Deviance and Stereotype Change: The Role of Ingroup Identification

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# Abstract

This thesis examines the consequences of the presentation of a deviant group member for the image of the group. Previous research suggests that the derogation of a deviant ingroup member might be functional in its protection of the image of the ingroup. Although there is considerable circumstantial support for this notion, to date, there is no direct empirical evidence of a link between deviant derogation and the maintenance of the image of the group. The thesis aims to fill this gap by examining the consequences of an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative group member for both the representation and composition of the group.

Study 1 examines the consequences of the presentation of a deviant for the image of the ingroup as a function of ingroup identification. Study 2 examines how a deviant ingroup or outgroup member might differentially affect judgements of the ingroup and outgroup as a function of ingroup identification. Study 3 examines judgements of deviants in low and high status groups as a function of ingroup identification. Study 4 examines the consequences of a deviant for the image of the ingroup as a function of group status and ingroup identification. Studies 5 and 6 examine the consequences of a deviant ingroup member for perceived ingroup variability as a function of ingroup identification. Study 7 examines how a deviant ingroup or outgroup member might differentially affect perceived ingroup and outgroup variability as a function of ingroup identification. Study 8 examines the consequences of a deviant ingroup member for self-stereotyping and ingroup identification as a function of the initial level of ingroup identification.

Taken together, the results support the proposal that reactions to deviant group member might serve an identity maintenance function. The thesis concludes with a summary of the findings, a discussion of the limitations of the research and suggestions for future research.

## MEMORANDUM

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# INTRODUCTION

Deviance is a pervasive feature of groups (Levine, 1989). While tolerated within certain latitudes of acceptance (Sherif & Sherif, 1967), within most groups, deviants tend to be treated with suspicion and contempt. This most often emerges in the form of derogatory attitudes and judgements. Research has shown that deviants are typically derogated more extremely by members of their own group than by members of outgroups, a phenomenon known as the black sheep effect (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988; Marques & Paez, 1994). At face value, derogating an ingroup member more extremely than a similar outgroup member might seem inconsistent with the more familiar ingroup favouritism effect (see Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992). According to Marques et al. (1988), however, ingroup derogation and ingroup favouritism are different manifestations of the same identity maintenance motivation. In this view, the extreme rejection of a negative ingroup member is a sophisticated form of ingroup favouritism that serves to exclude (albeit psychologically) from the ingroup those members who negatively contribute to the ingroup identity.

Although there is considerable circumstantial support for this notion (for reviews, see Marques & Paez, 1994; Abrams, Marques, Randsley de Moura, Hutchison, & Bown, 2004), to date, there is no direct empirical evidence of a link between the extreme derogation of deviant ingroup members and the maintenance of the image of the ingroup. The thesis aims to fill this gap by examining the consequences of an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member for both the representation and composition of the ingroup. In doing so, it aims to

answer some fundamental questions. Namely, does the extreme derogation of negative ingroup members in fact constitute a step towards their psychological exclusion from the ingroup? Moreover, does the exclusion of those members go hand-in-hand with the maintenance of the image of the ingroup? Were these questions answered in the affirmative, this would mean that the image of the ingroup should be relatively unaffected by an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member or even become more positive. In examining this hypothesis, the thesis also investigates the role of ingroup identification in people's reactions to deviants. To the extent that the ingroup is by definition more self-conceptually important for high identifiers than for low identifiers, it follows that high identifiers will be more motivated than low identifiers to protect the image of the ingroup from the negative implications of a deviant within its ranks. These general predictions are tested in a series of eight studies, which are summarized in the following section.

## OVERVIEW

Chapter 1 provides a review of previous research on the perception and evaluation of deviant group members. It is divided into two main sections. The first section reviews relevant research informed by the so-called small group perspective. This perspective traditionally emphasizes the role of interpersonal interaction and behavioural interdependence in various processes occurring within small groups (e.g., Cartwright & Zander, 1968; Festinger, 1950; Levine, 1989). Research on deviance in small groups shows that people reject other ingroup members who resist pressures towards uniformity on relevant matters of opinion or who intentionally fail to contribute to the achievement of important group goals (e.g., Earle, 1986; Jones

and DeCharms, 1957; Schachter, 1951). The second section reviews research informed by the social identity perspective which has probably had most impact in recent times on mainstream social psychology, especially the social psychology of groups (see Abrams & Hogg, 1999; Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Brown, 2000; Capozza & Brown, 2000; Haslam, 2001; Haslam, van Knippenberg, Platow, & Ellemers, 2003; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Hogg & Terry, 2003). Consisting of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) and self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), this perspective places greater emphasis on collective self-conception as a group member than on behavioural interdependence and face-to-face interaction. Research conducted within the social identity framework shows that group members reject other ingroup members whose deviance negatively contributes to the ingroup identity (e.g., Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Hogg, 1992; Haslam & Turner, 1998; Marques et al., 1988).

Chapter 2 provides a review of relevant research on group perception. This chapter is also divided into two main sections. The first section begins with an overview of research on stereotype change in response to deviance. This research suggests that people may be motivated to disregard stereotype-disconfirming information (i.e., deviants) when judging groups, thus leaving their stereotypes intact (e.g., Kunda & Oleson, 1995, 1975; Yzerbyt, Coull, & Rocher, 1999). Some recent research on ingroup stereotype change in response to deviance is then introduced. Consistent with the theme of the thesis, this research points to the moderating effect of ingroup identification on stereotype change in response to ingroup deviance (e.g., Yzerbyt, Castano, Leyens, & Paladino, 2000). The second section of Chapter 2 provides a review of research on perceived group variability. It begins with a

discussion of the so-called outgroup homogeneity effect – the tendency to perceive the outgroup as more homogenous than the ingroup – and reviews some established explanations for the effect (e.g., Linville, Fischer, & Salovey, 1989; Quattrone, 1986). The social identity perspective on perceived group variability is then introduced. This perspective suggests that group variability judgements might reflect and be used to address identity maintenance concerns when the ingroup is threatened (e.g., Doosje, Spears, Ellemers, & Koomen, 1999; Haslam & Oakes, 1995; Simon, 1992).

Chapter 3 reports two studies (Studies 1 & 2) in which participants read about and evaluated either a positive or negative ingroup member and then judged the group on a series of stereotypic characteristics pertinent to the target manipulation. The results of both studies show that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers were more positive in their evaluation of a positive ingroup member, but more negative in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member. Moreover, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member. In Study 2, which also included an outgroup condition, high identifiers were more positive in their evaluation of a positive ingroup member than a positive outgroup member, but were more negative in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member than a negative outgroup member – the black sheep effect. Moreover, in contrast to the pattern of stereotype change observed in the ingroup condition, in the outgroup condition, high identifiers expressed a more negative image of the outgroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member. In contrast, however, the group variable did not affect low identifiers judgements of the target group members or the group.

Chapter 4 reports two studies (Studies 3 & 4) both of which investigate how people react to ingroup deviance under low status and high status conditions. The results of both studies show that, under low status conditions, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers were more positive in their evaluation of a positive ingroup member but more negative in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member, whereas these differences were absent under high status conditions. Study 4 included a group stereotype measure and found that the pattern of stereotype change observed in Studies 1 and 2 following the presentation of a negative ingroup member replicated under low status conditions but not under high status conditions.

Chapter 5 reports three studies (Studies 5, 6 & 7) in which participants read about and evaluated either a positive or negative ingroup member and then rated the group as a whole on various measures from which indices of central tendency and perceived group variability were obtained. In all three studies, the target evaluation ratings were similar to those observed in the previous studies. With regard to judgements of the group, in all three studies, the level of ingroup identification moderated variability judgements in the negative target condition but not in the positive target or control conditions. Thus, after reading about a negative ingroup member, high identifiers expressed homogeneity whereas low identifiers expressed heterogeneity. Study 7 also included an outgroup condition and found that the group variable did not moderate variability judgements. However, with regard to the central tendency scores, results indicated that high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member but a more negative image of the outgroup after reading about a negative outgroup member. This difference was absent in the positive target or control conditions.

Chapter 6 reports a study (Study 8) in which participants read about either a positive or negative ingroup member before rating the target and group on a series of stereotypic characteristics and also themselves on a self-stereotype measure and ingroup identification measure, which was administered before and after the presentation of the target group member. Results shows that high identifiers were more negative than low identifiers in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member, whereas this difference was absent in the positive target condition. High identifiers also expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member, whereas this difference was also absent in the positive target condition. Likewise, high identifiers self-stereotyped more than low identifiers after reading about a negative ingroup member, whereas this difference was also absent in the positive target condition. On the pre- and post-manipulation identification measures, it was found that high identifiers maintained a consistently high level of ingroup identification across time and target conditions, whereas low identifiers identified less after (vs. before) reading about a negative ingroup member and more after (vs. before) reading about a positive ingroup member.

Chapter 7 summarizes the findings of the programme research reported in the previous chapters. It is argued that the findings provide clear and consistent support for the hypothesized role of ingroup identification in people's responses to deviance. The evidence suggests that high identifiers will attempt to differentiate the group as a whole from the negative characteristics of a deviant within its ranks, whereas low identifiers, in contrast, seem more likely to attempt to differentiate themselves from the group. In examining the actual consequences of an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member, it is argued that the thesis represents an important

advance on previous research on reactions to deviance in groups. Limitations of the current research are then considered and possible directions for future research are outlined.

# CHAPTER 1

## Reactions to Deviance in Groups

This chapter reviews theory and research on people's reactions to deviance. It is divided into two main sections. The first section describes research informed by the small group perspective (e.g., Cartwright & Zander, 1968; Festinger, 1950; Levine, 1989). This research shows that people reject other ingroup members who resist pressures towards uniformity on relevant matters of opinion or who intentionally fail to contribute to the attainment of important group goals (e.g., Earle, 1986; Jones and DeCharms, 1957; Schachter, 1951). The second section focuses on research informed by the social identity perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Turner et al., 1987). This research shows that ingroup members who positively contribute to the ingroup identity are seen as more socially attractive than ingroup members who are deviant and hence negatively contribute to identity (e.g., Abrams et al., 2000; Hogg, 1992; Marques et al., 1988; Turner et al., 1987). The chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications of the research reviewed in the chapter for the aims of the thesis, and guidelines for the research reported in subsequent chapters are specified.

## INTRODUCTION

Deviance is a pervasive feature of most groups. While often accepted or at least tolerated within given limits (Sherif & Sherif, 1967), in almost all groups, deviants tend to be treated with suspicion and contempt and may be subject to severe sanctioning. Indeed, defining someone as deviant does more than simply highlight

their difference from some standard or norm, it can also discredit and devalue them (Becker, 1963; Box, 1971; Goffman, 1986; Williams, 2001). As Becker (1963) argued, a key feature of both common-sense and scientific conceptions of deviance is that people who depart from standards of 'normal' behaviour are not just different but bad. Concomitant with this belief is a tendency to attribute difference to underlying individual essences (Medin & Ortony, 1989) or to stable personality dimensions (Eysenck, 1967). Indeed, early writers and researchers on the psychology of deviance were sustained in their activities by the belief that deviants suffered from a psychological defect. Despite clear differences of opinion about the nature of this defect, the implication for those deemed deviant was always the same (for a review, see Sapsford, 1981).

While it may be easy to think of examples of deviants who are justifiably condemned and vilified, it is also clear that deviance can serve a number of important functions for groups and societies. Times, situations, and the needs of the group change, and so norms and conventions must change to be adaptive in new conditions. A group's capacity for change allows it to survive, adapt, and prosper (Abrams, Randsley de Moura, Hutchison, & Viki, in press b; Moscovici, 1976). However, without deviance social change would be difficult to envisage. As Moscovici (1976, p. 82) argued, "its is the 'have-nots', the outsiders, the oppressed, not the ruling elites, who change society". The power of deviants in initiating social change would seem to lie in their ability to create internal conflict, and by refusing to compromise, create doubt and uncertainty, and produce a situation in which the only solution is for the majority to shift to the new point of view. This highlights a clear positive function of deviance for groups (see also Turner, 1991)

Initiating social change is only one positive function of deviance. Deviants, or rather the collective condemnation and punishment that they attract, can function to sustain the group's norms and values (Abrams et al., in press a, b; Hewstone, 1995; Marques et al., 1998a, 2001). This idea is not new. In his analysis of 'mechanical' solidarity, sociologist Emile Durkheim observed that punishment of deviants emerges mainly when there is a need to reinforce individuals' sense of cohesion and commitment to normative standards. He argued that when individuals deviate, other members who want the group's norms and/ or values maintained may feel the need to respond, initially by pressuring the deviant to conform to the group's mainstream and, if that fails, by rejecting the deviant outright. In this way, deviance provides an opportunity for the affirmation of groups' value and belief systems (Durkheim, 1893, Translated by Halls, 1984). A similar argument was made much later by Marques, Abrams, Paez, and Hogg (2001), who argued that the majority's reaction to internal conflict can function to bolster the normative standards of the group and even strengthen group members' commitment to those standards.

These ideas have been widely confirmed empirically in social psychological research on group processes. This research has evolved along two distinct lines that have come to be known as the small group perspective and the social identity perspective. The small group perspective traditionally emphasizes the role of interpersonal interaction and behavioural interdependence in various processes occurring within small face-to-face groups but has rarely addressed itself – at least conceptually – to the role played by intergroup relations in processes occurring within groups (e.g., Cartwright & Zander, 1968; Festinger, 1950; Levine, 1989). In contrast, research informed by the social identity perspective places more emphasis

on collective self-definition as a group member than on face-to-face interaction and behavioural interdependence – indeed, it sees the latter as contingent upon the former (Hogg, 1992; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Turner et al., 1987). These differences aside, research suggests that there is a clear parallel between the way people deal with deviance in small groups and large social categories (see Marques, Paez, & Abrams, 1998a; Marques & Paez, 1994; Marques et al., 2001). The present chapter reviews relevant research from both lines of research.

## The Small Group Perspective

### *Reactions to deviance in small groups*

Early research on deviance in small groups was strongly influenced by the work of Festinger and colleagues (Festinger, 1950, 1954; Festinger, Schachter, & Back, 1950). Festinger proposed that within any group there are at least two processes that result in individuals conforming to the majority position. The first is based on the assumption that people need to know that their opinions (beliefs, attitudes, etc) are valid. When possible, people will rely on objective criteria to validate their opinions. Festinger (1954) referred to this process as physical reality testing and defined it as an objective, first-hand, non-social process. The alternative, social reality testing, is engaged only to the extent that physical reality testing is unavailable. Social reality testing involves a process of social comparison whereby people compare their own opinions with those of similar others in order to seek consensual validation. Having reached agreement, people can proceed with confidence in the validity of their opinions (e.g., Boyanowsky & Allen, 1973; Burnstein & Vinokur, 1975; Kelley & Volkart, 1952; Turner, 1991). Lack of

uniformity will in turn create uncertainty among ingroup members. To this extent, people will generally value uniformity in groups and will strive to maintain it by engaging in normative attempts to make deviants conform (Deutsch & Gerard, 1955; Levine & Thompson, 1996; Turner, 1991). Festinger (1950) proposed that these conformity pressures will increase as a function of the cohesiveness of the group and the importance or relevance of the issue. When cohesiveness and relevance are high, the majority within the group will direct most of their communications towards deviants in an attempt to persuade them to conform. Those who resist this persuasive pressure and maintain a deviant position will ultimately be rejected by other ingroup members and, in some cases, may even be expelled from the group altogether (e.g., Cota, Evans, Dion, Kilik, & Stewert-Longman, 1995; Earle, 1986; Jones & DeCharms, 1957; Levine, 1989).

The second source of conformity pressure in groups discussed by Festinger (1950) is the presence of an important group goal. When a group has a clearly defined goal, uniformity among members may be necessary for the group to locomote towards its attainment. Without that uniformity, the group's efforts are likely to be fragmented and the attainment of the goal will become less likely. To this extent, people will exert conformity pressure on other ingroup members who intentionally fail to contribute to collective goal attainment. Consistent with this notion, several studies have found that the more a deviant interferes with or prevents the attainment of some valued goal, the more he or she is rejected by the rest of the group (e.g., Berkowitz & Howard, 1959; Earle, 1986; Jones & DeCharms, 1957; Suchner & Jackson, 1976; Schachter, 1951; Wiggins, Dill, & Schwartz, 1965).

Perhaps the most well-known study of people's reactions to deviance in small groups is that of Schachter (1951). In this study, college students were assigned to groups of six to eight members to participate in what they were told were the opening meetings of four types of clubs (case-study, editorial, film and radio). Cohesion was varied within each group by manipulating whether the type of club was one that the participant wished to join or not. Relevance of the discussion was varied by having all groups discuss the case of a juvenile delinquent, Johnny Rocco, a topic pertinent only to case study and editorial groups. One confederate in each group was instructed to take a middle-of-the-road position and to agree with the recommendations made by the majority of the group (the mode). Another two confederates were instructed to either consistently disagree with the group's recommendations (the deviant) or to initially disagree and then increasingly agree with the group (the slider).

Among other things, Schachter observed that throughout the discussion participants directed more communications towards the deviant than towards the other members. However, as it became evident that the deviant would not alter his opinion (unlike the slider), communication gradually decreased and eventually cease altogether. At the end of the discussion, participants were asked to complete questionnaires that supposedly pertained to future discussion meetings of their group. Among other things, the questionnaires asked participants to assign group members to various tasks in future discussions and to nominate one member who should be eliminated from those discussions. Results indicated that the unimportant and boring tasks were assigned to the deviant, who was also rejected more often than the other members. Moreover, as predicted, this effect was accentuated as a function of the

cohesiveness of the group and the relevance of the discussion topic (see also Janis, 1982; M. Turner, Pratkanis, Probasco, & Leve, 1992).

In a more recent study, Earle (1986) assigned students to groups of four members to discuss whether psychology undergraduates should participate as subjects in experiments at the university. Depending on condition, they were either informed that the purpose of the discussion was to help each person form a personal opinion or to help the group reach a consensual opinion. In both conditions a confederate deviated from the majority opinion. Results showed that the deviant was more strongly rejected in the group goal condition than in the individual goal condition. More recently still, Miller, Jackson, Mueller, and Schersching (1987) found that members of the majority in a decision-making group rated each other as more attractive than they rated a deviant even when the experimental instructions made it clear that a majority decision would be acceptable and that unanimity was not necessary.

Other research shows that there is a parallel between the implications of deviance for the validity of group members' beliefs and its implications for group task achievement. In an early study, Jones and DeCharms (1957) assigned participants to groups of five or six members. In each group a deviant confederate was instructed to show a lack of interest in the task and its attainment. Depending on which condition they were assigned to, participants were either informed that they would be rewarded for their work on the basis of the group's performance or on the basis of their individual performance. Jones and DeCharms found that participants were more negative in their evaluation of the deviant in the collective reward condition than in the individual reward condition. Similar results were obtained in a

study reported by Berkowitz and Howard (1959) who asked groups of four or five members to appraise an organizational conflict. Again, participants were told they would be rewarded either on the basis of the group's performance or on the basis of their individual performance. During the course of the discussion, participants learned that one member of the group disagreed with the majority. Results showed that participants rejected the deviant more strongly as a prospective co-worker in the collective reward condition than in the individual reward condition.

*Summary*

The preceding evidence clearly shows that people disapprove of other ingroup members who resist pressures towards uniformity on relevant matters of opinion or who fail to contribute to the attainment of important group goals. The results of the Schachter (1951) study also clearly show that pressures toward uniformity increase as a function of the cohesiveness of the group and the importance of the issue or goal (see also Janis, 1982; M. Turner et al., 1992). Although these early studies have traditionally been conducted and interpreted from the perspective of small group research – a perspective that traditionally emphasizes the role of interpersonal interaction and behavioural interdependence in processes occurring within groups – research informed by the social identity perspective suggests that people may react to deviance in much the same way in large social categories in which face-to-face interaction is less of a defining feature and behavioural interdependence is less salient (e.g., Abrams et al., 2000; Haslam & Turner, 1998; Marques et al., 1998a; Marques et al., 2001; Marques & Paez, 1994). The following section reviews key studies from this line of research.

## The Social Identity Perspective

### *Social identity*

The social identity perspective places greater emphasis on collective self-conception as a group member than on behavioural interdependence and face-to-face interaction (e.g., Hogg, 1992; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987). A core assumption of this perspective is that people attain an important part of their self-concept, called social identity, from their memberships in different social groups. Tajfel (1972) defined social identity as an individual's knowledge that he or she belongs to certain groups together with some emotional and value significance to him or her of the group membership. It is different from personal identity which refers to the part of the self-concept that derives from a person's knowledge that he or she is different from other people together with some emotional and value significance to him or her of this sense of individuality (Turner, 1982). When features of the social context lead a person to define him or herself in terms of a social identity that is shared with relevant others, his or her behaviour will be qualitatively different from that which results when this identity is not shared (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

### *Self-categorization and depersonalization*

This idea is developed in self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) where it is proposed that social categorization depersonalizes perception such that people are perceived less as unique individuals and more as interchangeable representatives of their group's prototype – a shared image of the features that best define the ingroup in relation to relevant outgroups (Oakes et al., 1994). Social

categorization of self, or self-categorization, likewise depersonalizes self-perception to the extent that the self is seen as interchangeable with other ingroup members. This process provides an ingroup comparative context containing similar others and hence a mutual expectation of agreement between ingroup members. Agreement with other people categorized as similar to self provides ingroup members with evidence that their beliefs, attitudes, opinions, and so forth are valid – that they reflect an external, objective, reality rather than personal biases or idiosyncrasies (Abrams, Wetherell, Cochrane, Hogg, & Turner, 1990; Turner, 1991).

By the same token, disagreement within the group makes ingroup members uncertain about the subjective validity of their judgements. In such a context, mutual influence pressures toward a distinct ingroup position will be invoked (Abrams et al., 1990; Turner, 1991). However, this is not the only possible way of reducing subjective uncertainty. Other reactions might include recategorizing self and others as different (e.g., by rejecting deviants) or perceiving the stimulus situation as one that is not shared by ingroup members (and hence one that there is not likely to be agreement about; Turner, 1991). Hogg (2000) argued that subjective uncertainty might also be reduced through disidentification with the group. However, a disidentification strategy seems unlikely to be engaged by people for whom the ingroup is self-conceptually important (see Study 8; Branscombe et al., 1999; Doosje et al., 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

### *Social attraction*

The above analysis suggests that people should value other ingroup members who validate ingroup members' opinions. Developing this reasoning, Turner (1987)

and Hogg (1992) argued that social categorization and concomitant depersonalization produce a mutual attraction whereby group members judge one another not as unique individuals but as embodiments of the group prototype. This type of attraction, called social attraction, is distinct from attraction based on idiosyncratic preferences and interpersonal relationships (Hogg & Hardie, 1991; Hogg, Hardie, & Reynolds, 1995). According to self-categorization theory, ingroup members will be seen as socially attractive and liked to the extent that they are prototypical of the ingroup. As Turner (1987) argued:

> In essence it is being proposed that in any specific setting where some evaluation of self and others is taking place one's ideal self is the most prototypical instance of the positive self-category in terms of which people are being compared, and that attraction to others is a direct function of their perceived similarity to one's ideal self in that specific situation. (p. 58)

The reverse is thought to apply when evaluating members of a negatively valued outgroup. Self-categorization theory predicts that those members will be rejected to the extent that they are prototypical of the outgroup:

> To the degree that he or she is perceived as prototypical of the negatively valued outgroup (which is in effect the same as being perceived as unrepresentative of the higher order self-category which includes both in-group and out-group), then he or she will be disliked … In any specific instance what matters is the value of the prototype that is being used as the standard: one likes people that represent positive categories or that are less representative of negative categories. (ibid)

Research supports the idea that personal attraction and social attraction are relatively independent. Hogg and Hardie (1991), for example, showed that the perceived prototypicality of members of a sports team was more strongly associated with popularity and liking under conditions in which team membership was salient than under conditions in which individuality and interpersonal relationships were salient. Individuals who identified more strongly with the team also used prototypicality as a stronger basis for attraction (see also Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001). Hogg, Cooper-Shaw, and Holzworth (1993) replicated these results and found additional evidence that (1) people who identified more strongly with the ingroup were more positively evaluated as group members but were liked less at an interpersonal level, (2) interpersonal similarity was more strongly related to personal attraction than social attraction, and (3) the relationship between interpersonal similarity and personal attraction was independent of group identification. More recently, Hogg et al. (1995) showed that target prototypicality predicted liking in an intragroup context but not in an interpersonal context.

Other research supports Turner's (1987) claim that people also use prototypicality as a basis for evaluating outgroup members. Haslam, Oakes, McGarty, Turner, and Onorato (1995), for example, had participants watch a video-recorded group discussion about issues of crime and punishment. Pre-testing indicated that the discussion group was consensually seen as an outgroup because of the strong pro-authority position advocated by the members. One member of the discussion group advocated either a moderate or extreme pro-authority position. Social identity salience was varied through task instructions to have three levels: low, moderate and high. Haslam et al. predicted that the perceived prototypicality of the

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extreme outgroup member would increase as a function of social identity salience and that increasing prototypicality would be associated with stronger rejection of the extreme outgroup member relative to the moderate outgroup member. Consistent with predictions, the extreme outgroup member was perceived as more prototypical in the high and moderate salience conditions than in the low salience condition and more prototypical in the high salience condition than in the moderate salience condition. The extreme outgroup member was also perceived as more prototypical than the moderate member in the high and moderate salience conditions but not in the low salience condition (see also Haslam et al., 1995, Study 1). Furthermore, consistent with the social attraction hypothesis, participants rejected the extreme outgroup member more strongly in the high salience condition than in moderate and low salience conditions.

*The black sheep effect*

As discussed previously, a core aspect of the social identity perspective is the idea that people are motivated to maintain and secure a positive distinction between the ingroup and the outgroup on relevant dimensions, and therefore by implication, view themselves in a positive way (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In some situations, this can lead people to favour other ingroup members over comparable outgroup members in evaluation and behaviour. This ingroup favouritism effect is robust and has been demonstrated in experimentally created minimal groups and in naturalistic (e.g., organizational) groups (for reviews, see Brewer, 1979; Mullen et al., 1992). Research supporting the idea that a basic identity maintenance motive might underlie this effect shows that ingroup favouring responses are expressed more strongly when

the ingroup identity is threatened (e.g., Branscombe & Wann, 1994), it is more pronounced among members for whom the group is more self-conceptually important (e.g., Doosje & Ellemers, 1997), and people often feel more positive about themselves after having made ingroup favouring responses (e.g., Lemyre & Smith, 1985).

Although pervasive, this ingroup favouritism effect is not an inevitable consequence of social categorization. In some situations people display the exact opposite by favouring outgroup members over ingroup members. Research on the black sheep effect shows that positive (e.g., desirable, competent, prototypical) ingroup members are evaluated more positively than positive outgroup members, whereas negative (e.g., undesirable, incompetent, deviant) ingroup members are evaluated more negatively than negative outgroup members. In one of the first studies to report this effect, Marques et al. (1988, Study 1) asked Belgian students to evaluate Belgian or Moroccan students who were described as being either attractive or unattractive. Whereas attractive ingroup members were evaluated more positively than attractive outgroup members, unattractive outgroup members were evaluated more positively than unattractive ingroup members.

At face value, reacting more negatively to an undesirable ingroup member than to a similar outgroup member might seem to be inconsistent with the more familiar ingroup favouritism effect. This has led some authors to assert that ingroup favouritism and the black sheep effect are opposite effects of social categorization (Khan & Lambert, 1998). However, Marques and colleagues argued that ingroup rejection and ingroup favouritism are different manifestations of the same identity maintenance motivation. In this view, the rejection of undesirable ingroup members

may be regarded as a sophisticated form of ingroup favouritism that serves to psychologically exclude from the ingroup those members who negatively contribute to social identity because they are undesirable or incompetent (e.g., Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988), disloyal (Branscombe, Wann, Noel, & Coleman, 1993), or undermine ingroup consensus (e.g., Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Dougill, 2002; Abrams et al., 2000; Marques et al., 2002). Marques and Paez (1994) clarified this:

> We assume that derogation of unlikeable ingroupers is a cognitive-motivational strategy to purge from the group those ingroup members who negatively contribute to social identity. (p. 38)

Marques et al. (1988, Study 2) conducted a second study in which they asked Belgian students to evaluate Belgian or Moroccan students whose behaviour was either socially desirable or undesirable on two judgemental dimensions of varying levels of generality. In the specific condition the dimension was pre-tested to apply exclusively to Belgian students, whereas in the general condition the dimension had been pre-tested to apply to all students regardless of their nationality. Following self-categorization theory principles (e.g., Oakes et al., 1994), Marques et al. predicted that the general dimension would increase the salience of the shared student identity and decrease the salience of national identity for the participants. Judgements on the general dimension should thus differentiate between likeable versus unlikeable targets but not (national) ingroup versus outgroup targets. In contrast, the specific dimension should increase the salience of national differences. On this dimension, undesirable ingroup members should be rejected more strongly that their outgroup counterparts because they threaten the (national) ingroup identity. Consistent with

predictions, participants did not differentially evaluate ingroup over outgroup members on the general dimension. In contrast, on the specific dimension, participants upgraded desirable ingroup members and downgraded undesirable ingroup members relative to their outgroup counterparts. In other words, the black sheep effect emerged only when the judgemental dimension was directly relevant to participants' social identity (see also Marques, 1990).

In the above-described studies, the information about the group membership of the targets was presented to participants as a between-participants factor. This invites the possibility that had participants judged two targets differing according to group membership, the familiar ingroup favouritism effect may have emerged. Marques and Yzerbyt (1988) addressed this limitation in two further studies in which law students listened to tape-recorded prose excerpts and rated the speakers' discursive ability. In one study (Study 1), the speaker's group (law vs. philosophy) was a within-participants factor and their performance (good vs. bad) was a between-participants factor. In the second study (Study 2), the speaker's group was a between-participants factor and performance was a within-participants factor. The predicted black sheep effect was found in both studies. Moreover, after rating the individual targets, participants evaluated the overall discursive abilities of the ingroup and the outgroup. In both studies, participants thought that the ingroup was superior to the outgroup. This would seem to support Marques' assertion that the black sheep effect is a correlate of ingroup favouritism and that it emerges whether social comparisons are implicit (Study 1) or explicit (Study 2; Marques & Paez, 1994; Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988; see also Yzerbyt et al., 2000).

*Ingroup identification and the black sheep effect*

The research described above supports the idea that a basic motivation to maintain the ingroup identity might underlie the familiar black sheep pattern of evaluations. Branscombe et al. (1993) took this idea to its logical conclusion when they proposed that individuals for whom group membership is more self-conceptually important should be relatively more extreme than those for whom the group is less important in their evaluation of positive and negative ingroup members, especially when the ingroup identity is threatened. Students who differed in their level of identification with their college basketball team were asked to read a newspaper article describing a game in which their home team either defeated (no threat condition) or was defeated by (threat condition) a rival team and to evaluate the author's journalistic ability. Additional information suggested that the author was either a loyal or disloyal fan of either the home team or the rival team. As predicted, the black sheep effect emerged among high but not low identifiers. High identifiers evaluated a loyal ingroup member more positively than a loyal outgroup member, but evaluated a disloyal ingroup member more negatively than a disloyal outgroup member. Moreover, when participants thought that the home team had been defeated, the loyal ingroup author was evaluated more positively and the disloyal ingroup author more negatively than when the home team was victorious (see also Abrams et al., 2000, Study 2; Biernat, Vescio, & Billings, 1999; Marques et al., 1998b).

*Ingroup rejection as a function of identity insecurity*

Marques, Abrams, and Serôdio (2002) conducted another series of studies to investigate how the security of the ingroup's relative superiority might influence

people's reactions to deviant group members. They reasoned that people should be more motivated to restore ingroup uniformity (and hence subjective validity) when the ingroup identity was insecure rather than secure, and hence deviant ingroup members should be rejected more extremely under insecure identity conditions than under secure identity conditions. In one study, Marques et al. (2002, Study 3) varied the security of the ingroup's relative superiority directly by informing participants that their ethical level was superior to the outgroup's (secure identity condition) or that there was uncertainty about which group was superior on this dimension (insecure identity condition). Bogus feedback indicated that one member of each group adopted a norm-validating position (normative target) and one adopted a norm-undermining position (deviant target). Consistent with predictions, the black sheep effect emerged only in the insecure identity condition. In this condition, a normative ingroup member was evaluated more favourably than a normative outgroup member, whereas a deviant ingroup member was evaluated less favourably than a deviant outgroup member. Participants in this condition also perceived the normative and deviant ingroup members as conveying, respectively, a better and worse image of their group than their outgroup counterparts and were more willing to exert conformity pressure on deviant ingroup members than deviant outgroup members.

Research on deviance in small groups shows that conformity pressure and rejection of opinion deviants tends to increase as a function of decreasing intragroup uniformity (e.g., Festinger, 1950; see also Turner, 1991). Marques et al. (2002) reasoned that a lack of ingroup uniformity should have similar consequences for the treatment of deviants in large social categories. This prediction was tested in a

second study (Marques et al., 2002, Study 2) in which half the participants were categorized as having a specific imagination type and were informed of the existence of differences between the two imagination types (intragroup condition). The remaining participants were told that there existed varying characteristics across people but no reference was made to specific imagination types (interpersonal condition). The context manipulation was crossed with a uniformity manipulation. In the high uniformity condition the responses of the normative targets were highly consensual whereas in the low uniformity condition they were relatively dispersed. As expected, participants in the ingroup low uniformity condition judged the normative and deviant ingroup members, respectively, more favourably and unfavourably than the normative and deviant outgroup members and the non-categorized targets. Participants in this condition were also more willing to exert conformity pressure on a deviant ingroup member than a deviant outgroup member and the different individual.

The above-reviewed research suggests that rejection of deviant ingroup members will be more extreme to the extent that the ingroup identity is threatened and/ or insecure (see also Branscombe et al., 1999; Scheepers, Branscombe, Spears, & Doosje, 2002). More recently, Schmitt and Branscombe (2001) reasoned that because group members evaluate other ingroup members on the basis of their perceived prototypicality, then they should be threatened when told that they are non-prototypical of the ingroup. This threat should in turn encourage high identifiers to increase their use of prototypicality as a basis for evaluating other ingroup members. To test these predictions, Schmitt and Branscombe gave male participants who differed in their level of gender identification false feedback concerning their level of

gender prototypicality and asked them to evaluate another man who was either prototypical or non-prototypical of men. Results showed that high identifiers showed more rejection of the non-prototypical ingroup member and more liking for the prototypical ingroup member after receiving feedback that they were non-prototypical compared to when they received feedback that they were prototypical. This pattern of evaluations provides further support for the idea that identity insecurity and/ or threat can lead people to derogate other ingroup members who fail to live up to ingroup standards (Branscombe et al., 1993; Marques et al., 2002).

## *Subjective group dynamics*

The preceding evidence supports the idea that ingroup derogation might support – or at least be concomitant with – the more familiar ingroup favouritism effect (Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988; Marques et al., 1988; Marques & Paez, 1994). Developing this reasoning, Marques, Abrams, and colleagues proposed a model of subjective group dynamics to account for the processes through which people strive to maintain positive intergroup distinctiveness through the parallel and functionally complementary process of intragroup differentiation (Abrams et al., in press a, b; Marques et al., 1998a). The subjective group dynamics model revisits the idea discussed previously that people are motivated to validate their opinions through social comparison processes (Festinger, 1950; Turner, 1991; Turner et al., 1987). It was argued above, following self-categorization theory principles, that subjective validity should increase to the extent that ingroup members are in agreement about issues that are important to their common identity, and there is considerable evidence to support this prediction (e.g., Abrams et al., 1990; for a review, see Turner 1991).

