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Weisman, Asha Marika Perman

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Group Identification and Ingroup Emotions

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts in Psychology

by

Asha Marika Perman Weisman

Committee in charge:

Professor Diane Mackie, Chair

Professor Kyle Ratner

Professor Shelly Gable

December 2015

The thesis of Asha Weisman is approved.

Kyle Ratner	
Shelly Gable	
Diane Mackie, Committee Chair	

December 2015

Group Identification and Ingroup Emotions

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by

Asha Marika Perman Weisman

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ABSTRACT

Group Identification and Ingroup Emotions

by

Asha Weisman

Behaviors enacted on behalf of an ingroup, from flying the American flag to donating money to one's alma mater, occur quite frequently. Group identification has typically been used to explain such behaviors. However we propose that emotions towards one's ingroup might be better predictors of such behaviors. As a first step in providing evidence for this idea, we asked participants to report emotions they felt as a group member, emotions they felt about belonging to the group, and emotions they felt toward other ingroup members, in reference to one ingroup (Democrats, Americans, or UCSB Students). Participants were also asked about their level of group identification toward the same group. Although group identification profiles were relatively similar across the three groups, the profiles of the different types of ingroup-directed emotions were much more differentiated across groups. These findings suggested that emotions felt towards and about one's ingroup were conceptually different from group identification, and thus might be a new and important tool for predicting ingroup-relevant behaviors.

Group Identification and Ingroup Emotions

It is not uncommon to see an American flag waving on the porch of a home or in front of a business. In fact, it is so common that a passerby might not even take notice of this expression of American belonging. Society is so inundated with expressions of group membership such as political bumper stickers, college sweatshirts, and "groups" on social media, that it can be easy to miss their significance. Other ingroup relevant behaviors, such as enlisting in the army to defend America during wartime, however, require much more effort and involve much more risk. How are we to explain these very different behaviors, big and small, routine and significant, inconsequential and life threatening, carried out by members of groups?

When trying to understand these types of behaviors, social psychologists typically refer to group identification. Group identification occurs when individuals categorize themselves as group members, leading to the formation of a social identity (Tajfel, 1982). A social identity can be thought of as the part of an individual's identity that comes from his or her knowledge of the group membership as well as the personal significance of that membership (Tajfel, 1981). Group identification is the process by which individuals come to experience themselves and others in terms of a group membership, leading to intragroup and intergroup processes such as outgroup derogation, group level social comparison, and notably, ingroup favoritism (Tajfel, 1982). These types of intergroup processes all tend to involve positive evaluations of the ingroup relative to the outgroup. In this sense, group identification can be thought of as a general positive evaluation of the ingroup and a general positive evaluation of the fact of membership in the group. Social identity theory argues that identification with an ingroup leads to beliefs about outgroups (stereotypes), evaluations of

outgroups (prejudice), and behaviors in accordance with these beliefs and evaluations (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In this sense, group identification can be considered a positive evaluation of one's ingroup that can be used to explain behaviors related to the ingroup and outgroups.

Group identification has frequently been used as a means to predict group-relevant behaviors. For example, in several studies on varied groups of citizens, those who were more strongly identified with their group were more likely to protest when their group was politically wronged (Klandermans, 2002). In another study aimed at understanding adolescents' delinquent behavior, group identification was found to moderate the influence of classroom peers on increased delinquency (Kiesner, Cadinu, Poulin, & Bucci, 2002). Group identification has also been used to predict and understand behaviors not relevant to one's group, but still influenced by ingroup norms. In two different studies of health behaviors, it was found that when presented with pro-health behavior group norms, individuals with high ingroup identification were more likely to enact those same behaviors (Terry & Hogg, 1996).

Although group identification has been shown to be predictive of behavior as a unidimensional construct, researchers have also explored group identification as a multidimensional construct. Roccas and colleagues (Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy, & Eidelson, 2008) conducted factor analyses based on a review of the group identification literature, and came to the conclusion that there are four important dimensions of group identification. These are the importance of a group to the self, commitment or willingness to contribute to the group, perceived superiority of the group, and deference toward group leaders. Importance of a group to an individual's identity and willingness to contribute to the group with the intention of helping it improve are two components of group identification that have been widely agreed upon. Treating group identification as a multidimensional

construct has proved helpful to other researchers in understanding group phenomena in a more nuanced manner. For example, in one study about college drinking norms, perceived norms had a strong influence over drinking behavior for those students who were more committed to their peer group. In contrast, norms had less of an influence on those students whose group identification was more strongly based in deference to leadership figures (Rinker & Neighbors, 2014). In studies like this, it is apparent that a multidimensional view of group identification leads to more specificity of prediction. If group identification had been treated as a single unified concept, the nuance of norms' influence on drinking would have been absent.

Although a multidimensional conceptualization of group identification has been shown in some studies to predict group-relevant behaviors, group identification does not appear to be a necessary or sufficient predicting factor. For example, although expected to serve as a moderator between descriptive norms about confrontation and intentions to enact confrontational behavior, group identification failed to explain variance in behavioral intentions for a number of sports focused studies (Norman, Clark, & Walker, 2005). In another more recent study, group identification was expected to predict intergroup forgiveness between religious groups, but failed to do so (Leonard, Yung, & Cairns, 2015). Thus social psychologists have also sought other predictors of intergroup behaviors.

Emotions experienced have also been used to successfully predict action tendencies and specific behavioral patterns. In their highly influential paper, Frijda, Kuipers, and ter Schure (1989) provided evidence that specific emotions are tied to different patterns of action readiness. Researchers asked participants to write about an instance in which they felt a specific emotion then asked participants to indicate the degree to which they felt ready for a

series of behaviors. To select two emotions as examples, anger created antagonistic and reactant behavioral tendencies and fear created avoidant and protective behavioral tendencies. Although anger and fear are both negatively valenced emotions and both are associated with a negative evaluation toward sources of the relevant emotions, differentiating between emotions allowed for better prediction of different action tendencies. People who felt angry wanted to move against the source of their anger, whereas people who felt fearful wanted to move away from the source of their fear. Another example of the differentiated predictive power allowed by specific emotions came from a comparison of happiness and pride. Happiness was associated with an approach orientation and the tendency to attend to stimuli, whereas pride was not associated with either of these. Pride was instead associated with hyper-activation in the form of exuberance. Someone feeling happy would likely be motivated to take action and attend to incoming stimuli, whereas someone feeling proud would just be full of energy. Here, happiness prompts a more focused and activated state than does pride. Both of these emotions can clearly be classified as positive evaluations, but they are likely to motivate different types of behaviors. As seen in these two examples of different action readiness states prompted by two different negative emotions, and two different positive emotions, differentiated emotions paint a more complex picture of intended behavior than do general evaluations.

The predictive superiority of emotions over general evaluative concepts, such as prejudice, in understanding behavior, has been a central claim of intergroup emotions theory (IET; Mackie & Smith, 2015). IET argues that emotions can be felt on a group level, and that these types of emotions are useful in predicting intergroup processes such as discrimination (Smith, 1993). Research in this area has shown that emotions felt on the group level can

predict specific outgroup directed behavioral intentions. Intergroup anger has frequently been shown to predict specific behavioral intentions including physical confrontation, verbal confrontation, and confrontational group action (Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel, 2007; Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000; Smith, Seger, & Mackie, 2007; Leonard, Moons, Mackie, & Smith, 2011). Other negative emotions such as fear and disgust have also been shown to compound the effects of anger, such that individuals who feel afraid or disgusted toward an outgroup in addition to angry are willing to endorse taking more extreme actions that those that just feel angry (Mackie & Smith, 2015). Thus specific emotions predict different types and magnitudes of intergroup behaviors. Simply using a negative evaluation of an outgroup, or even only looking at anger toward an outgroup, would not lead to such specificity and variation in behavioral predictions. Each emotion in isolation serves as a powerful predictor of behaviors directed at outgroup members.

The focus of IET has been primarily on emotions experienced toward outgroups as predictors of behavior toward those outgroups, and there is considerable evidence to suggest that intergroup emotions are good predictors of such behavior (see Mackie & Smith, 2015 for a review). However there is also evidence that emotions felt about ingroups can be important drivers of intergroup behavior (see Mackie & Smith, 2015 for a review). In a study of perceived institutional mistreatment of children, those who experienced ingroup guilt were more likely to support reparations including apology, acknowledgement of responsibility, and actually repairing damage than those who did not feel guilt as a group member (Berndsen & McGarthy, 2010). In contrast, ingroup pride has been associated with worse treatment of an outgroup. One study focused on outgroup helping found that the more ingroup pride participants displayed, the less willing they were to allot resources to the

outgroup or even allow the outgroup members to participate in shared activities with the ingroup (Harth, Kessler, & Leach, 2008). As seen in these two examples, depending on the emotions people felt toward their own group, outgroup directed behaviors manifested quite differently. Thus, there is evidence that emotions experienced toward an ingroup can be powerfully predictive of intergroup behaviors.

This idea is consistent with ethnocentrism arguments in social psychology which suggest that prejudice and discrimination are more about preference for the ingroup than dislike or derogation of the outgroup. In a now classic article, Marilynn Brewer (1999) sets up the argument that ingroup love can be a more powerful motivator for derogation than outgroup hatred. After reviewing much of the prominent social psychological studies about prejudice and discrimination conducted to that point, Brewer comes to the conclusion that there are many factors that motivate individuals to favor and protect their ingroup, and outgroup harm is often merely a consequence of this ingroup support.

