceived memberships in significant social groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), have indicated that while in-group identification often leads to positive mental health for members (Haslam & Reicher, 2006), it may also cause negative intergroup conflicts or competitions (Brewer, 2001). In addition to this functional role, group categorization or intra-group interaction heightens in-group identity. Recent research has indicated that intra-group factors, such as interaction among members, enhance a positive in-group identity whether or not any out-group is present (Gaertner, Iuzzini, Witt, & Oriña, 2006). However, these studies overlook the interactive effects of intra-group and inter-group factors, including the in-group's social value, on in-group identification.

The first purpose of this study was to uncover the mechanism of in-group identification from the perspective of the comparative change in the meaningfulness of categories. This change in meaningfulness defines the context-dependent influence of inter-group factors. It was predicted that interaction between in-group members and the high (not low or middle) level of the in-group's social value synergistically promotes in-group identification.

The second purpose was to develop this approach based on multi-level influence processes (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994). This approach mainly focused on the effect of independent and interdependent self-construal and threat to self-esteem (Leary, 2004) on in-group favoritism or identification. It was predicted that independents would identify more than interdependents with their in-group for buffering threats to self-esteem. By examining the effects of these factors, an approach which focused on the context-dependent change of meaningfulness of categories could be expanded by the multi-level perspective from individual to cultural factors.

Chapter 2: Simple effects of intra-group interaction and the in-group's social value on in-group identification

The purpose of this study was twofold: to verify that a network among in-group members would be an origin of identification with university undergraduates' academic departments and that this network was based on common-bondgroup characteristics formed through intra-group interaction; and to investigate whether commonidentity-group characteristics stemmed from the intergroup context would affect identification with the departments if intergroup context served as maintenance and enhancement of self-evaluation. The results of hierarchical multiple regression analyses supported the predictions that commonidentity-group characteristics were positively related to in-group identification when the ingroup was high in social dominance, while they weren't related in the case of low social dominance. However, common-bond-group characteristics were positively related in both cases. These findings demonstrated the simple effects of intragroup interaction and an in-group's social value.

Chapter 3: Synergetic effect of intra-group interaction and the in-group's social value on in-group identification

The purpose of this study was to reveal the synergetic effect of intra-group interaction and in-group's social value on identification with an experimental group. It was predicted that interaction with in-group members and a high in-group's social value synergistically heightens in-group identification. In two experiments, the intra-group interaction and the in-group's value were manipulated. As predicted, results confirmed that both variables had an interactive effect on in-group identification. Participants showed the highest identification with their in-groups when in-group members interacted with each other and the in-group's social value was high, suggesting that intra-group interaction and the in-group's social value had a synergetic effect on in-group identification. These results validate an approach based on the context-dependent change of meaningfulness of categories.

Chapter 4: The effects of independentinterdependent self-construal and threat to self-esteem on in-group favoritism in minimal group paradigm

The purpose of this study was to investigate whether the approach of the context-dependent change of meaningfulness of categories could be expanded by focusing on independent and interdependent self-construal and threat to self-esteem from task-relevant and interpersonal stress: i.e., an examination of the hypothesis that in situations that threaten self-esteem, independents show more in-group favoritism, whereas interdependents do not. The results with

use of a minimal group paradigm, consistent with the hypothesis, showed that self-construal and threats to self-esteem had an interactive effect on in-group favoritism. Independents showed more in-group favoritism when their self-esteem was threatened than when it was not, whereas interdependents exhibited less in-group favoritism when their self-esteem was threatened than when it was not. These findings suggest that independent and interdependent self-construal moderates the use of in-group favoritism for maintaining and enhancing self-evaluation, expanding the approach of the context-dependent change of meaningfulness of categories from self-construal and threat to self-esteem.

Chapter 5: The effects of independentinterdependent self-construal and threat to self-esteem on in-group and out-group appraisal.

Two questionnaire surveys which focused on the differences between in-group and outgroup appraisal, confirmed the validity of the expanded approach of the context-dependent change of meaningfulness of categories. The results of hierarchical multiple regression analyses generally supported the predictions. For interdependents, task-relevant and interpersonal stress was negatively related to the differences between in-group and out-group appraisal; i.e., The relationship indicated no in-group favoritism. In contrast, these factors weren't related for independents. The results suggested that the use of in-group favoritism for independents' selfevaluation applied not only to an experimental group in the minimal group paradigm, but also to real groups, like departments or faculties.

Chapter 6: The moderating effect of independent-interdependent self-construal and threat to self-esteem on common-identity and common-bond representation

The purpose of this study was twofold: to examine the relationship between independent and interdependent self-construal and grouprepresentation as common-identity group and common-bond group; and to investigate whether the type of self-construal and frequency of experienced task-relevant and interpersonal stressful events have an interactive effect on individuals' group-representation. As predicted, the results of a longitudinal survey showed that interdependence was related to commonbond group and that the type of independentinterdependent self-construal and the frequency of experienced stressful events had an interactive effect on group-representation as a common-bond group. Interdependents showed high commonbond-group scores when they experienced multiple stressful events as compared to fewer stressful events, whereas independents exhibited low common-bond-group scores. The possibility existed that a mismatch between participants' group-representation and the in-group's social value may have interfered with the results.

Chapter 7: The in-group's representation and social value affect the use of ingroup identification for maintaining and enhancing self-evaluation.

Chapters 4 and 5 suggested that independents identify more than interdependents with the ingroup for buffering threats to self-esteem. In this chapter, the effect of the in-group's social value and representation on this identification process among university students who reported various real-world threats to their self-esteem was examined. The results of path analyses showed

that for positive self-evaluation, independents who reported more threats to their self-esteem identified more with the in-group only when the in-group's social value was high. Interdependents showed less in-group identification, regardless of the in-group's value, because they were also motivated to increase relations with others within a larger number of groups to expand and secure their interdependent network per se. Besides, these effects were mediated by the representation of the in-group as common-identity or common-bond group. These findings suggested the importance of considering the role of self-construal and the in-group's social value, along with the in-group representation, for understanding in-group identification, thus validating the expanded approach of the contextdependent change of meaningfulness of categories.

Chapter 8: General discussion

In a series of studies, construction of a multi-level approach to the change of in-group identification revealed that in an experimental approach, interaction with in-group members and a high level of the in-group's social value synergistically heightened in-group identification. These findings suggested that an approach from the comparative meaningfulness of categories is valid. In addition, threatened independents identified more with the in-group only when the in-group's social value was high. Threatened interdependents showed less in-group identification, regardless of the in-group's value. Moreover, these effects were mediated by the representation of the in-group as common-identity or common-bond group. These results suggested that the expanded approach of the context-dependent change of meaningfulness of categories was valid from the multi-level perspective from individual to cultural factors. The findings also implied that independents with threatened self-esteem heightened the contextdependent meaningfulness of categories when they belonged to an in-group with high social value. Taken together, the multi-level model of in-group identification from the perspective of the comparative change of meaningfulness of categories allowed a further understanding of the findings (e.g., Gaertner et al., 2006; Haslam & Reicher, 2006) regarding the functional role and mechanism of in-group identification.

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