The subjective group dynamics model extends this reasoning and suggests that subjective validity (and hence social attraction) may also increase, perhaps even to a greater extent, when *outgroup* members provide relative support for a relevant ingroup norm. As Abrams et al. (2000) argued:

> An interesting consequence of subjective group dynamics is that people should like out-group members whose relative support for in-group norms boosts relative validity, whereas they should dislike in-group members whose relative rejection of in-group norms undermines relative validity. In fact, in-group—favouring deviants should be favored more than in-group—rejecting deviants, even when both deviate by the same amount and regardless of whether the deviant is an in-group or outgroup member. (p. 907)

The basic idea here seems to be similar to what Goethals and Darley (1987) were referring to when they argued that comparison with dissimilar others may be more informative with respect to the validity of an opinion than comparison with similar others. They argued that if people are similar in terms of the characteristics (e.g., needs, values and interests) likely to bias personal opinions, then their agreement can be plausibly discounted as a function of the same biasing characteristics. On the other hand, if dissimilar others agree with a personal opinion, so that the agreement cannot be explained in terms of biasing attributes, it is more likely that the agreed upon opinion is valid. Along similar lines, Marques et al. (1998b) argued that subjective validity should increase to the extent that outgroup members provide relative support for the ingroup position on a relevant comparative dimension. By the same token, subjective validity should decrease to the extent that

ingroup members provide relative support for the outgroup position. In this respect, the subjective group dynamics model would predict the same pattern of acceptance and rejection as the black sheep model described previously.

In a series of studies designed to test the subjective group dynamics model's predictions, Marques et al. (1998b) asked participants to rank order six suspects in a fictional murder case according to their responsibility for the death of the victim and to provide justifications for their decisions. Participants were then categorized into one of two groups ostensibly on the basis of their justification styles and received feedback about the responsibility rankings made by five other ingroup or outgroup members. The feedback indicated that four targets made ingroup-normative decisions by ranking the suspects in the same order as the majority of their group but one deviant target ranked the suspects in a way that deviated towards the norm of the outgroup (the reverse order from the majority of the ingroup). Participants evaluated the ingroup or outgroup as a whole and each of the five ingroup or outgroup members.

In the first study in this series (Marques et al., 1998b, Study 1), participants were more positive in their evaluation of the ingroup as a whole than the outgroup and favoured normative ingroup members over normative outgroup members. When the targets were deviant, however, ingroup members were rejected more than outgroup members. The authors suggested that this pattern of evaluations might reflect a motivation on the part of participants to validate the ingroup norm relative to the outgroup norm. A simple intergroup differentiation process, they argued, would lead participants to favour ingroup members over outgroup members irrespective of their position within the group. In a second study (Marques et al.,

1998b, Study 2), a similar but more extreme pattern emerged when participants were made accountable to other ingroup members rather than outgroup members. In a third study (Marques et al., 1998b, Study 3), the effects obtained in the first two studies emerged when ingroup and outgroup norm salience was high but not low. Under low norm salience conditions a simple intergroup differentiation process seemed to determine evaluations in that ingroup members were evaluated more positively than outgroup members irrespective of their position within the group.

In a final study in this series, Marques et al. (1998b, Study 4) proposed that deviant rejection should reinforce people's commitment to the group. To investigate this idea, participants were asked to report their level of ingroup (relative to outgroup) identification on two occasions – once immediately after they were categorized (pre-identification) and once after they evaluated normative and deviant ingroup or outgroup members (post-identification). Consistent with the previous experiments, participants evaluated a normative ingroup member more positively than a normative outgroup member, and rejected an ingroup deviant more than an outgroup deviant. In addition, the ingroup identification ratings indicated that the more participants identified with the ingroup (on the pre-identification measure) the more extremely they rejected a deviant ingroup member, and the more extremely they rejected a deviant ingroup member, the more they identified with the ingroup (on the post-identification measure). In other words, ingroup identification increased deviant rejection, which in turn reinforced ingroup identification. These results clearly support the idea that rejection of ingroup deviants indeed increases the subjective validity of social identity.

## *Anti-norm and pro-norm deviance*

The idea that a basic identity maintenance motivation might underlie the typically extreme reactions towards deviant ingroup members relative to deviant outgroup members gained further support from research on reactions to anti-norm versus pro-norm deviance (Abrams & Hutchison, 2002; Abrams et al., 2000, 2002; Castano, Paladino, Coull, & Yzerbyt, 2002a; Hutchison, 2000). Abrams et al. (2000) coined the term pro-norm deviance with reference to behaviour that deviates from a group's normative (i.e., prototypical) position on some relevant dimension but in a direction that is nevertheless consistent with the prevailing ethos of the group (see also Ewald & Jiobu, 1985; Hughes & Coakley, 1991).[1] They reasoned that the tendency to derogate deviant ingroup members more extremely than equally deviant outgroup members should be evident only when the deviance threatens the overall value or integrity of the ingroup and/ or undermines ingroup consensus on a group defining and hence valued dimension. To the extent that pro-norm deviants implicitly support the position of the ingroup, albeit extremely, Abrams et al. (2000) reasoned that their presence should be less likely than the presence of anti-norm deviants to invoke the identity maintenance processes thought to underlie the familiar black sheep pattern of evaluations.

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[1] Importantly, the term pro-norm deviance is not intended as a parallel to Codol's (1975) 'super-conformity of the self'. To Codol, super-conformity would be the equivalent of being 'more like' the ingroup prototype than anyone else in the group. As described by Abrams et al. (2000), pro-norm deviance actually refers to behaviour that is different from (i.e., more extreme than) the ingroup prototype (see also Castano et al., 2002a).

In the first of a series of studies testing this prediction, Abrams et al. (2000, Study 1) asked male and female participants to adopt the role of a personnel officer in an insurance company and to evaluate a series of targets from their own gender group who were ostensibly being considered for promotion. The characteristics of each candidate were depicted using a graphical display such that the different candidates were matched in terms of competence, intelligence, politeness and other relevant features but one candidate was more feminine and another was more masculine than the other (normative) candidates. Results indicated that participants rated gender normative candidates as more attractive than a pro-norm deviant, but rated a pro-norm deviant as more attractive than an anti-norm deviant. Moreover, these effects remained significant once ratings of perceived similarity between self and the target were accounted for. Thus, although a pro-norm deviant was disliked relative to normative group members, they were tolerated more than an anti-norm deviant. Abrams et al. proposed that this was because a pro-norm deviant conflicts less than an anti-norm deviant with the norms that define the ingroup gender identity. Similar effects were reported by Abrams et al. (2002) in a field study conducted with employees of a banking organization and Hutchison (2000; Abrams & Hutchison, 2002) in a study conducted with football supporters during an international tournament.

Two further studies extended the above line of research to explicitly intergroup contexts. In one study (Abrams et al., 2000, Study 2), psychology students read the results of a survey that ostensibly had been conducted among psychology students or customs and immigration officers. The survey indicated that psychology students wanted no change in the percentage of people granted asylum in Britain,

whereas customs officers advocated a 30% reduction in the number of people granted asylum. Participants viewed responses to the survey items made by six target members of the ingroup or the outgroup. Four of the targets expressed opinions that were consistent with their group's norm, one adopted a pro-norm position, and one an anti-norm position. Importantly, the ingroup and outgroup anti-norm members expressed identical attitudes (i.e., that there should be a 15% reduction in the numbers of people granted asylum).

Results confirmed that participants were more positive in their evaluation of the ingroup as a whole than the outgroup and preferred normative and pro-norm ingroup members over their outgroup counterparts. In contrast, when the targets were anti-normative, ingroup members were rejected more than outgroup members even though they expressed exactly the same opinions. Abrams et al. suggested that this was because, relative to other outgroup members, anti-norm outgroup members provided implicit support for the ingroup norm whereas, relative to other ingroup members, anti-norm ingroup members threatened the ingroup consensus and therefore negatively contributed to social identity. Consistent with this interpretation, additional analyses indicated that the more participants identified with the ingroup, the more strongly they favored deviants who provided relative support for the ingroup norm regardless of whether the deviants were themselves ingroup or outgroup members (see also Branscombe et al., 1993; Hutchison, 2000).

## Summary

The preceding evidence shows that group members evaluate one another not as unique individuals but as embodiments of their group's prototype. Ingroup

members are perceived as socially attractive and liked to the extent that they contribute to the positive distinctiveness of the ingroup identity and/ or the relative validity of ingroup norms and, by the same token, they will be perceived as socially unattractive and disliked to the extent that they reduce positive distinctiveness and/ or produce subjective uncertainty. Deviant rejection is also accentuated as a function of ingroup identification and identity insecurity and, as Marques et al. (1998b) showed, the rejection of deviant ingroup members can in turn increase ingroup identification. Furthermore, the results of the Abrams et al. (2000) study clearly showed that deviants who positively contribute to the ingroup identity, namely pro-norm deviants, are perceived as more attractive and are disliked less than anti-norm deviants. Taken together, then, the available evidence would seem to support the idea that deviant acceptance and rejection may reflect a basic identity maintenance motivation (Abrams et al., in press a, b; Marques & Paez, 1994; Marques et al., 1998a, 2001; Haslam & Turner, 1998; Yzerbyt et al., 2000).

## *Conclusions*

The present chapter reviewed key findings from research on reactions to deviance in groups. This research has developed from two separate theoretical and methodological perspectives which, for simplicity more than anything else, have come to be known as the small group perspective and the social identity perspective. The small group perspective has traditionally examined face-to-face interaction among group members and has been interested mainly in the consequences of deviance in terms of how group members approach their goals. In contrast, the social identity perspective has examined processes occurring within and between large

social categories and has been interested mainly in the self-evaluative consequences of deviance for ingroup members. These differences aside, the evidence suggests that there is no fundamental difference in how people react to deviants in groups in which members interact with one another and in groups defined only in terms of people's sense of group membership. In both cases, it seems that group members may be motivated to distance themselves from deviant ingroup members. In the groups studied by small group researchers, this motivation can result in the deviant's actual or physical exclusion from the group. In the large social categories typically studied by social identity researchers, in contrast, the exclusion tends to be psychological rather than physical, simply because the deviant's right to claim membership in the group may not be as open to question (Hornsey & Jetten, 2003).

While examples of deviants who are justifiably rejected by the rest of the group may be easy to think of, it is also clear that deviance can serve important functions for the group. By rejecting those who fail to commit themselves to the norms of the group, individuals may express, discover, or reinforce their own commitment to those norms (Marques et al, p. 417). This was most evident in the Marques et al. (1998b, Study 4) study, where it was observed that ingroup identification increased deviant rejection, which in turn reinforced ingroup identification. This finding strongly suggests that deviant rejection might be functional in its protection of the image of the ingroup. The present thesis develops this idea by examining the actual consequences of an encounter with a deviant ingroup member in terms of both the representation and composition of the ingroup. Although the question of whether there is a link between the strong rejection of a deviant ingroup member and the maintenance of the image of the ingroup has not yet

been systematically tested, considerable research has been conducted within the framework of stereotype change with regard to the impact of deviant outgroup members on the image of the outgroup. The following chapter reviews this and relevant related research.

# CHAPTER 2

## Stereotypes and Stereotype Change

This chapter reviews theory and research on stereotyping and stereotype change. It is divided into two main sections. The first section focuses on stereotype change in response to deviant group members. The review focuses specifically on the dominant subtyping model of stereotype change (Ashmore, 1981; Brewer, Dull, & Lui, 1981; Taylor, 1981). This model holds that stereotypes will show little or no change if perceivers are able to recategorize deviants as unrepresentative of the group as a whole. Some recent research on the impact that deviant ingroup members can have on the image of the ingroup is then described. Consistent with the theme of the thesis, this research points to the moderating effect of ingroup identification on stereotype change in response to ingroup deviance (e.g., Castano et al., 2002a; Coull, Yzerbyt, Paladino, & Leemans, 2001). The second section focuses on the concept of perceived group variability. The review begins with a discussion of the so-called outgroup homogeneity effect (e.g., Linville et al., 1989; Park & Judd, 1990; Quattrone & Jones, 1980). Various explanations for the effect are described along with some key research findings. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications of the research reviewed so far for the aims of the research reported in subsequent chapters.

## INTRODUCTION

Social psychologists have traditionally conceived of stereotypes as mental images that serve the important cognitive function of simplifying information

processing and response generation (e.g., Allport, 1954; Bodenhausen & Lichtenstein, 1987; Brewer, 1988; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Lippman, 1922; Tajfel, 1969). Lippman (1922) argued that stereotypes allowed the individual to interact with a social world too complex to represent accurately. The same assumptions are characteristic features of the writings of contemporary social cognition researchers. As Fiske and Neuberg (1990) argued almost seventy years after Lippmann's original statement:

> [w]e are exposed to so much information that we must in some manner simplify our social environment ... for reasons of cognitive economy, we categorize others as members of particular groups – groups about which we often have a great deal of generalized, or stereotypic, knowledge. (p. 14)

Stereotypes have thus been conceived as energy-saving devices (Allport, 1954; Fiske & Taylor, 1991), as "tools that jump out of a metaphorical toolbox when there is a job to be done" (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991, p. 510) and as "mental frameworks on which perceivers can readily deposit or organize information" (Macrae, Milne, & Bodenhausen, 1994, p. 38).

Given their assumed role in protecting perceivers from the need to cope with infinite and complex detail, stereotypes have traditionally been characterized by rigidity. The idea here is that immediate and constant change in response to every piece of new information would render stereotypes inefficient. Unsurprisingly then, the literature is replete with examples of stereotype preservation in the face of exposure to unusual or deviant group members (for reviews, see Fiske, 1998; Hamilton & Sherman, 1994). But stereotypes do change. As Hewstone (1994)

argued, having stereotypes resistant to change may lend a sense of order and structure to an otherwise complex social environment, but complete lack of response to new information would be just as inefficient. Hence, researchers have increasingly investigated the conditions under which an encounter with unusual or deviant group members might lead perceivers to revise their stereotypic beliefs about outgroups.

Research in this domain has focused mainly on the impact that deviant outgroup members can have on the image of the outgroup. The question of how a deviant ingroup member might affect the image of a self-conceptually important ingroup has yet to be systematically tested (for a recent exception, see Castano et al., 2002a). However, evidence from other lines of research suggests that an additional factor may come into play when the deviant is an ingroup member, namely the level of ingroup identification. Identification has been shown to impact the evaluation of deviant ingroup members (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1993), the perceived typicality of deviant ingroup members (Castano et al., 2002a), the amount of persuasive pressure directed towards deviant ingroup members (Hutchison, 2000), and the amount of cognitive effort perceivers expend on encountering a deviant ingroup member (Coull et al., 2001). Identification also moderates the extent to which people react to a threat to the ingroup identity (for a review, see Branscombe et al., 1999). Indeed, it is only when the ingroup identity is threatened that the level of identification becomes a good predictor of phenomena such as self-stereotyping (e.g., Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997) and perceived group variability (e.g., Doosje et al., 1999).

Research on the relation between the level of ingroup identification and threats to the ingroup identity has focused mainly on threats coming from outside the group – e.g., discrimination, status, and distinctiveness threats (for a review, see

Branscombe et al., 1999). However, it is clear from research on the black sheep effect (Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988) that an undesirable ingroup member also constitutes a threat to the ingroup identity (see Chapter 1). It seems likely, therefore, that the level of ingroup identification will moderate not only judgements of undesirable ingroup members, as previous research has shown, but also the impact that such members will have on the image of the ingroup. The present chapter reviews some recent research that provides initial evidence that the level of identification indeed moderates the impact of a deviant and clearly undesirable ingroup member on subsequent judgements of the ingroup.

Research on stereotyping and stereotype change has generally focused on perceptions of the descriptive and evaluative aspects of the group's characteristics – that is, the 'content' aspect of stereotypic perception. Stereotype change is thought to have occurred if there is a measurable difference in the mean rating of the group as a whole on stereotypical (and/ or non-stereotypical) characteristics over time or across experimental conditions. Recently, however, the topic of perceived group variability has gained momentum in the stereotype change literature (e.g., Doosje et al., 1999; Linville et al., 1989; Park, Judd, & Ryan, 1991). Variability refers to the extent to which group members are judged as being similar or different from one another with respect to specific characteristics or in general. Researchers have specified different components of perceived variability and different measures have been used to tap each of these components (for a discussion of these components and their measurement, see Chapter 5). Although the question of how an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member might affect perceived ingroup variability has yet to be tested, there is considerable evidence from related lines of

research that group variability judgements may reflect and be used to address motivational concerns associated with social identity maintenance (e.g., Doosje & Ellemers, 1997; Doosje et al., 1999). This research is reviewed in the second section of the current chapter. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications of the research reviewed so far for the aims of the research reported in subsequent chapters.

## Stereotype Change

### *Cognitive models of stereotype change*

Among the different models of stereotype change that have been proposed, three have received most attention in the literature. The bookkeeping model (Rothbart, 1981) holds that stereotype change occurs through a cumulative process in which each piece of disconfirming information has an impact. As this information is increasingly encountered, the stereotype gradually changes in the direction of the new evidence. In contrast, the conversion model (Rothbart, 1981) holds that stereotype change has an all-or-none character. No change is expected to occur until a threshold level is reached. Once this threshold is reached, perceivers radically alter their stereotypes. Extremely deviant group members are thus expected to have the most influence on stereotypes. Finally, the subtyping model (Ashmore, 1981; Brewer et al., 1981; Taylor, 1981) proposes that stereotypes will show little or no change if perceivers are able to subtype deviant group members and treat them as unrepresentative of the wider group. Extremely deviant group members are more easily subtyped than mildly or moderately deviant members and hence are less likely to be included in the overall representation of the group. As a result, their

characteristics are not likely to have any significant or lasting impact on the overall representation of the group. Only slightly to moderately deviant group members will lead perceivers to change their stereotypes (e.g., Abrams, 1999; Kunda & Oleson, 1997).

Research findings have generally been interpreted as providing support for the subtyping model. For example, in their now classic study, Weber and Crocker (1983) presented participants with information about group members who disconfirmed the stereotypes of certain occupational groups (librarians and lawyers) under different conditions. In the dispersed condition, all members slightly disconfirmed the stereotype whereas in the concentrated condition, only a few members extremely disconfirmed the stereotype. Results showed that stereotype change was greater when the disconfirming information was dispersed across many group members rather than concentrated in just a few. This basic effect has been replicated many times (e.g., Hewstone, Johnston, & Aird, 1992; Hewstone, Macrae, Griffiths, Milne, & Brown, 1994; Johnston & Hewstone, 1992; Johnston, Hewstone, Pendry, & Frankish, 1994; for a review, see Hewstone, 1994). Presumably, the effect emerges because it is easier for perceivers to compartmentalize a few extremely deviant group members than many slightly deviant group members, which in turn would prevent generalization to the wider group in concentrated conditions but not in dispersed conditions (Hewstone, 1994).

Other research shows that judging a deviant as atypical of the wider group may be the key factor underlying the subtyping process and hence stereotype preservation. Indeed, as Richards and Hewstone (2001, p. 56) argued, the separation of typical and atypical group members is essentially what the subtyping process

involves. Thus, in the above-described study, Weber and Crocker (1983) found that deviants who were otherwise highly typical of their occupational group (e.g., White, middle-class, high-earning lawyers) were more likely to bring about stereotype change than deviants who were atypical of their group (e.g., Black lawyers). More recently, using the same paradigm as Weber and Crocker (1983), Johnston and Hewstone (1992) found that participants who perceived a deviant outgroup member to be an atypical member of the outgroup changed their stereotypes less than participants who perceived the deviant to be a typical member of the outgroup (see also Hantzi, 1995). Similar results were reported by Maurer, Park, and Rothbart (1995) who asked participants to sort outgroup members into two groups – those who fitted and those who did not fit the outgroup stereotype. Results showed that participants who completed the sort task perceived the non-fitting (i.e., deviant) outgroup members as more atypical and judged the group in more stereotypical terms than participants who did not complete the sort task. Taken together, these findings suggest that the perception of typicality may indeed be a key factor in the subtyping process. Reflecting this, some researchers have even used the perception of typicality as a direct measure of subtyping (e.g., Hewstone & Lord, 1998; Kunda & Oleson, 1995; Yzerbyt et al., 1999).

### *Motivated stereotype maintenance*

A major theme of recent research on stereotype change is the idea that perceivers may be commonly motivated to maintain their stereotypic beliefs about outgroups (Garcia-Marques & Mackie, 1999; Kunda & Oleson, 1995, 1975; Moreno & Bodenhausen, 1999; Yzerbyt et al., 1999; see also Allport, 1954). The idea here is

not so much that stereotypes cannot change, but rather that perceivers do not want them to change because of the important functions they serve – e.g., in dealing with capacity limitations (e.g., Allport, 1954; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Gilbert & Hixon, 1991; Lippman, 1922; Macrae et al., 1994) as well as rationalization and justification functions (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Rutland & Brown, 2001; Tajfel, 1981). Consistent with this idea, research shows that people often respond to stereotype-inconsistent information by reinterpreting it in such a way as to minimize the inconsistency (e.g., Griffin & Ross, 1991; Kunda & Sherman-Williams, 1993). In addition, receiving unexpected information can trigger suspicion (Sherman & McConnell, 1995) and stimulate attributional processing (e.g., Hastie, 1984; Kunda & Oleson, 1995; Weber & Crocker, 1983; Weiner, 1985).

With this in mind, Kunda and Oleson (1995) suggested that people commonly search for subjectively satisfactory reasons to dismiss deviants as outliers, thereby leaving their original stereotypes intact. Consistent with this idea, Kunda and Oleson (1995) found that, relative to those in a control condition, participants who received information about an introverted lawyer generalized to the group and rated lawyers in general as more introverted. In two other conditions, participants were also informed that the introverted lawyer worked either in a small or large law firm. In both these conditions, relative to controls, participants did not rate lawyers as more introverted. Kunda and Oleson suggested that participants likely used the neutral information about the size of the law firm to account for the target's introversion. This in turn would allow them to maintain their stereotypic beliefs that lawyers are extroverted. More recently, Kunda and Oleson (1997) proposed that the very extremity of a group member's deviance from the stereotypic norm might in and

of itself provide sufficient grounds to dismiss that member as unrepresentative. Consistent with this idea, participants who were exposed to moderately deviant outgroup members expressed less pronounced stereotypes of the outgroup than control participants and participants who were exposed to extremely deviant outgroup members. Conversely, participants who were exposed to extremely deviant outgroup members expressed more pronounced stereotypes than control participants (see also, Abrams, 1999).

Other research has provided further insights into the motivational processes that might be involved in the subtyping process by demonstrating how cognitive load can impair people's ability to maintain their stereotypes in the face of disconfirming information (Garcia-Marques & Mackie, 1999; Moreno & Bodenhausen, 1999; Yzerbyt et al., 1999). Building on Kunda and Oleson's (1995) findings, Yzerbyt et al. (1999) reasoned that perceivers would need to have considerable cognitive resources available to allow them to 'fence off' (Allport, 1954) deviants from the rest of the group. In the first of a series of studies testing this prediction, Yzerbyt et al. (1999, Study 1) found that participants who read a description of a deviant outgroup member when being distracted by a simultaneous task were more likely than non-distracted participants to change their stereotypes of the outgroup. In a conceptually similar second study (Yzerbyt et al., 1999, Study 2), distracted and non-distracted participants also rated how typical deviant outgroup members were of the outgroup. Results showed that the perceived typicality of the deviants mediated the impact of distraction on stereotype change. In a third study (Yzerbyt et al., 1999, Study 3), half the participants received additional neutral information along with the information about a deviant, whereas the remaining half only received information about the

deviant. Results showed that the stereotype remained unchanged when participants were not distracted and when they also received neutral information about the deviant target. In all other conditions, although not optimally, the stereotype showed some change in the direction of the new evidence.

## *Summary*

The above-reviewed research suggests, firstly, that stereotypes may not be as inherently rigid and resistant to change as was originally assumed. Under certain conditions, an encounter with even a single deviant group member would seem to be sufficient to lead perceivers to revise their overall representation of the group. However, although stereotypes *can* change, the subtyping model emphasizes that highly atypical and/ or extremely deviant group members will be isolated into one or more minority subcategories, isolated from the group as a whole, and thus the content of the stereotype may remain relatively unchanged. Moreover, there is some evidence that perceivers may respond to stereotype-disconfirming information with a motivation to defend their stereotypic beliefs about outgroups and hence will search for satisfactory reasons to isolate deviants and treat them as unrepresentative of the wider group. While more research is needed to provide evidence for subtyping as motivated stereotype maintenance, the available evidence suggests that it is an effortful and cognitively demanding processes, and thus it is unlikely that perceivers would do the necessary cognitive work unless there was a beneficial outcome. This idea is pursued in the following section, which reviews some recent research on ingroup stereotype maintenance.

*Ingroup stereotype maintenance*

The research considered so far has focused on the impact that deviant outgroup members can have on the perception of the outgroup. The message emerging from this line of research is clear. Because of the many important functions stereotypes serve for perceivers, people will respond to stereotype disconfirming information with a motivation to defend their stereotypic beliefs about outgroups. What has been insufficiently addressed in previous research is the impact that deviant ingroup members might have on the perception of the ingroup. Although this question has yet to be systematically tested, at a theoretical level, it is likely that an encounter with a deviant ingroup member will have different consequences for the image of the ingroup than a deviant outgroup member will have for the image of the outgroup. As discussed in the preceding chapter, the established interpretation of the black sheep effect (e.g., Marques & Paez, 1994) is grounded on the assumption that in derogating deviants, people would attempt to psychologically exclude from the ingroup those members who negatively contribute to the ingroup identity (e.g., Marques & Paez, 1994; Yzerbyt et al., 2000). To the extent that deviant ingroup members are derogated more extremely than deviant outgroup members, it follows that a deviant ingroup member will have less of an impact on the overall image of the ingroup than a deviant outgroup member will have on the image of the outgroup. However, surprisingly, there is no direct evidence that the extreme derogation of a negative ingroup member goes hand-in-hand with the maintenance of the image of the ingroup (for a recent exception, see Castano et al., 2002a).

Another factor that is likely to affect the impact of a deviant ingroup member on the image of the ingroup is the perceivers' level of ingroup identification.

Previous research points to the level of identification as an important moderator of the extent to which people respond to a threat to the ingroup identity (for a review, see Branscombe et al., 1999). Indeed, as discussed previously, it is only under conditions that are threatening to the ingroup that the level of ingroup identification becomes a good predictor of phenomena like self-stereotyping (e.g., Spears et al., 1997) and perceived group variability (e.g., Doosje et al., 1999). Thus, it seems likely that the relation between the level of ingroup identification and judgements of the ingroup will emerge more strongly following an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member. Consistent with this idea, since the current line of research was initiated, three studies addressing similar issues have been published. Encouragingly, they all point to the level of ingroup identification as an important moderator of stereotype change (and/ or maintenance) following an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member (Castano et al., 2002a; Coull et al., 2001).

In the first of two studies, Castano et al. (2002a, Study 1) measured psychology students' level of identification with the group 'psychologists' before presenting them with descriptions of six moderately empathic psychologists (stereotypically empathic) and, depending on conditions, either one extremely empathic psychologist (positive target) or one non-empathic psychologist (negative target). Among other things, Castano et al. found that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers judged the negative ingroup member as less positive and less typical (see also, Abrams & Hutchison, 2002). More interestingly, the group stereotype ratings showed that, relative to high identifiers, low identifiers presented with a negative ingroup member expressed a more negative image of the ingroup as a whole,

whereas this difference was absent following the presentation of a positive ingroup member. Thus, consistent with the theme of the present thesis, relative to high identifiers, low identifiers were more sensitive to the negative characteristics of a deviant ingroup member and revised their stereotypes accordingly. A second study (Castano et al., 2002a, Study 2) conducted with a group of environmentalists replicated these effects and also found that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers were more in favour of physically banishing an ingroup member who favoured business interests over environmental interests. These findings would seem to reflect the greater self-conceptual importance of the ingroup for high identifiers and hence the greater motivational demands to protect the ingroup from the negative implications of a deviant within its ranks.

Building on the Yzerbyt et al. (1999) findings discussed above, Coull et al. (2001) reasoned that high identifiers would be more motivated than low identifiers to allocate the cognitive resources required to isolate a deviant ingroup member from the rest of the group. Consistent with this prediction, they found that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers performed less well on a memory task about neutral information that was presented simultaneously with the description of a negative ingroup member. This difference was absent when the neutral information was presented along with a description of a positive ingroup member. The authors argued that the observed difference in recall between low and high identifiers in the negative target condition may have been due to the fact that high identifiers devoted significantly more cognitive resources than low identifiers to exclude the deviant from the representation of the ingroup, an interpretation that is consistent with the

established black sheep model (Marques & Paez, 1994). This study is described in more detail in Chapter 3.

## *The ingroup over-exclusion effect*

Recent research on the so-called ingroup over-exclusion effect (Leyens & Yzerbyt, 1992) is also consistent with the proposal that high identifiers may be especially motivated to protect the image of the ingroup from the negative implications of undesirable members (e.g., Capozza, Dazzi, & Minto, 1996; Castano, Yzerbyt, Bourguignon, & Seron, 2002b; Leyens, Yzerbyt, & Bellour, 1993; for a review, see Yzerbyt et al., 2000). This line of research developed from previous work showing that prejudiced people tend to use more caution than non-prejudiced people when making a decision about who to include in the ingroup (e.g., Elliot & Wittenberg, 1955; Lindzey & Rogolsky, 1950; Pettigrew, Allport, & Barnet, 1958; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Brigham (1971) speculated that this caution might reflect a motivation on the part of prejudiced people to minimize the chances of 'contaminating' the ingroup by inclusion of possible outgroup members. In an early study, Quanty, Keats, and Harkins (1975) showed prejudiced and non-prejudiced participants a series of pictures of Jewish and non-Jewish faces and asked them to categorize the faces into one of two groups – Jewish and non-Jewish. Results showed that prejudiced individuals outperformed their non-prejudiced counterparts on the categorization task and also categorized more faces as belonging to Jews (see also, Blacovich, Wyer, Swart, & Kibler, 1997).

Two possible explanations for this apparently robust tendency have dominated the literature. The first explanation, the vigilance hypothesis (Lindzey &

Rogolsky, 1950), holds that prejudiced people are more alert to outgroup members and thus pay closer attention to outgroup-related information than non-prejudiced people. As a result, prejudiced people acquire acute knowledge about the outgroup characteristics, which in turn makes them better at identifying outgroup members (Blascovich et al., 1997). The second explanation invokes the idea of a response bias (Elliot & Wittenberg, 1955) and proposes that prejudiced people categorize more people as being in the outgroup than non-prejudiced people simply because the former consider more people to be outgroup than ingroup members.

More recently, Leyens and Yzerbyt (1992) proposed an interpretation that builds on the identity maintenance principles of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). These researchers argued that the key factor may be the value attached to the ingroup rather than the level of prejudice towards the outgroup. Because people derive their identity in part from the groups they belong to, they are motivated to protect the ingroup from undesirable outsiders. The tendency to categorize more people in the outgroup may thus correspond less to a response bias or acute knowledge about the outgroup than to a desire to maintain a positive and distinctive image of the ingroup. Leyens and Yzerbyt (1992) used the term ingroup over-exclusion effect to refer to the tendency to define stricter criteria to accept a person into the ingroup than to reject him or her as an outgroup member.

To test their identity maintenance account, Leyens, Yzerbyt and colleagues (Leyens, & Yzerbyt, 1992; Leyens, Yzerbyt, & Bellour, 1995) conducted a series of studies with French- and Dutch-speaking Belgians, called Walloons and Flemings, respectively. In a first study (Leyens & Yzerbyt, 1992), Walloon students read stereotypic information that corresponded to either Flemish or Walloon targets and

were asked to decide whether the targets were Walloon or Flemish. Results showed that participants judged more targets to be Flemish than Walloon. They also required more information in order to reach a decision for Walloon targets than for Flemish targets (see also Capozza et al., 1996). In a more recent study, Castano et al. (2002b) measured participants' level of identification with their region of Northern Italy before they completed a group categorization task. Participants saw a series of (morphed) faces on a computer screen and were asked to decide whether each of the faces belonged to either a Northern or Southern Italian. Among other things, Castano et al. found that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers included fewer target faces in the ingroup and also took less time to reach a decision as the proportion of outgroup facial features increased.

## *Summary*

The above-described research clearly points to the level of ingroup identification as an important moderator of the extent to which people react to individuals whose behaviour or characteristics threaten the ingroup identity. Relative to low identifiers, high identifiers expend more cognitive resources to exclude deviants from the ingroup and, as a result, are less likely than low identifiers to change their image of the ingroup following an encounter with a deviant ingroup member (Castano et al., 2002a). High identifiers are also more cautious than low identifiers when deciding whom they should allow entry into the ingroup. Thus, there is a clear link between the ingroup over-exclusion effect and the black sheep effect. Whereas the black sheep effect can be seen as a way to deal with individuals who threaten the ingroup from inside, the ingroup over-exclusion effect would seem to be

a strategy to prevent such individuals from becoming ingroup members in the first place (Yzerbyt et al., 2000). The message emerging from both these lines of research is therefore quite clear. The stronger the ties with the ingroup, the greater the motivation to protect the ingroup from unwelcome outsiders and deviant insiders.

## Stereotype Variability

### *The outgroup homogeneity effect*

Research on stereotype change has focused mainly on perceptions of the typical or average characteristics of group members. As a result, this research has tended to rely on changes in central tendency over time or across conditions as an index of generalized stereotype change. Increasingly, however, researchers have started to address the widely acknowledged but relatively under-researched idea that stereotypes consist not only of judgements about central tendency but also judgements about variability – that is, judgements about how similar or different group members are to one another with regard to specific characteristics or in general. Research on this aspect of group perception has traditionally focused on the explanation of the so-called outgroup homogeneity effect – the tendency to view outgroups as more homogenous and undifferentiated than the ingroup (for reviews, see Linville, Brewer, & Mackie, 1998; Park et al., 1991; Voci, 2000). This was clearly what Allport (1954) was referring to when he argued that:

> We know, for example, that not all Americans are dollar-worshippers, breezy, or vulgar. Nor are they all friendly and hospitable. On the other hand, Europeans, who know us less well, often view us as one big monolithic unit having all these qualities. (p. 172)

One of the earliest empirical demonstrations of this phenomenon was a study reported by Quattrone and Jones (1980) who had students from rival universities watch videotaped scenes in which another student was asked to make a decision (e.g., about the type of music he preferred to listen to while participating in an experiment on auditory perception). The target student was either from the same university as the participants or a rival university. After having watched the target make his choice (e.g., rock or classical music), participants were asked to predict the percentage of students at the same university who would make the same choice. A clear outgroup homogeneity effect emerged. Thus, when the target was an outgroup member, participants believed that his choice was more predictive of what his peers would choose than when the student was an ingroup member. Along similar lines, Jones, Wood, and Quattrone (1981) asked members of different eating clubs to estimate the extent to which group members differed from each other on various dimensions. Results showed that participants perceived more variability in the clubs they belonged to than in the other clubs.

Subsequent research has attempted to shed light on the social and psychological processes that might underlie the outgroup homogeneity effect. Of the various explanations that have been proposed, two have received most attention in the literature: the differential familiarity hypothesis (Linville et al., 1989) and the dual-storage model (Judd & Park, 1988; Park & Judd, 1991; Park & Rothbart, 1982). The differential familiarity hypothesis is based on the assumption that people will typically interact with and hence know more ingroup members than outgroup members. The greater number of encounters with members of a given group is

assumed to lead to a more complex and differentiated representation of that group. In support of the familiarity hypothesis, Linville et al. (1989) presented a series of studies showing that ingroups are generally perceived as more differentiated and variable than outgroups. In one of these studies (Linville et al., 1989, Study 4), there was also evidence that perceived ingroup variability among students increased over the course of a college semester with increasing familiarity (for contrasting results, see Brown & Wootton-Millward, 1993; Stephen, 1977).

