

THAT'S WHY I DON'T LIKE YOU: AN INVESTIGATION OF INTERGROUP
DISIDENTIFICATION IN A SOCIALIZATION CONTEXT

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

This study takes a social identity perspective to explain intergroup relationships within organizations. Specifically, I investigate how newcomers to an organization are socialized to an organization and why the sources of socialization can affect newcomers' perceptions of their workgroup and other workgroups in the organization. Newcomers to organizations often face uncertainty in their new organization and receive information about organizational norms, rules, and procedures from various sources such as coworkers, supervisors, or organizational attempts to provide a socialization program. I propose that newcomers that receive socialization from proximal sources such as coworkers and supervisors will be more likely to disidentify from other workgroups within the organization. Additionally, I propose various individual-level moderators to this relationship. Subsequently, intergroup disidentification can result in various attitudinal and behavioral outcomes such as intergroup conflict, ingroup favoritism, outgroup derogation, interpersonal deviance, and intentions to leave the organization. To test my hypotheses I conducted a lab experiment to test socialization sources' effects on intergroup disidentification and also the effects on ingroup/outgroup perceptions. I also conducted a field study to further test hypotheses related to intergroup behaviors as well as individual's reactions to intergroup disidentification.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
LIST OF TABLES	vii
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT	7
Social Identity Theory and Organizational Identification	7
Disidentification	16
What is Disidentification	16
What Disidentification is Not	21
Measurement Issues in Disidentification	24
Hypotheses Development: Socialization and Disidentification	27
Individual Difference Moderators	36
Social Dominance Orientation	38
Self-Esteem	39
Negative Affect	41
Social Comparison Orientation	43
Need to Belong	46
Neuroticism	49
Outcomes of Intergroup Disidentification	50
Disidentification and Ingroup Favoritism/Outgroup Derogation	51
Disidentification and Intergroup Conflict	53
CHAPTER III METHODS	55
Pilot Study	55
Lab Study	59
Sample	59
Procedure	59
Measures	63

Results	66
Lab Study Discussion	80
Field Study	81
Sample and Procedures	81
Measures.....	82
Results	85
Field Study Discussion.....	94
Post-hoc Analyses	95
Optimal Distinctiveness Theory.....	95
Results	99
CHAPTER IV DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	108
Overall Discussion	108
Contribution to Theory	108
Contributions to Practice.....	110
Limitations	111
Conclusion.....	112
REFERENCES.....	114
APPENDIX	135

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1 Pilot study scree plot.....	58
Figure 2 Interaction between socialization from supervisor and self-esteem (H4a).....	91
Figure 3 Interaction between divestiture and social comparison (SCO).....	103
Figure 4 Interaction between divestiture and need to belong.....	104
Figure 5 Interaction between divestiture and self-esteem.....	105

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1 Pilot study factor analysis	57
Table 2 Pilot study correlation	58
Table 3 Descriptive statistics and correlations for lab study regressions	68
Table 4 Antecedent for disidentification targeted towards the Marketing team	71
Table 5 Antecedents for disidentification targeted towards the Pricing team.....	73
Table 6 Outcomes of disidentification towards the Marketing team	78
Table 7 Outcomes of disidentification towards the Pricing team	79
Table 8 Descriptive statistics and correlations of field study variables	86
Table 9 Antecedents to intergroup disidentification for field study.....	88
Table 10 Outcomes of intergroup disidentification.....	94
Table 11 Descriptive statistics and correlations for post-hoc analyses	100
Table 12 Post-hoc regression predicting intergroup disidentification	101
Table 13 Direct effects on mediator and dependent variables	107
Table 14 Test for indirect effect of divestiture through intergroup disidentification.....	107

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Organizational scholars have used various theories to explain and understand phenomena regarding individual's attachment to and relationships with their organization, workgroup, and occupation. Social identity theory has been adopted by organizational scholars as a lens used to explain employees' attitudes about their working conditions and organizational membership as well as their behaviors such as turnover or extra-role behaviors (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Tajfel, 1978). Organizational identification has used social identity theory to explain the process of individuals defining themselves in relation to their work-related relationships and roles (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). One of the forms of identification with growing interest but with little theoretical or empirical exploration is organizational disidentification, or the detachment from a referent organization (i.e., defining what you are by what you are not). While the early social identity literature makes frequent mention of outgroup discrimination and derogation, within the organizational identification literature the attitudes about other groups have been seldom captured let alone expounded upon with regards to implications of disidentification (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008; Sluss, van Dick, & Thompson, 2011). The current research seeks to add to the social identity perspective of organizations by highlighting the construct of disidentification and how it relates to sources of newcomer socialization and intergroup relations.

Within organizations, particularly large ones, there are many subunits or workgroups that often must interact with each other in meaningful ways and consistent intervals in order to achieve workgroup goals and objectives as well as overall organizational goals and objectives. Intergroup relations require special attention from many aspect of the organization (Hogg, van Knippenberg, & Rast, 2012). However, much of the intergroup relations can be affected upon organizational entry. Unbeknownst to organizations, the socialization of newcomers may in fact be fueling intergroup perceptions through their socialization procedures and content. Social identity theory has been a source of explaining various group-level and organizational-level phenomena from both social psychological and organizational behavior perspectives. Individuals categorize and attach themselves to social groups in order to maintain a positive sense of self and to fulfill natural tendencies of belonging to larger groups (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Hornsey & Jetten, 2004; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Through various studies, Tajfel and others have shown that when individuals are put into groups they tend to compare and contrast themselves in relation to other groups, even when they have very limited to no interaction or interdependence with other groups (Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Tajfel & Billig, 1974; Tajfel, Flament, Billig, & Bundy, 1971). Several studies found that when given reward power, individuals were more likely to favor and be biased towards ingroup members by giving more rewards while discriminating against outgroups by giving them fewer rewards. Indeed, some individuals' main focus on granting awards to members of two groups was on a maximum difference of rewards where the difference between

ingroup and outgroup rewards was maximized (Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Tajfel et al., 1971).