A recent article by Greenwald and Pettigrew (2014) takes up this claim, arguing that modern discrimination is likely a result more of trying to help ingroup members than aiming to harm outgroup members. For example, the finding that white people are more likely to help a stranded driver of the same race than a stranded black driver has been reproduced multiple times across decades (Gaertner & Bickman, 1971; Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; Saucier, Miller, & Doucet, 2005). In such examples individuals help their own group and only inadvertently harm other groups by failing to provide them the same aid. Another poignant example is that of police pulling over individuals of differing ethnicities. While most people know that Hispanic and Black people are pulled over more than White people, it is of particular interest to note that of those individuals pulled over, White people are more

often found with drugs or weapons than their Hispanic and Black peers (The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, 2011). This of course indicates that minority individuals are being discriminated against, but it also shows that White people are being profiled with inappropriate positivity. The fact that white drivers are incorrectly viewed with a positive bias contributes to inequity in the percentage of Whites and minorities who are pulled over in traffic stops.

Thus, research is needed to further understand a) what emotions people feel about their ingroups, b) whether or not such emotions are good predictors of ingroup and outgroup directed behaviors, and c) whether ingroup directed emotions are better predictors of such behaviors than is identification.

As an initial step in exploring these questions, the research reported here focused on what emotions people feel toward their ingroups and how those emotions relate to identification. Our first consideration was the different ways people relate to an ingroup. According to Prentice, Miller, and Lightdale (1994), people may feel connected to a group itself, but they may also feel connected with members of this group. Such feelings of connection to the group or connections to members can differ in magnitude and co-occurrence across group and group types. Given this variation in the different types of connection to groups, we investigated what specific emotions people feel about belonging to their ingroup and what specific emotions people feel about other members of their ingroup. We compared the emotions elicited by such questions with emotions felt simply "as a group member." In this way, we were able to ascertain whether the emotions reported when people are asked what emotions they experience as a group member are those emotions they feel about belonging to the group, those emotions they feel about other group members, or

whether they are distinct from either of these. We predicted that the emotional profiles elicited by each of the three connection prompts would be distinct, because they are priming participants to think about different aspects of their group connection.

Second, this study also explored how ingroup emotions elicited by these various connection prompts relate to group identification, the typical measure used to explain ingroup-relevant behaviors. Because emotions are more differentiated than unidimensional evaluative concepts, we predicted that the emotional profiles elicited by these connection prompts will be much more differentiated across groups than the pattern of identification would be. In addition we predicted that profiles of emotion by connection prompt would be more differentiated across groups than profiles of multidimensional identification would be.

Method

Participants and Design

One hundred forty three undergraduate students were recruited from the Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences' human subjects pools at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Participation occurred in exchange for credit in one of the introductory major courses or for a cash payment of five dollars. Participants ranged in age from 17 to 60 (*M*=19.11, *SD*=3.63) and there were more female than male participants (98 females). They varied in race with 35.20% White, 25.40% Hispanic or Latino, 22.50% Asian American, 5.60% Black or African American, 5.60% other, 4.9% Multiracial, and 0.70% Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. Participants completed a prescreening measure and were only then invited to participate in the present study if they identified themselves as a Democrat, American citizen, and a UCSB student. Thus, all participants were Democrats, American citizens, and UCSB Students, as was required for the study design. Participants

were randomly assigned to the cells of a 3 (target group) x 3 (connection prompt) x 11 (emotion) mixed design, the last two factors being within subjects.

Procedure

Individual participants saw the instructions and materials presented through Qualtrics, on computer screens, within an on campus laboratory's private rooms.

Manipulation of ingroup target. After giving their consent to participate, participants' group identity was activated. They were simply asked, "Are you a Democrat/American/UCSB Student?" and answered yes or no. Signing up for the study was contingent on participants saying that they were members of all three relevant groups in the previously mentioned prescreening questionnaire, so participants always answered yes to this question. These three large social category groups (Lickel et al., 2000) were selected with the aim of generalizing findings across groups of similar type, and because the two types of measures used, group identification measures and intergroup emotions measures (Roccas et al., 2008; Smith, Seger & Mackie, 2007) were designed originally for and have been extensively and somewhat exclusively applied to large social groups

Measurement of identification. Next, participants answered two questionnaires about how strongly they were identified with the group they were assigned to think about. The first was a multi-component assessment of identification (Roccas et al., 2008). Participants were asked the degree to which they agreed with 16 statements on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). This scale is comprised of four subscales measuring importance of group to personal identity, commitment to the group, perceived superiority of the group, and deference to the group. Sample items from each subscale include "Belonging to this group is an important part of my identity" (importance),

"I feel strongly affiliated with this group" (commitment), "Other groups can learn a lot from us" (superiority), and "In times of trouble, the only way to know what to do is to rely on the group leaders" (deference). The scale was found to be highly reliable across all three conditions (Democrat $\alpha = 0.89$, American $\alpha = .94$, UCSB Student = .90).

In order to maintain continuity with previous research, participants also answered a brief single component 4-item questionnaire about group identification used by Smith, Seger, and Mackie (2007). The scale was also found to be highly reliable across all three conditions (Democrat $\alpha=0.88$, American $\alpha=.91$, UCSB Student = .91). Using the same 7-point Likert scale, participants were asked the degree to which they agreed with the following statements about their group: "I see myself as a Democrat/American/UCSB Student," "I am pleased to be a Democrat/American/UCSB Student," "I feel strong ties with Democrats/Americans/UCSB Students," and "I identify with other

Manipulation of connection prompts and assessment of ingroup emotion.

Participants then reported the emotions they felt toward the ingroup. They did so by responding to three different connection prompts. These three prompts were "As a Democrat/American/UCSB Student, to what extent do you feel the following emotions?", "As a Democrat/American/UCSB Student, to what extent do you feel the following emotions about being a Democrat/American/UCSB Student?", and "As a Democrat/American/UCSB Student, to what extent do you feel the following emotions toward other Democrats/Americans/UCSB Students?". These prompts were intended to tap into what emotions participants respectively felt when simply asked as an ingroup member, with the ability to think of their ingroup in whatever manner they did naturally; what emotions

participants felt when asked as an ingroup member about belonging to their ingroup; and finally what emotions participants felt when asked as an ingroup member about members of their group that they might connect with. The order of the three prompts was counter balanced.

Participants were asked to report, within subjects, the magnitude to which they felt 11 different emotions. All 11 emotions were assessed on 7-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much). Of the 11 emotions, there were five positive emotions (satisfied, proud, happy, grateful, and respectful) and six negative emotions (angry, afraid, disgusted, anxious, guilty, and irritated). These emotions were chosen as they have been linked to various behavioral tendencies in previous work on intergroup emotions (Smith, Seger, & Mackie, 2007).

Finally, participants answered some basic demographic questions, were debriefed, and were thanked for their participation.

Results

Group Identification

As mentioned previously, participants completed both the Roccas and the 4-item questionnaire measures of group identification. Although the two scales were significantly correlated with one another, r(141)=.78, p<.001, they were still treated as two separate measures of group identification for all analyses. In order to assess how both measures of group identification varied across the three target groups, we ran two two-way repeated measures ANOVAs. The first ANOVA compared the four different Roccas subscales to one another within each target group, and also compared each subscale across the three target groups (see Figure A1). The second ANOVA compared the four items of the 4-item

questionnaire to one another within each target group, and also compared each item across the three target groups (see Figure A2). For the Roccas measure of group identification there was a significant difference in overall level of group identification across the three target groups, F(2,136)=9.23, p<.001, and post hoc tests revealed that UCSB Students (M=5.03) had significantly higher levels of overall ingroup identification than Democrats (M=4.38, p=.002) and than Americans (M=4.30, p<.001). This pattern was also revealed in responses to the 4-item questionnaire, F(3,417)=45.93, p<.001, with UCSB Students (M=6.28) having significantly higher group identification than Democrats (M=5.37, p<.001) and than Americans (M=5.38, p<.001), according to post hoc tests (see Figure A2).

There were also significant differences among the identification subscales. The four Roccas subscales were significantly different from one another, F(3,408)=84.69, p<.001, with post hoc tests revealing that overall ratings were highest for commitment (M=5.16), then importance (M=4.70), superiority (M=4.46), and deference (M=3.95), all differences significant at the p<.01 level. The four items on the 4-item questionnaire also differed from one another, F(3,417)=45.93, p<.001, with post hos tests revealing that each of the four questions were significantly different from one another at the p<.01 level, with ratings highest for see myself as X (M=6.03), then pleased to be X (M=5.83), then identify with other X (M=5.58), and finally strong ties with X (M=5.25).

There were significant interactions between target group and type of identification for the Roccas measure of group identification (F(6,408)=5.42, p<.001). Scores on the commitment subscale were greatest for all three groups and scores on the deference scale were lowest for all three groups. However, for Democrats the superiority scale scores were greater than the importance scores, whereas for Americans and UCSB Students the opposite

was true (see Table B1 for all means and *p*-values).

There were significant interactions between target group and type of identification for the 4-item identification measure as well (F(6,417)=2.79, p=.01). For Democrats, scores for feeling strong ties with the group were significantly lower than scores for identifying with other group members. However this was not the case for Americans or UCSB Students. Seeing oneself as a group member scores were significantly higher than scores for being pleased with group membership for Americans, but not for Democrats or UCSB Students. Lastly, scores for being pleased with group membership were significantly greater than scores for identifying with other group members for Americans and UCSB Students, but not for Democrats (see Table B2 for all means and p-values).