The dual-storage model (Judd & Park, 1988; Park & Judd, 1991; Park & Rothbart, 1982), on the other hand, holds that it is not the amount of ingroup versus outgroup information that is important, but rather that people store information about ingroups and outgroups differently. In this view, people store information about group members in the form of group-level abstractions that are continuously updated when new evidence emerges (Park & Hastie, 1987). When judging a group's variability, perceivers are thought to use this abstract information as well information about particular group members and subgroups. The outgroup homogeneity effect emerges because, when judging the ingroup, abstract group-level information is supplemented by information about individuals and subgroups. For outgroup members, however, there will be less supplementary information (presumably because they are relatively less familiar with outgroup members) and hence perceivers have no choice but to make abstract-level and undifferentiated judgements. Ostrom, Carpenter, Sedikides, and Li's (1993) dual-processing model is grounded on a similar assumption. This model holds that people structure ingroup information in terms of person categories, whereas outgroup information is structured in terms of stereotypic attribute categories. When judging a group's

variability, perceivers search their knowledge structures and inevitably retrieve individuating information about ingroup members and stereotypic attribute information about outgroup members, which in turn leads to a more complex and differentiated representation of the ingroup than the outgroup.

While substantial empirical support exists for the above-described models, a number of empirical findings remain problematic. Firstly, in the Jones et al. (1981) study described above, there was no evidence of an association between the number of members known to participants in each of the groups and their estimates of that group's variability. Furthermore, Park and Judd (1990) reported that the ingroup was perceived as being more variable than the outgroup even when the amount of information about the ingroup and the outgroup was controlled. Along similar lines, the outgroup homogeneity effect has been observed in minimal group situations where people have no information whatsoever about the members of the ingroup or the outgroup. In one such study, for example, Wilder and Thompson (1980) assigned participants to minimal groups and had them indicate the different positions they thought would be endorsed by either ingroup or outgroup members. Participants thought that a greater range of positions would be endorsed by ingroup than outgroup members. More problematic still for the differential familiarity hypothesis and related models is the fact that group members often perceive more ingroup than outgroup homogeneity. For example, in a longitudinal study of groups of student nurses, Brown and Wootton-Millward (1993) found no reliable tendency towards greater variability over time and, on some measures, the ingroup was judged to be more homogenous than the outgroup. Likewise, Stephen (1977) found that pupils in both segregated and integrated schools (i.e., with lower or higher familiarity,

respectively) judged their own group as more homogenous than two different outgroups (see also Guinote, 2001).

*Summary*

Research on perceived group variability has mainly focused on the explanation of the outgroup homogeneity effect. Various cognitive models have been proposed to account for this apparently robust effect. These models assume, either explicitly or implicitly, that the perceivers' greater familiarity with ingroup than outgroup members is the key factor underlying the effect. However, a number of studies have found no reliable relationship between the number of ingroup or outgroup members known to participants and perceptions of group variability. In addition, the effect has been observed in minimal group situations where familiarity is not an issue, and an increasing number of studies have found more perceived ingroup than outgroup homogeneity. These findings suggest that familiarity may not be such a key factor as was originally assumed. This has led researchers to seek alternative explanations. Many of these alternative explanations have been informed by social identity and self-categorization theories (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987).

*Categorization and group variability judgements*

According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), in an intergroup context, people focus more on intragroup similarities and intergroup differences than on intragroup differences and intergroup similarities. In contrast, in an intragroup context, people

focus more on individual differences among ingroup members. Haslam and colleagues (Haslam & Oakes, 1995; Haslam et al., 1995; see also Simon, 1992) suggested these basic effects of comparative context might account for the apparent tendency (at least, in experimental studies) to perceive the ingroup as more homogeneous than the outgroup. The idea here is that the context in which the ingroup and outgroup are judged might influence subsequent perceptions of relative variability. Specifically, if the ingroup is judged before the outgroup, then the context is essentially intragroup because no specific outgroup is salient. This should focus attention on intragroup differences, resulting in a more variable perception of the ingroup. By the same token, if the outgroup is judged first, then the context is essentially intergroup because the presence of an outgroup will automatically render the intergroup dimension salient. This should focus attention on intergroup differences and simultaneously away from intragroup differences (in both groups). In an intergroup context then, there should be no difference in the perceived variability of the ingroup or the outgroup.

To illustrate this point, Haslam and Oakes (1995; see also Simon, 1995) reinterpreted the results of a study by Bartsch and Judd (1993) in which the outgroup was judged before the ingroup in half the conditions and after the outgroup in the remaining conditions. The outgroup homogeneity effect emerged. Haslam and Oakes (1995) argued that the greater ingroup variability that would result in the intragroup conditions (i.e., in which the ingroup was judged first) would be sufficient to produce an overall outgroup homogeneity effect. Research has generally supported these predictions. In one study, Haslam et al. (1995) asked Australian students to estimate the percentage of Australians possessing certain stereotypical characteristics either in

a context that included only Australians or in a context that also included Americans. As expected, results showed that participants perceived more variability among Australians when judged alone than when Americans were also judged. In a conceptually similar study, Doosje, Spears, and Koomen (1993) found that psychology students perceived more variability among psychology students when they were judged alone than when sociology students were also judged (see also Doise, Deschamps, & Meyer, 1978; McGarty & Penny, 1988; Simon, 1995; Wilder, 1984).

Along similar lines, Young, van Knippenberg, Ellemers, and De Vries (1997) revisited the related idea, discussed previously, that ingroup information is cognitively structured in terms of person categories whereas outgroup information is structured in terms of stereotypic attribute categories (Judd & Park, 1988; Ostrom et al., 1993). Young et al. had participants read about either four ingroup or outgroup members in the context of four additional ingroup (intragroup context) or outgroup (intergroup context) members. A clustering in free recall task was used to assess how ingroup and outgroup information was cognitively organized. Results showed that ingroup information was indeed clustered more by person information, as the dual-storage and dual-processing models would predict. However, this was observed only in an intragroup context. In an intergroup context, in contrast, ingroup information was found to be clustered in terms of stereotypic attribute categories to the same extent as outgroup information. Unlike ingroup information, however, clustering of outgroup information was not sensitive to changes in the social comparative context. These findings suggest that group variability judgements may not stem from fundamental differences in the way that people structure and process ingroup versus

outgroup information. Rather, both the way ingroup and outgroup information is cognitively organized and the variability of that information would seem to be sensitive to variations in the social comparative context and predictable from basic social identity and self-categorization principles.

## *Motivation and group variability judgements*

In addition to these general effects of the social comparative context, further predictions about group variability can be derived from the social identity perspective. As discussed in Chapter 1, social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) holds that people are motivated to maintain a positive perception of the ingroup and hence positive self-esteem by comparing the ingroup favourably with other outgroups on relevant dimensions. One possibility that has been increasingly investigated by researchers is that group variability judgements might reflect the need to cope with a negative intergroup comparison. The basic idea here is that a threat to the ingroup identity may lead ingroup members to accentuate ingroup similarity, particularly on positively valued dimensions, in order to bolster solidarity and hence self-esteem (e.g., Simon & Brown, 1987; Doosje et al., 1999). There is considerable empirical support for this identity maintenance analysis.

In one study, Rothgerber (1997) found that students who thought that they had been judged unfairly by students at a rival university perceived more ingroup homogeneity than students who thought they had been judged fairly. Along similar lines, Lee and Ottati (1995) had Chinese students at an American university read university applications each containing a recommendation letter. One of the applications belonged to a person with a Chinese name. Depending on conditions,

the recommendation letter either described the applicant as possessing traits that were consistent with the Chinese auto-stereotype (e.g., shy, timid) or inconsistent with the Chinese auto-stereotype (e.g., sly, cruel). In a third condition, the recommendation letter did not mention any particular stereotype. After they had read the recommendations, participants judged the variability of the ingroup. Lee and Ottati found that, compared to controls, participants in the stereotype-consistent condition perceived the ingroup as being more heterogeneous. In contrast, compared to controls, participants in the stereotype-inconsistent condition perceived the ingroup as being more homogenous.

Simon and Brown (1987) reported another study in which the relative sizes of the ingroup and outgroup were varied by giving participants feedback about their perceptual style and informing them that the number of people with each style varied. Results showed that majority group members perceived the outgroup as more homogenous than the ingroup, whereas minority members showed the reverse pattern and perceived the ingroup as more homogenous than the outgroup. More recently, Guinote (2001) found that Portuguese people living in Germany (a minority group) perceived more ingroup than outgroup homogeneity, whereas Portuguese people living in Portugal (a non-minority group) perceived more outgroup than ingroup homogeneity (see also Brown & Smith, 1989; Simon, Glassner-Bayerl, & Stratenwerth, 1991; Simon & Pettigrew, 1990). Moreover, Mullen and Hu (1989) presented meta-analytic evidence that perceived ingroup variability is inversely related to the increasing size of the ingroup.

The results of a series of studies by Doosje and colleagues further illustrate the relation between threats to the ingroup identity and perceived ingroup

homogeneity (Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1995, 1998; for a review, see Doosje et al., 1999). In the first of these studies, Doosje et al. (1995, Study 1) had psychology students complete an ingroup identification measure before judging the variability of the ingroup. Results showed that the level of ingroup identification did not moderate perceptions of ingroup variability when participants were led to believe that psychology students were more intelligent than business students. In contrast, when they were led to believe that psychology students were less intelligent than business students, low identifiers perceived more ingroup variability than high identifiers. This effect was replicated in a second study (Doosje et al., 1995, Study 2) in which the level of ingroup identification was manipulated rather than measured as it was in the first study.

Doosje et al. (1995) suggested that emphasising ingroup heterogeneity might provide low identifiers with an opportunity to distance themselves from the typical ingroup member and thus avoid the negative implications of membership in a threatened group. Conversely, maintaining or even increasing a perception of the ingroup as a homogeneous entity may allow high identifiers to express association with and commitment to a positively valued and self-conceptually important group. This interpretation is further supported by research on the relation between threats to the ingroup identity and self-stereotyping as a function of ingroup identification. In a study conducted with members of an ethnic minority, Verkuyten and Nekuee (1999) found that perceived discrimination by an outgroup was positively associated with self-stereotyping, and high identifiers self-stereotyped more strongly than low identifiers. Along similar lines, Spears et al. (1997) found a decreased tendency to self-stereotype among low but not high identifiers when the status of their group was

threatened either by the superior status of a comparison outgroup (Study 1) or the lack of distinctiveness caused by the similarity of an outgroup (Study 2; see also Chapter 6). These findings are consistent with the idea that high identifiers will respond to a threat to the ingroup with a motivation to protect the interests of the group as a whole, whereas low identifiers will more likely pursue more individualistic and opportunistic means of maintaining a positive (personal) identity (see also Branscombe et al., 1999).

### *Summary*

The preceding evidence suggests that group variability judgements may reflect and be used to address identity maintenance concerns. Members of low status, minority, or otherwise threatened groups tend to perceive more homogeneity within ingroups than outgroups, whereas the reverse would seem to be true for members of high status or majority groups or groups whose identity is not under any obvious threat. Consistent with the notion that emphasizing ingroup homogeneity might serve an identity maintenance function, when the ingroup identity is under threat, high identifiers tend to emphasize ingroup homogeneity whereas low identifiers are more likely to emphasize ingroup heterogeneity. This difference would seem to reflect the greater self-conceptual importance of the ingroup for high versus low identifiers, and hence the greater motivational demands on high identifiers to protect the interests of the group as a whole. It is unclear how familiarity-based models or models that posit fundamental differences in the way people process and organize information about ingroups and outgroups can account for these effects.

*Conclusions*

This chapter reviewed theory and research on stereotyping and stereotype change. Two different components of stereotypes were considered – content and variability. The evidence from both lines of research suggests that group perceptions may reflect and be used to address identity maintenance concerns. With regard to stereotype content, there is clear evidence that, under specific circumstances, an encounter with even a single deviant group member can lead perceivers to revise their stereotypes. However, it seems that perceivers may be commonly motivated to preserve their stereotypic beliefs about outgroups and to this end will search for subjectively satisfactory reasons to isolate deviants from the wider group and treat them as exceptions to the rule. Thus, highly atypical or extremely deviant group members will be isolated into a minority subcategory, excluded from the overall category representation, thereby leaving the original stereotype unchanged. Although more research is needed to provide evidence for subtyping as motivated stereotype maintenance, it is clearly a relatively effortful process and thus it seems unlikely that perceivers would do the necessary cognitive work unless it served a useful purpose.

Most research in this domain has focused on the consequences of deviant outgroup members for the image of the outgroup. Relatively less research has assessed how an encounter with a deviant ingroup member might affect the image of the ingroup. The few studies that have investigated this important issue clearly point to the level of ingroup identification as an important moderator of ingroup stereotype change following an encounter with a deviant ingroup member. This research shows that low but not high identifiers will change their representation of the ingroup in the direction of a deviant ingroup member (Castano et al., 2002a). In addition, related

lines of research show that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers tend to perceive undesirable ingroup members as less typical of the ingroup (Castano et al., 2002a), are more concerned with erroneously including outgroup members in the ingroup (Castano, et al., 2002b), and will allocate more cognitive resources to psychologically exclude undesirable members from the ingroup (Coull et al., 2001). These findings clearly point to the greater self-conceptual importance of the ingroup for high identifiers and hence the greater motivational demands on high identifiers to protect the ingroup identity from unwelcome outsiders and deviant insiders.

The second section of the current chapter focused on the relatively under-researched topic of perceived group variability. Most research in this area has focused on the explanation of the outgroup homogeneity effect and various cognitive models have been proposed to account for this apparent tendency. Either explicitly or implicitly, these models assume that people's greater familiarity with ingroup than outgroup members is the key factor underlying the effect. Although there is considerable empirical support for the familiarity-based models, a number of findings remain problematic. Firstly, a number of studies have found no reliable relationship between familiarity and perceived variability. Secondly, the outgroup homogeneity effect has been observed in minimal group situations where participants have no information whatsoever about ingroup or outgroup members, and an increasing number of studies have found more perceived ingroup than outgroup homogeneity. These findings suggest that familiarity may not be such a key factor as was originally assumed.

Recent research on the topic of perceived group variability has assessed the extent to which variability judgements may be explained in terms of basic self-

categorization and social identity principles (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987). Although the question of how an encounter with a deviant ingroup member might affect the perceived variability of the ingroup has yet to be empirically tested, there is extensive evidence that group variability judgements might reflect and be used to address motivational concerns associated with social identity maintenance. Research in this domain shows that members of low status, minority, or otherwise threatened groups tend to perceive more homogeneity within ingroups than outgroups, whereas the reverse would seem to be true for members of high status or majority groups or groups whose identity is not under any obvious threat. Indeed, it is only when the ingroup identity is under threat that the level of ingroup identification becomes a good predictor of perceived ingroup variability. Consistent with the notion that emphasizing ingroup homogeneity might serve an identity maintenance function, research shows that high identifiers will respond to a threat to the ingroup by emphasizing ingroup homogeneity, whereas low identifiers are more likely to emphasize ingroup heterogeneity.

It has been suggested that in emphasizing ingroup heterogeneity, low identifiers would attempt to distance themselves from the typical ingroup member and thus avoid the negative implications of membership in a threatened group. Conversely, emphasizing ingroup homogeneity would seem to allow high identifiers to express association with and commitment to a positively valued and self-conceptually important group. In so far as a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member constitutes a threat to the ingroup identity, it seems likely that the level of ingroup identification will affect the impact of such a member on perceived ingroup variability. This idea is explored further in Chapters 4 and 5.

*Aims of the thesis*

Developing and extending the research reviewed in the first two chapters, the thesis investigates how people who differ in their level of identification with a group respond when they presented with information about a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member. In doing so, the thesis aims to answer some fundamental questions. Namely, does the typically negative treatment of deviant ingroup members in fact constitute a step towards their psychological exclusion from the group? Moreover, does the rejection of those members go hand-in-hand with the maintenance of the image of the ingroup? Were these questions answered in the affirmative, this would mean that the image of the ingroup should be relatively unaffected by an encounter with a deviant ingroup member or even become more positive. In examining this hypothesis, the thesis also investigates the role of ingroup identification in people's reactions to deviants. To the extent that the group is more self-conceptually important for high identifiers than for low identifiers, it follows that high identifiers will be more motivated than low identifiers to protect the image of the ingroup from the negative implications of a deviant within its ranks. These general predictions are tested in a series of eight studies, which are reported in the following three chapters.

# CHAPTER 3

## Stereotype Change in Response to Deviance

Two studies investigated the consequences of an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative group member for the image of the group among participants who differed in their level of ingroup identification. In Study 1 ($N = 98$),[2] high but not low identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member. High identifiers also expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member. Study 2 ($N = 180$) also included a manipulation of the target's group membership (ingroup vs. outgroup). A similar pattern emerged on the ingroup stereotype ratings. In contrast, in the outgroup condition, high but not low identifiers expressed a more negative image of the outgroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative outgroup member. The results suggest that high identifiers may be more motivated to psychologically exclude undesirable individuals from the ingroup than from the outgroup.

## INTRODUCTION

Research on reactions to deviance has generally focused on how people evaluate group members whose behaviour or characteristics threaten the ingroup identity (see Chapter 2; Marques & Paez, 1994). The studies presented in the current chapter extend previous research by also assessing how the presentation of a negative

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[2] Study 1 is now in publication  (Hutchison & Abrams, 2003).

ingroup member might impact people's perception of the group as a whole. If the black sheep effect (Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988) indeed constitutes a step towards the psychological exclusion of undesirable members from the ingroup, as the established black sheep model maintains, then the image of the ingroup should be relatively unaffected by the presentation of a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member or even become more positive. The two studies reported in the present chapter were designed to test this prediction.

### *Ingroup favouritism and ingroup derogation*

According to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), people attain an important part of their self-concept from their memberships in different social groups. In situations where a group provides the most meaningful basis for self-definition and thus mediates self-evaluation, people are motivated to maintain and secure a positive distinction between the ingroup and other outgroups on relevant dimensions, and therefore by implication, view themselves in a favourable way. In some situations, this can lead people to favour other ingroup members over similar outgroup members in evaluation and behaviour. This ingroup favouritism effect is pervasive and has been observed in studies with both naturalistic and experimentally created minimal groups (for meta-analytic evidence, see Mullen et al., 1992).

In apparent contrast to this ingroup favouritism effect, research on the black sheep effect (Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988) shows that evaluative responses favouring individual ingroup members are not an inevitable consequence of social categorization. This research consistently shows that desirable ingroup members are evaluated more positively than desirable outgroup members, whereas undesirable

outgroup members are evaluated more positively than undesirable ingroup members (see Chapter 1). Established interpretations of this effect have followed social identity theory in positing that people are motivated to see their own groups as being positively distinct from relevant outgroups. The derogation of undesirable ingroup members is thought to correspond to a sophisticated form of ingroup favouritism that serves to psychologically exclude from the ingroup those members who negatively contribute to the ingroup identity (Marques & Paez, 1994). This identity maintenance explanation is supported by research showing that the effect is more likely to emerge if the evaluative dimension is directly relevant to the ingroup identity (e.g., Marques et al., 1988), it occurs especially among highly identified group members (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1993), and is more pronounced when the ingroup identity is insecure, lacks uniformity, or is otherwise threatened (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1993; Marques et al., 2002).

### Protecting the ingroup stereotype

Research in this domain has focused primarily on evaluative judgements of deviants. Relatively less work has considered the social-cognitive processes that might accompany or indeed underlie the familiar pattern of evaluations. A recent exception is a study by Coull et al. (2001) who examined the processes that are activated by the motivation to protect the ingroup stereotype from a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member. In that study, psychology students completed an ingroup identification measure and an ingroup stereotype measure. They then read descriptions of a clearly negative psychologist and three positive psychologists from a computer screen at the same time as they listened to tape-recorded information

about an unrelated topic, namely the city of Andorra. After completing a memory test about the city of Andorra, participants evaluated the negative psychologist and recompleted the stereotype measure. Coull et al. predicted that high identifiers would devote more cognitive resources than low identifiers to protect the ingroup stereotype by 'fencing off' the negative psychologist from the rest of the group (see also Moreno & Bodenhausen, 1999; Yzerbyt et al., 1999). Consistent with this prediction, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers who read about a negative psychologist at the same time as they listened to the information about Andorra performed less well on the memory task, whereas there was no difference in recall when the psychologist was positive. This suggests that high identifiers may indeed have invested more cognitive resources than low identifiers to process the information about the negative ingroup member.

Further support for the hypothesized stereotype protection process comes from the group and target evaluation ratings. The group ratings were unaffected by the participants' level of ingroup identification. However, the target ratings were moderated by ingroup identification such that high identifiers were more negative than low identifiers in their evaluation of a negative psychologist. The authors used this finding as grounds to rule out the possibility that high identifiers were more negative than low identifiers towards the negative psychologist because they held a different (i.e., more positive) representation of the group after reading about the target group members. They argued instead that the pattern of evaluations reflected the greater motivational demands on high identifiers to protect the ingroup stereotype from the negative implications of a deviant ingroup member, an assumption that is consistent with the established black sheep model (Marques & Paez, 1994). The

current research continues this line of investigation by more directly assessing the effect of ingroup identification on stereotyping in reaction to deviance.

## STUDY 1

Study 1 builds upon a finding in the Coull et al. (2001) study that was not discussed in any detail by the authors. This showed that participants expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about the four target ingroup members. Two hypotheses might intuitively account for this pattern of stereotype change: either the stereotype of psychologists was assimilated to the position of the positive psychologists or it was contrasted from the position of the negative psychologist. The latter of these possibilities seems to be the interpretation favoured by Coull et al. who argued that the effect was a likely encounter with a clear majority of positive instances of the ingroup (p. 324). However, because participants in that study received information about both positive and negative ingroup members, it is not possible to determine whether assimilation or contrast can account for the observed change in the image of the ingroup. In the studies reported below, participants received information about a single positive or negative group member. This means it is possible to examine the independent effects of positive and negative group members on the image of the group as a whole.

To the extent that group membership is by definition more self-conceptually important for individuals who strongly identify with the ingroup, high identifiers should be especially motivated to protect the ingroup identity from the implications of a negative member within its ranks. Low identifiers, in contrast, are less likely than high identifiers to define themselves in categorical terms and thus are less likely

to engage group-based responses when the ingroup identity is threatened (see Branscombe et al., 1999). To this extent, the level of ingroup identification should moderate any processes that are potentially relevant to a person's identity as a group member. With this in mind, it was predicted that high identifiers would attempt to differentiate the stereotypic characteristics of the ingroup from the negative characteristics of a negative ingroup member who, although sharing a self-relevant group membership, would be seen as an "exception that proves the rule" (Wilder, 1984, p. 177) – i.e., as different from self and prototypical group members. Thus, it was predicted that high identifiers would perceive the ingroup as more positive after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member, whereas the reverse pattern was expected to emerge for low identifiers. It was also predicted that high identifiers would express a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member. Again, the reverse pattern was expected to emerge for low identifiers. With regard to target evaluations, it was predicted that high identifiers would be more favourable than low identifiers towards a positive ingroup member but more unfavourable than low identifiers towards a negative ingroup member.

## METHOD

### Participants

A total of 98 psychology undergraduates from the University of Kent participated as part of a course requirement. Of these, 76 were female, 20 were male and two did not specify their gender. Two participants were excluded from the analyses because they only partially completed the questionnaire. Thus data from 96

participants were analysed. Since gender had no main or interactive effects in the analyses this variable is not considered further.

**Materials**

*Ingroup identification measure*

Four items measured participants' level of identification with the group 'psychology students': 'Being a psychology student is important to me,' 'I would use the term psychology student to describe myself,' 'I am proud of being a psychology student,' 'I identify with psychology students as a group,' These items were adapted from a scale used in a previous study (Abrams et al., 2002). Responses to these and subsequent items were recorded on Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (not at all/disagree) to 9 (very much/agree). The identification items were combined (averaged) to form a single ingroup identification score. Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the new independent variable indicated good internal consistency ($\alpha = .87$). Participants were classified as low identifiers ($M = 5.71$, $SD = 0.90$) or high identifiers ($M = 7.89$, $SD = 0.54$) by means of a median split, $F(1, 94) = 206.45$, $p < .001$.

*Group stereotype measure*

Seven items measured participants' impression of psychologists on a series of stereotypic characteristics: 'sensitive,' 'irresponsible,' 'empathic,' 'capable of understanding other people's personalities,' 'unethical,' 'can be trusted,' 'unfriendly.' These items were adapted from the measure used by Coull et al. (2001). The negative items were reverse scored and combined with the positive items to form

a single group stereotype score ($\alpha = .92$). A higher score on this measure represents a more positive impression of the group.

### Target descriptions

Participants were presented with one of the same two descriptions of a male psychologist as used in the Coull et al. (2001) study. However, whereas participants in that study read about three positive and one negative psychologist, in the present study participants read about a single positive or negative psychologist. Both descriptions began with the same demographic information. The positive description continued as follows:

> He very carefully listens to his patients in order to fully understand their problems. He finds the right words to help patients to understand the issues, and expresses a lot of warmth and empathy when needed. His strong analytical and synthetic skills help him to elaborate solutions and treatments.

In contrast, the negative description continued as follows:

> He tends to see his own problems in the patients' lives. He often interrupts patients because he is nervous, and fails to fully understand their point of view. He lacks the human warmth needed to gain the patients' trust. Finally, he often mixes up patients' records and asks people to explain their problems again and again.

### Target evaluation measure

Nine items measured participants' impression of the target psychologist. These included the same seven stereotypic characteristics on which the group was rated and two additional items: 'Is this person a good psychologist?' 'Would you

trust this psychologist?' These items were combined to form a single target evaluation score ($\alpha = .96$).

**Procedure**

Participants were randomly assigned to either the positive or negative target condition and received a booklet containing instructions, one target description and response measures. Participants were informed that the purpose of the study was to investigate people's ability to form an impression of a target person on the basis of varying amounts of information. They were asked to read about and form an image of a target psychologist in order to be able to predict and interpret his future behaviour (following Kunda & Oleson, 1995). All participants first completed the ingroup identification items. Half then completed the stereotype items before reading about and evaluating the target psychologist. The other half read the description and evaluated the target before completing the stereotype items. After completing the task, all participants were asked if they had any suspicions about the true purpose of the study, were thanked, and debriefed. No accurate suspicions were reported.

## RESULTS

### Group stereotype

The group stereotype ratings were analysed by way of a 2 (Target: positive vs. negative) x 2 (Level of identification: low vs. high) 2 (Time of judgement: pre- vs. post-manipulation) between-participants analysis of variance (ANOVA).[3] The

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[3] The results of all analyses in this and subsequent studies were unaffected when regression techniques were used and when the level of ingroup identification was entered as a continuous variable.

analysis revealed a significant main effect of identification. High identifiers ($M$ = 6.77, $SD$ = 1.38) expressed a more positive image of psychologists than low identifiers ($M$ = 5.55, SD = 1.10), $F$ (1, 88) = 24.40, $p$ < .001. The Target x Identification x Time interaction was also significant, $F$ (1, 88) = 4.34, $p$ < .04. Means and standard deviations are displayed in Table 1.

It was predicted that high identifiers would express a more positive image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member. To test this prediction, the Target x Identification x Time interaction was decomposed by examining the simple Target x Time interaction within each level of the identification variable. The interaction was significant for high identifiers, $F$ (1, 43) = 6.50, $p$ < .01, but not low identifiers, $F$ < 1. Consistent with predictions, simple effects tests confirmed that high identifiers expressed a more positive image of psychologists after, compared to before, reading about a negative psychologist, $F$ (1, 43) = 4.35, $p$ < .04. When the target was positive, however, the time variable did not reliably affect high identifiers' impressions of psychologists, $F$ (1, 43) = 2.32, $ns$.

It was also predicted that high identifiers would express a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member. Consistent with this prediction, simple effects tests confirmed that the image of psychologists expressed by high identifiers before the target manipulation did not vary across levels of the target variable, $F$ (1, 43) = 1.70, $ns$, but those made after the target manipulation did. As predicted, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of psychologists after reading about a negative psychologist than after reading about a positive psychologist, $F$ (1, 43) = 10.03, $p$ < .002.

**Table 1. Mean group stereotype ratings as a function of identification, target and time of judgement**

|  | Low identifiers | | High identifiers | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Normative | Deviant | Normative | Deviant |
| Pre-manipulation | 5.44 (1.06) | 5.87 (0.58) | 6.83 (0.94) | 6.63 (0.66) |
| Post-manipulation | 5.38 (1.07) | 5.53 (1.44) | 6.06 (2.22) | 7.66 (0.61) |

*Note.* Standard deviations are in parentheses

**Target evaluations**

The target evaluation ratings were analysed by way of a Target x Identification ANOVA. This revealed a significant main effect of target, $F (1, 92) =$ 260.24, $p < .001$. As expected, participants were more positive towards a positive psychologist ($M = 7.16$, $SD = 0.97$) than a negative psychologist ($M = 3.74$, $SD = 1.26$). The Target x Identification interaction was also significant, $F (1, 92) = 16.97$, $p < .001$ (see Figure 1).[4, 5] Simple effects tests confirmed that high identifiers ($M = 7.70$, $SD = 0.72$) were more positive than low identifiers ($M = 6.65$, $SD = 0.90$) in their evaluation of a positive psychologist, $F (1, 92) = 11.83$, $p < .001$, but high

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[4] To assess whether judging the group before the target may have affected the target evaluation ratings, the same analysis was conducted with time of judgement as an additional independent variable. Time of judgement had no main or interactive effects on the target ratings, all $F$s $< 1.74$, *ns*.

[5] Contrary to expectations, mediational analysis indicated that the target evaluation scores did not mediate the relationship between ingroup identification and the group ratings following the presentation of a negative ingroup member.

identifiers ($M = 3.37$, $SD = 1.22$) were more negative than low identifiers ($M = 4.08$, $SD = 1.23$) in their evaluation of a negative psychologist, $F(1, 92) = 5.64$, $p < .02$.

**Figure 1. Target evaluation as a function of identification**
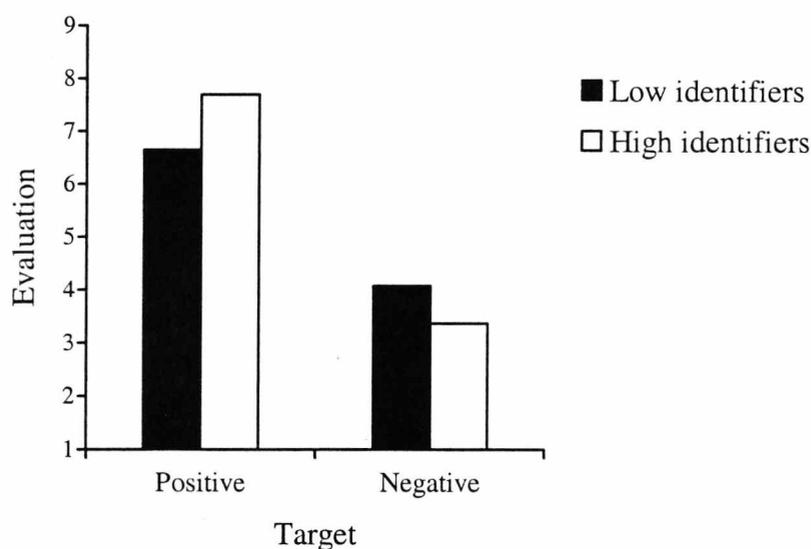


## DISCUSSION

The results of Study 1 are generally consistent with the predictions. High identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member. High identifiers also expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member. In contrast, low identifiers' ratings of the ingroup were relatively unaffected by the target and time variables. The level of ingroup identification also moderated judgements of individual ingroup members. High identifiers were more positive than low identifiers in their evaluation of a positive ingroup member, but were more negative than low identifiers in their

evaluation of a negative ingroup member. This pattern of group and target judgements points to the greater self-conceptual importance of the ingroup for high identifiers than for low identifiers, and hence the greater motivational demands on high identifiers to maintain a positive image of the ingroup. A second study was conducted to assess whether the same negative target might have different consequences for the image of the ingroup than for the image of the outgroup. If the contrast effect observed in Study 1 following an encounter with a negative ingroup indeed reflects an identity maintenance motivation on the part of high identifiers, it seems unlikley that a negative outgroup member will have similar consequences for the perception of the outgroup.

## STUDY 2

Study 2 used a 2 (Target: positive vs. negative) x 2 (Group: ingroup vs. outgroup) x 2 (Identification: low vs. high) x 2 (Time of judgement: pre- vs. post-manipulation) between-participants design. Students indicated their level of ingroup identification and then read about a target student from their own university (ingroup condition) or a rival university (outgroup condition) who either confirmed (positive target) or disconfirmed (negative target) the positive stereotype of students (as determined by pre-testing). As in Study 1, half the participants completed a group stereotype measure before reading about and evaluating a target group member, whereas the remaining participants proceeded in the reverse order.

The results of Study 1 suggest that high identifiers may be especially motivated to exclude other ingroup members who negatively contribute to the ingroup identity. One aim of Study 2 was to replicate these results with a different

group and using a different manipulation of deviance. A second aim was to assess whether the presentation of a negative outgroup member would have different consequences for the image of the outgroup than a negative ingroup member has for the image of the ingroup. To the extent that the exclusion of a negative group member would seem to serve an identity maintenance function, there is less reason for ingroup members to be as motivated to exclude a negative outgroup member from the representation they form of the outgroup. Thus, it was predicted that high identifiers would express a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member, as was observed in Study 1. This effect was not expected to emerge in the outgroup condition. With regard to target evaluation ratings, following previous research (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1993), the black sheep effect was expected to emerge among high identifiers but not low identifiers. Thus, it was predicted that high identifiers would be more favourable towards a positive ingroup member than a positive outgroup member, but more unfavourable towards a negative ingroup member than a negative outgroup member. Low identifiers were not expected to differentiate between ingroup and outgroup members to such an extent.

## METHOD

### Participants

A total of 180 undergraduate social science students from the University of Kent participated as partial fulfilment of a course requirement. Of these, 149 were female, 29 were male, and two did not specify their gender. Participants' ages ranged from 17 to 57 ($M = 20.87$, $SD = 5.99$). Since gender or age had no main or interactive effects in the analyses these variables are not considered further.

## Materials

### *Cover story and instructions*

Participants were informed that the study was part of a larger research project investigating the public perception of students at different universities; the purpose of the present phase of the study was to assess how students at these different universities perceive themselves and each other. They were informed that students from the University of Kent (UKC) and the University of Essex were participating in the study. Both these universities are located in the South East of England. Pilot testing on a sample of Kent students indicated that these universities are perceived as similar in size and status and that the students are perceived in equally positive stereotypical terms. Specifically, students from both universities are perceived as equally ambitious, dedicated, committed, professional, hardworking, and responsible. Participants were informed that they would be asked to form an image of a target student from one of the two universities in order to be able to predict and interpret the target's future behaviour (following Kunda & Oleson, 1995). Responses to subsequent items were recorded on 9-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (not at all/disagree) to 9 (very much/agree).

### *Ingroup identification measure*

Four items measured participants' level of identification with their university: 'I see myself as a UKC student,' 'I identify with UKC students as a group,' 'I am pleased to be a UKC student,' 'I feel strong ties with UKC students.' These items were adapted from a scale used by Doosje et al. (1995). Responses were recorded on 9-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (not at all/disagree) to 9 (very much/agree).

The items were combined to form a single ingroup identification score ($\alpha = .82$). Participants were classified as low identifiers ($M = 5.15$, $SD = 1.09$) or high identifiers ($M = 7.66$, $SD = 0.95$) by means of a median split, $F(1, 178) = 251.95$, $p < .001$.

### Group stereotype measure

Six items measured participants' impression of UKC (Essex) students on a series of characteristics pertinent to the manipulation: 'hardworking,' 'lack ambition,' 'dedicated,' 'lack commitment,' 'professional,' 'irresponsible.' The negative items were reverse scored and combined with the positive items to form a single group stereotype score ($\alpha = .92$).

### Target descriptions

Participants were presented with one of four descriptions of a target student. These descriptions followed the same format as those used in Study 1. The target student was either from the University of Kent or the University of Essex. All four descriptions began with the same demographic information and continued to describe the target's attitude toward and commitment to his work, ambitions, and so on. The target student either confirmed (positive) or disconfirmed (negative) the pre-tested positive stereotype of students. Examples of sentences used to describe the positive student included the following: 'He regularly attends lectures, never misses exams, and friends often rely on him for information,' and '[he] has the intellectual ability to successfully complete the degree course and also the required dedication and motivation.' When asked to comment on his outlook, the positive student responded as follows: 'I came here primarily to study, but also to have fun and meet new

people. It is important to get the balance between work and play right.' In contrast, examples used to describe the negative student included the following: 'He fails to attend lectures regularly, often misses exams, and relies on classmates for information,' and '[he] has the intellectual ability to successfully complete the degree course but he lacks the required dedication and motivation.' When asked to comment on his outlook, the negative student responded as follows: 'I came here to have fun and meet new people, not to spend my time studying. There are better things for young people to do with their time than read books.'

