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CONCEPTIONS OF NATIONAL BELONGING

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The impact of adopting ethnic or civic conceptions of national belonging for
others' treatment

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Abstract

National belonging is often defined in terms of ‘ethnic’ ancestry and ‘civic’ commitment (with the latter typically implying a more inclusive conception of belonging). We report three Scottish studies manipulating the prominence of these criteria. In Study 1 ($N = 80$), a Chinese-heritage Target was judged more Scottish (and his criticisms of Scotland better received) when Scotland was defined in civic terms. In Study 2 ($N = 40$), a similar manipulation in a naturalistic setting showed a civic conception of belonging resulted in more help being given to a Chinese-heritage confederate. Study 3 ($N = 71$) replicated Study 2 and showed the effect was mediated by judgments of the confederate’s Scottishness. These studies emphasize the importance of exploring how ingroup identity is defined.

Keywords: national identity, ethnic definitions, civic definitions, Intergroup Sensitivity Effect, helping

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“Whoever - whatever man - whether he be black white red or yellow, the
moment he identifies with the institutions of Scotland, that moment he becomes a
member of the Scottish nation, and Caledonia must throw around him the mantle of
protection.”

- Speech by Patrick Dove (Glasgow 1853, cited in Morton, 1996, p. 270).

Patrick Dove's words hint at how our sense of obligation to others may be
contingent upon their categorization as fellow nationals. They also point to the
contestation around the definition of the national ingroup: whereas many of Dove's
contemporaries defined Scottish identity through reference to 'race', he made
reference to the civic institutions of Scottish society. According to the former
conceptualization, those with different ethnic heritages were to be regarded as aliens.
According to the latter, their identification with 'us' was enough to make them fellow
nationals. Moreover, he suggests this more inclusive definition of the national ingroup
means their welfare warrants 'our' concern.

Recently, social psychology has begun to explore the issue of who is seen as a
fellow national and how this may be associated with conceptualising the nation in
terms of particular criteria. For example, Devos and Banaji (2005) explore how being
American may be implicitly associated with being White. Indeed, Devos and Ma
(2008) found that although American participants knew well-known American actors
of Asian heritage (e.g., Lucy Liu) were indeed American, such actors were implicitly
seen as being less American than White actors known to be European (e.g., Kate
Winslet). Furthermore, research has begun to address the consequences of how we

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conceptualize ingroup identity. Thus, survey research shows that how we define the nation impacts upon attitudes towards asylum seekers (Pehrson, Vignoles & Brown, 2009) and immigration policies (Heath & Tilley, 2005).

Our research complements and extends this recent work. We report three experiments exploring how manipulating participants' conceptualizations of the national ingroup (in this case Scottish national identity) to be more or less inclusive affects the treatment of an individual of Chinese heritage. Before describing this work, we consider in more detail the issue of how the national ingroup is defined and why this may be socially consequential.

National Identity: Criteria and Consequences

Although enormous analytic energy has been devoted to identifying the necessary and sufficient criteria for national belonging, comparative research shows there are no tangible characteristics essential for maintaining national consciousness (Connor, 1994). Rather, national groups are self-defining, which means the weight given to various criteria (e.g., ancestry, language, or cultural commitment) depends upon public opinion, and thus varies according to time and place. With regard to such criteria, analysts often differentiate between those referring to ancestry/descent (implying an 'ethnic' conception of national identity) and those referring to the nation's social institutions (implying a 'civic' conception). Whereas an ethnic conception implies a more deterministic definition of belonging, the latter supports a more voluntaristic definition, in which membership is "handed out as a reward for loyalty and not on the basis of un-chosen criteria such as race" (Manzo, 1996, p. 19). In turn, a civic conception may allow for a more inclusive definition of who counts as ingroup.

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4 Opinion surveys show nations differ in the degree to which such definitions
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6 predominate and that within nations people vary in the degree to which they endorse
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8 these criteria (Diez Medrano & Koenig, 2005). Survey work also shows such
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10 variations to be consequential. Within-nation studies show that the more individuals
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12 endorse ethnic over civic criteria, the more they adopt anti-immigrant attitudes (Heath
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14 & Tilley, 2005). Between-nation comparisons show the predominance of ethnic over
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16 civic criteria moderates the relationship between national identification and
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18 xenophobic attitudes: Pehrson, Vignoles and Brown (2009) report a multilevel
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20 analysis of 31 national samples showing the greater the degree to which the prevailing
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22 collective definition of the national ingroup was couched in ethnic terms, the greater
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24 the prejudice expressed towards migrants (see also Meeus, Duriez, Vanbeselaere,
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Phalet & Kuppens, 2010).

Yet, whilst we know something of these relationships, we know less about the mechanisms involved or their behavioral implications. With regard to the former, it is possible a civic conception leads to more positive attitudes to immigrants and asylum-seekers because they are construed as actual or potential fellow nationals.

Alternatively, a civic conception may result in more positive attitudes because it implies there is no distinctive ethnic identity to be diluted/undermined by the presence of ethnically diverse others (Diez Medrano & Koenig, 2005). We also know little with regard to the behavioral consequences of such conceptions. Certainly, we cannot assume that the general attitudes measured in surveys necessarily predict the behavioral treatment of particular individuals (La Pierre, 1934).

Our research is designed to address precisely these issues: namely, i. are different conceptions of the national ingroup behaviorally consequential? And, ii. if so, what are the mediating processes?

The Present Research

Whilst surveys are ideal for documenting the attitudinal corollaries of adopting various conceptions of the ingroup, experimentation has distinct advantages in exploring how such endorsement shapes behavior towards an individual. Accordingly, we report three studies with behavioral data obtained under different (i.e., ethnic vs. civic) conceptions of national identity. Moreover, we investigate one potential candidate mediator in such effects. We reasoned that how an ethnic minority is categorized by others depends on the degree to which the national ingroup is defined in ethnic or civic terms. We therefore explored the degree to which any behavioral effects of varying the definition of the national ingroup were mediated by perceptions of this individual's national identity.

With regard to their treatment, we focus on a neglected set of outcomes. Survey research focuses on predicting anti-immigrant attitudes. Such attitudes – because they can result in the commission of deeply unpleasant behaviors (e.g., name-calling) – are undoubtedly important. However, acts of omission can be as significant as acts of commission, and our research focuses on how the adoption of an ethnic or civic conception of the nation impacts upon the degree to which an individual misses out on the benefits associated with ingroup membership. Failing to receive such benefits may not be as visibly dramatic as being the target of hostility, yet minority group members often describe how such omissions have considerable symbolic meaning, and impact on their quality of life (Hopkins, 2011). The two benefits of being accepted as 'one of us' considered here are described below.