Despite these differences, overall the profiles for identification look more similar than different across groups. As can be seen in Figure A1, despite small differences, the overall pattern for group identification across the four Roccas subscales takes a very similar shape for each of the three target groups. The same can be said for the pattern across the four items of the 4-item group identification questionnaire, as seen in Figure A2.

Emotions

Reported emotions were entered into a 3 (target group) x 3 (connection prompt) x11 (emotion) repeated measures ANOVA. There was a significant three-way interaction, F(40,2700)=2.98, p<.001, indicating that the strength of emotions felt differed depending on which target ingroup participants were assigned, which prompt they were responding to, and the emotion being assessed (see Appendix C for graphs of interaction). This interaction qualified three main effects for target group (F(1,135)=20.43, p<.001), connection prompt (F(2,2700)=23.56, p<.001), and emotion (F(10,2700)=307.35, p<.001). Post hoc tests

revealed that both Americans and UCSB Students had significantly stronger emotions than Democrats at the p<.001 level (Democrat M=3.00; American M=3.70; UCSB Student M=3.63). For connection prompt, post hoc tests revealed that emotions felt as a group member were stronger than emotions about being a group member or about other group members at the at the p<.001 level (as group member M=3.64; about being member M=3.37; about other members M=3.33). Differences among specific emotions will be described below.

The three-way interaction also qualified three significant two-way interactions (target group x connection prompt F(4,2700)=2.46, p<.05; connection prompt x emotion F(20,2700)=18.93, p<.001; target group x emotion F(20,2700)=12.07, p<.001). In order to better understand these effects, we ran two-way ANOVAs between target group and emotion within each of the connection prompts separately (see Appendix C for graphs; see Appendices F and G for two-way ANOVAs broken down by target group instead of by connection prompt). We also further broke down the analyses into the same two-way ANOVAs, but with only the five positive emotions and then only the six negative emotions.

Emotions by target group for each connection prompt. Starting with the three 3 (target group) x 11 (emotion) ANOVAs, there was again a main effect of emotion for each of the three connection prompts (as group member F(10,1380)=183.03, p<.001; about being member F(10,1380)=359.30, p<.001; about other members F(10,1380)=170.18, p<.001). This was to be expected as these analyses still included both positive and negative emotions. The main effect of target group was also maintained for each prompt (as group member F(2,138)=13.80, p<.001; about being member F(2,138)=16.70, p<.001; about other members F(2,138)=18.36, p<.001). Additionally, the interactions between connection prompt and

emotion were maintained for the three prompts (as group member F(20,1380)=6.29, p<.001; about being member F(20,1380)=10.70, p<.001; about other members F(20,1380)=11.79, p<.001).

In order to better understand the differences among the various emotions and how they interacted with the other independent variables, they were reanalyzed separately by valence.

Positive emotions by target group for each connection prompt. We ran a 5 positive emotion (satisfied, proud, happy, grateful, and respectful) x 3 target group (American, Democrats, UCSB student) ANOVA for each of the three connection prompts. There were main effects of emotion for the as a group member prompt, F(4,552)=14.91, p<.001, and for the about other members prompt (F(4,544)=11.26, p<.001). There were main effects of target group for all three connection prompts (as group member F(2,138)=8.30, p<.001; about being member F(2,138)=12.76, p<.001; about other members F(2,138)=6.80, p=.002). Interactions qualified these main effects.

First for the as a group member prompt, there was an interaction between emotions and target group (F(8,552)=2.81, p=.005). Post hoc tests revealed that feeling happy as a group member was significantly greater than feeling satisfied as a group member for all three target groups, but none of the other pairs of emotions were consistently significantly different across the three target groups (see Table D1 for all means and p-values). Interestingly, feeling happy as a group member was significantly different from feeling all other positive emotions for Americans, but was only significantly different from feeling satisfied as a group member for Democrats and UCSB Students. Overall, there were more differences among positive emotions felt as a group member for Americans than for the other two target groups.

For the being a group member prompt, there was also a significant interaction between emotions and target group (F(8,552)=7.87, p<.001, see Table D2). The three target groups had very different profiles from one another. Whereas feeling satisfied and feeling proud about being a group member were never significantly different from one another, none of the other comparisons between pairs of emotions were consistent for all three groups. Of note, feeling grateful was significantly different from all other positive emotions besides feeling respectful for both Democrats and Americans, but for UCSB Students feeling grateful was only significantly different from feeling respectful. Further, for UCSB Students feeling respectful was significantly less than all the other positive emotions, whereas for Democrats and Americans feeling respectful was either significantly greater than or no different from the other positive emotions.

For the about other group members prompt, there was another significant interaction with target group (F(8,544)=3.96, p<.001). For this connection prompt there were again no consistent differences between pairs of positive emotions besides feeling the same amount of satisfaction and pride (See Table D3). Some interesting differences between target groups include that Democrats felt significantly more respectful toward other group members than they felt any other positive emotions. In comparison, Americans only felt more respectful than they felt satisfied or proud, and UCSB Students were felt no more or less respectful than they felt any of the other positive emotions. In addition to feeling less satisfied and proud toward other group members than they felt respectful, Americans also felt less satisfied and proud than they felt happy or grateful.

Across all three prompts, there were more differences in the post hoc comparisons across target group than there were similarities, indicating that the three target groups elicited

very different positive emotional profiles.

Negative emotions by target group for each connection prompt. We ran a 6 negative emotion (angry, afraid, disgusted, anxious, guilty, irritated) x 3 target group (American, Democrats, UCSB student) ANOVA for each of the three connection prompts. There was a main effect of emotions for all three connection prompts (as group member F(5,690)=11.94, p<.001; about being member F(5,695)=7.54, p<.001; about other members F(5,690)=4.09, p=.001), as well as a main effect of target group (as group member F(2,138)=9.80, p<.001; about being member F(2,138)=16.48, p<.001; about other members F(2,138)=30.10, p<.001). Again, there were also significant interactions between emotion and target group to qualify these main effects (as group member F(8,552)=2.81, p=.005; about being member F(8,552)=7.87, p<.001; about other members F(8,544)=3.96, p<.001). There were no consistently significant differences between pairs of negative emotions across target group for any of the three connection prompts, indicating that the negative emotional profiles were also highly differentiated across target group (see Tables D4-6 for all means and p-values).

Looking at the comparisons between emotions within and across target group and connection prompt, it is clear that the different target ingroups and different connection prompts yielded very different profiles of negative emotions. Overall, the results of the ANOVAs for positive, negative, and combined emotions suggested that ingroup directed emotions have a more diverse profile across target groups and connection prompts than do the different components of group identification.

Group Identification and Emotions

To assess how closely ingroup emotions were related to ingroup identification, we ran

correlations between the various measures of group identification and the emotion measures, separately for connection prompt but collapsed across target group. The full correlation tables can be seen in Appendix E.

First, all of the positive emotions asked about across the three connection prompts were positively correlated with all components of both measures of group identification. When participants were more highly identified with their group, they felt multiple positive emotions as a group member, about being in the group, and about other group members.

In contrast, negative emotions were largely independent of identification. Anxiety was not significantly correlated with any of the Roccas subscales or any of the items on the 4-item questionnaire; it appears that anxiety is an emotion that is experienced independently from group identification. Nor was fear clearly related to group identification. Fear was significantly correlated with any measure of group identification only infrequently; it was never correlated with the Roccas importance or commitment subscales or any items from the 4-item questionnaire, for any of the three connection prompts. Although not as strongly as ingroup anxiety, ingroup fear also looks to be unrelated to group identification. This does not appear to be due to floor effects as the means for fear and anxiety were not consistently lower than the means for the other negative emotions (see pairwise comparisons in Appendices D and G).

Looking at the measures of group identification, the importance subscale operated largely independently from the negative emotions asked about. In addition to being unrelated to anxiety and fear for both connection prompts, the importance subscale was not significantly correlated with guilt as a group member, anger or guilt about being a group member, or any emotions about other group members. While negative correlations with the

negative emotions might be expected, these results indicate that the importance of group membership to an individual's identity was largely unrelated to feeling negative emotions about belonging to the relevant group.

These less consistent patterns when examining the negative emotions lend credence to the idea that emotions operate differently from group identification, and therefore may predict ingroup behaviors differently. However it is also possible that there is something odd about the actual emotions being asked about. In order to investigate this possibility, we also looked to see how the various emotions related to one another, collapsed across target group but within connection prompt. Of particular interest were anxiety and fear, as emphasized previously. In fact, anxiety was not correlated significantly with any of the positive emotions felt as a group member, about being a group member, or about other group members. Similarly, fear about being a group member was correlated (negatively) only with respect and was not correlated significantly with any positive emotions about other group members. However, as a group member fear was significantly negatively correlated with satisfaction, happiness, and respect. Although these correlations are not conclusive, they do suggest that perhaps anxiety and fear function differently than do other emotions.

In summary, the various measures of group emotions and group identification are not consistently correlated, and when they are, the correlations range in magnitude. Especially when considering the many non-significant and low magnitude correlations, even when a single emotion prompt and the group identification measures are compared, it appears that emotions and group identification are distinct constructs.

Discussion

The present study investigated whether different emotions are experienced when

people think as an ingroup member, about being an ingroup member, or about other members of the ingroup. A second goal was to see if ingroup emotions of different types are more complex and differentiated than are different components of group identification. We investigated both of these questions across three different social category ingroups:

Democrats, Americans, and UCSB Students. The results reviewed above allow for a number of conclusions to be drawn.