### *Target evaluation measure*

Participants rated the target on the same series of stereotypic characteristics on which the groups were rated and three additional items: 'I like this student's outlook,' 'This person is a good student,' 'I would like to work with this student.' These items were combined to form a single target evaluation score ($\alpha = .87$).

### Procedure

The study was conducted in three consecutive sessions in a lecture room as part of a psychology research methods class.[6] Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions. All participants first completed the ingroup identification items. Half of them completed the stereotype items before reading the description of a target student. These participants then evaluated the target. The remaining participants read the description, completed the stereotype items, and evaluated the target. Participants were asked to write down any suspicions they might

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[6] There were no main or interactive effects of session in any of the analyses, all Fs <1.

have about the true purpose of the study. No accurate suspicions were reported. Debriefing took place in the following lectures.

## RESULTS

### Group stereotype

The group stereotype ratings were analysed by way of a 2 (Group: ingroup vs. outgroup) x 2 (Target: positive vs. negative) x 2 (Level of identification: low vs. high) x 2 (Time of judgement: pre- vs. post-manipulation) between-participants ANOVA. The analysis revealed a significant main effect of group, $F (1, 164) = 4.27$, $p < .05$, a significant Group x Time interaction, $F (1, 164) = 4.34$, $p < .04$, a significant Group x Time x Identification interaction, $F (1, 164) = 4.94$, $p < .03$, and a significant Group x Target x Time x Identification interaction, $F (1, 164) = 5.11$, $p < .03$. Means and standard deviations are displayed in Table 2.

It was predicted that high identifiers would express a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member, whereas this effect was not expected to emerge in the outgroup condition. To test this prediction, the Group x Time x Identification x Target interaction was decomposed, firstly, by examining the Group x Time x Target interaction within each level of the identification variable. The interaction was significant for high identifiers, $F (1, 78) = 5.81$, $p < .02$, but not low identifiers, $F < 1$. For high identifiers, the simple Group x Time interaction was significant in the negative target condition, $F (1, 42) = 16.02$, $p < .001$, but not the positive target condition, $F < 1$. Consistent with predictions, simple effects tests confirmed that high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member, $F (1, 36) = 7.12$, $p < .01$. In contrast, high identifiers expressed a more negative image of the outgroup

after, compared to before, reading about a negative outgroup member, $F$ (1, 36) = 8.08, $p < .01$. As in Study 1, low identifiers' judgements were relatively unaffected by the target or time variables or by the group variable, all $Fs < 1$.

Study 1 found that high identifiers also expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member. To check if this effect had replicated, the Group x Target x Identification interaction was examined within each level of the time variable. As expected, the interaction was significant for the post-manipulation judgements, $F$ (1, 80) = 8.98, $p < .003$, but not the pre-manipulation judgements, all $Fs < 1.24$, $ns$. For the post-manipulation judgements, the simple Target x Identification interaction was significant within the ingroup condition, $F$ (1, 41) = 4.40, $p < .04$, and the outgroup condition, $F$ (1, 39) = 4.24, $p < .04$. Simple effects tests confirmed that high identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than those who read about a positive ingroup member, $F$ (1, 41) = 4.68, $p < .03$, whereas the reverse pattern emerged when the targets were outgroup members: high identifiers who read about negative outgroup member expressed a more negative image of the outgroup than those who read about a positive outgroup member, $F$ (1, 41) = 5.95, $p < .02$. These effects did not emerge for low identifiers, $Fs < 1$.

Finally, to assess whether the presentation of a negative group member would lead to a more extreme response among high identifiers than low identifiers, the simple Group x Identification interaction was examined within each level of the target variable. The interaction was significant within the negative target condition, $F$ (1, 42) = 16.09, $p < .001$, but not the positive target condition, $F < 1$. Simple effects

tests confirmed that high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than low identifiers after reading about a negative ingroup member, $F(1, 42) = 7.56$, $p < .007$. This effect did not emerge when the negative target was an outgroup member, $F < 1$. Furthermore, as expected, after reading about a negative (ingroup vs. outgroup) target, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than of the outgroup, $F(1, 42) = 26.93$, $p < .001$. This effect did not emerge for low identifiers, $F < 1$.

**Table 2. Group stereotype ratings as a function of identification, target, group and time of judgement**

|          |       | Low identifiers | | High identifiers | |
|----------|-------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|          |       | Ingroup | Outgroup | Ingroup | Outgroup |
| Positive | Pre-  | 6.12 (0.78) | 5.98 (0.95) | 6.32 (1.41) | 6.30 (0.64) |
|          | Post- | 6.35 (1.26) | 6.02 (0.84) | 6.57 (0.99) | 6.39 (0.76) |
| Negative | Pre-  | 6.20 (1.01) | 6.25 (1.24) | 6.31 (0.72) | 6.34 (0.91) |
|          | Post- | 5.99 (0.93) | 6.21 (1.16) | 7.16 (1.09) | 5.47 (1.13) |

*Note.* Standard deviations are in parentheses

**Target evaluations**

The target ratings were analysed by way of a 2 (Target: positive vs. negative) x 2 (Group: ingroup vs. outgroup) x 2 (Level of identification: low vs. high) ANOVA. The analysis revealed a significant main effect of target, $F(1, 172) = 741.71$, $p < .001$, a significant Group x Target interaction, $F(1, 172) = 15.61$, $p <$

.001, and a significant Group x Target x Identification interaction, $F$ (1, 172) = 12.04, p < .001.[7, 8] Means and standard deviations are displayed in Table 3.

To test the prediction that the black sheep effect would emerge among high but not low identifiers, the Group x Target x Identification interaction was decomposed, firstly, by examining the simple Group x Target interaction within each level of the identification variable. The interaction was significant for high identifiers, $F$ (1, 82) = 27.13, $p$ < .001, but not low identifiers, $F$ < 1. Consistent with predictions, simple effects tests confirmed that high identifiers were more positive in their evaluation of a positive ingroup member than a positive outgroup member, $F$ (1, 82) = 19.12, $p$ < .001, but were more negative in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member than a negative outgroup member, $F$ (1, 82) = 8.45, $p$ < .004. In contrast, low identifiers were equally positive (negative) in their evaluation of positive (negative) ingroup and outgroup members, $F$s < 1.

To test the prediction that high identifiers would evaluate the targets more extremely than low identifiers the Group x Target x Identification interaction was decomposed by examining the simple Target x Identification interactions within each level of the group variable. The interaction was significant for ingroup members, $F$ (1, 87) = 12.07, p < 001, and approached significance for outgroup members, $F$ (1,

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[7] To assess whether judging the group before the target may have affected the target evaluation ratings, the same analysis was conducted with the time of (stereotype) judgement variable included. Time had no main or interactive effects on the target ratings, all $F$s < 1, *ns*.

[8] Contrary to expectations, mediational analysis indicated that the target evaluation scores did not mediate the relationship between ingroup identification and the group ratings following the presentation of a negative ingroup member.

85) = 2.56, p < .11. Simple effects tests confirmed that high identifiers were more positive than low identifiers in their evaluation of a positive ingroup member, $F$ (1, 87) = 4.69, $p$ < .03, but were more negative than low identifiers in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member, $F$ (1, 87) = 5.48, $p$ < .02, and a positive outgroup member, $F$ (1, 85) = 5.06, $p$ < .03. Low and high identifiers were equally negative in their evaluation of a negative outgroup member, $F$ < 1.

**Table 3. Target evaluations as a function of identification and group**

|  | Low identifiers | | High identifiers | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Ingroup | Outgroup | Ingroup | Outgroup |
| Positive | 6.94 (0.86) | 6.96 (0.85) | 7.56 (0.79) | 6.26 (1.44) |
| Negative | 2.96 (1.07) | 3.12 (1.00) | 2.24 (0.90) | 3.16 (0.97) |

*Note.* Standard deviations are in parenthesis.

## DISCUSSION

Consistent with the results of Study 1, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member, and a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member. In contrast, low identifiers' ratings of the ingroup were relatively unaffected by the target and time variables. A different pattern emerged when the negative target was an outgroup member: high identifiers expressed a more negative image of the outgroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative outgroup member, and

a more negative image of the outgroup after reading about a negative outgroup member than after reading about a positive outgroup member. As in the ingroup condition, however, low identifiers' ratings of the outgroup were relatively unaffected by the target manipulation.

The level of ingroup identification also moderated the evaluation of individual ingroup and outgroup members: high identifiers were more positive in their evaluation of a desirable ingroup member than a desirable outgroup member, but were more negative in their evaluation of an undesirable ingroup member than an undesirable outgroup member – i.e., the black sheep effect (see also Branscombe et al., 1993). Low identifiers did not differentially evaluate ingroup and outgroup members. High identifiers were also more positive than low identifiers in their evaluation of a positive ingroup member but were more negative than low identifiers in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member. Taken together, these results provide further support for the idea that ingroup members may be especially motivated to psychologically exclude other ingroup members whose behaviour or characteristics threaten the ingroup identity.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

Two studies investigated the consequences of the presentation of a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member for the image of the ingroup among participants who differed in their level of ingroup identification. Building on research on deviant rejection and derogation (e.g., Abrams et al., 2000; Branscombe et al., 1993; Marques et al., 1988; Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988; see Marques & Paez, 1994, for a review) and the stereotype change literature (e.g., Hewstone, 1994; Kunda &

Oleson, 1997), it was predicted that high identifiers would define the ingroup as a whole in contrast to the negative characteristics of a deviant ingroup member, leading to a more positive image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member. The results provide clear support for this prediction and were remarkably consistent across both studies. In both studies, after reading about a negative ingroup member, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup. High identifiers also expressed a more positive image of the ingroup in a context that included a negative ingroup member than in a context that included only prototypical and hence positive ingroup members. These findings support the idea that high identifiers may be especially motivated to psychologically exclude from the ingroup other ingroup members who threaten the ingroup identity.

Like most research on social perception and stereotyping, the present results point to the categorization process as an important determinant of assimilation versus contrast effects. Whether a person is seen as a member of one social group or another has important consequences for judgements of the person (e.g., Bodenhausen, Macrae, & Sherman, 1999; Tajfel, Flament, Billig, & Bundy, 1971; Turner et al., 1987) as well as judgements of the group (e.g., Hewstone, 1994; Kunda & Oleson, 1997; Weber & Crocker, 1983). Most research in this domain has investigated the cognitive-perceptual processes that might underlie perceivers' categorization decisions. This research has typically examined the impact that factors such as the dispersion or extremity of stereotype disconfirming information can have on the categorization process, and consequently, the emergence of assimilation or contrast effects. For example, it seems that stereotypes are more likely to assimilate towards disconfirming information that is dispersed across several moderately deviant group

members than concentrated in a few extremely deviant group members (e.g., Hewstone, 1994; Johnston & Hewstone, 1992; Weber & Crocker, 1983). Conversely, information that is concentrated in a small number of extremely deviant group members will more likely result in a contrast effect (Kunda & Oleson, 1997). Presumably, it is easier for perceivers to exclude a smaller number of extremely deviant group members than a larger number of mildly deviant members (Hewstone, 1994).

What have been insufficiently addressed in previous research are the motivational processes that might influence the categorization decisions that are known to lead to the emergence of assimilation versus contrast effects. The present research goes some way towards addressing this limitation. The results clearly point to the greater self-conceptual importance of the ingroup for high identifiers, and therefore by implication, the greater motivational demands on high identifiers to exclude from the ingroup those members who negatively contribute to identity. To this extent, the results are consistent with recent research showing that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers perceive undesirable ingroup members as less typical of the ingroup (Castano et al., 2002a), establish a stricter criteria for including ambiguous individuals in the ingroup (Castano et al., 2002b), and devote more cognitive resources to psychologically exclude undesirable members from the ingroup (Coull et al., 2001).

Going beyond previous research, the results of the present research also suggest that high identifiers may be motivated to include undesirable outgroup members in the representation they form of the outgroup. One possibility that merits further investigation is that including undesirable members in the outgroup might

provide high identifiers with a means of achieving a positive distinction between the ingroup and the outgroup. This in turn may serve to legitimate subsequent expressions of ingroup favouritism. This would be consistent with Marques and colleagues' (Abrams et al., 2000, 2002; Marques et al., 1998a) suggestion that highly identified group members may be especially sensitive to, and indeed motivated to enhance, differences within the ingroup and the outgroup as a means of achieving and legitimating ingroup favouring differences between the in-group and the outgroup.

While the pattern of stereotype ratings made by high identifiers were clearly in line with predictions, those made by low identifiers were not entirely as expected. It was predicted that low identifiers would express a more negative image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member. The reasoning here was as follows. Because the ingroup is by definition less self-conceptually important for low identifiers than for high identifiers, it was expected that low identifiers would be less motivated than high identifiers to exclude deviants from the rest of the group (e.g., Coull et al., 2001), which in turn was expected to lead low identifiers to generalize the deviant's characteristics to the group, leading to a more negative image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member. This prediction was not supported. In both studies low identifiers expressed similar group ratings before and after the presentation of a negative ingroup member. One reason for this may be because of the generally high level of ingroup identification expressed by participants. Although significantly lower than high identifiers, in both studies, the level of ingroup identification expressed by low identifiers was around the scale midpoint. In this respect, the low identifiers may be more appropriately termed

'moderate' identifiers. The observed pattern of ingroup stereotype ratings suggests that low identifiers were sufficiently motivated to resist generalizing from the deviant to the rest of the group. The fact that the same pattern was observed in both the ingroup and outgroup conditions, suggests that the intergroup distinction was less salient for low identifiers than for high identifiers – only high identifiers differentially responded to ingroup and outgroup information. Nevertheless, on the basis of the present results, the question of how low identifiers deal with a threat to the ingroup identity remains unexplained. This question is addressed more thoroughly in Chapters 5 and 6.

If a motivation to maintain a positive and distinctive image of the ingroup is indeed a primary motivation for high identifiers, one may wonder why in Study 2 high identifiers did not judge the ingroup in more positive stereotypical terms than the outgroup on the pre-manipulation judgements and also following the presentation of a positive ingroup member. While at face value the observed lack of ingroup favouritism may seem to contradict the motivational interpretation, the results are not entirely inconsistent with this account. There is considerable evidence that groups do not always differentiate themselves positively from outgroups – at least not on all possible dimensions (e.g., Mummendey & Schreiber, 1983; Spears & Manstead, 1989). One reason for this is that group members are often constrained by the social reality of intergroup differences, or indeed similarities (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In some situations, it may not be credible for groups to simply claim superiority over another outgroup in the absence of sufficient evidence to support the claim. For this reason, group members often engage less direct and sometimes more creative strategies to maintain and secure a relatively positive impression of the ingroup than

simply claiming superiority on all dimensions (e.g., Ellemers & van Knippenberg, 1997; Doosje & Ellemers, 1997; Lemaine, 1974; for a review, see Branscombe et al., 1999). Studies 5-8 in Chapters 5 and 6 focus more on some of the relatively indirect strategies group members might engage to deal with a threat to the ingroup identity.

The target evaluation ratings provide clear support for the motivational identity maintenance account. In both studies, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers were more positive in their evaluation of a positive ingroup member and more negative in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member. This pattern of intragroup evaluations replicates the effects reported in previous research (Abrams & Hutchison, 2002; Castano et al., 2002a). Moreover, in Study 2, high identifiers were more positive in their evaluation of a desirable ingroup member than a desirable outgroup member, but were more negative in their evaluation of an undesirable ingroup member than an undesirable outgroup member – the black sheep effect (see also Branscombe et al., 1993). Marques and Paez (1994) argued that the extreme derogation of undesirable ingroup members is functional in its protection of the image of the ingroup. However, surprisingly, the present research is among the first to provide direct support for this notion (see also Castano et al., 2002a). The results show that judgements of individual ingroup and outgroup members correspond closely to judgements of the group in so far as participants who expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about an undesirable ingroup member – i.e., high identifiers – were also more positive in their evaluation of a desirable ingroup member and negative in their evaluation of an undesirable ingroup member. Likewise, participants who held a more negative outgroup stereotype after reading about an undesirable outgroup member were also more negative in their evaluation

of a desirable outgroup member and positive in their evaluation of an undesirable outgroup member. Taken together, the evidence suggests that the derogation of deviant ingroup members may indeed go hand-in-hand with the maintenance of the image of the ingroup.

The current findings are also consistent with the findings of research on reactions to threats to the ingroup identity (see Chapter 2; Branscombe et al., 1999). The general conclusion from this line of research is that high identifiers will respond to a threat to the ingroup identity with a motivation to defend the interests of the ingroup as a whole, whereas low identifiers are more likely to pursue more individualistic ways of protecting their (personal) self-image (for a review, see Branscombe et al., 1999). As discussed in Chapter 2, the majority of research in this domain has focused on external forms of group threat – e.g., caused by out-group discrimination (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999) or by the similarity or relative status of an out-group (Doosje et al., 1995; Spears et al., 1997). The current findings suggest that low identifiers may also adopt more individualistic strategies when the source of threat comes from within the group. The studies reported in Chapters 5 and 6 provide more extensive consideration of how low identifiers might respond to ingroup members whose behaviour or characteristics threaten the ingroup identity.

# CHAPTER 4

## Reactions to Deviance in Low and High Status Groups

Two studies examined reactions to deviance in low and high status groups as a function of ingroup identification. In Study 3 ($N = 143$), high identifiers rejected a negative ingroup member more extremely under low status conditions than under high status conditions. Under low status conditions, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers were more positive towards a positive ingroup member and more negative towards a negative ingroup member, whereas these differences were absent under high status conditions. These effects were replicated in Study 4 ($N = 240$), which also included a group stereotype measure. Results indicated that high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member but only under low status conditions; this difference was absent under high status conditions. The status and target variables did not affect low identifiers' group stereotype ratings. The results suggest that groups may be more tolerant of deviants when high status has already been achieved than when status improvement is an important goal.

## INTRODUCTION

The results of Studies 1 and 2 are consistent with the notion that people will reject other ingroup members who negatively contribute to the ingroup identity. The two studies reported in this chapter extend previous research by examining how people's reactions to a negative ingroup member might be affected by the relative status of the ingroup. The status of a group is a core concept of social identity theory

(Tajfel & Turner, 1986), which sees groups as engaged in a contest for status and positive identity. Social identity theorists have specified different strategies that members of low status groups might engage to deal with a threat to the ingroup identity (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999). Research in this domain suggests that a well-defined and homogenous ingroup identity might be a prerequisite for collective attempts at status improvement (e.g., Doosje et al., 1999; Scheepers et al., 2002). In the current chapter, it is suggested that deviants within a low status group may be a particularly potent source of threat for ingroup members because they may be perceived as hindering the potential for collective status improvement. However, when high status has already been achieved and the ingroup identity is secure, it may be less important for group members to react directly to a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member. This prediction was tested in the two studies reported below.

**Responding to membership in low group status**

As discussed in previous chapters, social identity and self-categorization theories hold that people derive an important part of their self-concept from the groups to which they belong (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987). In situations where a group provides a meaningful basis for self-definition and is thus mediating self-evaluation, people are motivated to maintain and secure a positive distinction between the ingroup and other outgroups on relevant dimensions, which in turn contributes to collective self-esteem (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Inclusion in a low status group can thus have negative self-esteem implications, which can be alleviated by various cognitive and behavioural strategies

(Branscombe et al., 1999; Lemaine, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). These strategies can take various forms and can reflect either group interests or individual interests. As previously discussed, research in this domain suggests that high identifiers are more likely respond to a threat to the ingroup identity with a motivation to improve the interests of the group as a whole, whereas low identifiers' responses will more likely reflect personal self-interests than group interests (for a review, see Branscombe et al., 1999).

One response to membership in a low status group might be to engage in social competition and directly challenge the existing status relation (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). There is evidence that in some situations members of low status groups engage this strategy (for meta-analytic evidence, see Mullen et al., 1992; for a review, see Branscombe et al., 1999). However, this is not invariably the case. There are some situations where such direct responses may not be credible, for example, where the ingroup is perceived to be less positive than the outgroup not because of any fault of the outgroup but as a result of its own failure. In this situation, the implications for the ingroup identity may be negative and perhaps even more negative than if the status difference can be attributed to unjust actions on the part of the outgroup (Branscombe et al., 1999). Under these conditions, ingroup members may look for less direct ways of protecting their identity.

One line of research has focused on the relation between the group's relative status and perceived group variability as a function of ingroup identification. This research shows that under low status conditions, high identifiers tend to emphasize ingroup homogeneity, whereas low identifiers seem more inclined to stress ingroup heterogeneity (see Chapters 2 and 5; for a review, see Doosje et al., 1999). Doosje et

al. (1995), for example, found that under low status conditions, high identifiers perceived the ingroup as more homogenous than low identifiers, whereas this difference was absent under high status conditions. Doosje et al. (1995) argued that enhancing ingroup heterogeneity might provide low identifiers with an opportunity to protect their personal identity by dissociating themselves from a potentially negative group membership (in much the same way as disidentification with the group might). By the same token, maintaining or even enhancing ingroup homogeneity may provide high identifiers with a perception of a well-defined and consensual ingroup identity, which may in turn make more direct forms of collective response more likely. In this way, as Doosje et al. (1999) argued, the relatively indirect strategy of enhancing ingroup homogeneity in low status groups may be conceived not as an end state, but rather as a step in preparing for more direct strategies aimed at improving the relative interests of the group.

## Responding to deviance in low and high status groups

The above analysis suggests that a well-defined and homogenous ingroup identity may be an important step towards status improvement. As such, deviants within the group will thus be perceived as a barrier to homogeneity and ultimately to status improvement. Hence, they are likely to be rejected by other ingroup members. As Scheepers et al. (2002; p. 616) argued, "cleaning out one's own nest" might be the first step taken by low status groups as they prepare to challenge the status quo and seek social change. When high status has already been achieved, however, deviants within the group may attract less negative attention and condemnation than

when unity is needed to change the existing status relation.[9] Consistent with this idea, there is some evidence that high status groups are more tolerant of deviants than low status groups. Branscombe et al. (1993), for example, found that high identifiers rejected a disloyal ingroup member more strongly than a disloyal outgroup member, and this difference was enhanced when the ingroup was defeated in a competition. More recently, Chekroun (2002) reported a series of studies indicating that, relative to low power groups, high power groups valued diversity more, attributed less importance to intragroup similarity, and were more tolerant of ingroup members who transgressed social norms (see also Guinote, Judd, & Brauer, 2002) More recently still, Scheepers et al. (2002) found that a deviant ingroup member who claimed that the status relation between the ingroup and the outgroup was legitimate was rejected more, and selected for leadership roles less, under low status conditions than under high status conditions. In addition, perceived ingroup homogeneity was higher under illegitimate than legitimate low status conditions, and perceived homogeneity was correlated with deviant rejection only in the former condition, that is, under illegitimate low status conditions. Taken together, these results suggest that a well-defined and homogeneous ingroup identity may indeed be a prerequisite for collective attempts at status improvement, and that the rejection of deviants may be an important first step in this direction (see also Abrams et al., in press a).

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[9] There are, of course, situations when high status groups are likely to be as intolerant or even more intolerant than low status groups of deviant ingroup members, for example, when the status relation is insecure and/or illegitimate (Scheepers et al., 2002).

**The current research**

The two studies reported in this chapter build upon the results of Studies 1 and 2 as well as the above-reviewed research on responses to inclusion in a low status group. Studies 1 and 2 clearly showed that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers evaluated a positive ingroup member more positively and a negative ingroup member more negatively (see also Abrams & Hutchison, 2002; Castano et al., 2002a). In addition, the presentation of a negative ingroup member led to a more positive image of the ingroup among high identifiers but not low identifiers. To the extent that these effects reflect the greater self-conceptual importance of the group for high identifiers and hence the greater motivational demands on high identifiers to exclude undesirable members from the group, it is reasonable to assume that these same effects will emerge more strongly under low status conditions than under high status conditions. It seems likely then, that high identifiers will reject a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member more extremely under low status than high status conditions. In contrast, to the extent that low identifiers by definition have less investment in the ingroup identity, the status of the group should have less impact on how low identifiers reactions to such a member (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987). Low identifiers are thus more likely to react to a negative target on the basis of the target's characteristics or actions than on the basis of the implications for the ingroup identity, as the results of Studies 1 and 2 seem to suggest (see also Abrams & Hutchison, 2002). These predictions were tested in the two studies reported below. Study 3 examined deviant derogation and rejection as a function of status and identification. Study 4 also considered how a negative ingroup member might

differentially affect the image of the ingroup as a function of status and identification. Predictions are described in the introduction to each study.

## STUDY 3

Study 3 used a 2 (Target: positive vs. negative) x (Status: low vs. high) x 2 (Identification: low vs. high) between-participants design. Students first completed items measuring their level of identification with their university. To manipulate relative group status, participants were provided with bogus feedback from a survey indicating that their university compared either favourably or unfavourable with a rival university (adapted from Spears et al., 1997). All participants then read about and evaluated either a positive or negative ingroup member and indicated how willing they would be to exert persuasive pressure on the target group member to change his outlook. The main prediction was that the effects obtained in the first two studies would be more pronounced in the low status condition than in the high status condition. Thus, in the low status condition, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers were expected to be more positive towards a positive ingroup member and more negative towards a negative ingroup member. High identifiers were also expected to be more negative towards a negative ingroup member in the low status condition than in the high status condition. The status variable was not expected to affect low identifiers' judgements of the targets to such an extent. A similar pattern was expected to emerge on the persuasion item for the negative ingroup member: that is, in the low status condition, high identifiers were expected to be more willing than low identifiers to exert persuasive pressure on a negative ingroup member and more willing in the low status condition than in the high status condition. The status

and identification variables were not expected to affect attempts to persuade the positive ingroup member.

# METHOD

## Participants

A total of 143 students from the University of Birmingham participated in the study for credit. Of these, 103 were female, 39 were male, and one did not provide gender information. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 34 ($M = 20.82$, $SD = 2.34$). Since gender or age had no main or interactive effects in any of the analyses reported below, these variables are not considered further.

## Procedure and Materials

The study was conducted at the beginning of a lecture session. Participants were informed that the study was part of a larger research project being conducted by researchers at the Universities of Birmingham and Kent to investigate the perception and employment potential of students from those universities. It was explained that a previous phase of the study investigated employers' perceptions of Birmingham and Kent students; the purpose of the present study was to assess how students from these universities perceive themselves and each other. Participants were randomly assigned to conditions and received a booklet containing instructions and all independent and dependent variables. Debriefing took place in the following lecture.

### *Ingroup identification measure*

Four items measured participants' level of identification with their university. The items were adapted from the measure used in the previous studies (Study 2;

Doosje et al., 1995). Responses to these and subsequent items were recorded on 9-point Likert-type scales (1 = not at all/disagree, to 9 = very much/agree). The identification items were combined to form a single ingroup identification score ($\alpha$ = .81). Participants were classified as low identifiers ($M$ = 4.69, $SD$ = 1.28) or high identifiers ($M$ = 7.50, $SD$ = 0.60) by means of a median split, $F$ (1, 121) = 275.67, $p$ < .001.

## *Group status manipulation*

Further instructions explained that a previous phase of the study had revealed that employers generally held either a relatively low or high opinion of Birmingham students. This was conveyed to participants in the low status condition by informing them that, relative to Kent students, Birmingham students were perceived as less enthusiastic about their work, less professional in their approach, and more concerned with the social than academic aspects of university life. As a result, Birmingham students were perceived as lacking many of the important attributes that employers expect potential employees to possess. In the high status condition, participants were informed that Birmingham students were perceived as being superior to Kent students in terms of these same dimensions and therefore as possessing many of the important attributes that employers expect of potential employees (adapted from a manipulation used by Spears et al., 1997). After reading this information participants were asked to write down any thoughts they might have about why employers might have such a relatively low (high) opinion of Birmingham students. A single item served as a check on the group status

manipulation: 'Relative to Kent students how are Birmingham students perceived?' (1 = inferior, to 9 = superior).

### Target descriptions

Participants then read one of two descriptions of a Birmingham student. Both descriptions began with the same demographic information and continued to describe the target's attitude towards and commitment to his work, his ambitions, and so on. The target came across as either confirming (positive) or disconfirming (negative) the positive stereotype of students. Examples of sentences used in the positive target condition included the following: 'He regularly attends lectures, never misses exams, and friends often rely on him for information,' and 'He has the intellectual ability to successfully complete the degree course and also the required dedication and motivation.' In contrast, examples used in the negative target condition included the following: 'He fails to attend lectures regularly, often misses exams, and relies on classmates for information,' and 'He has the intellectual ability to successfully complete the degree course but he lacks the required dedication and motivation.'

### Personality evaluation measure

Ten items measured participants' impression of the target on a series of characteristics pertinent to the target manipulation: 'hardworking,' 'irresponsible,' 'determined,' 'ambitious,' 'lazy,' 'respected,' 'praiseworthy,' 'immature,' 'productive,' 'commendable.' The negative items were reversed scored and combined with the positive items to form a single target evaluation score ($\alpha = .96$). A higher score on this measure indicates a more positive evaluation.

*Attempt to influence measure*

Finally, a single item measured how willing participants would be to attempt to persuade the target to change his outlook: 'How willing would you be to attempt to persuade this person to change his outlook?' (adapted from Marques et al., 2002).

# RESULTS

## Manipulation checks

All participants correctly identified the group membership of the target student. The status manipulation check scores were analysed by means of a 2 (Status: low vs. high) x 2 (Identification: low vs. high) ANOVA. The only significant effect to emerge was a main effect of status, $F(1, 135) = 465.75$, $p < .001$. As expected, participants in the low status condition ($M = 2.03$, $SD = 1.67$) thought that Birmingham students were perceived more negatively than those in the high status condition ($M = 8.26$, $SD = 1.72$). All other $F$s < 1.

## Target ratings

The target ratings were analysed using 2 (Status: low vs. high) x 2 (Target: positive vs. negative) x 2 (Identification: low vs. high) ANOVAs. Means and standard deviations are displayed in Table 4.

### Personality evaluation

The analysis revealed a significant main effect of target, $F(1, 135) = 489.21$, $p < .001$. As expected, the positive ingroup member ($M = 6.92$, $SD = 1.24$) was evaluated more positively than the negative ingroup member ($M = 2.74$, $SD = 1.11$). The Status x Target interaction was also significant, $F(1, 135) = 4.41$, $p < .04$, as

was the Target x Identification interaction, $F$ (1, 135) = 10.29, $p$ < .002. These effects were qualified by the predicted Status x Target x Identification interaction, $F$ (1, 135) = 5.81, p < .02.

It was predicted that high identifiers would evaluate a negative ingroup member more negatively and a positive ingroup member more positively in the low status condition than in the high status condition. To test this prediction, the Status x Target x Identification was decomposed, firstly, by examining the simple Status x Target interaction within each level of the identification variable. The interaction was significant for high identifiers, $F$ (1, 65) = 10.86, $p$ < .002, but not low identifiers, $F$ < 1. A test of the simple effects of status confirmed that high identifiers were more negative towards a negative ingroup member in the low status condition than in the high status condition, $F$ (1, 65) = 6.26, $p$ < .02. High identifiers were also more positive towards a positive ingroup member in the low status condition than in the high status condition, $F$ (1, 65) = 4.64, $p$ < .04. The status variable did not affect low identifiers' evaluations of the targets, both $F$s < 1.

It was also predicted that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers would evaluate a positive ingroup member more positively and a negative ingroup member more negatively. This effect was expected to be more pronounced in the low status condition than in the high status condition. The simple Target x Identification interaction was significant in the low status condition, $F$ (1, 69) = 21.71, $p$ < .001, but not in the high status condition, $F$ < 1. A test of the simple effects of identification confirmed that, in the low status condition, high identifiers were more positive than low identifiers in their evaluation of a positive ingroup member, $F$ (1, 69) = 8.74, $p$ < .004, but were more negative than low identifiers in their evaluation

of a negative ingroup member, $F$ (1, 69) = 13.25, $p < .001$. In contrast, in the high status condition, the level of ingroup identification did not moderate target evaluations, both $F$s < 1 (see Figure 2).

**Figure 2. Personality evaluation as a function of status, target, and identification**
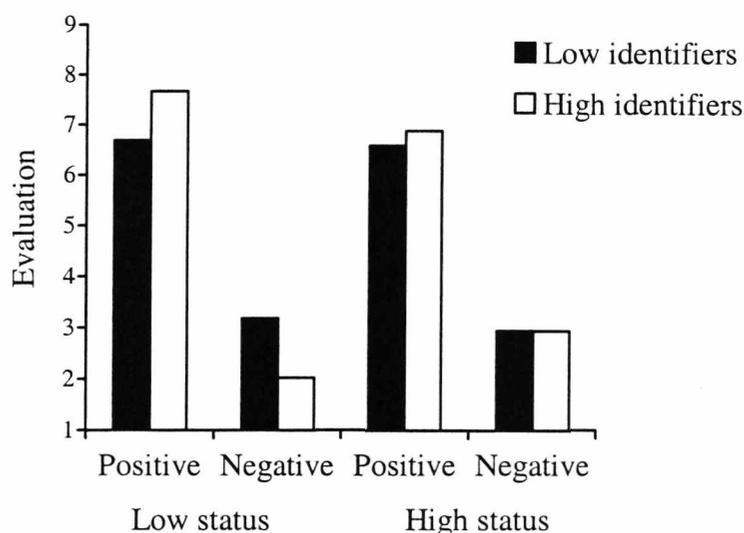


### Attempt to influence

The analyses revealed a significant main effect of target, $F$ (1, 135) = 145.61, $p < .001$. As expected, participants were more willing to exert persuasive pressure on a negative ingroup member ($M$ = 5.07, $SD$ = 1.62) than a positive ingroup member ($M$ = 2.03, $SD$ = 1.39). The Status x Target x Identification interaction was also significant, $F$ (1, 135) = 4.34, $p < .04$.

It was predicted that high identifiers would be more willing to exert persuasive pressure on a negative ingroup member in the low status condition than in the high status condition. To test this prediction, the Status x Target x Identification

interaction was decomposed by examining the simple Status x Target interaction within each level of the identification variable. The interaction was significant for high identifiers, $F$ (1, 65) = 6.57, $p < .013$, but not for low identifiers, $F < 1$. A test of the simple effects of status confirmed that high identifiers were more willing to exert persuasive pressure on a negative ingroup member in the low status condition than in the high status condition, $F$ (1, 65) = 13.43, $p < .001$. Status did not moderate high identifiers' willingness to exert persuasive pressure on a positive ingroup member or low identifiers' willingness to exert persuasive pressure on either a positive or negative ingroup member, all $Fs < 1$.

It was also predicted that high identifiers would be more willing than low identifiers to exert persuasive pressure on a negative ingroup member, especially in the low status condition. To test this prediction, the Status x Target x Identification interaction was decomposed by examining the simple Target x Identification interaction within each level of the status variable. The interaction was significant in the low status condition, $F$ (1, 69) = 5.71, $p < .02$, but not in the high status condition, $F < 1$. A test of the simple effects of identification confirmed that, in the low status condition, high identifiers were more willing than low identifiers to exert persuasive pressure on a negative ingroup member, $F$ (1, 69) = 8.11, $p < .006$. Identification did not moderate participants' willingness to exert persuasive pressure on a positive ingroup member in the low status condition or either target in the high status condition, all $Fs < 1$.

# DISCUSSION

The results of Study 3 provide consistent support for the predictions. High identifiers rejected a negative ingroup member more extremely under low status conditions than under high status conditions, whereas this effect was absent for low identifiers. In the low status condition, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers were also more positive towards a positive ingroup member and more negative towards a negative ingroup member. Once again, this difference was absent in the high status condition. These results mirror the results of Studies 1 and 2 under low status conditions but not under high status conditions. In addition, going beyond the previous findings, the results of the present study show that high identifiers were more willing to exert persuasive pressure on a negative ingroup member in the high status condition than in the low status condition and, in the low status condition, high identifiers were more willing than low identifiers. As expected, the status and identification variables did not affect participants' willingness to exert persuasive pressure on a positive ingroup member. Taken together, these results provide further support for the idea that deviants will be rejected as a function of the threat they present to the ingroup identity.