Responses to criticism of the ingroup. A key feature of being accepted as ingroup is that one can participate fully in debates about the nature of the group, its qualities

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4 and how it should develop. This is manifested in formal arrangements (as when
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6 national citizenship confers the right to be heard through voting). It is also apparent
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8 informally: there is now considerable research which shows that when it comes to
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10 criticizing the ingroup, group members are advantaged over others in the sense that
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12 their criticisms are better received (*the intergroup sensitivity effect*: Hornsey, Oppes &
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14 Svensson, 2002). This arises because ingroup members are judged to have the group's
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16 interests at heart in a way that outgroup members do not. As a corollary, being judged
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18 ingroup means that one has the benefit of having one's critical views heeded and
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20 accorded respect.
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25 With this benefit of belonging in mind, our first study investigated whether
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27 criticisms of the Scottish ingroup made by an individual exhibiting a Chinese-heritage
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29 ethnicity (but associating themselves with Scotland), would be accepted more when
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31 Scottishness is defined in civic (rather than ethnic) terms. As hinted earlier, the
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33 national categorization of ethnic minorities can be ambiguous and may depend on the
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35 degree to which the national ingroup is defined in terms of ethnic vs. civic criteria.
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37 We therefore reasoned that a civic (as opposed to an ethnic) national definition would
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39 encourage participants to accept the Chinese-heritage critic's identification as Scottish
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41 (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001) and bestow upon them the benefits associated with
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43 ingroup membership (in this case, the right to criticize the group).
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49 *Solidarity and social support.* Another benefit arising from being judged 'one of
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51 us' is that one receives social support from one's fellows. Levine, Prosser, Evans and
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53 Reicher (2005) show the help an individual receives is contingent upon their social
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55 categorization. Using Manchester United football (soccer) fans as participants, they
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57 found that when participants' team identity was made salient they were more likely to
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59 help another Manchester United fan than a Liverpool (rival outgroup) fan. Yet, when
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4 participants' superordinate 'football fan' identity was salient, then both Manchester
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6 United and Liverpool fans were equally likely to receive help (because both now
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8 belonged to the more inclusive 'football fan' category). Moreover, the level of help
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10 they received was greater than that of an individual wearing a non-branded shirt (who
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12 could not be categorized as a member of this inclusive 'football fan' group). Drawing
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14 on such evidence, our second and third studies investigated whether the help extended
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16 to an individual (again exhibiting a Chinese-heritage ethnicity but associating
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18 themselves with Scotland) would be greater when Scottishness is defined in civic
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20 (rather than ethnic) terms. Again, we reasoned a civic (as opposed to ethnic) national
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22 definition would encourage their categorization as ingroup, thereby resulting in
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24 increased helping.
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32 *Overview of the Studies*

34 Our research was conducted in Scotland where surveys (McCrone &
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36 Bechhofer, 2008) show identification with the nation is typically high. They also
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38 show that although people endorse a range of civic (e.g., community engagement) and
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40 ethnic (e.g., ancestry) criteria, the latter receive higher weightings. However, civic
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42 criteria are often articulated in political debate – as when the leadership of the current
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44 Scottish Government proclaimed its ambition “to see the cause of Scotland argued
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46 with English, French, Irish, Indian, Pakistani, Chinese and every other accent in the
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48 rich tapestry of what we should be proud to call [] ‘the mongrel nation of Scotland’ ”
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50 (cited in Reicher & Hopkins, 2001, p. 163-164). Such sentiments reiterate the point
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52 that we cannot assume that national self-definitions (of Scotland or any other nation)
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54 are inevitably exclusive. Nor can we assume that expressions of national identity
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(such as support for the national sports team) reflect exclusionary sentiments (e.g., on football, see Abell, Condor, Lowe, Gibson & Stevenson, 2007).

Our studies were designed to manipulate the prominence of either civic or ethnic definitions of Scottishness, and to investigate their impact on behavior towards an individual of Chinese heritage. Although there may be merit in including a third (no manipulation) condition, we were most interested in exploring the consequences of replacing the prevailing (rather ethnic) conceptualization of Scottishness with a more civic one. Accordingly, our studies had two conditions with a common format: before being faced with an individual of Chinese heritage who associated themselves with Scotland, participants' understandings of Scottishness were manipulated to be either more or less ethnic. Across all studies our predictions were consistent: we expected the Chinese-heritage target to be treated more positively in the Civic than Ethnic condition. Specifically, we predicted that under the Civic conception of identity their criticisms of the Scots would be perceived more positively (Study 1), and that when they needed help it would be more forthcoming (Studies 2 & 3). In addition to gathering behavioral data, our studies are distinctive in that we explored the degree to which such effects of condition were mediated by perceptions of the individual's Scottishness. Unless specified, all tests are two-tailed.

Study 1

Scottish participants read materials designed to encourage either a civic or ethnic conception of national belonging. They then read about a Target who described himself as Scottish. He possessed either a Chinese or White heritage and proceeded to criticize Scottish culture. Investigating participants' responses to these criticisms, we reasoned that when the Target was White there should be no effect of our Criteria

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manipulation: under both civic and ethnic definitions of Scottishness the Target would be perceived as ingroup (and his criticisms responded to reasonably positively).

However, when the Target possessed a Chinese heritage, we predicted an effect of condition (better reception in the Civic than Ethnic condition). Thus, we predicted a 2 (Criteria: Civic/Ethnic) X 2 (Heritage of Target: White/Chinese) interaction, with the harshest judgments of the Chinese-heritage Target's criticism occurring when the ingroup was defined ethnically.

Method

Participants and Design

80 Scottish undergraduates (40 males, $M_{age} = 21.91$ years, $SD = 2.34$, age range = 18-34) were assigned randomly to one of four conditions in a 2 (Criteria: Civic/Ethnic) by 2 (Heritage of Target: White/Chinese) between-subjects design.

Materials and Procedure

Participants were recruited on-campus by a female researcher (of White Scottish origin) and completed a short questionnaire ostensibly investigating how people form impressions of individuals they read about in interviews.

Pre-manipulation Questionnaire

Nine items measuring strength of Scottish identification (e.g., *Being Scottish is an important part of how I see myself* (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree) were employed to make Scottish identity salient ($M = 4.36$, $SD = 1.28$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .94$).