First, the profiles of both measures of group identification across the three target groups looked fairly similar. There were differences among the four Roccas subscales, but this is not necessarily surprising. In their original paper, Roccas and colleagues explained that the subscales should be related yet distinct (Roccas et al., 2008). Overall, participants asked about their UCSB student ingroup consistently showed greater identification than those asked about their American or Democratic ingroups. This will be discussed further below. However, magnitude of identification is not as important as relative strength of the different types of identification, which were almost entirely consistent.

Second, in comparison, the profiles for emotions showed much greater differentiation across target ingroups and connection prompts. This degree of differentiation was examined by comparing means for each target group and connection prompt and comparing how many emotions within the cell were different from one another versus the same. The degree to which positive and negative emotions were experienced was different across the board, as was to be expected, but there were also many differences among specific positive and specific negative emotions. The three-way interaction between target group, connection prompt, and emotion could be broken down into three two-way interactions for positive emotions and three two-way interactions for negative emotions. These interactions were

produced because emotions were felt quite differently across differing groups and prompts.

To see how these differentiated emotional profiles compared to the relatively stable group identification patterns, correlations were examined. These correlations revealed that some emotions, namely anxiety and fear, behaved especially uniquely. These emotions merit further examination to understand why they tended to operate distinctly from group identification. In terms of the other emotions, whereas positive emotions tended to be more highly positively correlated with group identification, negative emotions were not consistently highly negatively correlated with identification. This indicates that whereas people who feel positively in relation to their ingroup tend to also be more highly identified, feeling negatively in relation to an ingroup does not necessarily indicate a low degree of identification. Findings such as this show that emotions do in fact operate differently from group identification, and thus are important to explore when taking further steps to understand ingroup-relevant behaviors.

Additionally, this study explored whether asking about group emotions differently would yield different profiles of intergroup emotions, and in fact they did. It was found that overall participants displayed a greater intensity of emotions when prompted as a group member as opposed to when asked about emotions about being a group member or emotions about other group members. While the more in depth follow-up comparisons between the three connection prompts were not explored in the body of this paper, written-up analyses and figures are included in Appendices F and G. These differences in emotional profiles depending on how participants were questioned indicates that researchers exploring group emotions need to be careful in how they ask about group level emotions. While asking about emotions about being a group member or about other group members are important and

interesting questions, if trying to study group level emotions in the purest sense it seems researchers should simply prompt participants to think about their emotions "as a group member"

Although this study yielded many interesting results, it is not without its limitations. One possible issue is that Democrats are a subgroup of Americans. Due to this fact, it is unclear whether or not emotions felt as a Democrat could be driving emotions felt as an American. Perhaps when Democrats' American identity is activated, they are thinking of themselves at least partially as a Democrat. We do not suspect this is a great issue as the profiles for group identification and emotions varied a great deal between Democrats and Americans, but it is still something to consider for future studies. It might be better to avoid overlap in the groups examined. Another possible limitation of the present research was that the participants were above average in their degree of group identification. This was especially the case for UCSB Students. Perhaps if there were more participants with low group identification, there would not be as great a difference between positive and negative emotions reported. This might also lead to different relationships between the various emotions and group identification. Another possible concern was another way that the UCSB Students group differed from the other two social categories. UCSB Students had to earn their membership in their group, so they might simply feel differently about their group than do Democrats and Americans, and this might explain their higher identification scores. They might yield different results due to the fact that they are an importantly different type of group.

Nevertheless, although we intended to be able to generalize across groups, the central focus of the research was whether the same pattern of identification and emotions was

present across groups. Thus it is revealing that profiles of identification were similar across groups, despite other differences among the groups. Emotions were much more differentiated by target groups, suggesting that they are in fact more sensitive to multiple ways in which ingroups are different from one another.

Although there are some shortcomings of this research, as a whole it is promising in suggesting that emotions will serve as an interesting predictor of ingroup-relevant behaviors. In further studies, we hope to examine actual behaviors and behavioral intentions to see if emotions do in fact predict behaviors in a better or more nuanced manner than does group identification. If this is indeed the case, that emotions serve as good predictors of ingrouprelevant behaviors, the line of research could be furthered by parsing out which emotions predict behaviors that favor the ingroup versus which emotions predict behaviors beneficial to the ingroup but detrimental to the outgroup. Perhaps there is a profile of in- and intergroup emotions that predicts derogatory outgroup behaviors especially well. Another possible extension of this research is to look at target groups that are more diverse in their group type. We know that groups vary on their degree of entitativity, with ingroups typically perceived as more entitative than outgroups (Crump et al., 2010), so it would be interesting to see if groups that are seen by members as more entitative experience different emotions related to the ingroup than those who think of their group as relatively low in entitativity. One way to explore this question is to sample from and ask about groups that are objectively higher or lower in entitativity.

This study is just the first step in a research program aimed at better understanding ingroup-relevant behaviors. Since so much of human life is spent interacting with members of one's own group, there is great benefit to be derived from exploring how emotions

contribute to these experiences. In better understanding emotions felt toward an ingroup, a base can be built to explore and predict behaviors aimed at an ingroup or an outgroup, and either beneficial or harmful. Emotions provide a promising new avenue for delving into ingroup driven actions.

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Figure A1

ANOVA between target groups and Roccas subscales on strength of group identification

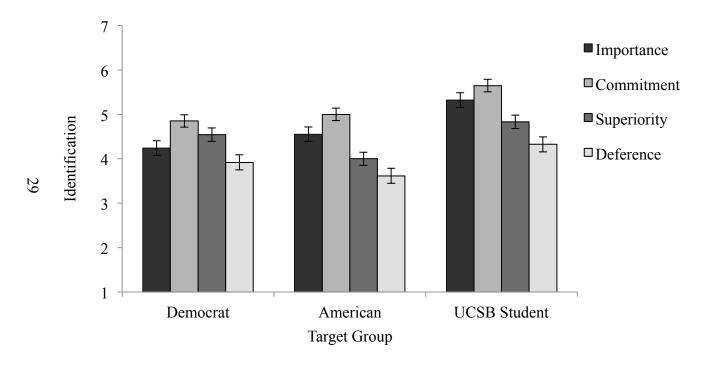


Figure A2

ANOVA between target groups and items of 4-item questionnaire on group identification

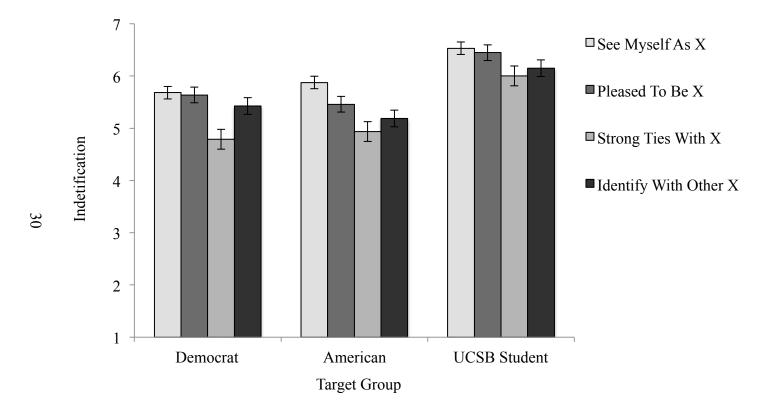


Table B1 Pairwise Comparisons for Roccas Subscales within Target Group (adjusted for multiple comparisons)

	Importance (M)	Commitment (M)	Superiority (M)	Deference (M)	Imp vs. Com (p)	Sup vs. Com (p)	Def vs. Com (p)	Imp vs. Def (p)	Sup vs. Def (p)	Sup vs. Imp (p)
Democrat	4.24	4.85	4.54	3.92	< 0.001	< 0.05	< 0.001	<.05	< 0.001	<.05
American	4.55	5.00	4.00	3.62	< 0.001	< 0.001	< 0.001	< 0.001	<.01	< 0.001
UCSB Student	5.32	5.65	4.83	4.33	< 0.01	< 0.001	< 0.001	< 0.01	< 0.01	< 0.001

Appendix B

Table B2

Pairwise Comparisons for Four Group Identification Questions within Target Group (adjusted for multiple comparisons)

	See myself as (M)	Pleased to be(M)	Strong ties with (<i>M</i>)	Identify with other(M)	Strong vs. Identify (<i>p</i>)	See vs. Pleased (p)	Pleased vs. Identify (<i>p</i>)
Democrat	5.68	5.64	4.79	5.43	<.001	NS	NS
American	5.88	5.46	4.94	5.19	NS	<.001	<.05
UCSB Student	6.53	6.45	6.00	6.15	NS	NS	<.05