**Table 4: Target ratings as a function of group status and identification**

| | Low Status | | | | High Status | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Low Identifiers | | High Identifiers | | Low Identifiers | | High Identifiers | |
| | Positive | Negative | Positive | Negative | Positive | Negative | Positive | Negative |
| Evaluation | 6.69 (1.10) | 3.18 (1.28) | 7.66 (0.70) | 2.02 (0.60) | 6.59 (1.29) | 2.95 (1.02) | 6.88 (1.02) | 2.94 (1.15) |
| Attempt to influence | 2.24 (1.89) | 4.58 (1.54) | 1.93 (1.16) | 6.10 (1.61) | 2.00 (1.37) | 4.85 (1.63) | 1.90 (0.96) | 5.40 (1.09) |

*Note.* Standard deviations are in parenthesis

# STUDY 4

Study 4 used a 2 (Status: low vs. high) x 2 (Identification: low vs. high) x 2 (Time of group judgement: pre- v. post- target manipulation) between-participants design. One aim of Study 4 was to replicate the results of the previous study using a different group and a different manipulation of deviance. A second aim was to investigate the consequences of the presentation of a negative ingroup member for the image of the ingroup as a function of status and identification. Psychology students first completed items measuring their level of identification with the group 'psychologists'. Then they received bogus feedback indicating that psychology compared either favourably or unfavourably with other social sciences. A group stereotype measure was administered either before or after participants had read about a target ingroup member, who was then evaluated. Following the results of Studies 1 and 2, it was predicted that high identifiers would express a more positive image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member, and a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member. To the extent that this reflects a motivation on the part of high identifiers to maintain the ingroup's positive image, as the preceding evidence suggests, then this effect should be more pronounced under low status conditions that under the high status conditions.

# METHOD

## Participants

A total of 240 undergraduate psychology students from the University of Birmingham participated for research participation credits. Of these, 183 were female and 57 were male. Since gender had no main or interactive effects in the analyses this variable is not considered further.

**Procedure and Cover Story**

The study was conducted at the beginning of a lecture session. Participants were informed that the study was part of a larger research project investigating the public image of different disciplines within the social sciences. It was explained that a previous phase of the study investigated how the general public perceived these different disciplines; the purpose of the present study was to find out how students of these different disciplines perceive themselves and each other. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions and received a booklet containing instructions and all independent and dependent variables. All participants first completed the ingroup identification items. Then they read feedback indicating that psychology compared either favourably or unfavourably with other social sciences. Half the participants then completed the group stereotype items before reading about and evaluating the target psychologist. The remaining half read the description and evaluated the target before completing the group stereotype items. Participants were asked if they had any suspicions about the true purpose of the study. No accurate suspicions were reported. Debriefing took place in the following lecture.

*Ingroup identification measure*

The identification items were the same as in the previous studies and assessed participants' level of identification with the group 'psychology students'. Responses to these and subsequent items were recorded on 9-point Likert-type scales (1 = not at all/disagree, to 9 = very much/agree). The identification items were combined to form a single ingroup identification score ($\alpha$ = .79). Participants were classified as low identifiers ($M$ = 5.72, $SD$ = 0.87) or high identifiers ($M$ = 7.54, $SD$ = 0.60) by means of a median split, $F$ (1, 238) = 360.39, $p$ < .001.

### *Group status manipulation*

Further instructions explained that a previous phase of the study had revealed that the general public accorded either lower or higher status to psychology than to other social sciences. This was conveyed to participants in the low status condition by informing them that, relative to other social sciences, psychologists were perceived as being less empathic, ethical, pro-social, responsible, analytical, synthetic, and professional. In the high status condition, participants were informed that psychologists were perceived as being superior to other social scientists in terms of these same characteristics. After reading this information, participants were asked to write down any thoughts they might have about why people might have such a low (high) opinion of psychologists relative to other social sciences.

### *Target group member manipulation*

Participants then read one of two descriptions of a target psychologist. One psychologist was positive and one was negative. These were the same descriptions as used in Study 1 (adapted from Coull et al., 2001).

### *Group stereotype measure*

Seven items measured participants' impression of psychologists on a series of stereotypical characteristics. These were the same items as used in Study 1 (adapted from Coull et al., 2001). These items were combined to form a single group stereotype score ($\alpha = .74$). A higher score on this measure represents a more positive impression of the group.

### *Target evaluation measure*

Four items measured participants' impression of the target psychologist: 'This person is a good psychologist,' 'I like this psychologist's attitude', 'I would

recommend this psychologist for promotion', 'I would like to work with this psychologist.' These items were combined to form a single target evaluation score ($\alpha$ = .95).

## RESULTS

### Group stereotype

The group stereotype scores were analysed by way of a 2 (Target: positive vs. negative) x 2 (Time of Judgement: pre- vs. post- target manipulation) x 2 (Status: low vs. high) x 2 (Identification: low vs. high) ANOVA. The analysis revealed a significant main effect of identification, $F (1, 224) = 3.93, p < .05$, a significant Status x Identification interaction, $F (1, 224) = 4.06, p < .05$, and a significant Status x Time x Identification interaction, $F (1, 224) = 3.81, p < .05$. These effects were qualified by the significant Status x Target x Time x Identification interaction, $F (1, 224) = 4.85, p < .03$. Means and standard deviations are displayed in Table 5.

It was predicted that high identifiers would express a more positive image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member. This effect was expected to be more pronounced in the low status condition than in the high status condition. To test this prediction, the Status x Target x Time x Identification interaction was decomposed, firstly, by examining the Target x Time x Identification interaction within each level of the status variable. The interaction was significant in the low status condition, $F (1, 114) = 7.69, p < .006$, but not in the high status condition, $F < 1$. In the low status condition, the Target x Time interaction was significant for low identifiers, $F (1, 60) = 5.89, p < .02$, and approached significance for high identifiers, $F (1, 54) = 2.26, p = .13$. Consistent with predictions, in the low status condition, simple effects analyses confirmed that high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a

negative ingroup member, $F$ (1, 54) = 6.20, $p$ < .02. In contrast, low identifiers expressed a more negative image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member, $F$ (1, 60) = 5.19, $p$ < .03. As in the previous studies, reading about a positive ingroup member did not affect either low or high identifiers' group ratings, both $F$s < 1.12, *ns*, and there were no significant effects of time, target or identification on the group stereotype ratings in the high status condition, all $F$s < 1.39, *ns*.

It was also predicted that, after reading about a negative ingroup member, high identifiers would express a more positive image of the ingroup in the low status condition than in the high status condition. To test this prediction, the Status x Target x Time x Identification interaction was decomposed by examining the Status x Target x Time interaction within each level of the identification variable. The interaction was marginally significant for high identifiers $F$ (1, 125) = 2.99, $p$ < .08, but was not significant for low identifiers, F < 1. For high identifiers, the simple Status x Target interaction was significant for post-manipulation ratings, $F$ (1, 58) = 6.03, $p$ < .02, but not pre-manipulation ratings, $F$ < 1. Consistent with predictions, simple effects analyses confirmed that, after reading about a negative ingroup member, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup in the low status condition than in the high status condition, $F$ (1, 125) = 10.03, $p$ < .002. This effect did not emerge for pre-manipulation ratings, $F$ < 1. Moreover, after reading about a positive ingroup member, high identifiers' ratings were similar in the low and high status conditions, $F$ < 1. In contrast, after reading about a negative ingroup member, low identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup in the high status condition than in the low status condition, $F$ (1, 52) = 5.96, $p$ < .02.

It was also predicted that high identifiers would express a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member than after

reading about a positive ingroup member. Again, this effect was expected to be more pronounced in the low status condition. To test this prediction, the Status x Target x Time x Identification interaction was further decomposed by examining the Status x Target x Identification interaction within each level of the time variable. The interaction was significant for post-manipulation ratings, $F$ (1, 110) = 7.07, $p < .009$, but not pre-manipulation ratings, $F < 1$. For post-manipulation ratings, the Target x Identification interaction was significant in the low status condition, $F$ (1, 56) = 9.29, $p < .004$, but not in the high status condition, $F < 1$. A test of the simple effects of target confirmed that, in the low status condition, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member, $F$ (1, 56) = 5.19, $p < .03$. This effect did not emerge in the high status condition, $F = 1.37$, ns. In addition, in the low status condition, low identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a positive ingroup member than after reading about a negative ingroup member, $F$ (1, 56) = 4.10, $p < .05$. Again, this effect did not emerge in the high status condition, $F < 1$. As expected, for pre-manipulation ratings, no differences emerged across target conditions for low or high identifiers, both $F$s < 1.

Finally, it was predicted that high identifiers would express a more positive image of the ingroup than low identifiers after reading about a negative ingroup member. Again, this effect was expected to be more pronounced in the low status condition than in the high status condition. Consistent with predictions, a test of the simple effects of identification confirmed that, in the low status condition, after reading about a negative ingroup member, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than low identifiers, $F$ (1, 56) = 20.92, $p < .001$. This effect did not emerge in the high status condition, $F < 1$. The level of identification did not moderate judgements in any of the other conditions, all $F$s < 1.

**Table 5. Group ratings as a function of status, ingroup identification, target, and time of judgement**

|  | Low Status | | | | High Status | | | |
|  | Low Identifiers | | High Identifiers | | Low Identifiers | | High Identifiers | |
|  | P | N | P | N | P | N | P | N |
| Pre-manipulation | 6.28 | 6.70 | 6.61 | 6.71 | 6.53 | 6.63 | 6.69 | 6.78 |
|  | (0.98) | (0.48) | (0.80) | (0.76) | (1.02) | (0.83) | (0.85) | (1.00) |
| Post-manipulation | 6.58 | 5.98 | 6.65 | 7.38 | 6.76 | 6.78 | 6.67 | 6.43 |
|  | (1.03) | (0.64) | (0.94) | (0.66) | (0.86) | (0.71) | (0.95) | (0.84) |

*Notes.* Standard deviations are in parenthesis.

P = Positive target, N = Negative target

**Target evaluation**

The target evaluation scores were analysed by way of a 2 (Status: low vs. high) x 2 (Target: positive vs. negative) x 2 (Identification: low vs. high) ANOVA. The analysis revealed a significant main effect of target, $F (1, 232) = 768.39$, $p < .001$. As expected, a positive ingroup member ($M = 7.08$, $SD = 1.11$) was evaluated more positively than a negative ingroup member ($M = 3.02$, $SD = 1.18$). The Target x Identification interaction was also significant, $F (1, 232) = 6.63$, $p < .01$, as was the predicted Status x Target x Identification interaction, $F (1, 232) = 8.95, p < .02$.

It was predicted that high identifiers would evaluate a positive ingroup member more positively and the negative target more negatively in the low status condition than in the high status condition. To test this prediction, the Status x Target x Identification interaction was decomposed by examining the simple Status x Target interaction within each level of the identification variable. The interaction was

significant for high identifiers, $F$ (1, 129) = 10.30, $p < .002$, but not low identifiers, $F$ = 1.37, ns. A test of the simple effects of status confirmed that high identifiers were more positive towards a positive ingroup member in the low status condition ($M$ = 7.66, $SD$ = 0.78), than in the high status condition ($M$ = 7.07, $SD$ = 1.10), $F$ (1, 129) = 4.19, $p < .04$. Conversely, high identifiers were more negative towards a negative ingroup member in the low status condition ($M$ = 2.56, $SD$ = 1.33) than in the high status condition ($M$ = 3.21, $SD$ = 1.07), $F$ (1, 129) = 6.36, $p < .013$. This effect was absent for low identifiers, who were equally positive towards a positive ingroup member under low status ($M$ = 6.67, $SD$ = 1.26) and high status conditions ($M$ = 7.12, $SD$ = 0.93), $F$ = 2.14, $ns$, and equally negative towards a negative ingroup member under low status ($M$ = 3.21, $SD$ = 1.17) and high status conditions ($M$ = 3.15, $SD$ = 0.99), $F < 1$.

Finally, it was predicted that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers would evaluate a positive ingroup member more positively and a negative ingroup member more negatively, especially in the low status condition. To test this prediction, the simple Target x Identification interaction was examined within each level of the status variable. The interaction was significant in the low status condition, $F$ (1, 118) = 14.41, p < .001, but not in the high status condition, $F < 1$. Simple effects tests confirmed that, in the low status condition, high identifiers were more positive than low identifiers towards a positive ingroup member, F (1, 118) = 10.11, $p < .002$, but were more negative than low identifiers towards a negative ingroup member, $F$ (1, 118) = 4.72, $p < .03$. The level of identification did not moderate the target evaluations under high status conditions, $Fs < 1$ (see Figure 3).

**Figure 3. Personality evaluation as a function of status, target and identification**
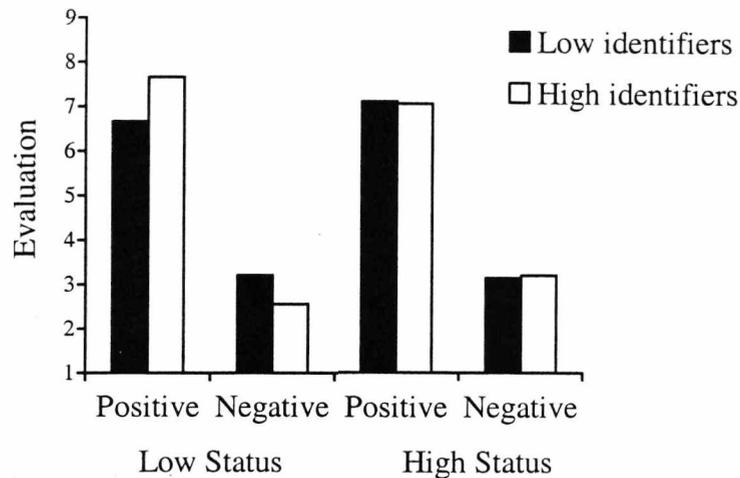


## DISCUSSION

The results again provide clear and consistent support for the predictions. High identifiers rejected a negative ingroup member more extremely under low status conditions than under high status conditions, whereas this difference was absent for low identifiers. Furthermore, in the low status condition, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers were more positive towards a positive ingroup member and more negative towards a negative ingroup member, whereas these differences were absent in the high status condition. This pattern mirrors the results of Study 3. With regard to the stereotype ratings, the effects observed in Studies 1 and 2 emerged under low status conditions but not under high status conditions. Thus, in the low status condition, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member. High identifiers also expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member. In contrast, low identifiers' ratings of the ingroup were relatively unaffected by the status and target

manipulations. Taken together, the results provide further support for the idea that deviant rejection might be functional in its protection of the image of the ingroup.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

Two studies examined reactions to deviance in low and high status groups as a function of ingroup identification. Research on the black sheep effect suggests that deviant rejection might be functional in its protection of the image of the ingroup (e.g., Marques & Paez, 1994; Yzerbyt et al., 2000). Building on this previous research and the results of Studies 1 and 2, it was predicted that a negative ingroup member would be rejected more extremely under low status conditions than under high status conditions, especially by high identifiers. Consistent with predictions, in both studies, high identifiers were more condemnatory of a negative ingroup member under low status conditions than under high status conditions. This pattern is consistent with previous research showing that, relative to low power groups, high power groups value diversity more, attribute less importance to intragroup similarity, and are more tolerant of ingroup members who transgress social norms (e.g., Chekroun, 2002).

The current findings are also consistent with research showing that deviant ingroup members are tolerated more when the ingroup identity is secure rather than insecure (Marques et al., 2002). Marques et al. (2002, Study 3), for example, varied the security of the ingroup identity by informing participants that they were unambiguously superior to the outgroup on a relevant dimension (secure identity condition) or that there was uncertainty about which group was superior (insecure identity condition). Results showed that, in the insecure identity condition, a positive ingroup member was preferred over a positive outgroup member, whereas a negative outgroup member was preferred over a negative outgroup member. Similar results

were obtained in a second study (Marques et al., 2002, Study 2) in which there was either a clear consensus of opinion among ingroup members about a relevant issue (secure identity condition) or a divergence of opinion (insecure identity condition). Results showed that participants rejected a deviant ingroup member more in the latter condition.

Together with the Marques et al. findings, the results of the current studies are consistent with the notion that a well-defined and homogenous ingroup identity may be a prerequisite for collective identity enhancement (see also Doosje et al., 1999; Scheepers et al., 2002). There is also evidence that ingroup consensus and homogeneity can enhance pride and self-esteem among members of low status groups (Doosje et al., 1995). Clearly then, deviants in a low status group will be viewed as an obstacle to identity enhancement, especially by those for whom the group is more self-conceptually important. The findings of Studies 3 and 4 are consistent with this analysis.

Although the current results suggest that high status groups may be more tolerant than low status groups of negative ingroup members, there are, of course, situations when high status groups are likely to be as intolerant or even more intolerant than low status groups of negative ingroup members, for example, when the status relation is perceived as illegitimate and/ or unstable. In this situation, a clearly undesirable individual within the group may be perceived by other ingroup members as a threat to the ingroup's relatively superior position. Consistent with this idea, Scheepers et al. (2002) manipulated the legitimacy of the status relation between the ingroup and the outgroup and found that an ingroup member who questioned the legitimacy of the status relation was derogated more and assigned to leadership roles less under high status conditions than under low status conditions. The studies reported in the present chapter did not include a manipulation or measure

of the legitimacy of the status relation. In the current studies, it was assumed that the manipulated status differences would be more or less accepted by participants. Furthermore, asking participants to think about and write down reasons why the ingroup might be inferior (or superior in the high status condition) to the outgroup on the relevant dimensions was intended to reinforce the perceived reality of the status relation and the results seem to suggest that participants did not dispute this; in both studies, high but not low identifiers rejected a negative ingroup member more strongly under low status conditions than under high status conditions. Had the status relation been perceived as illegitimate, as argued above, the reverse pattern may have been expected to emerge.

Besides demonstrating the circumstances under which a negative ingroup member is likely to be rejected, the results of Study 4 also shed further light on the consequences of an encounter with a negative ingroup member for the image of the ingroup. It was suggested that if ingroup derogation indeed goes hand-in-hand with the maintenance of the image of the ingroup, as the black sheep literature implies, then the image of the ingroup should be unaffected by the presentation of a negative ingroup member or even become more positive. This pattern was observed in Studies 1 and 2. In Study 4, it was found that the same effects emerged only under low status conditions – that is, when the ingroup identity was threatened. This suggests that when high status has already been secured, it may be less important for ingroup members to respond directly to a negative ingroup member than when a positive and distinctive identity is needed for status improvement (see also Scheepers et al., 2002).

One may wonder, though, why high identifiers did not express a more positive image of the ingroup than low identifiers after receiving feedback that the ingroup was inferior to the outgroup, but before the presentation of the target ingroup

members – that is, on the initial stereotype ratings. It was not until after participants had read about a negative ingroup member that the ratings made by low and high identifiers differed. One may reasonably expect that high identifiers would emphasize the ingroup's positive attributes in response to its low status position, irrespective of the presence of individual target members. The fact that they did not suggests that members of the low status group may have accepted the status difference and perhaps adopted less direct strategies for self-enhancement (Branscombe et al., 1999; Doosje & Ellemers, 1997; see Studies 5-8). The subsequent presentation of a negative ingroup member, however, may have provided ingroup members with a standard against which to judge the group as a whole, whereas when making the initial group ratings, the only obvious standard of comparison for the ingroup would be the high status outgroup. If the status difference was accepted as a reflection of real differences between the groups, then, in this situation, it is unlikely that members of a low status group would insist that the ingroup was in fact superior to the outgroup on the salient dimension. Although plausible, this account is, of course, speculative and future research is needed to address this issue.

## CONCLUSIONS

The two studies reported in the current chapter provide further evidence that deviant rejection might be functional in its protection of the image of the ingroup. It was suggested that deviants within a low status group would present a particularly potent source of threat for ingroup members because their presence can hinder the potential for collective status improvement. However, when high status has already been achieved and the ingroup identity is secure, it may be less important to react directly to the presence of deviant or negative ingroup member. The results

supported this analysis: reactions to deviants were more extreme under low status conditions than under high status conditions, but only for high identifiers. Thus, when the ingroup identity is threatened, high identifiers would seem to be motivated to differentiate the group as a whole from a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member, whereas low identifiers seem to be relatively unaffected. In this situation it may be that low identifiers will engage less direct means of protecting their (personal) self-image (Doosje et al., 1999). The studies in the following chapters investigate this idea more thoroughly by considering the impact that a negative ingroup member might have on perceived group variability (Chapter 5) and on self-stereotyping and ingroup identification (Chapter 6).

# CHAPTER 5

## Deviance and Perceived Group Variability

Three studies investigated the impact of a deviant and clearly negative group member on perceived group variability as a function of ingroup identification. In Studies 5 ($N = 78$) and 6 ($N = 157$), after reading about a negative ingroup member, high identifiers perceived the ingroup as more homogeneous than low identifiers, whereas this difference was absent in the positive target and control conditions. In Study 7 ($N = 169$), after reading about a negative ingroup or outgroup member, high identifiers perceived the ingroup and outgroup, respectively, as more homogenous than low identifiers, whereas this difference was absent in the positive target and control conditions. In addition, after reading about a negative ingroup or outgroup member, high identifiers perceived the ingroup as more positive and the outgroup as more negative, respectively, whereas this difference was absent for low identifiers. The results provide further evidence that group variability judgements can reflect and be used to address identity maintenance concerns.

## INTRODUCTION

The studies reported so far investigated how an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative group member might affect mean group ratings, or central tendency, as a function of the level of ingroup identification. The studies reported in this chapter extend previous research by assessing how a negative ingroup member might affect perceptions of group variability. Garcia-Marques and Mackie (1999) suggested that an encounter with a group member who disconfirms category-based expectations might have important consequences for the perception of group variability beyond

central tendency change. In three studies, using different indicators, Garcia-Marques and Mackie reported a significant increase in the perceived variability of different outgroups after participants received information about stereotype-disconfirming members of those groups. However, exposure to the same targets had less consistent effects on the group's central tendency across the three studies, with significant change occurring in one study only.

Importantly, like most research on stereotype change, Garcia-Marques and Mackie's (1999) research assessed how deviant outgroup members might affect perceptions of the outgroup. In addition, those studies focused on examples of deviance that had no obvious value connotation for the group or its members or for the perceiver (e.g., a clever construction worker). As shown in the previous studies, however, an additional factor is likely to affect ingroup judgements, namely the level of ingroup identification (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Doosje et al., 1999). As discussed in Chapter 2, previous research shows that variability judgements can reflect and be used to address identity maintenance concerns when the ingroup identity is threatened. That research shows that high identifiers will respond to a threat to the ingroup identity by maintaining or even enhancing ingroup homogeneity, whereas low identifiers seem more inclined to stress ingroup heterogeneity (e.g., Doosje et al., 1995). Social identity theorists have suggested that maintaining a perception of the ingroup as homogenous might allow high identifiers to express association with and commitment to a self-conceptually important ingroup. Conversely, stressing heterogeneity would seem to provide low identifiers with an opportunity to protect their personal identity by dissociating themselves from a potentially negative group membership. Emphasizing heterogeneity among ingroup members may thus be seen as an individualistic response in so far as it can

undermine the very identity of the group. As such, this strategy is less likely to be engaged by high identifiers (for a review, see Doosje et al., 1999).

Most research in this domain has investigated how perceived group variability might be affected by threats coming from outside the group (for a review, see Branscombe et al., 1999). As discussed in previous chapters, however, a threat to the ingroup identity can often come from inside the group: the behaviour or characteristics of a deviant within the group can reflect negatively on the group as a whole. With this in mind, Doosje et al. (1995) suggested that emphasising ingroup variability might serve a similar identity maintenance function as the black sheep effect – the tendency to differentiate more between positive and negative ingroup members than between similar outgroup members (e.g., Marques & Paez, 1994). This perception of ingroup variability would similarly allow individuals to dissociate themselves from undesirable individuals within the group, if not from the group's central tendency.

However, previous research shows that it is high rather than low identifiers who differentiate more between positive and negative ingroup members (Studies 1-4; Abrams & Hutchison, 2002; Biernat et al., 1999; Branscombe et al., 1993; Castano et al., 2002a; Coull et al., 2001). At face value, this ingroup differentiation effect may be seen as conflicting with the idea that emphasizing intragroup variability would be counterproductive for high identifiers. According to Marques and Paez (1994), however, the ingroup differentiation observed in research on the black sheep effect may be conceived as a step towards the psychological exclusion of undesirable members rather than an attempt to stress heterogeneity per se (see also Yzerbyt et al., 2000). It is therefore interesting to examine the actual consequences of the presentation of a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member for perceived ingroup variability among people who differ in their level of ingroup identification. If

ingroup derogation indeed serves to psychologically exclude negative members from the ingroup, as implied in the literature on the black sheep effect, it follows that the image of the ingroup expressed by high identifiers should be unaffected by the presentation of a negative ingroup member or even become more homogeneous. The three studies described below were designed to test this general prediction.

## Measuring variability

Perceived group variability has been operationalized in different ways. Park and Judd (1990) demonstrated the presence of two distinct components of variability: dispersion and stereotypicality. More recently, Voci and Capozza (1999; see Voci, 2000) provided evidence for the existence of a third component: general variability. Different measures have been used to indicate these different components of variability.

### *Dispersion*

Dispersion refers to the distribution of group members around the mean of the group on a specific dimension. One commonly used indicator of dispersion is the range measure (Jones et al., 1981). This involves asking participants to mark two extremes on an unmarked line representing a specific characteristic or dimension to indicate either the points where the two most extreme group members would be located or between which a given percentage of group members could be located (e.g., 99%). The range corresponds to the distance between these two extremes. Furthermore, with the range measure, the lowermost and uppermost range scores indicate whether any observed changes in range or central tendency are due to changes in the lowermost or uppermost extremes of the distribution. This information is particularly useful for studies of reactions to deviant group members.

As discussed above and in previous chapters, the available evidence suggests that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers may be more motivated to exclude a negative ingroup member from the representation of the ingroup. This difference between low identifiers should thus be evident on the lowermost range scores.

Another commonly used measure of dispersion is the so-called probability of differentiation (*Pd*: Linville, Salovey, & Fischer, 1986). This involves asking participants to distribute 100 members of a target group into different categories representing different levels of a particular dimension (e.g., a personality characteristic). From the resulting distribution a *Pd* statistic is computed which indicates the probability that two randomly chosen group members will be seen as different to each other on the dimension being judged.

In Studies 5 and 7, the range measure was preferred over *Pd* as an index of dispersion because in previous studies participants have found the *Pd* distribution task effortful and difficult to complete (Hutchison, 2000; see also Park & Judd, 1990). This means that as a measure of dispersion, *Pd* may not be suitable for studies involving experimental manipulations of the independent variable, as in the current line of research (for similar arguments, see Doosje et al., 1995, 1998). Furthermore, following an extensive analysis of different measures of perceived variability, Park and Judd (1990) concluded that the range measure was the most reliable indicator of dispersion and also the easiest of the dispersion measures to complete, whereas *Pd* was found to be the most unreliable and difficult measure to complete.

### *Stereotypicality*

Stereotypicality refers to the degree to which group members possess the characteristics that are typical of the group as a whole (Park & Judd, 1990). The most commonly used measure of stereotypicality involves asking participants to estimate

the percentage of target group members who posses or could be defined in terms of different stereotypic and counter-stereotypic characteristics (Park & Rothbart, 1982). The more the stereotypic characteristics and the less the counter-stereotypic characteristics are ascribed to group members, the more group members are perceived as conforming to their group's stereotype. By the same token, the more the counter-stereotypic characteristics and the less the stereotypic characteristics are ascribed to group members, the less group members are perceived as conforming to their group's stereotype. Park and Judd (1990) concluded that the percentage estimate task was a good indicator of stereotypicality and that it was also easier than alternative measures (based on $Pd$) for participants to complete. For these reasons the percentage estimate task was used in Study 6.

### *General variability*

General variability refers to perceived similarities and differences among members of a target group without referring to particular characteristics (Quattrone, 1986; Quattrone & Jones, 1980). Participants are asked to indicate the extent to which members of the target group are similar to and/ or different from each another (as used by Doosje et al., 1995, 1998). This is perhaps the most simple of the variability measures for participants to complete. It was used in Study 7 in order to mirror the range measure.

## OVERVIEW OF THE STUDIES

The three studies reported below investigate how the presentation of a negative group member might affect perceptions of group variability among participants who differed in their level of ingroup identification. Central tendency change and target evaluations were also measured. Studies 5 and 6 focused on the

ingroup and Study 7 also included an outgroup condition. In all three studies, participants completed an ingroup identification measure, read about and evaluated either a positive or negative group member, and completed measures from which perceived variability and central tendency scores were obtained. Control participants did not receive the target information or target-related items. With regard to central tendency and target ratings, the intention was to replicate the results of the previous studies with different groups and different manipulations of deviance. With regard to perceived variability, the main prediction was that, following the presentation of a negative ingroup member, high identifiers would emphasize ingroup homogeneity, whereas low identifiers were expected to stress ingroup heterogeneity. More specific predictions are discussed in the introductions to each of the studies.

## STUDY 5

Study 5 used a 3 (Target: positive vs. negative vs. control) x 2 (Identification: low vs. high) between-participants design. Students first completed an ingroup identification measure and then read about a target student from their own university who either confirmed (positive) or disconfirmed (negative) the positive stereotype of students. Then they evaluated the target and completed a range measure from which variability and central tendency scores were obtained. Building upon the results of the previous studies and the existing evidence emerging from the black sheep and stereotype change literature, the following hypotheses were formulated. Firstly, with regard to target evaluations, following the results of the previous studies, it was predicted that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers would be more positive towards a positive ingroup member and more negative towards a negative ingroup member. Secondly, with regard to central tendency, again following the results of the previous studies, it was predicted that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers

would express a more positive image of the ingroup in the negative target condition but not necessarily in the positive target or control conditions (i.e., a higher central tendency on positive stereotypic characteristics). With regard to perceived variability, it was predicted that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers would perceive the ingroup as more homogenous in the negative target condition but not necessarily in the positive target and control conditions. Finally, the predicted differences in perceived range and central tendency between low and high identifiers were expected to be due to differences in the lowermost range scores, with high identifiers expressing higher lowermost range scores than low identifiers following the presentation of a negative ingroup member.

# METHOD

## Participants

A total of 78 students from the University of Kent participated on a voluntary basis. Of these, 68 were female and 10 were male. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 39 ($M = 20.83$, $SD = 3.65$). Since gender or age had no main or interactive effects in the analyses these variables are not considered further.

## Materials

### *Ingroup identification measure*

The identification items used in the previous studies were adapted to measure participants' level of identification with their university. These items were combined to form a single ingroup identification score ($\alpha = .82$). Participants were classified as low identifiers ($M = 5.77$, $SD = 0.99$) or high identifiers ($M = 7.66$, $SD = 0.53$) by means of a median split, $F (1, 76) = 110.29$, $p < .001$.

## *Target descriptions*

Participants in the experimental conditions received one of two descriptions of a target University of Kent student. One student was positive and one was negative. These were the same descriptions as used in Studies 2 and 3.

## *Personality evaluation measure*

Six items measured participants' perception of the target on a series of characteristics pertinent to the manipulation: 'lazy,' 'lacks motivation,' 'dedicated,' 'non-productive,' 'committed,' and 'ambitious'. The negative items were reverse scored and combined with the positive items to form a single personality evaluation score ($\alpha = .87$). A higher score indicates a more positive evaluation.

## *Range and central tendency*

Participants were asked to place two marks on each of six unmarked 100mm lines representing each of the characteristics on which the target was rated to indicate the two most extreme group members. They were asked not to think about any specific person but rather about University of Kent students as a whole (following Jones et al., 1981; Simon & Brown, 1987). The scales were anchored with endpoints labelled 'not at all' and 'very much'. The negative items were reverse scored. Single lowermost ($\alpha = .91$) and uppermost ($\alpha = .87$) scores were obtained by combining the corresponding ratings for each of the characteristics. A lower lowermost score indicates a more negative evaluation of the most negative group member and a higher uppermost score indicates a more positive evaluation of the most positive group member. A single range score was calculated by subtracting the mean lowermost rating from the mean uppermost rating ($\alpha = .89$). A single central tendency score was calculated by averaging the combined lowermost and uppermost

range scores ($\alpha$ = .88). A higher score on this measure indicates a more positive perception of the group.

**Procedure**

Participants completed the questionnaires individually. They were randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions or a control condition and were told that the study was part of a larger project investigating perceptions of students at different universities. They were told that they would be asked to form opinions and answer questions about a particular group of students – in all cases, students at their own university. All participants first completed the ingroup identification items. Those in the experimental conditions read about a target University of Kent student before completing the dependent measures in the same order as above. Participants in the control condition did not receive a target description or target-related items. All participants were asked to write down any suspicions they might have about the true purpose of the study. No accurate suspicions were reported. All participants received a debriefing information sheet.

## RESULTS

**Target personality evaluation**

The target ratings were analysed by way of a 2 (Target: positive vs. negative) x 2 (Identification: low vs. high) ANOVA. The analysis revealed a significant main effect of target, $F$ (1, 48) = 353.71, $p$ < .001. As expected, the positive target ($M$ = 7.90, $SD$ = 1.05) was evaluated more positively than the negative target ($M$ = 2.54, $SD$ = 1.08). The Target x Identification interaction was also significant, $F$ (1, 48) = 6.61, $p$ = .013. Simple effects tests confirmed that high identifiers ($M$ = 8.27, $SD$ = 0.79) were (marginally) more positive than low identifiers ($M$ = 7.61, $SD$ = 1.16) in their evaluation of a positive ingroup member, $F$ (1, 48) = 2.63, $p$ = .11. In contrast,

high identifiers ($M$ = 2.19, $SD$ = 0.95) were significantly more negative than low identifiers ($M$ = 2.98, $SD$ = 1.09) in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member, $F$ (1, 48) = 4.09, $p < .05$.