The Articles

Participants then read two articles constructed by the experimenters but apparently downloaded from *Scotland's Daily News Blog*. The first described the

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4 nominee-list for the ostensible “Scot of the Year” award. The list included six
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6 individuals. Whilst three had typically Scottish-heritage names (James McAvoy,
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8 Louise Martin and James Davis), the other three varied across-condition. In the Civic
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10 condition, these three additional names were ethnically-diverse (Faisal Khan, Andro
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12 Kovac and Carmella Ramos), and the text explained that each had either migrated to
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14 Scotland or was born in Scotland to non-Scottish parents. This article therefore
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16 implied that Scotland’s prevailing national definition is civic (since although these
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18 individuals did not possess Scottish ancestry, they were still Scot of the Year
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20 nominees). In the Ethnic condition, the corresponding additional names reflected a
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22 Scottish heritage (Abby McIntyre, Steve McKinley and Neil Walker), implying a
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24 more ethnic vision of belonging. The articles in both conditions were accompanied by
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26 photographs of the nominees to further emphasise their diverse (Civic condition) or
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28 White (Ethnic condition) heritages.
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35 Following this was a second article (*The Winner’s Story*), which described the
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37 award-winner and featured an interview with an ostensible audience-member at the
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39 awards ceremony (the Target). The Target’s name differed by condition: Chris Muir
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41 in the White-Heritage condition, and Jian Shen in the Chinese-Heritage condition.
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43 The interview text was identical in all conditions. The Target was introduced as a
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45 teacher from Perth in Scotland, and he began by congratulating the winner. Whilst
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47 associating himself with Scotland the interviewee proceeded to criticise Scottish
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49 society, explaining “*Us Scots can be quite conventional in the way in which we*
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51 *approach things, you know, very inward looking. Most of the time I find people in*
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53 *Scotland very inflexible...very cautious. We are too bound-up by Scottish traditions.*”
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58 A photograph of either a Chinese-heritage or White-heritage man (pilot-tested for
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equivalence on physical attractiveness and likeability) accompanied the interview to emphasise the Target's heritage.

Post-manipulation Questionnaire

Participants then completed various items (identical across-condition), anchored using 1-7-point scales (1 = *disagree strongly* and 7 = *agree strongly*).

Reception of the Target's criticisms. This was measured with 12 items (e.g., *I agree with the comments that Chris Muir/Jian Shen put forward at the end of the interview*), which formed a scale ($M = 4.30$, $SD = 1.20$, *Cronbach's* $\alpha = .93$) with higher scores indicating a more positive reception.

Target's perceived Scottishness. This was measured with nine items, (e.g., *Chris Muir/Jian Shen can be thought of as being Scottish*), which formed a scale, ($M = 4.45$, $SD = 0.93$, *Cronbach's* $\alpha = .77$) with higher scores indicating greater perceived Scottishness.

Ingroup membership criteria. Finally, participants rated their agreement with nine statements (e.g., *Regardless of where you were born, if you participate in Scottish culture – you are Scottish; You are only Scottish, if you were born in Scotland*). The 'ethnic' statements were reversed and combined with the 'civic' statements to form a scale ($M = 4.41$, $SD = 0.97$, *Cronbach's* $\alpha = .75$).

We also measured liking for the Target, but as this did not differ between-condition and added nothing to our analyses, we do not report these data. After completing these items, participants were debriefed and thanked.

Results

Manipulation Check

Scores on the Ingroup Membership Criteria scale showed participants endorsed civic criteria more in the Civic ($M = 4.61, SD = 1.02$) than Ethnic condition ($M = 4.21, SD = 0.90$) $F(1, 78) = 3.49, p = .03, \eta^2 = .04$ (one-tailed).

Reception of the Target's Criticisms

Participants' reception of the Target's criticisms were inspected with a 2 (Criteria: Civic/Ethnic) X 2 (Heritage of Target: White/Chinese) ANOVA. The Heritage main effect was non-significant, $F(1, 76) = 0.02, p = .90, \eta^2 = .00$ (White $M = 4.28, SD = 1.21$; Chinese $M = 4.31, SD = 1.21$). The main effect of Criteria was marginally significant, $F(1, 76) = 3.15, p = .08, \eta^2 = .04$, with participants perceiving the criticisms more positively in the Civic ($M = 4.52, SD = 1.22$) than Ethnic condition ($M = 4.07, SD = 1.16$). As predicted, this was qualified by a Criteria X Heritage interaction, $F(1, 76) = 9.75, p = .003, \eta^2 = .11$. Analysis of simple effects confirmed that when the Target was Chinese, participants received the criticisms better in the Civic ($M = 4.93, SD = 0.97$) than Ethnic condition ($M = 3.69, SD = 1.12, p < .01$). When the Target was White, the Criteria manipulation had no effect (Civic $M = 4.11, SD = 1.33$; Ethnic $M = 4.45, SD = 1.09, p > .05$; see Table 1). Incidentally, we found no effects of participants' sex or identification strength, so these variables were excluded in subsequent analyses.

Perception of the Target's Scottishness

Perceptions of the Target's Scottishness were investigated in the same 2 X 2 ANOVA. Neither the main effect of Heritage (White $M = 4.47, SD = 0.98$; Chinese $M = 4.43, SD = 0.90$; $F(1, 76) = 0.04, p = .84, \eta^2 = .001$), nor Criteria were significant (Civic $M = 4.55, SD = 0.98$; Ethnic $M = 4.35, SD = 0.88$; $F(1, 76) = 0.99, p = .32, \eta^2 = .01$). As predicted, we found a significant Criteria X Heritage interaction, $F(1, 76) = 5.28, p = .02, \eta^2 = .07$. Analysis of simple effects confirmed that when the Target was

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Chinese, participants perceived him as more Scottish in the Civic ($M = 4.77$, $SD = 0.78$) than Ethnic condition ($M = 4.09$, $SD = 0.90$), $p < .025$. However, when the Target was White, the Criteria manipulation had no effect (Civic $M = 4.34$, $SD = 1.13$; Ethnic $M = 4.61$, $SD = 0.80$), $p > .05$ (see Table 1).

(Table 1 about here)

Conditional Indirect Effects

Our final analysis tests the hypothesis that the effect of the Criteria manipulation on criticism reception was mediated by the Target's perceived Scottishness. We predicted the Chinese-heritage Target would be seen as more Scottish under the civic than ethnic definition of belonging, and that high levels of perceived Scottishness would result in more positive reactions to the Target's criticisms. In contrast, since we anticipated no ambiguity about the White-heritage Target's Scottishness, we did not expect either his perceived Scottishness or the evaluation of his criticisms to be affected by the Criteria manipulation. We therefore predicted the relationship between the Criteria manipulation and reaction to the Target's criticisms (through perceptions of his Scottishness) to be conditional on the Heritage manipulation. The most suitable analysis is an investigation of conditional indirect effects (Preacher, Rucker & Hayes, 2007).