Figure C1
Strength of Emotions as a Group Member by Target Group and Emotions

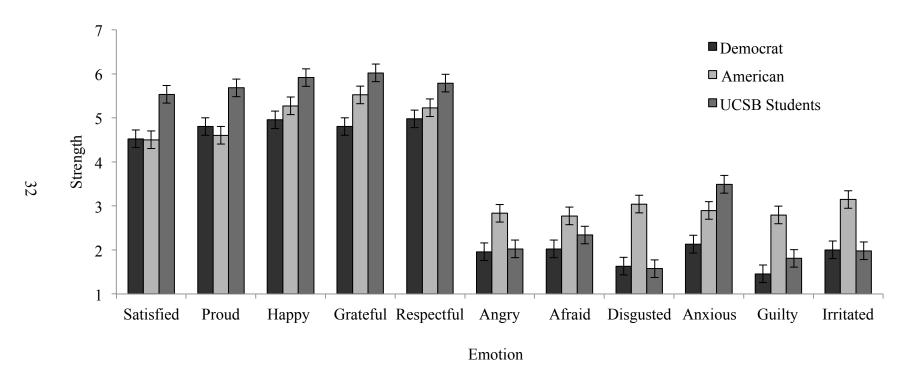


Figure C2

Strength of Emotions About Being a Group Member by Target Group and Emotions

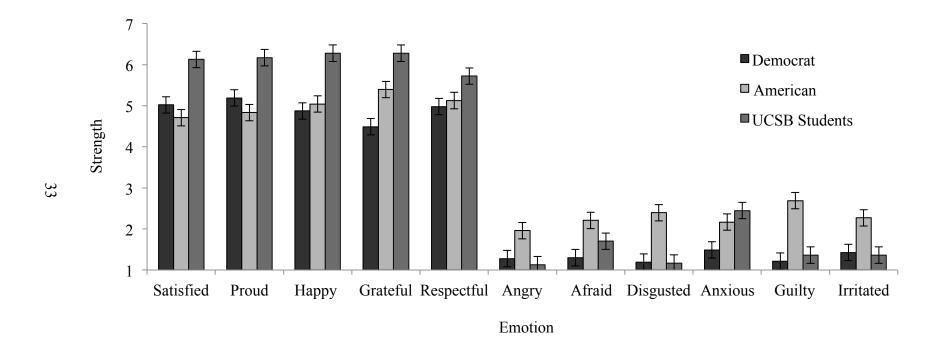


Figure C3

Strength of Emotions About Other Group Members by Target Group and Emotions

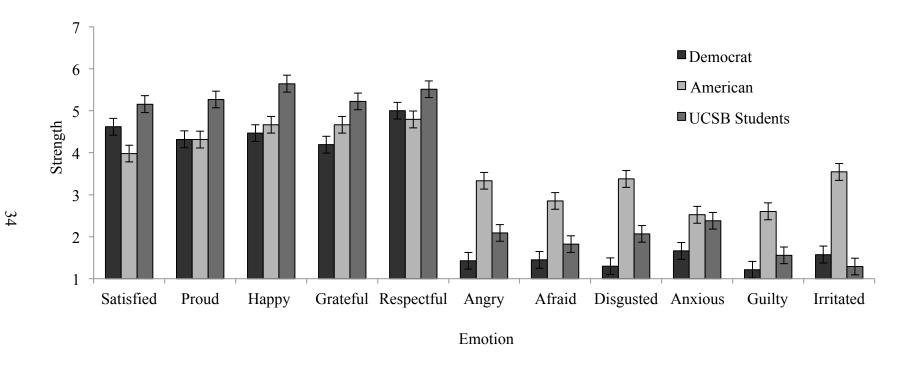


Table D1

Means and pairwise comparisons for positive emotions as a group member

		Mean	Satisfied (<i>p</i>)	Proud (p)	Happy (p)	Grateful (p)
Democrat	Satisfied	4.52	-			
	Proud	4.80	NS	-		
	Нарру	4.96	<.01	NS	-	
	Grateful	4.80	NS	NS	NS	-
	Respectful	4.98	<.01	NS	NS	NS
American	Satisfied	4.50	-			
	Proud	4.60	NS	-		
	Нарру	5.27	<.001	<.001	-	
	Grateful	5.52	<.001	<.001	NS	-
	Respectful	5.23	<.001	<.001	NS	NS
UCSB Student	Satisfied	5.53	-			
	Proud	5.68	NS	-		
	Нарру	5.92	<.05	NS	-	
	Grateful	6.02	<.01	NS	NS	-
	Respectful	5.79	NS	NS	NS	NS

Table D2

Means and pairwise comparisons for positive emotions about being a group member

		Mean	Satisfied (p)	Proud (p)	Happy (p)	Grateful (p)
Democrat	Satisfied	5.04	-			
	Proud	5.22	NS	-		
	Нарру	4.89	NS	<.05	-	
	Grateful	4.50	<.001	<.001	<.01	-
	Respectful	5.00	NS	NS	NS	<.01
American	Satisfied	4.71	-			
	Proud	4.83	NS	-		
	Нарру	5.04	<.05	NS	-	
	Grateful	5.40	<.001	<.001	<.05	-
	Respectful	5.13	<.05	NS	NS	NS
UCSB Student	Satisfied	6.13	-			
	Proud	6.17	NS	-		
	Нарру	6.28	NS	NS	-	
	Grateful	6.28	NS	NS	NS	-
	Respectful	5.72	<.05	<.05	<.01	<.001

Table D3

Means and pairwise comparisons for positive emotions about other group members

		Mean	Satisfied (<i>p</i>)	Proud (p)	Happy (p)	Grateful (p)
Democrat	Satisfied	4.63	-			
	Proud	4.33	NS	-		
	Нарру	4.48	NS	NS	-	
	Grateful	4.22	<.05	NS	NS	-
	Respectful	5.02	<.05	<.001	<.01	<.001
American	Satisfied	3.98	-			
	Proud	4.30	NS	-		
	Нарру	4.68	<.001	<.05	-	
	Grateful	4.66	<.001	<.05	NS	-
	Respectful	4.81	<.001	<.01	NS	NS
UCSB Student	Satisfied	5.15	-			
	Proud	5.26	NS	-		
	Нарру	5.65	<.01	<.05	-	
	Grateful	5.24	NS	NS	<.01	-
	Respectful	5.52	NS	NS	NS	NS

Table D4

Means and pairwise comparisons for negative emotions as a group member

		Mean	Angry (p)	Afraid (p)	Disgusted (p)	Anxious (p)	Guilty (p)
Democrat	Angry	1.96	-				
	Afraid	2.02	NS	-			
	Disgusted	1.63	NS	NS	-		
	Anxious	2.13	NS	NS	NS	-	
	Guilty	1.46	<.05	<.01	NS	<.01	-
	Irritated	2.00	NS	NS	<.05	NS	<.05
American	Angry	2.83	-				
	Afraid	2.77	NS	-			
	Disgusted	3.04	NS	NS	-		
	Anxious	2.90	NS	NS	NS	-	
	Guilty	2.79	NS	NS	NS	NS	-
	Irritated	3.15	<.05	NS	NS	NS	NS
UCSB Student	Angry	2.02	-				
	Afraid	2.34	NS	-			
	Disgusted	1.57	<.01	<.001	-		
	Anxious	3.49	<.001	<.001	<.001	-	
	Guilty	1.81	NS	<.01	NS	<.001	-
	Irritated	1.98	NS	NS	<.05	<.001	NS

Table D5

Means and pairwise comparisons for negative emotions about being a group member

		Mean	Angry (p)	Afraid (p)	Disgusted (p)	Anxious (p)	Guilty (p)
Democrat	Angry	1.28	-				
	Afraid	1.30	NS	-			
	Disgusted	1.19	NS	NS	-		
	Anxious	1.49	NS	NS	NS	-	
	Guilty	1.32	NS	NS	NS	NS	-
	Irritated	1.43	NS	NS	<.05	NS	NS
American	Angry	1.96	-				
	Afraid	2.21	NS	-			
	Disgusted	2.40	<.01	NS	-		
	Anxious	2.17	NS	NS	NS	-	
	Guilty	2.69	<.001	<.01	<.05	<.05	-
	Irritated	2.27	<.05	NS	NS	NS	<.05
UCSB Student	Angry	1.13	-				
	Afraid	1.70	<.01	-			
	Disgusted	1.17	NS	<.01	-		
	Anxious	2.45	<.001	<.001	<.001	-	
	Guilty	1.36	NS	NS	NS	<.001	-
	Irritated	1.32	NS	NS	NS	<.001	NS

Table D6

Means and pairwise comparisons for negative emotions about other group members

		Mean	Angry (p)	Afraid (p)	Disgusted (p)	Anxious (p)	Guilty (p)
Democrat	Angry	1.40	-				
	Afraid	1.40	NS	-			
	Disgusted	1.28	NS	NS	-		
	Anxious	1.64	NS	NS	NS	-	
	Guilty	1.32	NS	NS	NS	NS	-
	Irritated	1.51	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
American	Angry	3.29	-				
	Afraid	2.94	NS	-			
	Disgusted	3.35	NS	<.05	-		
	Anxious	2.60	<.01	NS	<.001	-	
	Guilty	2.60	<.001	NS	<.001	NS	-
	Irritated	3.56	NS	<.01	NS	<.001	<.001
UCSB Student	Angry	2.09	-				
	Afraid	1.89	NS	-			
	Disgusted	2.04	NS	NS	-		
	Anxious	2.37	NS	<.01	NS	-	
	Guilty	1.57	<.01	NS	<.01	<.001	-
	Irritated	1.30	<.001	<.01	<.001	<.001	NS