## Group ratings

The group ratings were analysed using a series of 3 (Target: positive vs. negative vs. control) x 2 (Identification: low vs. high) ANOVAs. Means and standard deviations are displayed in Table 6.[10]

### *Range*

The only significant effect to emerge was a Target x Identification interaction, $F$ (2, 70) = 5.31, $p < .007$. It was predicted that the presentation of a negative ingroup member would differentially affect low and high identifiers' perceptions of ingroup variability such that high identifiers would stress ingroup homogeneity and low identifiers would stress ingroup variability. A test of the simple effects of identification confirmed that, after reading about a negative ingroup member, high identifiers perceived the ingroup as more homogenous than low identifiers, $F$ (1, 70) = 12.57, $p < .001$. Identification did not moderate range estimates in the positive target and control conditions, both $F$s < 1. In addition, the effect of target was significant for high identifiers, $F$ (2, 38) = 3.09, $p < .05$, and approached significance for low identifiers, $F$ (2, 32) = 2.36, $p = .10$. High identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member perceived the ingroup as more homogenous than control participants ($p < .03$) and those who read about a positive

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[10] Contrary to expectations, mediational analysis indicated that the target evaluation scores did not mediate the relationship between ingroup identification and the group ratings (on any of the measures) following the presentation of a negative ingroup member.

ingroup member ($p < .04$), and high identifiers who read about a positive ingroup member perceived the ingroup in a similar way to control participants ($p = .96$). In contrast, low identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member perceived the ingroup as marginally more variable than control participants ($p < .09$) and significantly more variable than those who read about a positive ingroup member ($p < .05$). Low identifiers who read about a positive ingroup member perceived the ingroup in a similar way to control participants ($p = .75$).[11]

### *Central tendency (CT)*

The analysis revealed a significant main effect of identification, $F (1, 70) = 4.38$, $p < .04$. CT was higher for high identifiers ($M = 60.13$, $SD = 7.08$) than for low identifiers ($M = 56.56$, $SD = 5.71$). The Target x Identification interaction was marginally significant, $F (2, 70) = 2.70$, $p < .07$. Consistent with the studies reported in the previous chapters, a test of the simple effects of identification confirmed that, after reading about a negative ingroup member, CT was higher for high identifiers than for low identifiers, $F (1, 70) = 8.33$, $p < .005$. In contrast, however, identification did not moderate CT in the positive target and control conditions, both $F$s $< 1.85$, $ns$. In addition, the effect of target approached significance for high identifiers, $F (2, 38) = 2.01$, $p = .14$, but was not significant for low identifiers, $F < 1$. Simple effects tests confirmed that CT was higher for high identifiers in the negative

[11] The same analysis was performed with the lowermost and uppermost range scores as covariates. Identical results were obtained when the uppermost range rating was the covariate. In contrast, all effects were reduced to a non-significant level when the lowermost range rating was the covariate. This confirmed that changes in range across conditions were a function of changes in the lowermost range rating.

target condition than in the positive target condition ($p < .05$) but, surprisingly, CT was the same for high identifiers in the negative target and control conditions ($p = .28$). Likewise, CT was the same for high identifiers in the positive target and control conditions ($p = .33$).[12]

### *Lowermost range ratings*

The analysis revealed a significant main effect of identification, $F(1, 70) = 5.25$, $p < .03$. High identifiers ($M = 30.94$, $SD = 10.99$) made higher lowermost range ratings than low identifiers ($M = 25.07$, $SD = 10.56$). The Target x Identification interaction was also significant, $F(2, 70) = 6.11$, $p < .004$. It was predicted that high identifiers would express a higher lowermost rating than low identifiers following an encounter with a negative ingroup member. Consistent with this prediction, a test of the simple effects of identification confirmed that, after reading about a negative ingroup member, high identifiers expressed a higher lowermost range rating than low identifiers, $F(1, 70) = 7.38$, $p < .001$. In contrast, identification did not moderate lowermost range ratings in the positive target and control conditions, both $F$s $< 1$. In addition, the effect of target was significant for high identifiers, $F(2, 38) = 3.98$, $p < .02$, and approached significance for low identifiers, $F(2, 32) = 2.37$, $p = .10$. High identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member made a higher lowermost range rating than control participants ($p < .04$) and those who read about a positive ingroup member ($p < .01$). High identifiers who read about a positive ingroup

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[12] The same analysis was performed with the lowermost and uppermost range scores as covariates. Identical results were obtained when the uppermost range rating was the covariate. In contrast, all effects were reduced to non-significance when the mean lowermost range rating was the covariate. This confirmed that changes in CT across conditions were a function of changes in the lowermost range rating.

member made similar ratings to control participants ($p = .49$). In contrast, low identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member made similar lowermost range ratings to control participants ($p = .18$) and lower ratings than those who read about a positive ingroup member ($p < .04$). Finally, low identifiers who read about a positive ingroup member made similar ratings to control participants ($p = .48$).

## Uppermost range ratings

No significant effects emerged on this measure, all $F$s < 1.

**Table 6. Group ratings as a function of identification and target**

|  | Low identifiers | | | High identifiers | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Positive | Negative | Control | Positive | Negative | Control |
| Range | 58.81 | 69.47 | 60.50 | 62.33 | 56.80 | 62.04 |
|  | (9.79) | (17.69) | (10.99) | (17.91) | (10.18) | (11.13) |
| Lowermost | 29.17 | 21.19 | 25.91 | 26.00 | 34.67 | 28.83 |
|  | (10.53) | (10.72) | (9.00) | (9.29) | (10.31) | (10.84) |
| Uppermost | 87.97 | 89.67 | 86.41 | 88.33 | 88.48 | 90.88 |
|  | (6.76) | (8.19) | (6.07) | (11.29) | (10.84) | (6.09) |
| CT | 58.57 | 54.93 | 56.16 | 57.17 | 62.58 | 59.86 |
|  | (7.37) | (3.58) | (5.36) | (5.17) | (9.76) | (6.81) |

*Notes.* Standard deviations are in parentheses. CT = Central tendency

## DISCUSSION

The results of Study 5 are broadly consistent with predictions. Replicating the results of the previous studies, low and high identifiers differed in their evaluations of individual ingroup members such that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers evaluated a positive ingroup member (marginally) more positively and a negative

ingroup member more negatively (see also Abrams & Hutchison, 2002; Castano et al., 2002a). In addition, as predicted, the presentation of a negative ingroup member differentially affected low and high identifiers' perceptions of ingroup variability and central tendency. With regard to perceived variability, after reading about a negative ingroup member, high identifiers perceived the ingroup as more homogenous than low identifiers. No significant differences in perceived variability emerged between low and high identifiers in the positive target and control conditions. High identifiers in the negative target condition also perceived the ingroup as more homogenous than those in the positive target and control conditions. In contrast, low identifiers in the negative target condition perceived the ingroup as more variable than those in the positive target and control conditions. This is consistent with the notion that high identifiers may be especially motivated to exclude undesirable members from the ingroup. A similar pattern emerged on the central tendency measure. Thus, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup in the negative target codition, whereas this difference was absent in the positive target and control conditions. This pattern is consistent with the results of the previous studies. In addition, the mean lowermost and uppermost range ratings – which correspond to the two most extreme group members – suggest that these differences were due to changes in the lowermost range ratings, and the covariance analyses confirmed this. This pattern of group ratings suggests that high identifiers may have been responding with a motivation to exclude the negative ingroup member from their representation of the ingroup whereas low identifiers seem to have included the negative member.

## STUDY 6

Although the results of Study 5 show a clear pattern and are broadly consistent with predictions, some of the observed differences across target conditions

did not reach conventional levels of significance. This may have been due in part to the relatively small sample used and the fact that an intergroup context was not made explicitly salient as it was in the previous studies. Previous research suggests that deviant or negative ingroup members are more likely to be perceived as a threat to the ingroup and hence provoke more defensive reactions when an explicit intergroup context is salient (Bond, Drury, Conway, & Richter, 2003; Matheson, Cole, & Majka, 2003). Thus, Study 6 used Kramer and Brewer's (1984) intergroup comparison instructions to raise the salience of the intergroup context (as used in Studies 1-4). A larger sample and different measures of perceived variability and central tendency were also used. These differences aside, Study 6 was conceptually similar to the previous study. University students were presented with a description of a target student from their own university who made either positive or negative comments about overseas students.[13] After reading the target descriptions, participants evaluated the target, rated the group on a series of characteristics pertinent to the nature of the target's comments, and estimated the percentage of students at their university who could be defined in terms of these characteristics. With regard to the target and group stereotype ratings, the predictions were the same as those tested in the previous studies. With regard to the percentage estimate measure, it was predicted that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers would estimate that a higher percentage of ingroup members possessed positive (relative to

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[13] The University of Kent has a policy of providing overseas students with certain privileges (e.g., guaranteed campus accommodation). There is debate among students about whether this policy is fair. The consensus seems to be that the policy is unfair but that overseas students are not to blame. Thus, someone who attributed blame to overseas students would be deviant (see Abrams et al., 2000).

negative) characteristics in the negative target condition but not necessarily in the positive target and control conditions.

# METHOD

## Participants

A total of 157 students from the University of Kent participated on a voluntary basis. Of these, 115 were female, 41 were male, and one did not specify his or her gender. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 45 ($M = 20.87$, $SD = 3.93$). Since gender had no main or interactive effects in the analyses this variable is not considered further.

## Materials

### *Cover story and instructions*

Participants were informed that the study was part of a larger research project investigating the experiences of overseas students at different universities in England. They were informed that the research was being conducted with students at all major English universities and that the aim was to compare the responses of students from these different universities (following Kramer & Brewer, 1984). They were asked to form an image of a target student and then answer questions about the target's attitudes and opinions about overseas students. Responses to subsequent items were made on 9-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (not at all/disagree) to 9 (very much/agree).

### *Ingroup identification measure*

The identification items were the same as in the previous study. They were combined to form a single ingroup identification score ($\alpha = .89$). Participants were classified as low identifiers ($M = 5.19$, $SD = 1.22$) or high identifiers ($M = 7.48$, $SD = 0.57$) by means of a median split, $F (1, 155) = 220.75$, $p < .001$.

*Target descriptions*

Participants in the experimental conditions were presented with one of two descriptions of a target University of Kent student. Both descriptions began with the same demographic information and continued to describe responses the target had purportedly made to questions about his attitudes and opinions about overseas students. One target was positive and one was negative. The positive target responded as follows:

'I think it is the responsibility of all home students to help overseas students to settle when they arrive here. It is good that so many overseas students choose to study at UKC. It is up to us to make them feel welcome. Most home students have problems adapting to university life – it must be especially difficult for overseas students. If overseas students have bad experiences at UKC they may choose not to come here in the future. We should do all that we can to make them feel welcome.'

In contrast, the negative target responded as follows:

'I don't think that is should be the responsibility of home students to help overseas students to settle when they arrive here. Nobody forces them to come to UKC. They are here through choice and so it is up to them to adapt to our way of living. Most home students have problems adapting to university lie – it is no different for overseas students. If they are not happy here then they should go to another university. We shouldn't have to make the effort to make them feel welcome.'

*Comment ratings*

A single item served as a check on the valance of the target's comments: 'How positive do you think the speaker's comments are?' Another item served as a check on the fairness of the comments: 'How fair do you think the speaker's

comments are?' A higher score on these items represents a more positive evaluation and more perceived fairness respectively.

### Personality evaluation measure

Seven items measured participants' impression of the target on a series of characteristics pertinent to his comments: 'anti-social,' 'welcoming,' 'narrow-minded,' 'friendly,' 'hostile,' 'warm,' and 'ignorant.' The negative items were reverse scored and combined with the positive items to form a single personality evaluation score ($\alpha = .96$). A higher score represents a more positive evaluation.

### Attempt to influence measure

A single item measured the extent to which participants would be willing to attempt to persuade the target to change his opinion: 'I would be willing to attempt to persuade this person to change his opinion' (adapted from Marques et al., 2002). A higher score represents more willingness.

### Group stereotype measure

Seven items measured participants' impression of UKC students on the same series of characteristics on which the target was rated. The negative items were reverse scored and combined with the positive items to form a single group stereotype score ($\alpha = .90$). A higher score represents a more positive image of the group.

### Percentage estimate measures

Seven items asked participants to estimate the percentage of UKC students who could be defined by each of the characteristics on which the group and target were rated. A difference score was calculated by subtracting the mean estimate for the percentage of ingroup members who could be defined by the negative

characteristics from the mean estimate for the percentage of ingroup members who could be defined by the positive characteristics. A higher difference score thus indicates that participants thought that a greater percentage of ingroup members possessed positive relative to negative characteristics (following Park & Judd, 1990).[14]

## Procedure

Participants completed the questionnaires individually. They were randomly assigned to one of the two experimental conditions or a control condition. All participants first completed the identification items. Those in the experimental conditions read one of the target descriptions before completing the dependent measures in the same order as above. Control participants did not receive a target description or target-related items. All participants were asked to write down any suspicions they might have about the true purpose of the study. No accurate suspicions were reported. All participants received a debriefing information sheet.

# RESULTS

## Comment and target ratings

The comment and target ratings were analysed using a series of 2 (Target: positive vs. negative) x 2 (Identification: low vs. high) ANOVAs. Means and standard deviations are displayed in Table 7.

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[14] This task has typically been used to indicate how much group members conform to the group stereotype, with a higher percentage indicating more conformity and hence less variability (e.g., Park & Judd, 1990; Voci, 2000). In the current research, the task provides an indication of the extent to which group members are perceived as conforming to positive or negative characteristics and hence may be more appropriately conceived as an evaluation measure rather than a variability measure.

*Evaluation of the target's comments*

The analysis revealed a significant main effect of target, $F$ (1, 105) = 332.95, $p < .001$. Consistent with the manipulation, the positive ingroup member's comments ($M = 7.43$, $SD = 1.64$) were perceived as more positive than the negative ingroup member's comments ($M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.24$). The Target x Identification interaction was also significant, $F$ (1, 105) = 8.65, $p < .004$. Means and standard deviations are displayed in Table 7. Relative to low identifiers, high identifiers perceived the positive target's comments as more positive, $F$ (1, 105) = 4.85, $p < .04$, and the negative ingroup member's comments as more negative, $F$ (1, 105) = 4.08, $p < .05$.

*Fairness of the target's comments*

A similar pattern emerged for ratings of the fairness of the comments. The positive ingroup member's comments ($M = 7.02$, $SD = 1.62$) were perceived as more fair than the negative ingroup member's comments ($M = 2.49$, SD = 1.22), $F$ (1, 105) = 277.91, $p < .001$. This effect was qualified by a significant Target x Identification interaction, $F$ (1, 105) = 9.08, $p < .003$. Means and standard deviations are displayed in Table 7. Relative to low identifiers, high identifiers perceived the positive ingroup member's comments as more fair, $F$ (1, 105) = 4.95, $p < .03$, and the negative ingroup member's comments as more unfair, $F$ (1, 105) = 4.16, $p < .04$.

*Personality evaluation*

The analysis revealed a significant main effect of target, $F$ (1, 105) = 361.17, $p < .001$. Participants were more positive in their evaluation of a positive ingroup member ($M = 7.60$, $SD = 1.29$) than a negative ingroup member ($M = 3.04$, $SD = 1.23$). The Target x Identification interaction was also significant, $F$ (1, 105) = 8.08, $p < .005$. Consistent with the results of the previous studies, simple effects tests

confirmed that high identifiers were more positive than low identifiers in their evaluation of a positive ingroup member, $F$ (1, 105) = 4.09, $p < .05$, but were more negative than low identifiers in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member, $F$ (1, 105) = 4.01, $p < .05$.

### Attempt to influence

The analysis revealed a significant main effect of target, $F$ (1, 105) = 90.53, $p < .001$. As expected, participants were more willing to attempt to persuade a negative ingroup member ($M = 6.02$, $SD = 1.94$) to change his opinion than a positive ingroup member ($M = 2.46$, $SD = 1.92$). The Target x Identification interaction was also significant, $F$ (1, 105) = 5.63, $p < .02$. Simple effect tests confirmed that high identifiers ($M = 6.48$, $SD = 1.69$) were more willing than low identifiers to attempt to persuade a negative ingroup member to change his opinion, $F$ (1, 105) = 4.49, $p < .04$, whereas low and high identifiers were equally unwilling to attempt to persuade a positive ingroup member, $F < 1$.

**Table 7. Target and comment ratings as a function of identification**

|  | Low identifiers | | High identifiers | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Positive | Negative | Positive | Negative |
| Comment evaluation | 7.06 | 2.86 | 7.88 | 2.06 |
|  | (1.91) | (1.39) | (1.09) | (1.03) |
| Comment fairness | 6.64 | 2.95 | 7.48 | 2.16 |
|  | (1.76) | (1.21) | (1.33) | (1.13) |
| Personality evaluation | 7.30 | 3.45 | 7.97 | 2.76 |
|  | (1.49) | (1.18) | (0.91) | (1.20) |
| Attempt to influence | 2.74 | 5.36 | 2.12 | 6.48 |
|  | (2.25) | (2.13) | (1.36) | (1.69) |

*Note.* Standard deviations are in parenthesis.

## Group ratings

The group ratings were analysed using 3 (Target: positive vs. negative vs. control) x 2 (Identification: low vs. high) ANOVAs.[15]
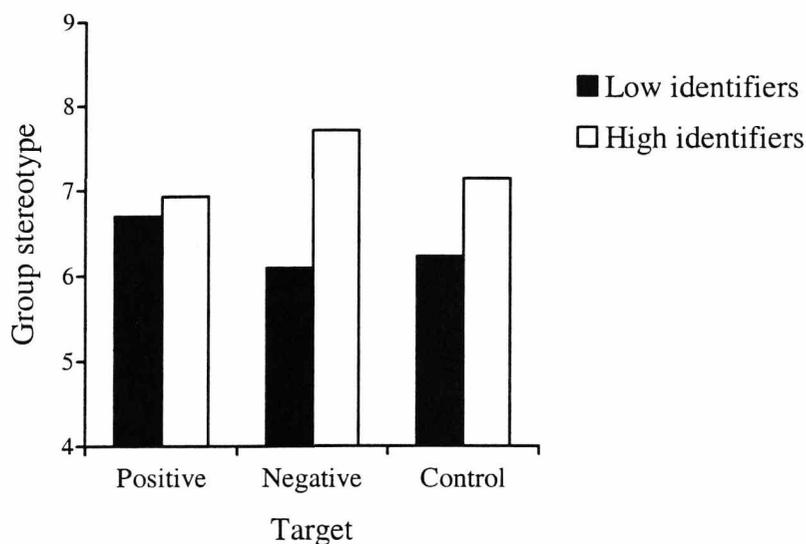
### *Group stereotype*

The analysis revealed a significant main effect of identification, $F(1, 151) = 20.56$, $p < .001$. High identifiers ($M = 7.29$, $SD = 1.09$) expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than low identifiers ($M = 6.37$, $SD = 1.35$). The Target x Identification interaction was also significant, $F(2, 151) = 4.57$, $p < .01$. A test of the simple effects of identification revealed that, in the negative target condition, high identifiers ($M = 7.73$, $SD = 1.05$) expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than low identifiers ($M = 6.10$, $SD = 1.40$), $F(1, 151) = 13.94$, $p < 001$. Likewise, in the control condition, high identifiers ($M = 7.04$, $SD = 1.04$, $p < .05$) expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than low identifiers ($M = 6.23$, $SD = 1.20$, $p = .69$), $F(1, 151) = 5.10$, $p < .03$. In the positive target condition, in contrast, high identifiers ($M = 6.92$, $SD = 1.01$, $p < .015$) and low identifiers ($M = 6.70$, $SD = 1.41$, $p < .07$) perceived the ingroup in a similar way, $F < 1$. In addition, the effect of target was significant for high identifiers, $F(2, 72) = 3.57$, $p < .03$, and approached significance for low identifiers, $F(2, 79) = 1.90$, $p = .15$. Consistent with the previous studies, high identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than control participants ($p < .05$) and those who read about a positive ingroup member ($p < .015$). High identifiers who read about a positive ingroup member perceived the ingroup in a similar way to

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[15] Contrary to expectations, mediational analysis indicated that the target evaluation scores did not mediate the relationship between ingroup identification and the group ratings (on either measure) following the presentation of a negative ingroup member.

control participants ($p = .75$). In contrast, low identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member perceived the ingroup in a similar way to control participants ($p = .69$) and marginally more negatively than those who read about a positive ingroup member ($p < .07$). Low identifiers who read about a positive ingroup member perceived the ingroup in a similar way to control participants ($p = .18$).

**Figure 4. Group stereotype as a function of target and identification**



*Percentage estimates*

The analysis revealed a significant main effect of identification, $F (1, 150) = 14.32$, $p < .001$. High identifiers ($M = 55.93$, $SD = 23.09$) thought that a higher percentage of ingroup members possessed relatively positive characteristics than did low identifiers ($M = 41.83$, $SD = 23.09$). The Target x Identification interaction was also significant, $F (1, 150) = 5.62$, $p < .005$. A test of the simple effects of identification revealed that, in the negative target condition, high identifiers ($M = 56.45$, $SD = 18.48$) thought that a higher percentage of ingroup members possessed relatively positive characteristics than low identifiers ($M = 45.02$, $SD = 26.12$), $F (1,$

150) = 13.02, $p < .001$. In the positive target condition, low identifiers ($M = 45.34$, $SD = 18.47$) and high identifiers ($M = 46.46$, $SD = 18.47$) made similar percentage estimates, $F < 1$. In the control condition, low identifiers ($M = 43.13$, $SD = 25.11$) made marginally lower percentage estimates than high identifiers ($M = 49.24$, $SD = 22.01$), $F (1, 150) = 2.52$, $p = .14$. In addition, the effect of target was significant for high identifiers, $F (2, 72) = 6.61$, $p < .002$, but not for low identifiers, $F < 1$. High identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member thought that a higher percentage of ingroup members possessed relatively positive characteristics than did control participants ($p < .02$) and those who read about a positive ingroup member ($p < .001$). High identifiers who read about a positive ingroup member made similar percentage estimates to control participants ($p = .46$).

**Figure 5. Percentage estimate as a function of target and identification**
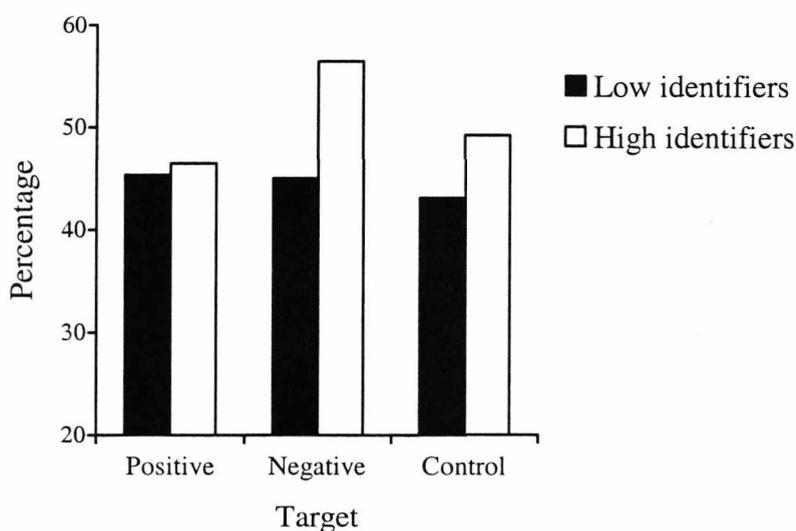


## DISCUSSION

Replicating the results of the previous studies, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers evaluated a positive ingroup member more positively and a negative

ingroup member more negatively (see also Abrams & Hutchison, 2002; Castano et al., 2002a). Relative to low identifiers, high identifiers were also more willing to attempt to persuade a negative ingroup member to change his opinion. As predicted, the presentation of a negative ingroup member also differentially affected low and high identifiers' overall perceptions of the ingroup, as measured by stereotype ratings and percentage estimates. High identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup in the negative target condition than in the positive target and control conditions, whereas low identifiers expressed a more negative image of the ingroup in the negative target condition than in the positive target condition. These results are consistent with the results of the previous studies. A similar pattern emerged on the percentage estimate measure: high identifiers thought that a higher percentage of ingroup members possessed relatively positive characteristics in the negative target condition than in the positive target and control conditions, whereas low identifiers' estimates were evidently unaffected by the target manipulation. Thus, there is converging evidence to support the idea that high identifiers may be especially motivated to exclude from the ingroup other ingroup members who negatively contribute to identity. Further support for this idea would come from evidence that the presentation of a negative target has different consequences for perceived ingroup and outgroup variability as a function of ingroup identification. With this in mind, Study 7 extended the paradigm used in the previous two studies to also include an outgroup condition.

## STUDY 7

Study 7 used a 3 (Target: positive vs. negative vs. control) x 2 (Group: ingroup vs. outgroup) x 2 (Identification: low vs. high) between-participants design. Psychology students first completed an ingroup identification measure and then read

about a target psychology or business student at their own university who either confirmed (positive) or disconfirmed (negative) the positive stereotype of students. Then they evaluated the target and completed a general homogeneity measure and a range measure from which variability and central tendency scores were obtained. One aim of Study 7 was to replicate the results of the previous studies with a different group and different measures of variability and central tendency. A second aim was to assess whether the presentation of a negative target would have different consequences for ingroup and outgroup variability as a function of ingroup identification. If emphasizing homogeneity indeed reflects a motivation of the part of high identifiers to cope with the threat to the ingroup identity caused by a deviant ingroup member, then a negative outgroup member would not be expected to have the same consequences for the image of the outgroup. Likewise, if emphasizing heterogeneity reflects a motivation on the part of low identifiers to dissociate themselves from a negative ingroup member, then this effect is less likely to emerge on outgroup ratings following an encounter with a negative outgroup member. With this in mind, the following predictions were formulated.

Firstly, with regard to target ratings, following the results of the previous studies, it was predicted that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers would be more positive towards a positive ingroup member and more negative towards a negative ingroup member. In addition, following the results of Study 2, the black sheep effect was expected to emerge for high but not low identifiers (see also Branscombe et al., 1993). Secondly, with regard to central tendency, it was predicted that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers would express a more positive image of the ingroup in the negative target condition but not necessarily in the positive target and control conditions. To the extent that this difference between low and high identifiers reflects a greater motivational demand on high identifiers to protect the

ingroup identity, no such difference was expected to emerge in the outgroup conditions. Rather, following the presentation of a negative outgroup member, any change in the perception of the outgroup was expected to be in a negative direction, that is, towards the position of the deviant. With regard to perceived variability, it was predicted that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers would perceive the ingroup as more homogenous in the negative target condition but not necessarily in the positive target and control conditions. To the extent that emphasizing homogeneity would seem to serve an identity maintenance function for high identifiers, this effect was expected to emerge in the ingroup but not the outgroup condition. Likewise, to the extent that emphasizing heterogeneity would seem to serve an identity maintenance function for low identifiers, this effect was expected to emerge in the ingroup but not the outgroup condition.

# METHOD

## Participants

A total of 169 psychology students from the University of Kent participated on a voluntary basis. Of these, 134 were female, 32 were male, and 3 did not provide gender information. Since gender had no main or interactive effects in the analyses this variable is not considered further.

## Materials

### *Cover story and instructions*

Participants were told that business students were also taking part in the study and that the aim of the study was to explicitly compare the performances of psychology and business students (following Kramer & Brewer, 1984). They were told that they would be asked to respond to some questions about their perception of psychology students or business students and to form an image of and answer some

further questions about a target psychology or business student. Responses to subsequent items were made on 9-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (not at all/disagree) to 9 (very much/agree).

### *Ingroup identification measure*

The items used in the previous studies were adapted to measure participants' level of identification with psychology students. These items were combined to form a single ingroup identification score ($\alpha$ = .84). Participants were classified as low identifiers ($M$ = 5.04, $SD$ = 1.15) or high identifiers ($M$ = 7.64, $SD$ = 0.78) by means of a median split, $F$ (1, 167) = 246.33, $p$ < .001.

### *Target descriptions*

Participants in the experimental conditions read one of two descriptions of a target student. These contained a series of statements supposedly made by the target during an interview conducted during a previous phase of the study (adapted from Bond et al., 2002). The target was either a psychology student (ingroup) or a business student (outgroup). Both descriptions began with the same demographic information and continued to describe the target's attitude towards and commitment to his work, ambitions, and so on. The target student either confirmed (positive) or disconfirmed (negative) the positive stereotype of students. Examples of statements made by the positive student included the following: 'I missed a party last week because I had an exam the following day and I wanted to study for it,' and 'Getting good grades is important to me. I would not be happy to just scrape through'. In contrast, examples of statements made by the negative student included the following: 'I went to a party the night before an exam even though I had not studied for it,' and 'Getting good grades is not important to me. As long as I scrape through I will be happy.' An open-ended item served as a check on the group membership of the target: 'What degree

course is this student studying for?' All participants correctly identified the group membership of the target student.

## *Personality evaluation measure*

Five items measured participants' perception of the target on a series of positive stereotypic characteristics: 'motivated,' 'determined,' 'responsible,' 'enthusiastic,' and 'ambitious'. These items were combined to form a single personality evaluation score ($\alpha = .95$). A higher score indicates a more positive evaluation.

## *General homogeneity measure*

Two items assessed how similar or different participants perceived members of the ingroup or the outgroup to be (adapted from Doosje et al., 1995): 'In general psychology (business) students are similar to each other,' and 'In general psychology (business) students are different from each other.' The second item was reverse scored and combined with the first item to form a single general homogeneity score ($\alpha = .73$). A higher score indicates more perceived homogeneity.

## *Range and central tendency*

Participants were asked to place two marks on each of five unmarked 100mm lines representing each of the characteristics on which the target was rated to indicate the positions where the two most extreme group members would be located. They were asked not to think about any specific person but rather about psychology or business students as a whole (following Jones et al., 1981; Simon & Brown, 1987). The scales were anchored with endpoints labelled 'not at all' and 'very much'. The negative items were reverse scored. Single lowermost ($\alpha = .71$) and uppermost ($\alpha =$

.82) range scores were calculated by combining the corresponding ratings for each of the characteristics. A lower lowermost score indicates a more negative evaluation of the most negative group member and a higher uppermost score indicates a more positive evaluation of the most positive group member. A single range score was calculated by subtracting the mean lowermost rating from the mean uppermost rating ($\alpha$ = .86). A single central tendency score was calculated by averaging the lowermost and uppermost ratings ($\alpha$ = .72). A higher score on this measure indicates a more positive perception of the group.

## Procedure

Participants completed the questionnaires individually. They were randomly assigned to one of six conditions. All participants first completed the ingroup identification items. Those in the experimental conditions read about a target psychology or business student before completing the dependent measures in the same order as above. Participants in the control condition did not receive a target description or target-related items. All participants were asked to write down any suspicions they might have about the true purpose of the study. No accurate suspicions were reported. All participants then received a debriefing information sheet.

## RESULTS

### Target personality evaluation

The target ratings were analysed by way of a 2 (Target: positive vs. negative) x 2 (Group: ingroup vs. outgroup) x 2 (Identification: low vs. high) ANOVA. The analysis revealed a significant main effect of target, $F$ (1, 115) = 766.05, $p < .001$. As expected, the positive target ($M$ = 7.42, $SD$ = 1.01) was evaluated more positively than the negative target ($M$ = 2.60, $SD$ = 0.96). The Target x Group interaction was

also significant, $F$ (1, 115) = 7.34, $p < .008$, as was the Target x Group x Identification interaction, $F$ (1, 115) = 8.48, $p < .004$.

The black sheep effect was expected to emerge for high identifiers only. To test this prediction, the Target x Group x Identification interaction was decomposed, firstly, by examining the simple Target x Group interaction within each level of identification. The interaction was significant for high identifiers, $F$ (1, 61) = 12.87, $p < .001$, but not low identifiers, $F < 1$. Simple effects tests confirmed that high identifiers evaluated a positive ingroup member ($M = 7.91$, $SD = 0.66$) more positively than a positive outgroup member ($M = 6.83$, $SD = 1.13$), $F$ (1, 61) = 13.41, $p < .001$, but evaluated a negative ingroup member ($M = 1.96$, $SD = 0.86$) more negatively than a negative outgroup member ($M = 2.81$, $SD = 0.84$), $F$ (1, 61) = 9.52, $p < .003$. Low identifiers evaluated positive ingroup ($M = 7.22$, $SD = 1.25$) and outgroup ($M = 7.43$, $SD = 0.89$) members equally positively, $F < 1$, and negative ingroup ($M = 2.77$, $SD = 0.93$) and outgroup ($M = 2.91$, $SD = 1.24$) members equally negatively, $F < 1.98$, $ns$.

To assess the effect of the level of identification on the evaluation of individual ingroup and outgroup members, the Target x Group x Identification interaction was also decomposed by examining the simple Target x Identification interaction within the levels of group. The interaction was significant in the ingroup condition, $F$ (1, 58) = 11.60, $p < .001$, but not the outgroup condition, $F < 1$. Consistent with the previous studies, simple effects tests confirmed that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers evaluated a positive ingroup member more positively, $F$ (1, 58) = 4.80, $p < .03$, and a negative ingroup member more negatively, $F$ (1, 58) = 6.93, $p < .011$. Finally, high identifiers evaluated a positive outgroup member marginally more negatively than low identifiers, $F$ (1, 58) = 2.55, $p = .13$, whereas this difference was absent when the target was negative, $F < 1$.

## Group ratings

The group ratings were analysed using a series of 3 (Target: positive vs. negative vs. control) x 2 (Group: ingroup vs. outgroup) x 2 (Identification: low vs. high) ANOVAs. Means and standard deviation are displayed in Table 8. See also Figure 6.

### *General homogeneity*

The analyses revealed a significant main effect of target, $F$ (2, 157) = 4.11, $p$ < .02. The groups were perceived as more homogenous in the control condition ($M$ = 5.02, $SD$ = 1.52) than in the positive ($M$ = 4.37, $SD$ = 1.90, $p$ < .07) and negative ($M$ = 4.06, $SD$ = 1.86; $p$ < .005) target conditions. Group ratings did not differ across the positive and negative target conditions ($p$ = .28). This main effect was qualified by a significant Target x Identification interaction, $F$ (2, 157) = 3.99, $p$ < .02. All other $F$s < 1. A test of the simple effects of identification revealed that, after reading about a negative target, low identifiers perceived both groups as more variable than high identifiers, $F$ (1, 157) = 5.92, $p$ < .02. Identification did not moderate ratings in the control condition, $F$ < 1, whereas in the positive target condition low identifiers perceived both groups as marginally more homogeneous than high identifiers, $F$ (2, 157) = 2.25, $p$ = .14. In addition, the effect of target was significant for low identifiers, $F$ (2, 77) = 6.09, $p$ < .003, but not high identifiers, $F$ (2, 80) = 1.78, *ns*. Low identifiers who read about a negative target perceived both groups as more variable than those who read about a positive target ($p$ < .009) and control participants ($p$ < .001). Low identifiers who read about a positive target perceived both groups in a similar way to control participants ($p$ = .48).

*Range*

The only effect to emerge on the range scores was a significant Target x Identification interaction, $F(2, 153) = 3.41$, $p < .04$. All other $F$s $< 1.37$, *ns*. A test of the simple effects of identification revealed that, after reading about a negative target, low identifiers perceived both groups as more variable than high identifiers, $F(1, 153) = 7.27$, $p < .008$. Identification did not moderate ratings in the positive target and control conditions, both $F$s $< 1$. In addition, the effect of target was significant for low identifiers, $F(2, 77) = 6.09$, $p < .003$, but not high identifiers, $F < 1$. Low identifiers who read about a negative target perceived both groups as more variable than those who read about a positive target ($p < .008$) and control participants ($p < .02$). Low identifiers who read about a positive target perceived both groups in a similar way to control participants ($p = .48$). [16]

*Central tendency (CT)*

The analyses revealed a significant main effect of group, $F(1, 154) = 5.23$, $p < .02$. CT was higher in the ingroup ($M = 57.58$, $SD = 7.14$) than in the outgroup ($M = 54.43$, $SD = 8.35$). The Group x Identification interaction was also significant, $F(1, 154) = 3.87$, $p < .05$, as was the Target x Group x Identification interaction, $F(2, 154) = 6.35$, $p < .002$. The simple Target x Group interaction was significant for high identifiers, $F(2, 80) = 8.36$, $p < .001$, but not low identifiers, $F < 1$. For high identifiers, the effect of target was significant in both the ingroup, $F(2, 80) = 3.04$, $p$

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[16] The same analysis was performed with the lowermost and uppermost range scores as covariates. Identical results were obtained when the uppermost range rating was the covariate. In contrast, all effects were reduced to non-significance when the mean lowermost range rating was the covariate. This confirmed that changes in range across conditions were a function of changes in the lowermost range rating.

< .05, and outgroup conditions, $F (2, 80) = 5.49$, $p < .006$. CT was higher for high identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member than for control participants ($p < .02$) and those who read about a positive ingroup member ($p < .07$), whereas CT was the same for high identifiers who read about a positive ingroup member and control participants ($p = .47$). In contrast, CT was lower for high identifiers who read about a negative outgroup member than for control participants ($p < .003$) and those who read about a positive outgroup member ($p < .02$), whereas CT was the same for high identifiers who read about a positive outgroup member and control participants ($p = .51$). A test of the simple effects of group also revealed that, after reading about a negative target, CT was higher in the ingroup condition than in the outgroup condition, $F (1, 80) = 10.23$, $p < 001$. The group variable did not moderate CT for high identifiers in the positive target and control conditions, both $Fs < 1$.

For low identifiers, there was a marginal effect of target in the ingroup condition, $F (2, 77) = 2.62$, $p = .10$. Simple effects tests indicated that CT was lower for low identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member than for control participants ($p < .04$). There was a slight difference in CT between low identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member and those who read about a positive ingroup member but this difference did not reach significance ($p = .15$). CT was the same for low identifiers who read about a positive ingroup member and control participants ($p = .58$). There was no effect of target in the outgroup condition for low identifiers (all $ps > .43$). In addition, unlike for high identifiers, group did not moderate CT for low identifiers in any of the target conditions, all $Fs < 1$.