Analysis (using Z-scores) confirmed the effect of the Criteria manipulation on perceptions of the Target's Scottishness was conditional on the Target's heritage, $coeff. = .29$, $SE = .11$, $t = 2.69$, $p = .009$. In turn, it confirmed the impact of the manipulations on the Target's perceived Scottishness predicted criticism reception, $coeff. = 4.30$, $SE = .13$, $t = 3.48$, $p = .001$. We investigated these effects at the two

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4 levels of the moderating variable (i.e., White vs. Chinese heritage). Bias corrected and
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6 accelerated bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals (recommended for small samples)
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8 confirmed an indirect effect of the Criteria manipulation on criticism reception via the
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10 Target's perceived Scottishness when he was of Chinese heritage (*Upper CI* = .41,
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12 *Lower CI* = .04), but not White heritage (*Upper CI* = .03, *Lower CI* = -.25). Thus, as
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14 predicted, we found that when the Target was of Chinese heritage, a civic definition
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16 of ingroup identity improved the reception of his criticisms through increasing the
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18 degree to which he was judged Scottish.
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25 Discussion

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27 Our Criteria manipulation affected perceptions of the Chinese-heritage
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29 Target's Scottishness, and this latter impacted on the reception of his criticisms.
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31 Moreover, the analysis of conditional indirect effects confirmed the effect of our
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33 Criteria manipulation only obtained when the Target was of Chinese heritage. These
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35 data therefore show the criteria employed in national definition are consequential for
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37 the Chinese-heritage Target's treatment (more positive under the civic conception of
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39 ingroup identity) with this being mediated by that individual's categorization as
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41 Scottish.
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46 One potential criticism of our design is that those in the Civic condition were
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48 exposed to *exceptional* exemplars of people associating themselves with Scotland in a
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50 civic manner (*Scot of the Year* nominees). Arguably, this could have resulted in
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52 positive feelings towards the individuals concerned, which in turn could have affected
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54 opinions of the Target's Scottishness. We believe this is unlikely: the Target was not
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56 himself a Scot of the Year nominee but merely a member of the audience.
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60 Nonetheless, in Study 2 we used an alternative manipulation in which we provided

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4 participants with (false) information indicating fellow Scots defined the nation in
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6 either civic or ethnic terms. However, the primary purpose of Study 2 was not to
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8 simply corroborate the results of Study 1, but to extend our research to a second
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10 domain where group membership matters: the provision of help to a person in need.
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15 16 Study 2

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18 As Study 1 confirmed the White-heritage Target was categorized as ingroup
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20 regardless of manipulation, Study 2 focused solely on a Chinese-heritage individual.
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22 Moreover, as we wished to develop a more naturalistic study, we deployed a female
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24 Chinese-heritage experimental confederate in a field setting where we could measure
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26 the help she received from Scottish participants. Our data are behavioral and gathered
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28 in a public area of a Scottish university. First, a researcher invited participants to
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30 complete a questionnaire on their knowledge about Scotland. This contained materials
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32 designed to promote either civic or ethnic understandings of national belonging. Once
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34 completed (and the research apparently concluded), an incident was stage-managed in
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36 which a Chinese-heritage confederate obviously needed help. Drawing upon a well-
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38 established paradigm (e.g., Macrae & Johnston, 1998), the confederate ‘accidentally’
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40 dropped some items and we measured helping in terms of the number of items
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42 retrieved by participants. To indicate her Scottish association, the confederate wore a
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44 Scottish sports shirt (implying an association with Scotland). We predicted those in
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46 the Civic condition would be more inclined to help her and that this would be
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48 mediated by perceptions of her Scottishness.
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58 Method

59 *Participants and Design*

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40 White Scots (20 males, $M_{\text{age}} = 21.98$ years, $SD = 3.85$, age range = 18-39) were assigned randomly to either the Civic or Ethnic condition.

Procedure

A female researcher (of White Scottish origin) recruited people waiting in the university's main foyer to complete a short survey. Another female (of Chinese heritage and wearing a Scottish shirt) acted as the confederate. After the researcher identified a potential participant, the confederate walked into view so her appearance could be observed by that participant. She then moved away and the researcher approached the potential participant to ask if they were Scottish and would complete a questionnaire on people's knowledge of Scotland. Only Scots were recruited and the questionnaire contained the Criteria for Belonging manipulation.

Following completion of the questionnaire, the researcher thanked the participant and walked away. On this cue, the confederate approached the participant carrying two boxes labelled 'fragile', with a small container holding 20 pens on top. When close, the confederate coughed and 'accidentally' dropped the pens. During the next 10 seconds the confederate avoided retrieving pens herself by carefully placing the boxes on the floor. The confederate (blind to experimental condition) recorded the number of pens participants retrieved in this 10 seconds (measured via a concealed stopwatch) before walking away.

The original researcher again approached the participant, and asked them to complete another brief questionnaire. The participant was then debriefed and thanked.

Measures

i. Pre-Incident Questionnaire

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Strength of ingroup identification. This was measured using seven items (e.g.,
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*I often think about the fact that I am a Scottish person; 1 = disagree strongly and 7 =
agree strongly*) which formed a scale ($M = 4.76$, $SD = 0.94$, *Cronbach's* $\alpha = .78$).

Criteria manipulation. Participants were told surveys had revealed what
Scottish people believed were the criteria for being categorized as Scottish.
Participants read five statements on such criteria. Each statement was accompanied by
three percentage values which apparently represented the extent to which other Scots
endorsed the statement. Participants were asked to estimate which of the three
percentage values was the right answer with regards to what other Scots thought. The
statements varied by condition. In the Civic condition they implied a more civic
conception of group belonging (e.g., *Regardless of where you were born, if you feel
Scottish - you are Scottish*). In the Ethnic condition they implied a more ethnic
conception (e.g., *You are only Scottish, if you have a long history of Scottish
ancestry*). As the figures for the percentage of Scots endorsing the statements was
always high (79-99%) it follows participants were positioned to believe that other
Scots endorsed either civic or ethnic criteria.

Manipulation check. Participants also rated their agreement with two of these
statements (1 = *disagree strongly* and 7 = *agree strongly*). These formed a scale in
which higher scores indicated more civic conceptions ($M = 3.46$, $SD = 1.59$, $r = .49$, p
< .01).

ii. Post-Incident Questionnaire

After the pen-dropping incident, the original researcher approached the
participant with a follow-up questionnaire. This asked if participants noticed the
confederate drop the pens (all reported they did) and contained two measures
(involving 7-point scales: 1 = *not at all* and 7 = *very much*). The first asked *To what*

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2
3
4 *degree do you think the person who dropped the pens was Scottish?* ($M = 3.43$, $SD =$
5
6 1.96). The second asked *To what degree did you think about the nationality of the*
7
8 *person who dropped the pens?* ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.38$). We also measured affect, but
9
10 inclusion of this measure added nothing to our analyses, so was excluded from our
11
12 results.

17 Results

18 *Manipulation Check*

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20
21 Participants endorsed more civic definitions of Scottishness in the Civic ($M =$
22
23 4.43 , $SD = 1.27$) than Ethnic condition ($M = 2.50$, $SD = 1.27$), $t(38) = 4.80$, $p < .001$,
24
25 $d = 1.52$ (one-tailed).