Figure E1

Correlations between Roccas subscales and emotions as a group member

	Roccas	Roccas	Roccas	Roccas	As Group	As Group	As Group
	Importance	Commitment	Superiority	Deference	Satisfied	Proud	Нарру
Roccas Importance	-						
Roccas Commitment	0.837**	-					
Roccas Superiority	0.642**	0.612**	-				
Roccas Deference	0.600**	0.538**	0.596**	-			
As Group Satisfied	0.527**	0.567**	0.409**	0.282*	-		
As Group Proud	0.584**	0.622**	0.511**	0.371**	0.798**	-	
As Group Happy	0.500**	0.523**	0.345**	0.264*	0.745**	0.702**	-
As Group Grateful	0.461**	0.496**	0.329**	0.320**	0.641**	0.626**	0.741**
As Group Respectful	0.461**	0.545**	0.380**	0.291**	0.708**	0.706**	0.716**
As Group Angry	-0.227*	-0.283*	-0.350**	-0.258*	-0.311**	-0.31**	-0.249*
As Group Afraid	-0.086	-0.184	-0.244*	-0.202	-0.219*	-0.193	-0.217*
As Group Disgusted	-0.342**	-0.387**	-0.491**	-0.388**	-0.336**	-0.399**	-0.244*
As Group Anxious	-0.032	-0.059	-0.187	-0.156	-0.095	-0.130	-0.085
As Group Guilty	-0.200	-0.348**	-0.432**	-0.273*	-0.311**	-0.332**	-0.181
As Group Irritated	-0.251*	-0.266*	-0.337**	-0.268*	-0.377**	-0.377**	-0.276*

- 1		
-	1	•

As Group Proud As Group Happy As Group Grateful As Group Respectful As Group Angry As Group Angry As Group Angry As Group Disgusted -0.085 -0.321** -0.069 -0.221* -0.060* -0.221* -0.060* -0.21* -0.060* -0.21* -0.060* -0.21* -0.060* -0.21* -0.060* -0.221* -0.060* -0.	Roccas Deference							
As Group Happy As Group Grateful - As Group Respectful 0.717** - As Group Angry -0.085 -0.321** - As Group Afraid -0.069 -0.221* 0.610** - As Group Disgusted -0.182 -0.281* 0.711** 0.551** -	As Group Satisfied							
As Group Grateful -	As Group Proud							
As Group Respectful 0.717** -	As Group Happy							
As Group Angry -0.085 -0.321** - As Group Afraid -0.069 -0.221* 0.610** - As Group Disgusted -0.182 -0.281* 0.711** 0.551** -	As Group Grateful	-						
As Group Afraid -0.069 -0.221* 0.610** - As Group Disgusted -0.182 -0.281* 0.711** 0.551** -	As Group Respectful	0.717**	-					
As Group Disgusted -0.182 -0.281* 0.711** 0.551** -	As Group Angry	-0.085	-0.321**	-				
110 010 110 110 110 110 110 110 110 110	As Group Afraid	-0.069	-0.221*	0.610**	-			
As Group Anxious 0.084 -0.018 0.456** 0.573** 0.346** -	As Group Disgusted	-0.182	-0.281*	0.711**	0.551**	-		
710 Group Timilous 0.001 0.010 0.010 0.010	As Group Anxious	0.084	-0.018	0.456**	0.573**	0.346**	-	
As Group Guilty -0.085 -0.299** 0.520** 0.551** 0.573** 0.446**	As Group Guilty	-0.085	-0.299**	0.520**	0.551**	0.573**	0.446**	-
As Group Irritated -0.196 -0.335** 0.826** 0.515** 0.761** 0.456** 0.57	As Group Irritated	-0.196	-0.335**	0.826**	0.515**	0.761**	0.456**	0.574**
				_		_		_

As Group

Angry

As Group Afraid

As Group

Disgusted

As Group

Anxious

As Group

Guilty

Note. Table was broken into two halves to fit the page.

As Group

Grateful

As Group

Respectful

Roccas Importance
Roccas Commitment
Roccas Superiority

^{*} *p*<.01, ***p*<.001

Figure E2

Correlations between Roccas subscales and emotions about being a group member

	Roccas	Roccas	Roccas	Roccas Deference	Being Group Satisfied	Being Group Proud	Being Group
Roccas Importance	Importance	Commitment	Superiority	Deference	Satisfied	Floud	Нарру
Roccas Commitment	0.837**	_					
Roccas Superiority	0.642**	0.612**	_				
Roccas Deference	0.600**	0.538**	0.596**	_			
Being Group Satisfied	0.590**	0.627**	0.573**	0.396**	_		
Being Group Proud	0.620**	0.613**	0.535**	0.430**	0.801**	-	
Being Group Happy	0.606**	0.608**	0.494**	0.348**	0.773**	0.812**	-
Being Group Grateful	0.580**	0.617**	0.366**	0.359**	0.742**	0.731**	0.781**
Being Group Respectful	0.548**	0.574**	0.478**	0.459**	0.699**	0.681**	0.693**
Being Group Angry	-0.135	-0.202	-0.250*	-0.116	-0.320**	-0.225*	-0.305**
Being Group Afraid	-0.138	-0.222*	-0.232*	-0.193	-0.282*	-0.111	-0.147
Being Group Disgusted	-0.260*	-0.333**	-0.419**	-0.338**	-0.503**	-0.393**	-0.359**
Being Group Anxious	-0.021	-0.092	-0.153	-0.142	-0.210	-0.105	-0.147
Being Group Guilty	-0.124	-0.217*	-0.332**	-0.237*	-0.327**	-0.305**	-0.298**
Being Group Irritated	-0.320**	-0.359**	-0.409**	-0.424**	-0.524**	-0.389**	-0.372**

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Note Table was broken into two	halves to fit the page

Being Group

Grateful

0.748**

-0.168

-0.010

-0.230*

0.037

-0.080

-0.304**

Being Group

Respectful

-0.160

-0.142

-0.289**

-0.176

-0.191

-0.361**

Being Group

Angry

0.455**

0.577**

0.215

0.520**

0.553**

Being Group

Afraid

0.558**

0.518**

0.526**

0.596**

Being Group

Disgusted

0.305**

0.715**

0.798**

Being Group

Anxious

0.314**

0.392**

Being Group

Guilty

0.592**

* *p*<.01, ***p*<.001

Roccas Importance
Roccas Commitment
Roccas Superiority
Roccas Deference
Being Group Satisfied
Being Group Proud
Being Group Happy
Being Group Grateful
Being Group Respectful

Being Group Angry

Being Group Afraid

Being Group Disgusted

Being Group Anxious

Being Group Guilty

Being Group Irritated

Figure E3

Correlations between Roccas subscales and emotions about other group members

	Roccas Importance	Roccas Commitment	Roccas Superiority	Roccas Deference	About Group Satisfied	About Group Proud	About Group Happy
Roccas Importance	-		,				112
Roccas Commitment	0.837**	-					
Roccas Superiority	0.642**	0.612**	-				
Roccas Deference	0.699**	0.538**	0.596**	-			
About Group Satisfied	0.541**	0.534**	0.540**	0.370**	-		
About Group Proud	0.576**	0.588**	0.527**	0.410**	0.714**	-	
About Group Happy	0.575**	0.507**	0.475**	0.282*	0.750**	0.722**	-
About Group Grateful	0.549**	0.496**	0.444**	0.371**	0.686**	0.739**	0.803**
About Group Respectful	0.526**	0.526**	0.454**	0.349**	0.609**	0.756**	0.713**
About Group Angry	-0.107	-0.177	-0.375**	-0.230*	-0.289**	-0.203	-0.138
About Group Afraid	0.028	-0.078	-0.228*	-0.113	-0.164	-0.068	0.036
About Group Disgusted	-0.171	-0.230*	-0.425**	-0.303**	-0.343**	-0.259*	-0.208
About Group Anxious	0.053	-0.035	-0.152	-0.106	-0.055	-0.112	0.036
About Group Guilty	-0.212	-0.306**	-0.432**	-0.200	-0.261*	-0.281	-0.185
About Group Irritated	-0.180	-0.241*	-0.325**	-0.237*	-0.377**	-0.303**	-0.208

	About Group Grateful	About Group	About Group	About Group Afraid	About Group	About Group	About Group
	Graterur	Respectful	Angry	Allaid	Disgusted	Anxious	Guilty
Roccas Importance							
Roccas Commitment							
Roccas Superiority							
Roccas Deference							
About Group Satisfied							
About Group Proud							
About Group Happy							
About Group Grateful	-						
About Group Respectful	0.716	-					
About Group Angry	-0.155	-0.270*	-				
About Group Afraid	-0.010	-0.107	0.572**	-			
About Group Disgusted	-0.189	-0.311**	0.852**	0.583**	-		
About Group Anxious	0.009	-0.084	0.457**	0.613**	0.494**	-	
About Group Guilty	-0.172	-0.362**	0.659**	0.578**	0.682**	0.507**	-
About Group Irritated	-0.172	-0.287*	0.670**	0.573**	0.752**	0.359**	0.594**

^{*} *p*<.01, ***p*<.001

Figure E4

Correlations between items of 4-items questionnaire and emotions as a group member