To compare the ratings of low and high identifiers within each of the target conditions, the Target x Group x Identification interaction was also decomposed by examining the simple Target x Identification interaction within each level of group. The interaction was significant in the ingroup condition, $F (2, 78) = 6.38$, $p < .003$,

but not in the outgroup condition, $F < 1$. Simple effects tests revealed that after reading about a negative ingroup member, CT was higher for high identifiers than for low identifiers, $F (1, 78) = 14.92, p < .001$. In contrast, after reading about a negative outgroup member, CT was lower for high identifiers than for low identifiers, $F (1, 76) = 4.72, p < .03$. Identification did not moderate CT in the positive target or control conditions, both $Fs < 1.33, ns.$[17]

### Lowermost range ratings

The analysis revealed a significant main effect of target, $F (2, 154) = 3.96, p < .02$. Participants who read about a negative target ($M = 25.61, SD = 12.47$) made a lower lowermost range rating than those who read about a positive target ($M = 30.62, SD = 9.43, p < .01$) and control participants ($M = 29.84, SD = 10.21, p < .04$). Participants who read about a positive target made a similar lowermost range rating to control participants ($p = .73$). The Target x Identification interaction was also significant, $F (2, 154) = 3.16, p < .05$, as was the Group x Target x Identification interaction, $F (2, 154) = 3.25, p < .04$.

Following the previous analyses, the Group x Target x Identification interaction was decomposed, firstly, by examining the simple Group x Target interaction within each level of identification. The interaction was significant for high identifiers, $F (2, 80) = 6.24, p < .003$, but not low identifiers, $F < 1$. For high identifiers, the target variable affected both ingroup, $F (2, 80) = 2.95, p < .06$, and

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[17] The same analysis was performed with the lowermost and uppermost range scores as covariates. Identical results were obtained when the uppermost range rating was the covariate. In contrast, all effects were reduced to non-significance when the mean lowermost range rating was the covariate. This confirmed that changes in CT across conditions were a function of changes in the lowermost range rating.

outgroup lowermost range ratings, $F(2, 80) = 3.36$, $p < .04$. High identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member made a higher ingroup lowermost range rating than control participants ($p < .02$) and a marginally higher ingroup lowermost rating than those who read about a positive ingroup member ($p < .09$). High identifiers who read about a positive ingroup member made a similar ingroup lowermost rating to control participants ($p = .38$). In contrast, high identifiers who read about a negative outgroup member made a lower outgroup lowermost range rating than control participants ($p < .03$) and those who read about a positive outgroup member ($p < .04$). High identifiers who read about a positive outgroup member made similar outgroup lowermost range ratings to control participants ($p = .87$).

For low identifiers, the target variable also affected both ingroup, $F(2, 77) = 3.55$, $p < .03$, and outgroup ratings, $F(2, 77) = 2.90$, $p < .06$. In contrast to high identifiers, low identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member made a lower ingroup lowermost rating than control participants ($p < .02$) and those who read about a positive ingroup member ($p < .03$). Low identifiers who read about a positive ingroup member made a similar ingroup lowermost rating to control participants ($p = .97$). A similar pattern emerged in the outgroup condition: low identifiers who read about a negative outgroup member made a lower outgroup lowermost rating than control participants ($p < .06$) and those who read about a positive outgroup member ($p < .03$). Low identifiers who read about a positive outgroup member made a similar lowermost range rating to control participants ($p = .88$). A test of the simple effects of group also confirmed that, after reading about a negative target, high identifiers made a lower lowermost range rating in the ingroup condition than in the outgroup condition, $F(1, 80) = 21.65$, $p < .001$. Group did not moderate high identifiers' range ratings in the positive target and control conditions, both $Fs < 1$. Likewise, group did

not moderate low identifiers' lowermost range ratings in any of the target conditions, all $Fs < 1$.

To compare the ratings of low and high identifiers within each of the target conditions, the Group x Target x Identification interaction was then decomposed by examining the simple Target x Identification interaction within each level of group. The interaction was significant in the ingroup condition, $F (2, 78) = 6.85, p < .002$, but not in the outgroup condition, $F < 1$. In the ingroup condition, a test of the simple effects of identification confirmed that, after reading about a negative ingroup member, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers made a higher ingroup lowermost range rating, $F (1, 78) = 17.81, p < .001$. Identification did not moderate lowermost range ratings in the positive ingroup target or control conditions, both $Fs < 1$. Likewise, identification did not moderate lowermost outgroup range ratings in any of the target conditions, all $Fs < 1$.

### Uppermost group ratings

The only significant effect to emerge on the uppermost range ratings was a Group x Target x Identification interaction, $F (2, 153) = 3.61, p < .03$. As with the lowermost ratings, this interaction was decomposed, firstly, by examining the simple Group x Target interaction within each level of identification. The interaction was significant for high identifiers, $F (2, 79) = 3.51, p < .04$, but not low identifiers, $F < 1$. For high identifiers, the target variable affected outgroup uppermost range ratings, $F (2, 79) = 3.39, p < .04$, but not ingroup uppermost range ratings, $F < 1$. Simple effects tests confirmed that high identifiers who read about a negative outgroup member expressed a lower outgroup uppermost range rating than those who read about a positive outgroup member $(p < .03)$ and control participants $(p < .05)$. The uppermost range ratings of high identifiers who read about a positive outgroup

member were similar to those of control participants ($p = .87$). Low identifiers' uppermost range ratings were unaffected by the target variable in both the ingroup and outgroup conditions, $Fs < 1$. A test of the simple effects of group also revealed that, after reading about a negative target, high identifiers' uppermost range ratings were lower in the outgroup condition than in the ingroup condition, $F (1, 79) = 9.94$, $p < .002$. Ingroup and outgroup uppermost range ratings did not differ in the positive target or control conditions, both $Fs < 1$.

Like the lowermost range ratings, the Group x Target x Identification interaction was then decomposed by examining the simple Target x Identification interaction within each level of group to compare low and high identifiers' ratings within each target condition. The interaction was significant in the outgroup condition, $F (2, 75) = 3.54$, $p < .03$, but not the ingroup condition, $F < 1$. A test of the simple effects of identification confirmed that, after reading about a negative outgroup member, high identifiers expressed a lower outgroup uppermost range rating than low identifiers, $F (1, 75) = 7.88$, $p < .006$. Identification did not moderate outgroup uppermost range ratings in the positive target or control conditions, both $Fs < 1$. Likewise, identification did not moderate ingroup uppermost range ratings in any of the target conditions, all $Fs < 1.15$, $ns$.

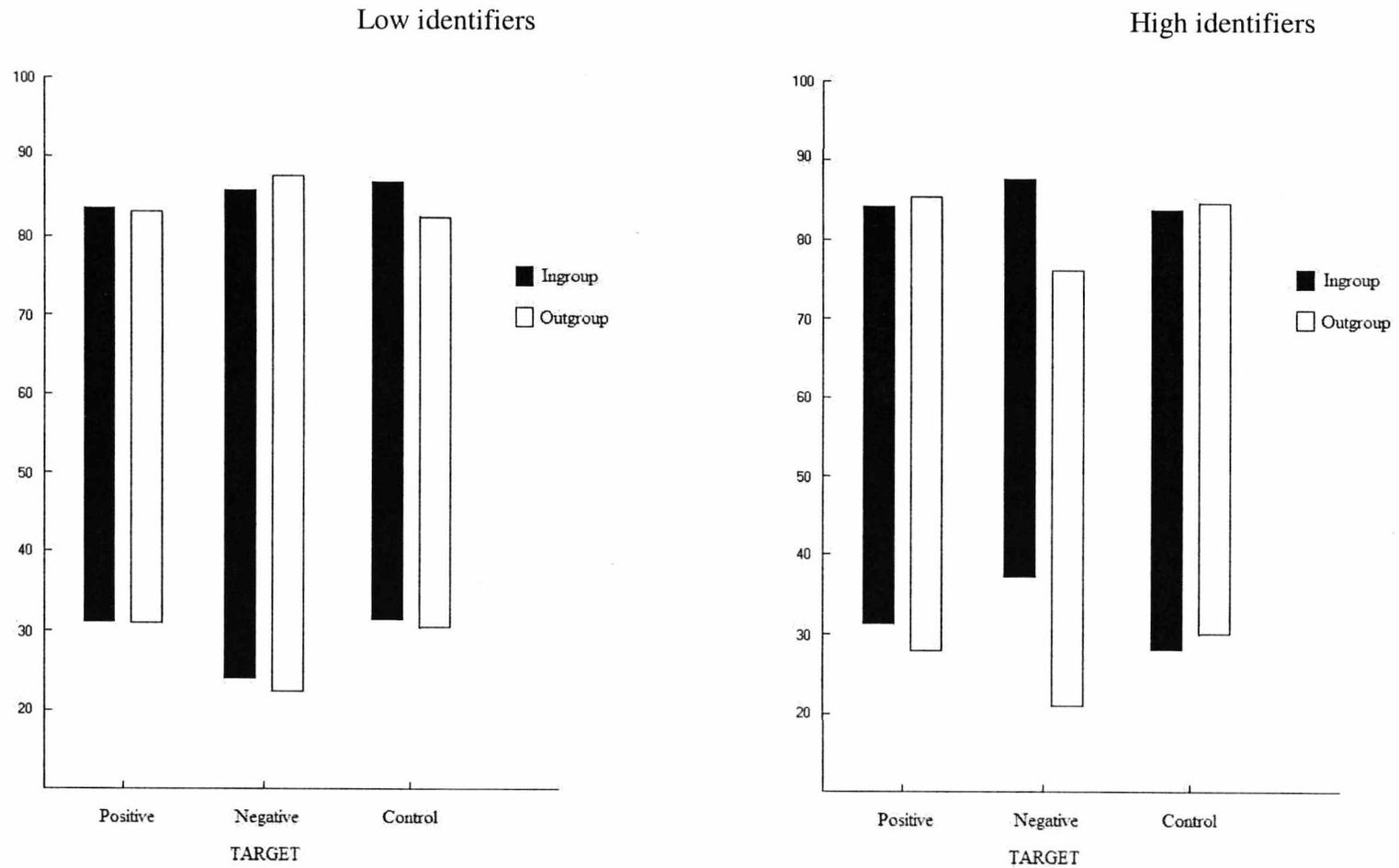# Figure 6. Range estimates as a function of ingroup identification, group and target



Low identifiers

High identifiers

**Table 8: Group ratings as a function of identification and target**

|  | Low Identifiers | | | | | | High Identifiers | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Ingroup | | | Outgroup | | | Ingroup | | | Outgroup | | |
|  | P | N | C | P | N | C | P | N | C | P | N | C |
| Range | 52.32 | 61.67 | 55.39 | 52.09 | 65.15 | 52.08 | 52.92 | 50.59 | 55.79 | 57.64 | 55.17 | 54.80 |
|  | (10.72) | (18.92) | (14.46) | (16.78) | (14.55) | (14.91) | (16.25) | (15.28) | (14.93) | (17.46) | (12.23) | (14.07) |
| General homogeneity | 4.88 | 3.33 | 5.04 | 4.56 | 3.58 | 5.08 | 4.23 | 4.41 | 5.41 | 3.79 | 4.72 | 4.50 |
|  | (1.83) | (1.89) | (0.94) | (1.61) | (1.55) | (1.77) | (2.09) | (1.61) | (0.83) | (2.10) | (2.06) | (2.25) |
| Lowermost | 31.11 | 24.93 | 31.27 | 30.89 | 22.23 | 30.27 | 31.30 | 35.06 | 27.84 | 28.71 | 20.94 | 29.83 |
|  | (9.44) | (11.27) | (7.81) | (10.04) | (11.41) | (12.11) | (9.39) | (10.85) | (10.35) | (9.59) | (9.50) | (11.34) |
| Uppermost | 83.43 | 83.60 | 86.67 | 82.99 | 87.38 | 82.35 | 84.22 | 87.65 | 83.64 | 85.36 | 76.11 | 84.62 |
|  | (10.24) | (10.43) | (10.00) | (13.55) | (9.87) | (9.55) | (12.17) | (7.60) | (11.92) | (11.17) | (11.18) | (8.45) |
| Central tendency | 57.27 | 53.05 | 58.97 | 56.94 | 54.81 | 56.31 | 57.76 | 62.36 | 55.74 | 55.12 | 48.53 | 57.22 |
|  | (8.26) | (5.65) | (5.31) | (8.47) | (7.80) | (7.97) | (7.22) | (5.42) | (8.29) | (7.20) | (8.38) | (7.11) |

Notes:   Standard deviations are in parenthesis

P = Positive target; N = Negative target; C = Control

## DISCUSSION

Once again, the results of Study 7 are broadly consistent with predictions. As in the previous studies, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers evaluated a positive ingroup member more positively and a negative ingroup member more negatively (see also Abrams & Hutchison, 2002; Castano et al., 2002a). High identifiers were also more positive in their evaluation of a positive ingroup member than a positive outgroup member but were more negative in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member than a negative outgroup member – the black sheep effect. This is consistent with the results of previous research in which the black sheep effect emerged among high but not low identifiers (Study 2; Abrams & Hutchison, 2002; Biernat et al., 1999; Branscombe et al., 1993; Hutchison, 2000).

The main aim of Study 7 was to assess whether the presentation of a negative target would differentially affect perceived ingroup and outgroup variability as a function of ingroup identification. The results show that the range estimates and general homogeneity ratings were not moderated by the target's group membership. However, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers perceived both groups as more homogenous in the negative target conditions, whereas this difference was absent in the positive target and control conditions. This difference was due to the change among low identifiers in the negative target conditions. Relative to those in the positive target and control conditions, low identifiers in the negative target conditions perceived both groups as more variable. In contrast, for high identifiers, the target variable had no impact on variability judgements in either the ingroup or outgroup conditions. On the basis of the range and general homogeneity measures, then, it would appear that the presentation of a negative target did not differentially affect ingroup and outgroup ratings for high identifiers.

However, the central tendency scores and the lowermost and uppermost range ratings tell a different story. The observed pattern of central tendency change across conditions and levels of identification is similar to the pattern of stereotype change observed in Study 2 in which more conventional Likert-type rating scales were used to measure group perceptions. Central tendency was higher – and hence the image of the ingroup more positive – for high identifiers than for low identifiers in the negative ingroup target condition but not in the positive ingroup and control conditions nor in any of the outgroup conditions. Central tendency was also higher for high identifiers in the negative ingroup target condition than in the positive ingroup target and ingroup control conditions. For high identifiers, however, a different pattern emerged when the negative target was an outgroup member: central tendency was lower for high identifiers in the negative outgroup target condition than in the positive outgroup target and control conditions. In contrast, for low identifiers, central tendency was lower in both groups in the negative target condition than in the positive target and control conditions.

The lowermost range ratings suggest that changes in central tendency and range scores across conditions and levels of identification were due to changes in the lowermost range ratings. Thus, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers made a higher lowermost range rating in the negative ingroup target condition but not in the positive ingroup target or ingroup control conditions. In the outgroup conditions, however, identification did not moderate lowermost range ratings. Moreover, in the ingroup condition, high identifiers made a higher lowermost range rating in the ingroup negative target condition than in the ingroup positive target and control conditions, whereas the reverse pattern emerged in the outgroup condition: high identifiers made a lower lowermost range rating in the outgroup negative target condition than in the outgroup positive target and control conditions. In contrast, low

identifiers made lower ingroup *and* outgroup lowermost range ratings in the respective negative target conditions than in the respective positive target and control conditions.

There was less change across conditions on the uppermost range ratings. The only effect to emerge on these ratings was among high identifiers who made a lower outgroup uppermost range rating in the outgroup negative target condition than in the outgroup positive target and control conditions. High identifiers also made a lower outgroup uppermost range rating than ingroup uppermost range rating in the negative target condition, and, relative to low identifiers, a lower outgroup uppermost range rating in the outgroup negative target condition. Thus, for high identifiers, the presentation of a negative target affected both the lowermost and uppermost range ratings in the outgroup condition but only the lowermost range ratings in the ingroup condition. However, the covariance analyses indicated that the observed changes in the overall ingroup and outgroup range ratings were a function of changes in the lowermost and not the uppermost range ratings. Together, these results support the idea that high identifiers may be more motivated than low identifiers to exclude a negative ingroup member from the ingroup, and more motivated to exclude a negative ingroup member from the ingroup than a negative outgroup member from the outgroup.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

Three studies investigated the consequences of the presentation of a negative group member for the image of the group among participants who differed in their level of ingroup identification. The results provide consistent and strong support for the idea that ingroup derogation goes hand-in-hand with the maintenance of the image of the ingroup (Marques & Paez, 1994; Yzerbyt et al., 2000). Consistent with

the results of the previous studies, in all three of the current studies, high identifiers were more negative than low identifiers in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member, and, in Study 7, more negative in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member than a negative outgroup member (see also Branscombe et al., 1993). Also consistent with the results of the previous studies, in all three of the current studies, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup only after having been presented with information about a negative ingroup member. Moreover, on different measures, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member. These findings are consistent with the results of previous research showing that differences between low and high identifiers on various group-related measures only emerge (or become more extreme) when the ingroup identity is threatened (for a review, see Branscombe et al., 1999). In addition, whereas previous research has focused mainly on external forms of group threat, the current research shows that group perceptions are also likely to be critically affected by threats coming from within the group.

In previous chapters, following Marques and Paez, (1994), it was suggested that ingroup derogation may reflect a motivation on the part of high identifiers to psychologically exclude from the ingroup other members who negatively contribute to identity (see also Yzerbyt et al., 2000). The studies presented in the current chapter attempted to provide further evidence to support this assumption by examining how the presentation of a negative group member might affect perceptions of group variability. It was suggested that if the black sheep effect indeed serves to psychologically exclude negative members from the ingroup, as Marques and Paez (1994) argued, then the image of the ingroup expressed by high identifiers should be unaffected following an encounter with a negative ingroup member or even become

more homogeneous (see also Yzerbyt et al., 2000). Alternatively, as Doosje et al. (1995) suggested, the black sheep effect may be conceived as an attempt to emphasize heterogeneity and hence differences among ingroup members. The resulting perception of ingroup variability would allow ingroup members to distance themselves from negative group members, if not from the group's central tendency (see Branscombe et al., 1999; Doosje et al., 1999). In fact, the results support the former prediction. In all three studies, the presentation of a negative ingroup member did not lead high identifiers to perceive the ingroup as more variable, and, in Studies 5 and 6, high identifiers actually perceived the ingroup as more homogenous in the negative target condition than in the positive target and control conditions. These results suggest that ingroup derogation may indeed be a first step towards the psychological exclusion of undesirable ingroup members (Yzerbyt et al., 2000).

In contrast to high identifiers, in Studies 5 and 7, low identifiers perceived the ingroup as significantly more variable in the negative target condition than in the positive target and control conditions. A similar pattern emerged for low identifiers in Study 6 although the observed mean differences across target conditions in that study did not reach significance. One reading of these findings is that low identifiers may have been attempting protect their personal identity by stressing ingroup heterogeneity in the face of a threat to the ingroup. Indeed, previous research suggests that this 'heterogeneity' strategy is typically engaged by low identifiers who, by definition, have less investment in the ingroup identity than high identifiers and hence are less motivated to protect the integrity and value of the ingroup (e.g., Doosje et al., 1995, 1998). As such, different patterns of perceived variability may have been expected in the negative ingroup and outgroup target conditions because, unlike a negative ingroup member, a negative outgroup member would present no obvious threat to the ingroup identity.

In fact, the results of Study 7 showed that, for low identifiers, a similar pattern emerged in the ingroup and outgroup negative target conditions. In both instances, low identifiers perceived the ingroup as more variable than in the respective positive target and control conditions. This suggests that low identifiers may have simply changed their perceptions of the ingroup and outgroup in line with the new evidence. This raises the question of how low identifiers deal with the threat that a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member presents for the value of the ingroup identity. One possibility that merits further investigation is that rather than attempting to protect the image of the group by differentiating the group as a whole from a deviant within its ranks, as high identifiers would seem to do, low identifiers may attempt to protect their personal self-image by differentiating themselves from the group. This possibility is investigated in the research reported in the following chapter, which assesses the consequences of the presentation of a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member for self-stereotyping and ingroup identification.

## CONCLUSIONS

The studies reported in this chapter investigated the consequences of an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative group member for the perceived variability of the ingroup and outgroup among participants who differed in their level of ingroup identification. The results support the notion that group variability judgements might reflect and be used to address identity maintenance concerns. The mean lowermost range ratings are particularly informative in so far as they show that, following an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member, high identifiers' lowermost range ratings were higher than low identifiers' ratings, suggesting that the former may have excluded the deviant from their overall representation of the ingroup. Moreover, following an encounter with a deviant and

clearly negative outgroup member, high identifiers' outgroup lowermost range ratings were lower than high identifiers' ingroup lowermost range ratings, suggesting that the former may have included the deviant in their overall representation of the outgroup. This evidence provides the clearest indication yet that ingroup derogation may indeed correspond to a motivation on the part of high identifiers to exclude from the ingroup those members who negatively contribute to the ingroup identity.

# CHAPTER 6

## Self-stereotyping and Ingroup (Dis)identification in Reaction to Deviance

A study ($N = 67$) investigated the consequences of an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member for ingroup stereotyping, self-stereotyping and ingroup identification as function of the initial level of ingroup identification. Consistent with the results of the previous studies, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than low identifiers after reading about a negative ingroup member, whereas this difference was absent after reading about a positive ingroup member. In addition, high identifiers self-stereotyped more than low identifiers after reading about a negative ingroup member, whereas this difference was absent after reading about a positive ingroup member. Likewise, high identifiers maintained a consistently high level of ingroup identification across time and target conditions, whereas low identifiers identified less after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member and more after, compared to before, reading about a positive ingroup member. The results suggest that low identifiers may be prepared to affirm association with and commitment to the group only when doing so is likely to have positive implications for identity.

## INTRODUCTION

The studies reported so far have considered how an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member might affect perceptions of the ingroup (and outgroup) as a function of ingroup identification. Consistent with social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), the evidence suggests that high identifiers will respond to an encounter with a negative ingroup member with a motivation to protect

the image of the group as a whole, whereas low identifiers seem to be more concerned with protecting their personal self-image than the group image (see also Branscombe et al., 1999). This difference between low and high identifiers was most evident in Studies 5-7, in which, after reading about a negative ingroup member, high identifiers emphasized ingroup homogeneity whereas low identifiers emphasized ingroup heterogeneity. Social identity theorists have suggested that emphasizing heterogeneity might serve a similar identity maintenance function as disidentification with the group in so far as both strategies would allow low identifiers to distance themselves from the negative implications of group membership (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Doosje & Ellemers, 1997; Ellemers, 1993). The aim of the study reported in the current chapter was to assess how an encounter with a negative ingroup member might differentially affect low and high identifiers' willingness to express association with and commitment to the ingroup. More specifically, the study investigated how the presentation of a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member might affect self-stereotyping and subsequent levels of ingroup identification as a function of the initial level of identification.

**Ingroup identification and self-stereotyping**

Ingroup identification and self-stereotyping are conceptually similar but distinguishable constructs. According to self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), self-stereotyping refers to how people perceive their position within the group (in relation to a prototype), whereas identification refers to the extent to which individuals commit themselves to the group as a whole. In this view, self-categorization and self-stereotyping proceed on the basis of perceived similarities and differences between self and others in a given context, as specified by the meta-contrast principle (Oakes et al., 1994). Once categories are formed, the level of

ingroup identification becomes an important predictor of future readiness to perceive the self in terms of the ingroup category (i.e., as interchangeable with other ingroup members) and willingness to act in the interests of the category as a whole. Identification is thus more likely to moderate self-stereotyping rather than the reverse and research seems to support this prediction (e.g., Spears et al., 1997; see also McGarty, 1999). Consistent with this idea, Spears et al. (1997), for example, found a decreased tendency to self-stereotype among low but not high identifiers when the status of the ingroup was threatened either by the superior status of a comparison outgroup or the lack of distinctiveness caused by the similarity of an outgroup. Along similar lines, Verkuyten and Nekuee (1999) found that higher perceived discrimination among members of a minority group was associated with higher levels of self-stereotyping and high identifiers self-stereotyped more than low identifiers (see also Dion, 1975; Dion & Earn, 1975). Spears et al. (1997) suggested that decreasing the level of self-stereotyping might provide low identifiers with an opportunity to dissociate themselves from a threatened group membership (in the same way that disidentification and perceived heterogeneity might: see Studies 5-7; Doosje et al., 1999). Conversely, maintaining or even increasing the level of self-stereotyping would seem to allow high identifiers to express association with and commitment to a self-conceptually important and hence valued ingroup.

Like the results of the studies presented in previous chapters, the above evidence points to the role of identification as an important moderator of the level at which individuals respond to a threat to the ingroup identity (i.e., as an independent variable). In addition, other research has focused on the level of identification as an outcome of threats to the ingroup identity (i.e., as a dependent variable; e.g., Ellemers, 1993; Ellemers, van Knippenberg, & Wilke, 1990; Ellemers, Wilke, & van Knippenberg, 1993). For example, in a series of studies, Ellemers (1993) found that

members of low status groups tended to express lower levels of ingroup identification than members of high status groups. In addition, in an earlier study, Ellemers et al. (1990) found that members of a low status group who were led to believe that status improvement was possible and likely expressed higher levels of ingroup identification than those who believed that status improvement was impossible.

There is also some recent evidence that the initial level of ingroup identification can moderate the effect of a threat to the ingroup on subsequent levels of identification. In a conceptually similar study to that of Ellemers et al. (1990), Doosje, Spears, and Ellemers (2002, Study 1) informed members of a low status group that a status improvement was either likely or unlikely and found that high identifiers identified to the same extent across conditions, whereas low identifiers identified more when change was likely than when change was unlikely. A second study (Doosje et al., 2002, Study 2) focused on the implications for the expression of ingroup identification of an actual (as opposed to possible) change in the status relation. It was observed that low identifiers increased the level of identification over time as the status of the group improved, whereas this effect was absent for high identifiers, who maintained a consistently high level of identification throughout. Taken together, these findings suggest that low identifiers may be more opportunistic and instrumental than high identifiers with regard to their responses to threats to the ingroup identity in so far as the former seem prepared to affirm association with and commitment to a group only if doing so is likely to have positive implications for the self (see also Branscombe et al., 1999; Doosje & Ellemers, 1997).

**The current research**

As previously discussed, there is considerable evidence that ingroup identification is an important predictor of the extent to which individuals respond to the presentation of a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member. Specifically, the level of identification moderates the evaluation and judgement of deviant ingroup members (Studies 1-7; Abrams & Hutchison, 2002; Branscombe et al., 1993; Castano et al., 2002a), the amount of cognitive effort people expend on encountering a deviant ingroup member (Coull et al., 2001), the extent to which people are willing to attempt to persuade a deviant ingroup member to conform (Study 6; Hutchison, 2000), and the impact that a deviant has on the overall image of the ingroup (Studies 1-7). Taken together, these findings are consistent with the notion that high identifiers will respond with a motivation to protect the interests of the ingroup from the negative implications of a deviant in its ranks. It is also plausible to expect differences between low and high identifiers with respect to subsequent expressions of association with and commitment to the ingroup following an encounter with a negative ingroup member. The study reported below investigates this possibility by assessing the consequences of the presentation of a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member for self-stereotyping and ingroup identification as a function of the initial level of ingroup identification. In keeping with the previous studies, the present study also included ingroup stereotype and target evaluation measures.

## STUDY 8

Study 8 used a 2 (Target: positive vs. negative) x 2 (Initial level of identification: low vs. high) x 2 (Time of identification rating: pre- vs. post-manipulation) between participants design. Participants indicated their initial (pre-

manipulation) level of ingroup identification, read about and evaluated either a positive or negative ingroup member, completed items measuring ingroup stereotyping and self-stereotyping, and then recompleted the identification items (post-manipulation). Integrating and extending the existing evidence from research on group deviance and reactions to group threat, it was predicted that participants' initial level of ingroup identification would moderate their reactions to the presentation of a negative ingroup member. Specifically, following the results of the previous studies, it was predicted high identifiers would express a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member. This difference was not expected to emerge for low identifiers. Furthermore, again following Studies 1-7, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers were expected to be more positive towards a positive ingroup member and more negative towards a negative ingroup member. Finally, with regard to self-stereotyping and subsequent levels of ingroup identification, following the presentation of a negative ingroup member, it was expected that high identifiers would attempt to assert their identity as prototypical and committed group members by maintaining or even increasing the level of self-stereotyping and ingroup identification, whereas low identifiers were expected to express association with and commitment to the group only when doing so is likely to contribute to self-esteem. When ingroup identity is called into question by the negative characteristics or behaviour of a deviant within the group, low identifiers were expected to assert their individuality and dissociation from the group by decreasing the level of self-stereotyping and ingroup identification.

# METHOD

## Participants

Sixty-seven psychology undergraduates from the University of Kent participated in return for partial course credit. Of these, 55 were female and 12 were male. Gender had no main or interactive effects in the analyses and so this variable is not considered further.

## Procedure and Materials

Participants arrived at the laboratory individually to take part in a study on impression-formation. They were told that the purpose of the study was to investigate people's ability to form an impression of a target person on the basis of varying amounts of information (following Kunda & Oleson, 1995). They were randomly assigned to conditions and received a booklet containing instructions, a target description, and response measures, which were presented in the same order as below. Responses to all items were recorded on 9-point Likert-type scales (1 = disagree/ not at all, 9 = agree/ very much). After completing the task, participants were asked to write down any suspicions they might have about the true aims of the study. No accurate suspicions were reported. On leaving the laboratory participants received a debriefing sheet.

### *Pre-manipulation ingroup identification measure*

Four items measured participants' level of identification with psychologists. These were the same items as used in the previous studies, which were combined to form a single pre-manipulation ingroup identification score ($\alpha$ = .81). Participants were classified as low identifiers ($M$ = 5.25, $SD$ = 0.83) or high identifiers ($M$ = 7.36, $SD$ = 0.47) by means of a median split, $F$ (1, 65) = 170.47, $p$ < .001.

*Target descriptions*

Participants then read one of two descriptions of a target psychologist. One psychologist was positive and one was negative. These were the same descriptions as used in the Studies 1 and 3 (adapted from Coull et al., 2001).

*Group stereotype measure*

Seven items measured participants' perception of psychologists on the same series of characteristics as used in Studies 1 and 3. The stereotype items were combined to form a single group stereotype score ($\alpha$ = .93). A higher score on this measure represents a more positive image of the ingroup.

*Target evaluation measure*

Three items measured participants' evaluation of the target psychologist: 'This person is a good psychologist,' 'I would like to work with this psychologist,' 'I like this psychologist's attitude.' The negative item was reverse scored and combined with the positive items to form a single target evaluation score ($\alpha$ = .95). A higher score on this measure indicates a more positive evaluation.

*Self-stereotype measure* [18]

Two items measured participants' perception of self as a prototypical group member (adapted from Spears et al., 1997): 'I am similar to the average psychology

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[18] A principal component analysis on the self-stereotype and post-manipulation ingroup identification items yielded a two-factor solution. The first factor (ingroup identification) accounted for 54.05% of the total variance and the second factor (self-stereotyping) accounted for 18.48%. The ingroup identification items loaded on only one factor (all loadings > .73) and the self-stereotyping items loaded on only the second factor (all loadings > .77). This is in line with the findings of previous research (Spears et al., 1997; Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999).

student,' 'I am different from the average psychology student.' These items were combined to form a single self-stereotype score ($\alpha = .77$). A higher score indicates a higher level of self-stereotyping.

### *Post-manipulation ingroup identification measure*

Participants then re-completed the ingroup identification items, which were combined to form a single post-manipulation ingroup identification score ($\alpha = .85$). A higher score indicates a higher level of ingroup identification.

## RESULTS

The target evaluation, ingroup stereotype and self-stereotype ratings were analysed using a series of 2 (Target: positive vs. negative) x 2 (Identification: low vs. high) ANOVAs. Means and standard deviations are displayed in Table 9.

### Target evaluation

The analysis revealed a significant main effect of target, $F(1, 63) = 202.00$, $p < .001$. Participants were more positive towards a positive ingroup member ($M = 6.79$, $SD = 1.09$) than a negative ingroup member ($M = 2.88$, $SD = 1.18$). The Target x Identification interaction was also significant, $F(1, 63) = 5.63$, $p < .02$. Simple effects tests indicated that high identifiers were more negative than low identifiers towards a negative ingroup member, $F(1, 63) = 4.26$, $p < .04$, whereas identification did not affect evaluations of a positive ingroup member, $F(1, 63) = 1.72$, *ns*.

### Group stereotype

The analysis revealed a significant main effect of identification, $F(1, 63) = 31.17$, $p < .001$. High identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup (M = 7.02, SD = 1.08) than low identifiers ($M = 5.60$, $SD = 0.84$). The Target x Identification interaction was also significant, $F(1, 63) = 17.42$, $p < .001$. Simple

effects tests indicated that high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than low identifiers after reading about a negative ingroup member, $F$ (1, 63) = 58.23, $p <$ .001, whereas this difference was absent after reading about a positive ingroup member, $F$ (1, 63) = 2.21, $ns$. In addition, high identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than those who read about a positive ingroup member, $F$ (1, 63) = 8.82, $p <$ .004. Conversely, low identifiers who read about a positive ingroup member expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than those who read about a negative ingroup member, $F$ (1, 63) = 8.64, $p <$ .005.

**Table 9. Pre-manipulation identification, group stereotype, target evaluation, self-stereotype, and post-manipulation identification as a function of initial level of identification and target.**

|  | Low identifiers | | High identifiers | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Positive | Negative | Positive | Negative |
| Pre-manipulation identification | 5.27 (0.69) | 5.23 (0.94) | 7.42 (0.52) | 7.30 (0.41) |
| Group stereotype | 6.11 (0.58) | 5.17 (0.80) | 6.58 (1.07) | 7.45 (0.93) |
| Target evaluation | 6.50 (1.04) | 3.27 (1.40) | 7.02 (1.10) | 2.50 (0.80) |
| Self-stereotype | 5.82 (0.80) | 5.00 (0.98) | 6.44 (1.49) | 6.86 (1.01) |
| Post-manipulation identification | 5.90 (1.02) | 4.65 (1.51) | 7.39 (0.88) | 7.55 (1.06) |

*Note.* Numbers in parenthesis are standard deviations.

*Self-stereotype*

The analysis revealed a significant main effect of identification, $F$ (1, 63) = 20.35, $p < .001$. As expected, high identifiers ($M = 6.65$, $SD = 1.27$) self-stereotyped more than low identifiers ($M = 5.37$, $SD = 0.98$). The Target x Identification was also significant, $F$ (1, 63) = 5.05, $p < .03$. It was predicted that low identifiers would self-stereotype less after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member. Consistent with this prediction, a test of the simple effects of target indicated that low identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member self-stereotyped less than those who read about a positive ingroup member, $F$ (1, 63) = 4.12, $p < .05$, whereas this difference was absent for high identifiers, $F < 1$. In addition, a test of the simple effects of identification indicated that low identifiers self-stereotyped less than high identifiers after reading about a negative ingroup member, $F$ (1, 63) = 24.104, $p < .001$, whereas this difference was absent after reading about a positive ingroup member, $F$ (1, 63) = 2.43, $ns$.

**Post-manipulation ingroup identification**

These scores were analysed using a Target x Identification x Time ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor. The analysis revealed a significant Target x Time interaction, $F$ (1, 63) = 3.88, $p < .05$, and a significant Target x Time x Identification interaction, $F$ (1, 63) = 9.77, $p < .003$. See Figure 7. To test the prediction that low identifiers would identify less after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member the Target x Time x Identification interaction was decomposed by examining the simple Target x Time interaction within each level of identification (see Figure 7). The interaction was significant for low identifiers, $F$ (1, 29) = 9.76, $p < .004$, but not high identifiers, $F < 1$. As predicted, simple effects tests indicated that low identifiers identified less after, compared to before, reading about

a negative ingroup member, $F (1, 29) = 4.98$, $p < .03$, whereas this difference was absent for high identifiers, $F < 1$. In contrast, low identifiers identified more after, compared to before, reading about a positive ingroup member, $F (1, 29) = 4.81$, $p < .04$, whereas this difference was also absent for high identifiers, $F < 1$. A test of the simple effects of the target variable also indicated that low identifiers in the negative target condition identified less than those in the positive target condition, $F (1, 29) = 7.05$, $p < .013$, whereas this difference was absent for high identifiers, $F < 1$.