26 *Helping*

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29
30
31 The skewness and kurtosis values for the helping measure were acceptable
32
33 (meeting Field's (2005) criterion of $p > .05$). As predicted, Civic condition
34
35 participants retrieved more pens ($M = 14.55$, $SD = 4.01$) than Ethnic condition
36
37 participants ($M = 6.55$, $SD = 4.45$), $t(38) = -5.97$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.89$. We found no
38
39 effects of participants' sex or identification strength, so these variables were excluded
40
41 in subsequent analyses.
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43

44 *Perceived Scottishness*

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46
47 Those in the Civic condition perceived the confederate as more Scottish (Civic
48
49 $M = 5.00$, $SD = 1.12$; Ethnic $M = 1.85$, $SD = 1.18$), $t(38) = -8.64$, $p < .001$, $d = 2.74$.
50
51 Regression analyses revealed experimental condition predicted the confederate's
52
53 perceived Scottishness, $\beta = .81$, $p < .01$, and this latter predicted helping, $\beta = .61$, $p <$
54
55 $.01$. However, when both condition and perceived Scottishness were entered into the
56
57 regression, the latter did not predict helping, $\beta = .14$, *ns*. The effect of condition on
58
59 helping remained significant, declining from $\beta = .70$, $p < .01$ to $\beta = .58$, $p < .01$. These
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4 results imply the effect of condition on helping was not mediated by perceptions of
5
6 the confederate's Scottishness, and that another variable played a mediating role.
7

8 9 *Thinking about Nationality*

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11 Participants' ratings of the extent to which they thought about the
12
13 confederate's nationality correlated highly with ratings of the confederate's
14
15 Scottishness ($r = .58, p < .001$). Moreover, those in the Civic condition reported
16
17 thinking about the confederate's nationality to a significantly greater extent (Civic M
18
19 $= 4.25, SD = 0.97$; Ethnic $M = 2.75, SD = 1.33$), $t(34.66) = -4.08, p < .001, d = -1.29$.
20
21 These two observations suggest participants' ratings of the degree to which they
22
23 thought about the confederate's nationality captured something of the extent to which
24
25 they were prompted to consider the confederate's potential Scottishness. Accordingly,
26
27 we investigated if the effect of condition on helping was mediated by those in the
28
29 Civic condition reflecting more on the confederate's nationality.
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35 Regression revealed experimental condition predicted the extent to which
36
37 participants reflected on the confederate's nationality, $\beta = .55, p < .01$, and this latter
38
39 predicted helping, $\beta = .60, p < .01$. When both condition and participants' thinking
40
41 about the confederate's nationality were regressed, the latter predicted helping, $\beta =$
42
43 $.31, p = .03$. The effect of condition on helping remained significant, but declined
44
45 from $\beta = .70, p < .01$ to $\beta = .53, p < .01$. This mediating role was confirmed via a
46
47 Sobel test ($z = 2.02, SE = 0.97, p = .04$), and an analysis of indirect effects using 5000
48
49 bootstrapping samples (Preacher & Hayes, 2004) which showed the indirect effect of
50
51 condition on helping through participants' thinking about the confederate's nationality
52
53 was significant at $p < .05$, (*Upper CI* = 5.11, *Lower CI* = 0.03). Thus, the Criteria
54
55 manipulation seems to have prompted greater deliberation regarding the confederate's
56
57 nationality, which in turn predicted greater helping.
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Discussion

The help extended towards the Chinese-heritage confederate wearing a Scottish shirt depended on the Criteria manipulation. Yet while this manipulation also affected perceptions of the confederate's Scottishness, this latter did not mediate the effect of condition on helping. Rather, this was mediated by the degree to which participants thought about the confederate's nationality. As this latter measure i. correlates with judgements of the confederate's perceived Scottishness, and ii. was affected by the Criteria manipulation, it appears our Criteria manipulation was behaviorally consequential because those in the Civic condition were more actively engaged in evaluating the confederate's nationality. Although this implies our manipulation was impacting on the process of judging the confederate's nationality, the fact we do not find a mediating role for perceptions of the confederate's Scottishness implies a more complex process than expected. Indeed, it implies the Criteria manipulation increased helping because participants were encouraged to consider the confederate's nationality rather than because they came to the conclusion that she was indeed Scottish. Quite why this is so is unclear. One plausible suggestion is that in the absence of information that could enable a definitive conclusion on her Scottishness, participants gave her the benefit of the doubt when deciding how to respond to her need (with the corollary that increased helping in the Civic condition is mediated by participants' increased engagement with the question of her identity, rather than by their conclusions as to her Scottishness).

Regardless of this uncertainty over mediating processes, it bears repeating that these data confirm our Criteria manipulation is behaviorally consequential (in the direction predicted). Moreover, the fact we obtain mediation with a variable relating to the confederate's national categorization (indeed, one which correlates with

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4 perceptions of her Scottishness and is affected by the Criteria manipulation) suggests
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6 issues concerning the confederate's national categorization were relevant to
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8 participants' appraisals. This in itself is important. As noted above, whilst survey
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10 research shows a correlation between the criteria employed in national definition and
11
12 the endorsement of anti-immigrant opinion, it is unclear what the mediators are, and
13
14 at the very least, Study 2's data imply that, here, participants' reflection on the
15
16 confederate's nationality is implicated in her treatment.
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19
20 Encouraged by these findings, we conducted a third study exploring the help
21
22 given to this same Chinese-heritage confederate. However, given the lack of
23
24 unambiguous evidence for the mediating role of judgements of her Scottishness, the
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26 study was altered so as to make the wearing of a national shirt more meaningful and
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28 diagnostic of her national commitments.
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34 Study 3