	See Myself As X	Pleased To Be X	Strong Ties With X	Identify With Other X	As Group Satisfied	As Group Proud	As Group Happy
See Myself As X	-						
Pleased To Be X	0.777**	-					
Strong Ties With X	0.708**	0.760**	-				
Identify With Other X	0.746**	0.731**	0.776**	-			
As Group Satisfied	0.561**	0.567**	0.608**	0.520**	-		
As Group Proud	0.554**	0.639**	0.643**	0.582**	0.798**	-	
As Group Happy	0.494**	0.509**	0.546**	0.437**	0.745**	0.702**	-
As Group Grateful	0.416**	0.455**	0.512**	0.379**	0.641**	0.626**	0.741**
As Group Respectful	0.493**	0.513**	0.565**	0.415**	0.708**	0.706**	0.716**
As Group Angry	-0.208	-0.378**	-0.202	-0.224*	-0.311**	-0.310**	-0.249*
As Group Afraid	-0.082	-0.209	-0.159	-0.080	-0.219*	-0.193	-0.217*
As Group Disgusted	-0.296**	-0.444**	-0.323**	-0.336**	-0.336**	-0.399**	-0.244*
As Group Anxious	0.080	-0.079	-0.017	0.035	-0.095	-0.130	-0.085
As Group Guilty	-0.243*	-0.368**	-0.216*	-0.271*	-0.311**	-0.332**	-0.181
As Group Irritated	-0.219*	-0.399**	-0.252*	-0.212	-0.377**	-0.377**	-0.276*

	As Group Grateful	As Group Respectful	As Group Angry	As Group Afraid	As Group Disgusted	As Group Anxious	As Group Guilty
See Myself As X		1	<u> </u>				, ,
Pleased To Be X							
Strong Ties With X							
Identify With Other X							
As Group Satisfied							
As Group Proud							
As Group Happy							
As Group Grateful	-						
As Group Respectful	0.717**	-					
As Group Angry	-0.085	-0.321	-				
As Group Afraid	-0.069	-0.221*	0.610**	-			
As Group Disgusted	-0.182	-0.281*	0.711**	0.551**	-		
As Group Anxious	0.084	-0.018	0.456**	0.573**	0.346**	-	
As Group Guilty	-0.085	-0.299**	0.520**	0.551**	0.573**	0.446**	-
As Group Irritated	-0.196	-0.335**	0.826**	0.515**	0.761**	0.456**	0.574**

^{*} *p*<.01, ***p*<.001

Figure E5

Correlations between items of 4-item questionnaire and emotions about being a group member

	See Myself As X	Pleased To Be X	Strong Ties With X	Identify With Other X	Being Group Satisfied	Being Group Proud	Being Group Happy
See Myself As X	-						
Pleased To Be X	0.777**	-					
Strong Ties With X	0.708**	0.760**	-				
Identify With Other X	0.746**	0.731**	0.776**	-			
Being Group Satisfied	0.580**	0.749**	0.695**	0.633**	-		
Being Group Proud	0.612**	0.764**	0.743**	0.653**	0.801**	-	
Being Group Happy	0.553**	0.674**	0.702**	0.593**	0.773**	0.812**	-
Being Group Grateful	0.593**	0.659**	0.705**	0.533**	0.742**	0.731**	0.781**
Being Group Respectful	0.496**	0.600**	0.623**	0.503**	0.699**	0.681**	0.693**
Being Group Angry	-0.161	-0.340**	-0.173	-0.189	-0.320**	-0.225*	-0.305**
Being Group Afraid	-0.088	-0.200	-0.126	-0.129	-0.282*	-0.111	-0.147
Being Group Disgusted	-0.291**	-0.474**	-0.340	-0.342**	-0.503**	-0.393**	-0.359**
Being Group Anxious	0.010	-0.149	-0.138	-0.095	-0.210	-0.105	-0.147
Being Group Guilty	-0.141	-0.337**	-0.201	-0.239*	-0.327**	-0.305**	-0.298**
Being Group Irritated	-0.270*	-0.446**	-0.380**	-0.334**	-0.524**	-0.389**	-0.372**

	Being Group Grateful	Being Group Respectful	Being Group Angry	Being Group Afraid	Being Group Disgusted	Being Group Anxious	Being Group Guilty
See Myself As X							
Pleased To Be X							
Strong Ties With X							
Identify With Other X							
Being Group Satisfied							
Being Group Proud							
Being Group Happy							
Being Group Grateful	-						
Being Group Respectful	0.748**	-					
Being Group Angry	-0.168	-0.160	-				
Being Group Afraid	-0.01	-0.142	0.455**	-			
Being Group Disgusted	-0.230*	-0.289**	0.577**	0.558**	-		
Being Group Anxious	0.037	-0.176	0.215	0.518**	0.305**	-	
Being Group Guilty	-0.080	-0.191	0.520**	0.526**	0.715**	0.314**	-
Being Group Irritated	-0.304**	-0.361**	0.553**	0.596**	0.798**	0.392**	0.592**

^{*} *p*<.01, ***p*<.001

Figure E6

Correlations between items of 4-item questionnaire and emotions about other group members

	See Myself As X	Pleased To Be X	Strong Ties With X	Identify With Other X	About Group Satisfied	About Group Proud	About Group Happy
See Myself As X	-						
Pleased To Be X	0.777**	-					
Strong Ties With X	0.708**	0.760**	-				
Identify With Other X	0.746**	0.731**	0.776**	-			
About Group Satisfied	0.552**	0.615**	0.549**	0.628**	-		
About Group Proud	0.550**	0.585**	0.591**	0.568**	0.714**	-	
About Group Happy	0.523**	0.541**	0.531**	0.481**	0.750**	0.722**	-
About Group Grateful	0.476**	0.550**	0.598**	0.479**	0.686**	0.739**	0.803**
About Group Respectful	0.498**	0.568**	0.526**	0.500**	0.609**	0.756**	0.713**
About Group Angry	-0.081	-0.357**	-0.153	-0.182	-0.289**	-0.203	-0.138
About Group Afraid	0.009	-0.150	-0.061	-0.112	-0.164	-0.068	0.036
About Group Disgusted	-0.128	-0.362**	-0.163	-0.208	-0.343**	-0.259*	-0.208
About Group Anxious	0.128	-0.004	0.085	0.051	-0.055	-0.112	0.036
About Group Guilty	-0.249*	-0.350**	-0.208	-0.283*	-0.261*	-0.281*	-0.185
About Group Irritated	-0.222*	-0.408**	-0.195	-0.266*	-0.377**	-0.303**	-0.208

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	About Group Grateful	About Group Respectful	About Group Angry	About Group Afraid	About Group Disgusted	About Group Anxious	About Group Guilty
See Myself As X							
Pleased To Be X							
Strong Ties With X							
Identify With Other X							
About Group Satisfied							
About Group Proud							
About Group Happy							
About Group Grateful	-						
About Group Respectful	0.716**	1					
About Group Angry	-0.155	-0.270*	-				
About Group Afraid	-0.01	-0.107	0.572**	-			
About Group Disgusted	-0.189	-0.311**	0.852**	0.583**	-		
About Group Anxious	0.009	-0.084	0.457**	0.613**	0.494**	-	
About Group Guilty	-0.172	-0.362**	0.659**	0.578**	0.682**	0.507**	-
About Group Irritated	-0.172	-0.287*	0.670**	0.573**	0.752**	0.359**	0.594**

^{*} *p*<.01, ***p*<.001

Appendix F

In order to fully understand the way emotions were experienced differently according to target group and connection prompt, additional two way ANOVAs were run, focusing on differences between target group within each connection prompt.

Emotions by connection prompt for each target group. Starting with the three 3 (connection prompt) x 11(emotion) ANOVAs, there was again a main effect of emotion for each of the three target groups (Democrats F(10,900)=238.59, p<.001; Americans F(10,920)=32.02, p<.001; UCSB Students F(10,880)=164.15, p<.001). This was to be expected as these analyses again included both positive and negative emotions. The main effect of prompt was also maintained for each target group (Democrats F(2,900)=10.05, p<.001; Americans F(2,920)=6.29, p<.01; UCSB Students F(2,880)=8.05, p<.01). Additionally, the interactions between target prompt and emotion were maintained for the three target groups (Democrats F(20,900)=4.49, p<.001; Americans F(20,920)=9.43, p<.001; UCSB Students F(20,880)=11.91, p<.001).

In order to better understand the differences among the various emotions and how they interacted with the other independent variables, they were again reanalyzed separately by valence.

Positive emotions by connection prompt for each target group. We ran a 5 positive emotion (satisfied, proud, happy, grateful, and respectful) x 3 connection prompt (emotions as a group member, emotions about being a group member, emotions about other group members) ANOVA for each of the three target groups. There were main effects of emotion for Democrats, F(4,360)=4.53, p<.01, Americans, F(4,368)=18.25, p<.001, and UCSB Students, F(4,360)=3.66, p<.01. There were also main effects of connection prompt

for all three target groups (Democrats F(2,360)=3.77, p<.05; Americans F(2,368)=12.36, p<.001; UCSB Students F(2,360)=23.74, p<.001). Interactions qualified these main effects.

First for Democrats, there was an interaction between emotions and connection prompt (F(8,360)=5.57, p<.001). Post hoc tests revealed that participants felt the same degree of satisfaction as pride and the same degree of pride as happiness across all three connection prompts (see Table G1 for all means and p-values). Feelings of gratitude toward other group members were the most different from other emotions, however this was not the case for the other two connection prompts. Feelings of respect about being a group member were the most differentiated, and most of the emotions felt as a group member were not experienced differently. Overall, for Democrats there were more differences among positive emotions felt about being a group member and about other group members than as a group member.

For Americans, there was also a significant interaction between emotions and connection prompt (F(8,368)=2.10, p<.05, see Table G2). However, the emotional profiles were still relatively similar across the three connection prompts. Within all three prompts participants felt more gratitude than satisfaction, more respect than satisfaction, more gratitude than pride, and equal amounts of happiness and respect. Interestingly, participants felt significantly more grateful about other group members than they felt any other emotion, whereas as a group member and about other group members they only felt significantly more grateful than satisfied or proud.