**Figure 7. Post-manipulation identification as a function of target and pre-manipulation identification**
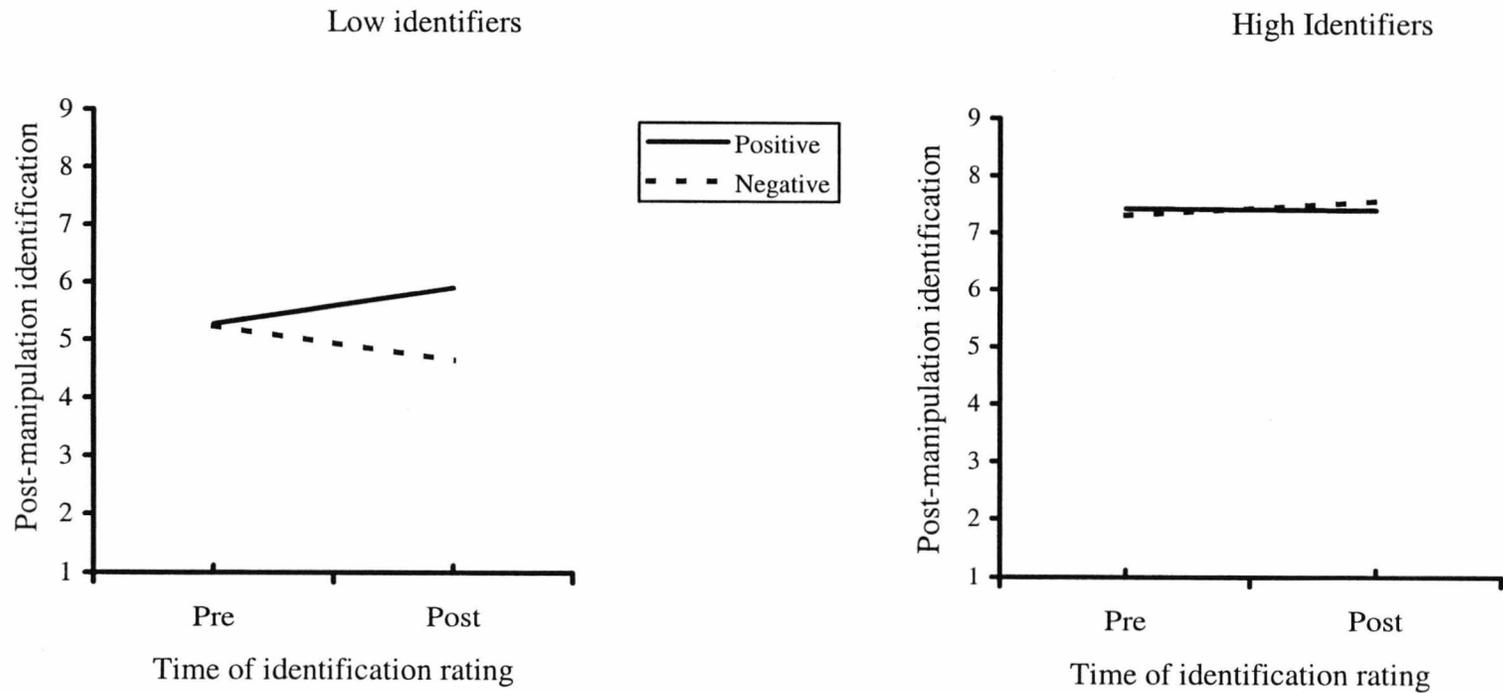
# DISCUSSION

The results of Study 8 provide clear and consistent support for the predictions. It was predicted that high identifiers would express a more positive image of the ingroup than low identifiers after reading about a negative ingroup member. Replicating the findings of the previous studies, results showed that high identifiers did indeed express a more positive image of the ingroup than low identifiers following the presentation of a negative ingroup member, whereas this difference was absent following the presentation of positive ingroup member. In addition, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member, whereas low identifiers displayed the reverse pattern and expressed a more negative image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member. This pattern is in line with previous research (Studies 1-7; Abrams & Hutchison, 2002; Castano et al., 2002a).

The target evaluation ratings were also broadly consistent with predictions. High identifiers were more negative than low identifiers in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member, whereas identification did not affect evaluations of a positive ingroup member. This pattern of evaluations is again consistent with previous findings (Studies 1-7; Abrams & Hutchison, 2002; Branscombe et al., 1993; Castano et al., 2002a). The results also indicate that it was those participants who held a more positive image of the ingroup after reading about a negative ingroup member − i.e., high identifiers − who were also more condemnatory of a negative ingroup member. This suggests that a consequence of encountering a deviant and clearly negative member within a self-conceptually important ingroup is that the group as a whole will be perceived in more positive stereotypical terms, which in

turn seems to heighten derogation of those members who do not uphold the ingroup's positive standards.

With respect to self-stereotyping and ingroup identification, it was predicted that in the presence of a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member, high identifiers would assert their identity as prototypical and committed group members by maintaining the level of self-stereotyping and ingroup identification. In contrast, low identifiers were expected to express association with and commitment to the group only when doing so is likely to contribute positively to identity. When a negative ingroup member threatens the overall value of the group, low identifiers were expected to attempt to distance themselves from the group by decreasing the level of self-stereotyping and ingroup identification. Again, the results are consistent with these predictions. High identifiers maintained a consistently high level of self-stereotyping across the target conditions, whereas low identifiers self-stereotyped less after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member. A similar pattern was observed on the post-manipulation ingroup identification ratings. Here high identifiers maintained a consistently high level of identification after reading about either a positive or negative ingroup member, whereas low identifiers decreased the level of ingroup identification after reading about a negative ingroup member. In addition, after reading about a positive ingroup member, low identifiers actually increased the level of ingroup identification. This unanticipated finding is consistent with the idea advanced by social identity theorists that low identifiers are more opportunistic and instrumental with regard to the expression of involvement with and commitment to a particular group (Branscombe et al., 1999; Doosje et al., 1999).

The present findings are consistent with the findings of the studies reported in Chapter 5, which examined the consequences of the presentation of a deviant and

clearly negative ingroup member for perceived ingroup homogeneity as a function of ingroup identification. Across three studies, it was found that, following an encounter with a clearly negative ingroup member, high identifiers emphasized ingroup homogeneity whereas low identifiers emphasized ingroup heterogeneity. Social identity theorists have suggested that emphasizing heterogeneity might serve a similar identity maintenance function as disidentification with the group in so far as both strategies would allow low identifiers to distance themselves from the negative implications of group membership (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Doosje & Ellemers, 1997). The present findings provide further support for this analysis. Whereas high identifiers appear to be motivated to distance the group as a whole from a deviant within its ranks, thus protecting the overall image of the group, low identifiers seem to be more motivated to protect their personal self-image by distancing themselves from the group. This may explain the apparent lack of group-based effects for low identifiers in the studies reported in the previous chapters.

A possible limitation of the present study is that, unlike the previous studies, there was no baseline measure against which to compare the ingroup stereotype ratings. The previous studies have included either a pre-manipulation stereotype measure against which post-manipulation stereotype ratings were compared or a control condition in which participants received no target information. In the absence of baseline information, it is not possible to say for certain whether the observed difference in group ratings across target conditions among high identifiers was due to an increase in the perceived positivity of the ingroup in the negative target condition or an increase in the perceived negativity of the ingroup in the positive target condition. Had a pre-manipulation or control condition been included, the latter explanation would require that high identifiers express a more negative image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a positive ingroup member or that

high identifiers who read about a positive ingroup member expressed a more negative image of the ingroup than control participants. However, the results of the previous studies suggest that this explanation is highly unlikely. The previous studies showed that high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup in a context that included a negative ingroup member than in a context that included a positive ingroup member or no individual ingroup member. Thus, while the criticism is a valid one, in the context of the previous studies, it is more likely that the observed effects were due to an increase in the perceived positivity of the ingroup in the negative target condition rather than an increase in the perceived negativity of the ingroup in the positive target condition.

A similar criticism applies to the self-stereotyping ratings. Like the ingroup stereotype ratings, there was no baseline information against which to compare the self-stereotype ratings. The results showed that high identifiers maintained a consistently high level of self-stereotyping across target conditions, whereas low identifiers self-stereotyped less after reading about a negative ingroup member than after reading about a positive ingroup member. Again, it is not possible to say with certainty whether low identifiers reduced the level of self-stereotyping in the negative target condition or increased the level of self-stereotyping in the positive target condition or a combination of both. Each of these explanations seems plausible in light of previous research. In the three studies reported in the previous chapter (Studies 5-7), low identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member perceived the ingroup as more variable than those who read about a positive ingroup member and control participants. If emphasizing ingroup variability indeed allows low identifiers to distance themselves from a potentially negative group membership, as social identity theorists have argued, then the lower level of self-stereotyping in the negative target condition in the present study could plausibly be due to low

identifiers attempting to distance themselves from the group in this condition. On the other hand, the observed increase in identification levels among low identifiers after reading about a positive ingroup member in the present study suggests that the differences in self-stereotyping across target conditions could also be due to a motivation on the part of low identifiers to express association with the group in the positive target condition. Although it would be desirable to say with certainty which of these processes can account for the observed effects, both explanations are nevertheless consistent with the idea that low identifiers are more individualistic and opportunistic when it comes to expressing their association and commitment with a particular group (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Doosje & Ellemers, 1997).

## CONCLUSIONS

The present study investigated the consequences of an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member for ingroup stereotyping, self-stereotyping and ingroup identification as function of the initial level of ingroup identification. The results provide further evidence that high identifiers will respond to ingroup deviance with a motivation to protect the image of the group as a whole, whereas low identifiers seem to be more concerned about the implications of ingroup deviance for their personal self-image. To this extent, high identifiers will attempt to differentiate the group as a whole from the negative characteristics of a deviant within its ranks while also asserting their identity as prototypical and committed group members. Low identifiers, by contrast, seem more concerned with differentiating themselves from the group. The present findings go some way towards explaining the apparent lack of group-based response among low identifiers in the previous studies to the presentation of a deviant and clearly undesirable ingroup member.

# CHAPTER 7

## Summary and Conclusions

This chapter summarizes the results of the studies reported in the preceding chapters. It is argued that the findings provide clear and consistent support for the hypothesized role of ingroup identification in people's responses to deviance. The evidence suggests that high identifiers will attempt to differentiate the group as a whole from the negative characteristics of a deviant within its ranks, whereas low identifiers, in contrast, seem more likely to attempt to differentiate themselves from the group. In examining the actual consequences of an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member, it is argued that the thesis represents an important advance on previous research on reactions to deviance in groups. Limitations of the current research are then considered and possible directions for future research are outlined.

## Background and Aims of Thesis

There is considerable evidence that group members may be motivated to distance themselves from deviant ingroup members. This evidence has come from two distinct lines of research which, for simplicity more than anything else, have come to be known as the small group perspective and the social identity perspective. The small group perspective traditionally emphasizes the role of interpersonal interaction and behavioural interdependence in various processes occurring within small, face-to-face groups (e.g., Cartwright & Zander, 1968; Festinger, 1950; Levine, 1989). This line of research has been strongly influenced by the work of Festinger (1950), who argued that people seek ingroup consensus to obtain collective goals and

to validate the accuracy of their own opinions (see also Turner, 1991). Thus, ingroup members whose deviance undermines ingroup consensus will likely face overt hostility from other group members and, in some situations, may even be expelled from the group altogether (e.g., Berkowitz & Howard, 1959; Earle, 1986; Jones & DeCharms, 1957; Schachter, 1951).

The social identity perspective, on the other hand, focuses more on collective self-definition as a group member than on behavioural interdependence and face-to-face interaction (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987). Proponents of this perspective have argued that people have a basic motivation to obtain, through comparison with others, a positive evaluation of themselves. When a group membership provides the most meaningful basis for self-definition, people are thought to evaluate themselves less in terms of their unique attributes and more in terms of the comparative properties of the group. Through this process the evaluative properties of the group are assimilated and contribute to the valence of self-esteem (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Depending on the importance of the group for self-definition, people will differ in their level of ingroup identification. Compared to low identifiers, high identifiers in particular will engage cognitive and behavioural strategies to ensure that the ingroup as a whole compares favourably with the outgroup on relevant dimensions. Previous research has shown that this difference between low and high identifiers is most pronounced when the identity of the ingroup is threatened. Research in this domain has explored how group members react to external forms of group threat – e.g., status-related threats (e.g., Doosje et al., 1999; Spears et al., 1997) or discrimination by outgroups (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999). Although less often investigated, there are some circumstances, however, in which a threat to the ingroup identity can come from

inside the group. For example, the behaviour or characteristics of individual ingroup members can reflect negatively on the group as a whole.

Consistent with this notion, previous research has shown that people who are undesirable (e.g., Khan & Lambert, 1998; Marques et al., 1988), incompetent (Castano et al., 2002a; Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988), disloyal (Branscombe et al., 1993), or anti-normative (e.g., Abrams et al., 2000; Marques et al., 1998b) are typically rejected more extremely by members of their own group than by members of outgroups, a phenomenon known as the black sheep effect (Marques et al., 1988). Social identity theorists have argued that the extreme rejection of an unfavourable ingroup member might reflect a strategy to maintain positive intergroup distinctiveness in the face of threat. In this view, in derogating unfavourable ingroup members, people would attempt to purge from the ingroup those members who negatively contribute to the ingroup identity (Marques & Paez, 1994; Yzerbyt et al., 2000). This identity maintenance explanation is supported by research showing that the effect is more likely to emerge if the dimension on which the deviance occurs is directly relevant to the ingroup identity (Marques et al., 1988), it is especially likely to emerge among high identifiers (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1993; Hutchison, 2000), and is more pronounced when the ingroup identity is insecure (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1993; Marques et al., 2002).

Surprisingly, however, despite the considerable amount of research that has been conducted within the 'black sheep' framework, prior to the initiation of the programme of research reported in this thesis, there was no direct evidence that the extreme rejection of a deviant ingroup member is linked to the maintenance of the positive image of the ingroup. Rather, as described in Chapter 1, most of the available evidence has been circumstantial, coming mainly from research on intragroup evaluations (for recent exceptions, see Castano et al., 2002a; Coull et al.,

2001). The current programme of research aims to fill this gap by examining the consequences of an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member for both the representation and composition of the ingroup.

## Summary of Results

Eight studies investigated the consequences of an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative group member for the image of the group as a function of the level of ingroup identification. The results are summarized below. Each of the following sections summarizes the findings with regard to one or more of the main dependent measures. Thus, the first section summarizes the results from the target-related measures. The second section summarizes the results from the group stereotype measures. The third section summarizes the results from the perceived group variability measures. The fourth and final section summarizes the results from the self-stereotype and ingroup identification measures. The chapter then focuses on the implications of the results for our understanding of how people react to deviance in groups. Limitations of the research are considered and possible directions for future research are suggested.

### *Judgements of the target group members*

In all of the studies reported in the preceding chapters (Studies 1-8), it was found that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers were more negative in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member and, in all but two studies (Studies 5 & 8), more positive in their evaluation of a positive ingroup member. In Studies 2 and 7, which included an outgroup condition, the black sheep effect emerged among high but not low identifiers. Thus, high identifiers were more positive in their evaluation of a positive ingroup member than a positive outgroup member, and more negative in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member than a negative outgroup member. In

contrast, however, the group variable did not affect low identifiers' judgements of the target group members. These findings are consistent with previous research (e.g., Abrams & Hutchison, 2002; Branscombe et al., 1993; Marques & Paez, 1994) and provide further support for the idea that the extreme derogation of deviant ingroup members might serve an identity maintenance function.

The results of Studies 3 and 4 provide further support for this conjecture. It was suggested that if the effects observed in Studies 1 and 2 indeed reflect the greater self-conceptual importance of the ingroup for high versus low identifiers, then the same effects should emerge more strongly when the ingroup identity is threatened. Consistent with this prediction, the pattern of target evaluations observed in the ingroup conditions in Studies 1 and 2 emerged under low status conditions but not under high status conditions. Thus, under low status conditions, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers were more positive towards a positive ingroup member and more negative towards a negative ingroup member. Under high status conditions, however, the level of ingroup identification did not moderate judgements of the target group members. Moreover, high identifiers were more negative towards a negative ingroup member and more positive towards a positive ingroup member under low status conditions than under high status conditions. In contrast, however, these differences were absent for low identifiers. These results provide further support for the idea that the extreme rejection of a deviant ingroup member might serve an identity maintenance function in so far as the most extreme rejection of deviants was observed among high identifiers under conditions where the ingroup identity was threatened. Thus, it seems that group members may be more tolerant of deviants when high status has already been achieved than when status improvement is an important goal (see also Branscombe et al., 1993; Chekroun, 2002; Scheepers et al., 2002).

*Stereotyping and stereotype change*

The level of ingroup identification also moderated the impact of an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member on the image of the group. In all of the studies in which participants were asked to judge the ingroup, it was found that an encounter with a negative ingroup member led high identifiers to express a more positive image of the ingroup. In contrast, for low identifiers, an encounter with a negative ingroup member either had no impact on the image of group (Studies 1, 2, 4) or the image became more negative (Studies 5 & 7). Thus, in Studies 1 and 2, which included pre- and post-manipulation group stereotype measures, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member. In these studies, high identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member also expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than those who read about a positive ingroup member. In contrast, however, the target manipulation had no impact on low identifiers' judgements of the ingroup. Similar results were obtained in studies 5, 6 and 7, where it was found that high identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than those who read about a positive ingroup member and control participants. In Study 8, it was found that high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than low identifiers after reading about a negative ingroup member, whereas this difference was absent in the positive target condition.

In Study 4, the pattern of stereotype change observed in Studies 1 and 2 emerged under low status conditions but not under high status conditions. Thus, under low status conditions, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member, whereas this difference was absent under high status conditions. High identifiers who

read about a negative ingroup member also expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than those who read about a positive ingroup member, whereas this difference was also absent under high status conditions. In addition, after reading about a negative ingroup member, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup under low status conditions than under high status conditions, whereas this difference was absent for low identifiers. These findings again suggest that deviants are more likely to be rejected when the identity of the ingroup is already under threat. This is consistent with the idea advanced by social identity theorists that a perception of the ingroup as a homogeneous entity may be a first step towards collective status improvement (e.g., Doosje et al., 1999; Scheepers et al., 2002). To the extent that deviants undermine homogeneity, it seems logical they should be rejected more under low status conditions than under high status conditions.

In Studies 2 and 7, which included an outgroup condition, high identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member expressed a more positive image of the ingroup – a contrast effect – whereas those who read about a negative outgroup member expressed a more negative image of the outgroup – an assimilation effect. Thus, in Study 2, high identifiers expressed a more positive image of the ingroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member, and a more negative image of the outgroup after, compared to before, reading about a negative outgroup member. Similar results were obtained in Study 7, where it was found that high identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member expressed a more positive image of the ingroup than those who read about a positive ingroup member and control participants. In contrast, however, high identifiers who read about a negative outgroup member expressed a more negative image of the outgroup than those who read about a positive outgroup member and control participants. Taken together, these results provide the first direct evidence of a link between the extreme

derogation of deviant ingroup members and the maintenance of the image of the ingroup.

## *Perceived group variability*

Chapter 5 reported three studies (Studies 5, 6, & 7), each of which investigated the consequences of an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative group member for perceived group variability as a function of the level of ingroup identification. In all three studies, which were conducted with different groups and used different measures of perceived variability, following the presentation of a negative ingroup member, high identifiers emphasized ingroup homogeneity whereas low identifiers emphasized ingroup heterogeneity. Thus, in Study 5, which used a range measure to indicate perceived variability, high identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member perceived the ingroup as more homogeneous than those who read about a positive ingroup member and control participants. In contrast, however, low identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member perceived the ingroup as more heterogeneous than those who read about a positive ingroup member and control participants. Similar results were obtained in Study 6, which used a percentage estimate measure to indicate perceived variability. Thus, high identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member thought thay a higher percentage of ingroup members could be defined in terms of positive (relative to negative) stereotypic characteristics than those who read about a positive ingroup member and control participants. In contrast, however, low identifiers' percentage estimates were relatively unaffected by the target information.

Study 7 included a manipulation of the target's group membership and used range and general homogeneity measures to indicate perceived variability. Results showed that, on both measures, low identifiers who read about a negative ingroup or

outgroup member perceived the respective groups as more heterogeneous than those who read about a positive target and control participants. In contrast, however, unlike in the previous two studies, the target and group information did not significantly affect high identifiers' judgements of ingroup or outgroup variability (although the mean ratings differed in the expected directions). Thus, on the basis of the variability measures, it would appear that an encounter with a negative target did not differentially affect judgements of the ingroup and outgroup within the levels of ingroup identification.

With regard to the lowermost and uppermost ratings on the range measure, which correspond to the positions where the two most extreme group members would be located, high identifiers who read about a negative ingroup member expressed a higher ingroup lowermost range rating than those who read about a positive ingroup member and control participants. Conversely, high identifiers who read about a negative outgroup member expressed a lower outgroup lowermost range rating than those who read about a positive outgroup member and control participants. Moreover, after reading about a negative ingroup or outgroup member, high identifiers expressed a lower outgroup than ingroup lowermost range rating, whereas this difference was absent for low identifiers. For low identifiers, however, those who read about a negative ingroup or outgroup member expressed lowermost ingroup and outgroup ratings than those who read about a positive ingroup or outgroup member and control participants. Thus, for low identifiers, unlike high identifiers, the group variable did not moderate lowermost range ratings. In addition, covariance analyses indicated that the observed differences in perceived variability and central tendency across conditions and levels of identification were due to changes in the lowermost range ratings.

Taken together, these results provide the strongest support yet for the idea that high identifiers may be more motivated to psychologically exclude negative group members from the overall representation of the ingroup than from the overall representation of the outgroup, and more motivated to do so than low identifiers. Moreover, the results of Study 7 suggest that high identifiers may even be motivated to include undesirable outgroup members in the overall representation of the outgroup. A possibility that merits further investigation is that including undesirable members in the outgroup might allow high identifiers to achieving a positive distinction between the ingroup and outgroup when more direct forms of ingroup favouritism may seem implausible or indeed illegitimate (see also Branscombe et al., 1999; Doosje & Ellemers, 1997). This would be consistent with Marques and colleagues' (Abrams et al., 2000, 2002; Marques et al., 1998b) suggestion that highly identified group members may be especially sensitive to, and indeed motivated to enhance, differences within the ingroup and the outgroup as a means of achieving and legitimating ingroup favouring differences between the ingroup and the outgroup.

### *Self-stereotyping and ingroup identification*

Study 8 investigated the consequences of an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative ingroup member for self-stereotyping and ingroup identification as a function of the initial level of ingroup identification. Results showed that low identifiers self-stereotyped less strongly than high identifiers after reading about a negative ingroup member, whereas this difference was absent in the positive target condition. Moreover, on the ingroup identification measure, which was administered before and after participants read about a target group member, it was found that high identifiers maintained a consistently high level of ingroup identification over time

and across target conditions, whereas low identifiers identified less after, compared to before, reading about a negative ingroup member. These results suggest that low identifiers may be more opportunistic than high identifiers when it comes to expressing association with and commitment to a particular group (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Doosje & Ellemers, 1997). Further support for this notion comes from the unanticipated finding that initially low identifiers identified with the ingroup more after, compared to before, reading about a positive ingroup member (see also Doosje et al., 2002).

## Implications of the Research

The findings summarized above extend our understanding of how people react to deviance in groups in important ways. As previously discussed, research in this domain has focused almost exclusively on how people evaluate positive and negative group members (e.g., Abrams et al., 2000; Branscombe et al., 1993; Marques & Paez, 1994). This research has shown that people evaluate positive ingroup members more positively than positive outgroup members and, conversely, negative ingroup members more negatively than negative outgroup (e.g., Abrams et al., 2000; Branscombe et al., 1993; Marques & Paez, 1994). Marques and colleagues argued that the extreme derogation of a negative ingroup member corresponds to a strategy to purge from the ingroup those members who negatively contribute to identity because they are undesirable (e.g., Khan & Lambert, 1998; Marques et al., 1988), incompetent (Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988), disloyal (Branscombe et al., 1993), or anti-normative (e.g., Abrams et al., 2000). The present programme of research adds further weight to this argument. Across all eight studies, high identifiers were more negative than low identifiers in their evaluation of a negative ingroup member. Moreover, in the two studies that included an outgroup condition (Studies 2 & 7),

high identifiers were more negative towards a negative ingroup member than a negative outgroup member, whereas this difference was absent for low identifiers. These results are consistent with the idea that high identifiers may be more motivated than low identifiers to exclude from the ingroup those members who negatively contribute to the ingroup identity.

As discussed above, however, although there is considerable circumstantial support for this notion, prior to the initiation of the programme of research reported in this thesis, there were no reported studies showing evidence of a link between the extreme derogation of a negative ingroup member and the image of the ingroup. Traditionally, these topics have been discussed and investigated within the framework of stereotype change with regard to the consequences of the impact of deviant outgroup members on the image of the outgroup. Despite clear differences among the various models of stereotype change that have been proposed, either explicitly or implicitly, they generally point to the mediating effect of social categorization in the emergence and direction of stereotype change. The message emerging from this line of research is that if deviant group members are included in the overall representation of the group, then the image of the group will assimilate towards the position of the deviant (see Chapter 2; for a review, see Hewstone, 1994).

For various reasons, however, people may exclude deviants from the overall representation that they form when judging a particular category or group. In some situations, this can lead to a contrast effect whereby the characteristics of the group are defined in opposition to the characteristics of deviant group members (e.g., Herr, Sherman, & Fazio, 1983; Kunda & Oleson, 1997; Maurer, Park, & Rothbart, 1995; Schwarz & Bless, 1992; Sherif & Hovland, 1961). For example, there is considerable evidence that extremely deviant or highly atypical group members may not be

included in group representations but instead are consigned to a distinct subtype where they can be recategorized (e.g., Ashmore, 1981; Brewer et al., 1981; Hewstone, 1994; Rothbart, 1981). Subtyping deviants has been shown to inhibit assimilation and can even have a contrastive influence on subsequent judgements of the group (e.g., Kunda & Oleson, 1997; Maurer, Park, & Rothbart, 1995). Kunda and Oleson (1997), for example, showed that participants who were exposed to moderately deviant outgroup members expressed less pronounced stereotypes than control participants and participants who were exposed to extremely deviant outgroup members. Conversely, participants who were exposed to extremely deviant outgroup members expressed more pronounced stereotypes than control participants.

Importantly, however, as mentioned above, research in this domain has concentrated on the consequences of an encounter with deviant outgroup members for the image of the outgroup. This research has also focused on examples of deviance that have no obvious value connotation for the group or its members or for the perceiver (e.g., an introverted lawyer; e.g., Kunda & Oleson, 1995). Relatively less work has investigated how a deviant and clearly undesirable ingroup member might impact upon the image of an otherwise satisfactory ingroup. The present programme of research goes some way towards addressing this limitation. The results clearly point to the greater self-conceptual importance of the ingroup for high identifiers, and therefore by implication, the greater motivational demands on high identifiers to exclude from the ingroup those members who negatively contribute to identity. To this extent, the results of the present programme of research are consistent with recent research showing that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers perceive undesirable ingroup members as less typical of the ingroup (e.g., Castano et al., 2002a), establish a stricter criteria for including ambiguous individuals in the ingroup (Castano et al., 2002b), and allocate more cognitive

resources to psychologically exclude undesirable members from the ingroup (Coull et al., 2001; Yzerbyt et al., 2000).

The present programme of research also has implications for our understanding of how people might react to threats to the ingroup identity. Most research in this domain has focused on threats from outside the group such as threats caused by outgroup discrimination (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999) or the perceived inferiority of the ingroup relative to an outgroup (e.g., Spears et al., 1997). The picture emerging from this line of research is quite clear. When the ingroup identity is threatened, high identifiers respond collectively by attempting to improve the image of the ingroup as a whole, whereas low identifiers responses' seem to be more individualistic and opportunistic (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Doosje & Ellemers, 1997; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The results of the present programme of research suggest that low identifiers may also adopt more individualistic strategies when the source of threat comes from within the group. Thus, whereas high identifiers appear to be motivated to differentiate the ingroup as a whole from a deviant and clearly negative individual within its ranks, it seems that low identifiers may be more motivated to differentiate themselves from the group. This was most evident in Study 8, where it was found that high identifiers maintained a consistently high level of ingroup identification and self-stereotyping across positive and negative target conditions, whereas low identifiers, in contrast, reduced the level of ingroup identification and self-stereotyping after reading about a clearly undesirable ingroup member.

## Limitations and Future Directions

Although the results of studies reported in the preceding chapters suggest that there may indeed be a link between the extreme rejection of a deviant ingroup

member and the maintenance of the image of the ingroup, there are some possible limitations that should be addressed in future research. Firstly, although there is converging evidence to support the idea that high identifiers may be motivated to exclude deviants from the ingroup, this evidence is nevertheless circumstantial, coming from inferences based on target evaluations and group perceptions. Thus, while the evidence clearly goes beyond the findings from previous research which have focused almost exclusively on target evaluations (e.g., Abrams et al., 2000; Branscombe et al., 1993; Marques et al., 1988; 2002; Marques & Paez, 1994), it would nevertheless be desirable to have more conclusive evidence that a psychological exclusion process has in fact occurred. To this end, future research should make use of the various techniques and measures that have been used in the domain of stereotype change research for evidence of subtyping. These include card sorting tasks (Hantzi, 1995; Hewstone et al., 1992; Johnston & Hewstone, 1992; Johnston et al., 1994; Weber & Crocker, 1983), free recall tasks (Hewstone et al., 1994; Johnston et al., 1994), typicality judgements (Hantzi, 1995; Hewstone et al., 1992; Johnston & Hewstone, 1992; Maurer et al., 1995), and (4) memory confusion tasks (Johnston et al., 1994; Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff, & Ruderman, 1978).

Research using these various techniques has shown that stereotype-disconfirming or deviant outgroup members are typically sorted or clustered together and separately from stereotype-confirmers, more memory confusions occur within stereotype-confirmers or disconfirmers than between stereotype-confirmers and disconfirmers, and stereotype-disconfirmers are perceived as less typical of the group than confirmers (for a review, see Richards & Hewstone, 2001). These techniques may be useful when it comes to finding evidence that high identifiers are more likely to psychologically exclude deviants from the ingroup than from the outgroup, and more likely to do so than low identifiers. Indeed, Castano et al. (2002a) adapted one

of these measures in a recent study in which participants who differed in their level of ingroup identification read about a deviant ingroup member before judging the target's typicality and then rating the ingroup on a series of stereotypic characteristics. Among other things, results indicated that, relative to low identifiers, high identifiers judged the deviant to be less typical of the ingroup. Moreover, the perceived typicality of the deviant ingroup member was found to mediate that members' impact on the image of the ingroup, with low identifiers changing their image of the group in the direction of the deviant to a greater extent than high identifiers. Moreover, Hutchsion (2000) found that an undesirable target was perceived as more typical of the outgroup than the ingroup, whereas the reverse was true when the target was desirable (see also Marques et al., 1998b). These recent findings are clearly consistent with the results of the studies reported in previous chapters and suggest that future research would benefit from a closer integration of research on stereotype change in response to disconfirmining information, which has traditionally focused on outgroups, and reactions to deviants, which has traditionally focused on ingroups (see also Yzerbyt et al., 2000).

Future research should also examine possible mediators of the observed effects. As mentioned in footnotes in the relevant empirical chapters, contrary to expectations, the target evaluations did not mediate the effect of ingroup identification on judgements of the group following the presentation of a deviant group member. In this respect, then, while the results reported in the preceding chapters indicate that various effects are likely to co-occur following an encounter with a deviant group member, future research testing alternative mediational routes is required before firm conclusions about causality can be drawn. One possible mediators of the observed effects is the amount of perceived threat participants perceive a negative ingroup member as presenting to the image of the group and

hence to social identity. It seems plausible to assume that high identifiers will perceive a negative ingroup member as more threatening than low identifiers, which should motivate the range of responses observed as occurring among high identifiers in the current research (see also Branscombe et al., 1999; Yzerbyt et al., 2000)

It is also important to note that the results from the studies investigating how the presentation of a negative ingroup or outgroup member might affect perceived group variability should be considered tentative at this stage. As discussed in the appropriate chapters, previous research in this domain has typically involved participants judging the ingroup and/or the outgroup on a series of stereotypic and counter-stereotypic characteristics. The more the stereotypic characteristics and the less the counter-stereotypic characteristics are ascribed to group members, the higher the perceived homogeneity of the group. Conversely, the more the counter-stereotypic characteristics and the less the stereotypic characteristics are ascribed to group members, the higher the perceived heterogeneity of the group (see Chapter 5; for reviews, see Park & Judd, 1990; Voci, 2000). In the current research, however, participants were required to judge the ingroup (Studies 5, 6 & 7) or the outgroup (Study 7) on a series of *positive* and *negative* characteristics which were pertinent to the target manipulation. As such, it may be more appropriate to interpret the results of these studies as reflecting a value judgement rather than a judgement about the composition of the ingroup and/ or the outgroup. This is particularly relevant to Study 6 in which a percentage estimate task was used. Consistent with the idea that the participants were making an evaluation judgement as opposed to a group variability judgment, identical results were obtained on this measure and the group stereotype measure. This interpretational ambiguity should be addressed in future research.

Future research might also consider the consequences of an encounter with a deviant but positive group member for the image of the group. As discussed in Chapter 1, Abrams et al. (2000) coined the term 'pro-norm' deviance to refer to behaviour that deviates from the group norm, but in a direction that is consistent with the prevailing ethos of the group. Research shows that pro-norm deviance is unlikely to invoke defensive strategies to the same extent as the negative or 'anti-norm' deviance examined in the current series of studies. Indeed, relative to anti-norm deviants, pro-norm deviants are likely to be tolerated and even admired by other ingroup members (Abrams et al., 2000, 2002; Hutchison, 2000). There is also evidence that group members perceive pro-norm deviants as more typical of the ingroup than anti-norm deviants, whereas anti-norm deviants as perceived as more typical of the outgroup than pro-norm deviants (Hutchison, 2000). It thus seems likely that a pro-norm ingroup deviant will have a different impact upon the image of the ingroup than an anti-norm ingroup deviant member. One possibility that merits further investigation is that the former will result in an assimilation effect and the latter, as observed in the current series of studies, a contrast effect. It is also reasonable to expect that the reverse pattern might occur for outgroup targets, with a deviant but positive outgroup member resulting in a contrast effect and a deviant and clearly negative outgroup member resulting in an assimilation effect. Future research should test these possibilities and further examine the potential moderating role of ingroup identification in the hypothesized processes. Evidence of this sort would reinforce the argument developed in the current thesis that reactions to deviance depend not simply on the extent or magnitude of deviance, but rather on the threat that the deviance presents to the value and integrity of the ingroup.

## Conclusions

Previous research suggests that the extreme derogation of deviant ingroup members might be functional in its protection of the image of the ingroup. Although there is considerable circumstantial support for this notion, prior to the initiation of the programme of research reported in this thesis, there was no direct empirical evidence of a link between deviant derogation and the maintenance of the image of the group. The thesis goes some way towards filling this gap by investigating the consequences of an encounter with a deviant and clearly negative group member for both the representation and composition of the group. Taken together, the results of the studies reported in the preceding chapters point to the greater self-conceptual importance of the ingroup for high identifiers relative to low identifiers, and hence the greater motivational demands on high identifiers to protect the ingroup from the negative implications of deviant and clearly negative individuals within its ranks.

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