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36 The logic to Study 3 is similar to Study 2's. Again, a civic or ethnic
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38 conception of national belonging was established via questionnaire. Moreover, the
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40 choreography to the confederate's performance was as before. However, we
41
42 introduced a number of modifications. First, we relocated the study from the
43
44 University's main reception (a public domain where national group memberships are
45
46 not especially relevant) to a venue where individuals' demonstrations of their national
47
48 commitments are likely to be more meaningful. More specifically, and because sport
49
50 is an important domain in which people perform/demonstrate national commitments
51
52 (Blain, Boyle, & O'Donnell, 1993), Study 3 took place in the foyer of the university
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54 sports center. We reasoned that wearing a national shirt in such a context would be
55
56 more meaningful and more diagnostic of an individual's national commitments.
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4 In addition, we varied the shirt worn by the confederate: as well as
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6 manipulating the criteria for being Scottish, the confederate wore either a Scottish or
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8 English shirt, producing a 2 (Criteria: Civic/Ethnic) X 2 (Shirt: Scottish/English)
9
10 design. The merit of this design is that it allows investigation of the extent to which
11
12 our Criteria manipulation impacted on the treatment of those who do *not* actually
13
14 associate themselves with the national ingroup. For example, if we found our Criteria
15
16 manipulation affected helping when the confederate wore an English shirt, it would
17
18 suggest the manipulation could have effects for reasons entirely unconnected with her
19
20 being construed as Scottish. In turn, this design allows us to clarify the mediating role
21
22 of participants' perceptions of the confederate's Scottishness: we predicted such
23
24 perceptions would only mediate the effect of our Criteria manipulation on helping
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26 when the confederate wore a Scottish shirt. In order to achieve comparability between
27
28 the Scottish and English conditions, we selected shirts depicting the countries'
29
30 respective national flags (the Scottish shirt bore a large white cross on a dark blue
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32 background; the English shirt bore a large red cross on a white background). These
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34 two shirts also had the advantage of being visually striking (especially in comparison
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36 with the shirt used in Study 2).
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44 In the light of research showing more help is given to ingroup than outgroup
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46 members (Levine et al., 2005), we predicted more helping when the confederate wore
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48 a Scottish shirt than an English shirt. Moreover, we predicted that when the
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50 confederate wore a Scottish shirt, perceptions of her Scottishness would be increased
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52 under the civic definition of Scottishness, and that this would increase helping. In
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54 contrast, we predicted that when the confederate wore an English shirt, any (potential)
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56 effects of the Criteria manipulation on helping would not be mediated by changes in
57
58 her perceived Scottishness.
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Method

Participants and Design

71 White Scots (35 males, $M_{\text{age}} = 23.49$ years, $SD = 5.85$, age range = 17-48) were allocated randomly to a 2 (Criteria: Civic/Ethnic) X 2 (Shirt type: Scottish/English) between-groups design.

Procedure

The study was conducted in the university's sports center foyer. The procedure was identical to Study 2, except that in half of the trials the confederate wore a Scottish shirt, and in the other half an English shirt.

Measures

The pre- and post-incident questionnaires were identical to those in Study 2 and comprised items measuring: identification strength ($M = 3.95$, $SD = 0.94$, $Cronbach's \alpha = .81$); the confederate's perceived Scottishness ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.58$); the extent to which the confederate's nationality was reflected upon ($M = 2.63$, $SD = 1.34$); and the extent to which participants endorsed a civic conception of Scottish identity ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.34$, $r = .59$, $p < .001$). We also measured participants' affect and their empathy towards the confederate, but as these added nothing to our analyses, they are un-reported.

Results

Manipulation check

Participants in the Civic condition tended to endorse more civic definitions of Scottishness ($M = 3.90$, $SD = 1.22$) than those in the Ethnic condition ($M = 3.40$, $SD = 1.43$), $t(69) = 1.60$, $p = .058$, $d = 0.38$ (one-tailed).

Helping

The number of pens retrieved was inspected with a 2 (Shirt: Scottish/English) X 2 (Criteria: Civic/Ethnic) ANOVA (again, skewness and kurtosis values were acceptable). Analysis revealed a significant main effect of Shirt, $F(1, 67) = 4.11$, $p = .047$, $\eta^2 = .06$, showing more pens retrieved when the confederate wore a Scottish shirt ($M = 9.75$, $SD = 6.39$) than an English shirt ($M = 6.86$, $SD = 5.94$) and a main effect of Criteria, $F(1, 67) = 3.80$, $p = .055$, $\eta^2 = .05$, showing more helping in the Civic ($M = 9.69$, $SD = 6.41$), than Ethnic condition ($M = 6.87$, $SD = 5.95$). The Criteria X Shirt interaction was non-significant, $F(1, 67) = .002$, $p = .99$, $\eta^2 = .000$.

Overall, wearing the Scottish shirt elicited more help than the English shirt, and the Criteria manipulation had an impact regardless of shirt-type. We found no effects of participants' sex or identification strength, and these variables were excluded in subsequent analyses.

Perceived Scottishness

Judgements of the confederate's Scottishness were inspected in a similar 2 X 2 ANOVA. This showed the Criteria main effect was non-significant, $F(1, 67) = 0.76$, $p = .38$, $\eta^2 = .01$, (Civic $M = 3.53$, $SD = 1.80$; Ethnic $M = 3.23$, $SD = 1.33$) but that the main effect of Shirt was significant, $F(1, 67) = 7.97$, $p = .006$, $\eta^2 = .12$, with the confederate judged more Scottish when wearing a Scottish shirt ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 1.55$) than an English shirt ($M = 2.90$, $SD = 1.47$). Importantly, the predicted Criteria X Shirt interaction was significant, $F(1, 67) = 8.18$, $p = .006$, $\eta^2 = .11$). Simple effects

analyses confirmed that when the confederate wore a Scottish shirt, she was judged more Scottish in the Civic ($M = 4.50$, $SD = 1.58$) than Ethnic condition ($M = 3.22$, $SD = 1.26$, $p < .01$), and that when she wore an English shirt, the Criteria manipulation had no such effect (Civic $M = 2.56$, $SD = 1.46$; Ethnic $M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.44$, $p > .05$; see Figure 1). It should therefore be noted that although the manipulation check data narrowly missed the conventional significance level, these data concerning the confederate's categorization suggest the Criteria manipulation really was effective in changing perceptions of who counts as Scottish.

(Figure 1 about here)

Thinking about Nationality

There were no main effects or interaction in the data concerning the degree to which participants reflected on the confederate's national identity, (Ethnic, Scottish Shirt $M = 2.72$, $SD = 1.57$; Ethnic, English Shirt $M = 3.06$, $SD = 1.35$; Civic, Scottish Shirt $M = 2.50$, $SD = 1.25$; Civic, English Shirt $M = 2.28$, $SD = 1.18$). Accordingly, we examined the correlation between this variable and judgements of the Target's Scottishness. To aid comparison with Study 2, we isolated the data from those exposed to the confederate wearing the Scottish shirt. While this correlation was significant in Study 2, it was non-significant in the current study ($r = .30$, ns). This implies that in the present study it would be inappropriate to conceptualise scores on this scale as a potential mediator: whereas in Study 2 it was correlated with judgement of the confederate's Scottishness, here it was not.

Conditional Indirect Effects

Given the clear effect of the manipulations on the confederate's perceived Scottishness (highest when wearing a Scottish shirt and the ingroup definition was Civic), we explored whether increased helping in the Civic Scottish shirt condition was mediated by perceptions of the confederate's Scottishness. Moreover (and as explained above), we predicted any effect of the Criteria manipulation on the help extended to the confederate wearing the English shirt would *not* be mediated by such perceptions. The most parsimonious analysis for such an investigation is an analysis of conditional indirect effects (Preacher et al., 2007).