For UCSB Students, there was also a significant interaction between emotions and connection prompt (F(8,360)=4.07, p<.001, see Table G3). As was the case for Democrats, UCSB students felt the same amount of satisfaction and pride across all three connection prompts. Additionally they felt the same amounts of pride and gratitude across all three

prompts. In contrast to the other two target groups, UCSB Students felt less respect toward other group members than any of other the other positive emotions, however the mean level of respect was still greater than for the other two target groups. This pattern was not maintained for the other two connection prompts.

Across all three target groups, there were more differences in the post hoc comparisons across connection prompts than there were similarities, indicating that the three connection prompts elicited very different positive emotional profiles.

Negative emotions by connection prompt for target group. We ran a 6 negative emotion (angry, afraid, disgusted, anxious, guilty, irritated) x 3 connection prompt (emotions as a group member, emotions about being a group member, emotions about other group members) ANOVA for each of the three target groups. There was a main effect of emotions for all three target groups (Democrats F(5,450)=5.58, p<.001; Americans F(5,470)=2.49, p<.05; UCSB Students F(5,450)=17.86, p<.001), as well as a main effect of connection prompt (Democrats F(2,450)=14.26, p<.001; Americans F(2,470)=17.73, p<.001; UCSB Students F(2,450)=16.66, p<.001). Again, there were also significant interactions between emotion and connection prompt to qualify these main effects, but only for Americans, F(10,470)=4.99, p<.001, and UCSB Students, F(10,450)=6.84, p<.001 (see Tables G4-6 for all means and p-values).

Differences and similarities in emotional profiles for Democrats will not be explained as there was no significant interaction between connection prompt and emotion. For Americans, there were not differences between the amounts of fear and anger, fear and disgust, or fear and anxiety for any of the three connection prompts. There were also no differences in the amounts of disgust and irritation felt within each of the three connection

prompts. Of note, as a group member there were very few differences in the amount of each emotion felt. The only difference was that as Americans, participants were significantly more irritated than they were angry. Emotions were more differentiated about being a group member, particularly anxiety, guilt, and irritation. Emotions about other group members were slightly less differentiated, with guilt being the most unique of the emotions.

For UCSB Students, there were few consistent differences or similarities between pairs of emotions across the three prompts. The only consistent differences were that participants felt more anxious than guilty and more anxious than angry in response to the three prompts. Within each prompt the profiles of emotions were highly differentiated. More pairs of emotions were significantly different from each other than were the same as a group member and about other group members, and there were almost equal numbers of different and similar pairs for emotions about being a group member. In particular, participants felt more anxiety as a group member and about other group members than any other emotion. Fear about other group members was also significantly different from all other emotions.

When examining the comparisons between emotions for each connection prompt and for each of the target groups, the profiles for negative emotions appear quite differentiated. The magnitude of which each emotion was experienced clearly varied depending on the context in which it was asked about. As was the case when examining the ANOVAs separated by connection prompt in the body of the paper, the results of these ANOVAs suggested that ingroup directed emotions have a more diverse profile across target groups and connection prompts than do the different components of group identification.

Appendix G

Table G1

Means and pairwise comparisons for Democrats' positive emotions

		Mean	Satisfied (p)	Proud (p)	Happy (p)	Grateful (p)
As a Group Member	Satisfied	4.52	-			
	Proud	4.80	NS	-		
	Нарру	4.96	<.05	NS	-	
	Grateful	4.80	NS	NS	NS	-
	Respectful	4.98	<.05	NS	NS	NS
About Being a Group Member	Satisfied	4.63	-			
	Proud	4.33	NS	-		
	Нарру	4.48	NS	NS	-	
	Grateful	4.22	<.05	NS	NS	-
	Respectful	5.02	NS	<.001	<.01	<.001
About Other Group Members	Satisfied	5.04	-			
	Proud	5.22	NS	-		
	Нарру	4.89	NS	NS	-	
	Grateful	4.50	<.01	<.001	<.05	-
	Respectful	5.00	NS	NS	NS	<.001

Table G2

Means and pairwise comparisons for Americans' positive emotions

		Mean	Satisfied (<i>p</i>)	Proud (p)	Happy (p)	Grateful (p)
As a Group Member	Satisfied	4.49	-			
	Proud	4.55	NS	-		
	Нарру	5.26	<.001	<.01	-	
	Grateful	5.51	<.001	<.001	NS	-
	Respectful	5.21	<.001	<.01	NS	NS
About Being a Group Member	Satisfied	3.98	-			
	Proud	4.30	<.05	-		
	Нарру	4.68	<.001	<.05	-	
	Grateful	4.66	<.001	<.01	NS	-
	Respectful	4.81	<.001	<.01	NS	NS
About Other Group Members	Satisfied	4.68	-			
	Proud	4.79	NS	-		
	Нарру	5.00	NS	NS	-	
	Grateful	5.36	<.001	<.01	<.05	-
	Respectful	5.09	<.05	NS	NS	<.05

Table G3

Means and pairwise comparisons for UCSB Students' positive emotions

		Mean	Satisfied (<i>p</i>)	Proud (p)	Happy (p)	Grateful (p)
As a Group Member	Satisfied	5.52	-			
	Proud	5.70	NS	-		
	Нарру	5.91	<.01	NS	-	
	Grateful	6.02	<.01	NS	NS	-
	Respectful	5.78	NS	NS	NS	NS
About Being a Group Member	Satisfied	5.15	-			
	Proud	5.26	NS	_		
	Нарру	5.65	<.01	<.05	-	
	Grateful	5.24	NS	NS	<.01	-
	Respectful	5.52	<.05	NS	NS	NS
About Other Group Members	Satisfied	6.13	-			
	Proud	6.17	NS	_		
	Нарру	6.28	NS	NS	-	
	Grateful	6.28	NS	NS	NS	-
	Respectful	5.72	<.05	<.05	<.01	<.01

Table G4

Means and pairwise comparisons for Democrats' negative emotions

		Mean	Angry (p)	Afraid (p)	Disgusted (p)	Anxious (p)	Guilty (p)
As a Group Member	Angry	1.96	-				
	Afraid	2.02	NS	-			
	Disgusted	1.63	<.05	<.05	-		
	Anxious	2.13	NS	NS	<.05	-	
	Guilty	1.46	<.01	<.01	NS	<.001	-
	Irritated	2.00	NS	NS	<.01	NS	<.01
About Being a Group Member	Angry	1.41	-				
	Afraid	1.41	NS	-			
	Disgusted	1.28	NS	NS	-		
	Anxious	1.63	NS	NS	<.05	-	
	Guilty	1.22	NS	NS	NS	<.01	-
	Irritated	1.52	NS	NS	NS	NS	<.05
About Other Group Members	Angry	1.28	-				
	Afraid	1.30	NS	-			
	Disgusted	1.20	NS	NS	-		
	Anxious	1.50	NS	NS	<.05	-	
	Guilty	1.22	NS	NS	NS	<.05	-
	Irritated	1.44	NS	NS	<.05	NS	NS

Table G5

Means and pairwise comparisons for Americans' negative emotions

		Mean	Angry (p)	Afraid (p)	Disgusted (p)	Anxious (p)	Guilty (p)
As a Group Member	Angry	2.83	-				
	Afraid	2.77	NS	-			
	Disgusted	3.04	NS	NS	-		
	Anxious	2.90	NS	NS	NS	-	
	Guilty	2.79	NS	NS	NS	NS	-
	Irritated	3.15	<.05	NS	NS	NS	NS
About Being a Group Member	Angry	3.29	-				_
	Afraid	2.94	NS	-			
	Disgusted	3.35	NS	NS	-		
	Anxious	2.60	<.01	NS	<.05	-	
	Guilty	2.60	<.01	NS	<.001	NS	-
	Irritated	3.56	NS	<.05	NS	<.001	<.001
About Other Group Members	Angry	1.96	-				
	Afraid	2.21	NS	-			
	Disgusted	2.40	<.05	NS	-		
	Anxious	2.17	NS	NS	NS	-	
	Guilty	2.69	<.01	<.05	NS	<.05	-
	Irritated	2.27	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS

Table G6

Means and pairwise comparisons for UCSB Students' negative emotions

		Mean	Angry (p)	Afraid (p)	Disgusted (p)	Anxious (p)	Guilty (p)
As a Group Member	Angry	2.04	-				
	Afraid	2.35	NS	-			
	Disgusted	1.57	<.05	<.01	-		
	Anxious	3.41	<.001	<.001	<.001	-	
	Guilty	1.83	NS	<.01	NS	<.001	-
	Irritated	1.98	NS	NS	<.05	<.001	NS
About Being a Group Member	Angry	2.09	-				_
	Afraid	1.89	NS	-			
	Disgusted	2.04	NS	NS	-		
	Anxious	2.37	NS	<.05	NS	-	
	Guilty	1.57	<.05	NS	<.05	<.001	-
	Irritated	2.39	<.05	<.05	NS	NS	<.001
About Other Group Members	Angry	1.13	-				_
	Afraid	1.72	<.001	-			
	Disgusted	1.17	NS	<.01	-		
	Anxious	2.48	<.001	<.01	<.001	-	
	Guilty	1.37	<.05	<.05	NS	<.001	-
	Irritated	1.30	<.05	<.01	NS	<.001	NS