This analysis (using Z-scored data) confirmed that the effect of Criteria on the confederate's perceived Scottishness was conditional on shirt-type, $coeff. = -.31$, $SE = 0.11$, $t = -2.86$, $p = .006$, and that the impact of the manipulations on perceived Scottishness proceeded to predict helping, $coeff. = 2.72$, $SE = 0.75$, $t = 3.62$, $p = .001$.

We used bootstrapping analyses to investigate the indirect effect of the Criteria manipulation through the mediator (the confederate's perceived Scottishness) on helping for the two levels of the moderator (Scottish vs. English shirt). When the confederate wore a Scottish shirt, the bias corrected and accelerated bootstrapped indirect effect estimate was significant at $p < .05$ ($upper\ CI = 2.31$, $lower\ CI = 0.30$) but not when she wore the English shirt ($upper\ CI = 0.22$, $lower\ CI = -1.74$). These results therefore confirm that when the confederate wore a Scottish shirt, a Civic definition of Scottish identity increased her perceived Scottishness, and, moreover, this increased helping.¹ It also confirms that the effect of the Criteria manipulation on the help extended to the confederate wearing the English shirt was not mediated by changes in her perceived Scottishness.

Analyses with the measure of the degree to which participants thought about the confederate's nationality revealed no evidence of mediation.

Discussion

These data show helping was increased under civic definitions of belonging and that this occurred regardless of the confederate's shirt. However, and most importantly, they also show different processes were implicated depending on shirt-type. With a Scottish shirt, the effect of the Criteria manipulation on helping was mediated by the confederate's perceived Scottishness: under the civic definition the confederate was judged more Scottish, which predicted increased helping. This is clear evidence that the criteria employed in ingroup definition can have behavioral consequences for the treatment of a particular individual, and that one mediator of this effect is indeed the perception that the individual is 'one of us'.

Yet, the Criteria manipulation also increased helping when the confederate wore the English shirt. As noted in the Introduction, researchers exploring attitudes to immigrants and asylum-seekers have suggested various candidate mediators. For example, Diez Medrano and Koenig (2005) suggest a civic conception may convey the idea that there is no distinctive ethnic identity to be diluted/undermined by ethnically diverse others, with the corollary that such people are judged more positively – not because they are construed as ingroup – but because they are construed as non-threatening. Unfortunately, we cannot address the mediating process relevant in the English shirt conditions. However, our conditional indirect effects analysis confirms that it is *not* related to the confederate's categorization as Scottish. This is reassuring: to have found perceptions of the confederate's Scottishness played a mediating role when she did not associate herself with Scotland would have cast doubt on both the meaning of our manipulation and the predictive utility of this mediator. Moreover, it underlines the importance of future research exploring a wider

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4 range of candidate processes that may be especially relevant when the individual does
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6 not claim ingroup membership.
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9 It should also be noted that these data showing a Chinese-heritage confederate
10 with a Scottish shirt received more help under a Civic conception of Scottishness
11 contributes to helping research. Levine et al. (2005) explored the effect of varying the
12 inclusiveness of participants' group identity via two separate studies. In the first,
13 participants were defined in terms of their football team identity, in the second, in
14 terms of a more inclusive fan identity. Although these two definitions resulted in
15 different levels of helping for a rival team's supporter (greater in the second study: see
16 Introduction) the fact that the manipulations were split over two studies limits
17 interpretation, especially as mediating perceptions were not measured. The distinct
18 advantage of our methodology is that the Criteria manipulation means we do not need
19 to compare across two studies and we can measure directly participants' ratings of the
20 confederate's ingroup membership.
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39 General discussion

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41 Our three studies show that different conceptualisations of the national
42 ingroup can be consequential for the treatment of an individual associating themselves
43 with the nation (either by describing themselves as Scottish – as in Study 1, or
44 through their clothing – as in Studies 2 and 3). Moreover, in Studies 1 and 2 we found
45 clear and unambiguous evidence for one mediating variable postulated as relevant in
46 survey work on prejudice: the categorization of the Target as ingroup. Study 1 showed
47 a Chinese-heritage Target's criticisms of the Scots were received more positively
48 under a Civic conception, with this being mediated by an increase in the Target's
49 perceived Scottishness. Study 3 showed similarly convincing evidence for this
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4 mediation, but this time for helping behavior: a Chinese-heritage confederate received
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6 more assistance in the Civic than Ethnic condition, and, when the confederate
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8 associated herself with Scotland through wearing a Scottish shirt, this was mediated
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10 by perceptions of her Scottishness.
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13 In evaluating these studies, it is important to note the following. First, we
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15 manipulated participants' understandings of Scottish national identity in two different
16
17 ways, and both methods were successful. Indeed, although the manipulation check
18
19 data in Study 3 were less convincing in this regard, the ratings of the confederate's
20
21 Scottishness clearly show an effect of the Criteria manipulation (which gives
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23 confidence in the power of this manipulation). Second, our data are behavioral, and in
24
25 Studies 2 and 3, have the merit of being gathered in a naturalist setting. However,
26
27 naturalistic settings bring methodological constraints. For example, in Studies 2 and 3
28
29 we were constrained to keep the post-incident questionnaire brief using single-item
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31 measures. Yet, it is noteworthy that the results obtained in Studies 3 and 1 (the latter
32
33 of which involved multi-item measures) are consistent. Third, we obtained these
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35 effects across two different domains of behavior. These domains extend knowledge of
36
37 the range of ways in which ingroup definitions may be consequential. Whereas
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39 previous research (e.g., Pehrson et al., 2009) has (for good reason) focused on the
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41 expression of hostile and negative attitudes, we show that the degree to which an
42
43 ethnic other receives *positive* treatment is also contingent upon ingroup definition.
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45 Moreover, both these domains are socially significant: the degree to which one is
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47 listened to when criticising the national group reveals something of one's right to
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49 shape the group's future, and the extent to which one receives help reveals something
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51 of the degree to which one's welfare matters to others.
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Issues to Address

Inevitably, aspects of our data raise new questions. Consider first the data from Study 2 showing that although perceptions of the confederate's Scottishness increased under the Civic conception of ingroup identity, such perceptions did not mediate the behavioral effect of experimental condition. Quite why this is so remains unclear. However, the fact that this effect was mediated by the degree to which participants reflected on the confederate's nationality (which correlated with judgements of the confederate's Scottishness) suggests strongly that issues relating to her national categorization were involved. We believe participants were encouraged to think about her nationality in the Civic condition in a way they were not in the Ethnic condition, and that regardless of how the confederate was eventually categorized, this was enough to increase helping (perhaps because when deciding how much help to offer, participants gave her the benefit of the doubt). If so, this implies a civic construal of national identity may be consequential not necessarily because it leads to another being seen as definitely 'one of us' but because it reduces our certainty that they are 'one of them'. This possibility is interesting. Several factors lead to others being judged outgroup. For example, high identifiers are more exclusive in who they accept as ingroup (Castano, Yzerbyt, Bourguignon & Seron, 2002) and threat cues can result in others' categorization as outgroup (Miller, Maner & Becker, 2010). Future work could consider the degree to which civic conceptions of national identity could counter such tendencies.

Future research could also explore how and why a civic conception of ingroup identity in Study 3 impacted on the treatment of those who do *not* actually associate themselves with the ingroup (but demonstrate affiliation with another group: the English). This implies a Civic construal of national identity may be consequential for reasons unconnected with ingroup categorization. This may be because under a civic

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4 conception of national identity an ethnic other (even if clearly non-national) is
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6 construed as less threatening for ingroup identity than when this latter is defined in
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8 ethnic terms (see Diez Medrano & Koenig 2005 for such a suggestion). Alternatively,
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10 a civic conception of ingroup identity might imply toleration of difference, which is
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12 then manifested in the help extended to those judged ethnically different. Future
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14 research could usefully attend to these various possibilities.
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18 Other questions are raised by the differences between Studies 2 and 3. Quite
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20 why participants' perceptions of the confederate's Scottishness and their degree of
21
22 thinking about her nationality were correlated in Study in 2 but not in 3 is unclear. It
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24 may reflect the fact that Study 3 was conducted in a different context – the sports
25
26 center. On the basis of research showing that sport is an important domain in which
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28 people perform national identity (Blain, Boyle, & O'Donnell, 1993) we assumed such
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30 a location would make the wearing of a national sports shirt more diagnostic of the
31
32 confederate's national commitments. It may therefore be the case that conclusions
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34 about the confederate's nationality could be made quickly, resulting in the non-
35
36 significant correlation between the thought devoted to her nationality and perceptions
37
38 of her Scottishness. However, this remains conjecture, and future research could
39
40 usefully consider the social contexts in which national identities become meaningful
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42 and what this means for how people think about particular individuals. A further
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44 advantage of such research is that it would suggest when and where the implications
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46 of adopting civic or ethnic conceptions of the national ingroup are most likely to be
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48 manifested. Moreover, since contextual cues implying threat may encourage
49
50 unfamiliar others to be categorized as outgroup (Miller et al., 2010), research could
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52 usefully examine how shifts in the definition of national belonging may also be
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54 dependent on such cues.
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4 One potentially surprising feature of our data is that participants' level of
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6 Scottish identification did not moderate the effect of the Criteria manipulation on
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8 behavior. However, although high identifiers could be expected to be particularly
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10 motivated to support fellow group members, high identifiers can also be concerned
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12 about accepting others as ingroup (Castano et al., 2002). Moreover, the relationship
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14 between level of identification and endorsement of the criteria for belonging may be
15
16 complex. For some, a high identification could be associated with an ethnic
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18 conception of Scottishness, yet for others it could be associated with a civic
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20 conception, which means high identifiers are unlikely to simply exhibit heightened
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22 conformity with the conception of ingroup identity implied in our Criteria
23
24 manipulation. Additionally, whilst we know from the multilevel modeling of the
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26 predictors of prejudice (Pehrson et al., 2009) that it is important to consider both an
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28 individual's own conceptualization of ingroup identity and that adopted by other
29
30 ingroup members, we know little about how these different elements combine to
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32 impact on another's treatment. Further studies which involve manipulating
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34 participants' understandings of what other group members believe (as in Studies 2 and
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36 3 reported here) could contribute in this regard.
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46 *Theoretical and Practical Implications*

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48 Taken as a whole, our research underlines the importance of recognising that
49
50 the treatment of others can be contingent on how we conceptualise ingroup identity.
51
52 The theoretical implications are wide-ranging. If one is interested in prejudice, it
53
54 suggests that rather than focusing on the perceptual biases that distort our perception
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56 of outgroups, we could instead consider how our conception of the ingroup impacts
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58 on who is judged as other and what this implies (Reicher, 2007). In turn, it follows
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4 much may be gained through considering the social and political processes shaping
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6 ingroup definition (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001) and this includes the issue of how
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8 minorities themselves contest their marginalization. Sometimes they may attempt to
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10 secure inclusion through performing established constructions of identity (Cheryan &
11
12 Monin, 2005). However, sometimes they may contest the very constructions of
13
14 national identity that exclude them (Hopkins, 2011).
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18 Attending to such social and political processes could also alert us to the
19
20 subtle ways in which conceptions of identity include and exclude. Celebrations of the
21
22 nation (e.g., national days) carry inferences about who belongs and on what terms.
23
24 For example, to the extent that public celebrations of Scottishness draw upon St.
25
26 Andrew (an ancient Christian saint adopted as Scotland's figurehead), we may find
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28 Scottishness is popularly understood as bound up with a Christian heritage, such that
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30 those adopting other religions (or none) find their Scottishness down-graded.
31
32 Analysing such social processes would not only contribute theoretically through
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34 widening our understandings of how identity definitions are consequential, but would
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36 also have practical benefits. In terms of research practice, this could involve
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38 developing alternative and more potent experimental manipulations of belonging than
39
40 those used here (and subtler analyses of the processes mediating their behavioral
41
42 effect). In terms of societal impact, awareness of such processes could help public
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44 bodies reflect on the diverse ways in which their own practices and communications
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46 may - quite unintentionally - disseminate representations of belonging that exclude
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48 (Reicher, McCrone & Hopkins, 2011).
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56 More work is needed to draw out these theoretical and practical implications.
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58 However, it is important not to lose sight of the significance of our own findings:
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4 constructions of ingroup identity matter for the degree to which individuals receive
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6 the benefits associated with group membership.
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For Peer Review

Footnotes

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1. We checked the model's distinctiveness by reversing the positions of perceptions of the confederate's Scottishness and helping. This was non-significant, indicating that although perceived Scottishness was measured *after* helping, the only significant model to be found involves perceived Scottishness predicting helping. That is, when the confederate wore a Scottish shirt, the Civic manipulation broadened understandings of who counted as Scottish, with the corollary that she was seen as more Scottish, and in turn received more help.

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Table Caption

Table 1

Study 1: Reception of the Target's comments and Perceptions of the Target's

Scottishness: Condition means (and standard deviations).

Heritage condition	Criteria condition			
	Civic		Ethnic	
	White	Chinese	White	Chinese
Reception of the Target's comments	4.11 (1.33)	4.93 (0.97)	4.45 (1.09)	3.69 (1.12)
Perceptions of the Target's Scottishness	4.34 (1.13)	4.77 (0.78)	4.61 (0.80)	4.09 (0.90)

Figure Caption

Figure 1. Study 3: The perceived Scottishness of the confederate according to condition.