This social identity perspective has also been used to explain the complexities of the self and how individuals will use relationships with others as well as with collectives to define themselves (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). This line of thinking has been adopted in much of the management literature with the concept of organizational identification (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Organizational identification is one form of organizational attachment that captures the cognitive and affective “oneness” that an individual feels with his or her organization. Research on organizational identification has received a great deal of attention from scholars resulting in various reviews and meta-analyses of the construct (Ashforth et al., 2008; Riketta, 2005; Riketta & van Dick, 2005). This model has been expanded to better understand people’s relationships with their work in self-definitional terms. One expansion has been in the target of the identification such as relational and occupational identification which emphasizes the social category to which people attach themselves to. Another expansion has been in the concept of organizational identification and the different forms it can take. For instance, neutral identification, ambivalent identification, over-identification, and disidentification have all been argued as different ways to describe an individual’s attachment to an organization (Elsbach, 1999; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004). Several of these forms have been conceptually and empirically shown to be distinct and somewhat independent of each other, suggesting that they do not belong on a continuum of over-identification on one end and disidentification on the other.

Understanding disidentification—individuals’ tendency to define themselves by entities they do not belong to—can have various contributions to both research and practice. Gaining a better understanding of disidentification contributes to social identity theory because of the focus on negative associations and outgroup attitudes. Recent research has found that negational identities (“non” or “anti” groups) have profound implications on individuals’ perceptions of the targeted outgroup such as more outgroup derogation and changes in voting preference when the ingroup is labeled in “negational” terms than when the group is labeled in affirmative terms (e.g., “non-white” vs. Hispanic; Zhong, Galinsky, & Unzueta, 2008a; Zhong, Phillips, Leonardelli, & Gallinsky, 2008b). While much of the research on social identity theory has tested the positive aspects of the social collective, much more research is needed on the “dark-side” of the social collective. Conversely, social identity’s mentions of outgroup bias and other potentially harmful outcomes of creating a social collective have not seemed to carry-over into the management literature as much as the positive aspects of the social collective.

Indeed, the modern day organization may fuel outgroup derogation and disidentification more so than the early social identity experiments. Organizations often embark on orientations, trainings, mentoring and other socialization tactics to create a strong sense of continuity and shared values and beliefs. During this process, as Ashforth and Mael (1989) mention, identification and internalization is likely to occur and ultimately the individual will view organizational or group membership as part of the definition of the self; however, as this process occurs, it is likely that individuals will

also make comparisons and distinctions to outgroups. In order to maintain a positive sense of self, individuals often look towards surrounding social groups to make sense of their own group and often these peer social groups which are found within the organization (Ashforth et al., 2008; Brewer & Gardner, 1996).

Organizational socialization is associated with the identification process for employees by creating a sense of certainty and clarification to roles and organizational membership (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). The process of socialization may increase identification and cohesiveness within a group; however, socialization may also have residual negative effects on intergroup relations. Employees are socialized into their organization by various tactics and gain information from various sources in the organization including supervisor and coworkers (Chao, Kelly, Wolf, Klein, & Gardner, 1994; Haueter, Macan, & Winter, 2003). Socialization can occur at institutional or individual levels meaning that the socialization process can be succinct and consistent throughout the organization (institutional) or can be more directed toward task or workgroups (individualized) (Jones, 1986). Given these different levels, the targets of identification and disidentification can likely be different depending on the organizational-level of the socialization. For instance, a hospital that has highly institutional level socialization tactics and content will likely prompt identification with the hospital itself while also identifying organizational-level “outgroups” or other hospitals for individuals to use as a comparative referent. However, a hospital that is highly individualized in its socialization tactics and content is more likely to see identification coalescing around workgroups and the individual will then use other

workgroups as the comparative group or “outgroup”. Thus, the socialization process can have implications on employees’ identification and disidentification targets and, consequently, can affect the conflict or effectiveness between workgroups. By understanding the mechanism of disidentification, managers can try to structure their socialization tactics to mitigate disidentification while still maintaining the positive aspects of identification with the organization (Hogg et al., 2012).

Following the social identity and self-categorization theories (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1987) the current research is intended to explicitly investigate how intergroup disidentification can occur as a result of socialization tactics and how intergroup disidentification can then lead to intergroup conflicts within an organization. The main purpose of the current research is to investigate the construct of disidentification within a socialization context because of the importance of socialization in forming the newcomers’ perceptions and relationships about the organization and organizational members (Ashforth and Mael, 1989). Additionally, I consider various individual-level moderators that may affect this relationship.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT

Social Identity Theory and Organizational Identification

Beginning in the early 1960's and early 1970's social psychologists began to investigate ingroup versus outgroup biases. From this research, social identity theory (SIT) emerged to explain why competitive group behavior emerged, even among groups that were arbitrarily formed and had no existing history with competing groups (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This theory suggests that human interaction ranges on a continuum from being purely interpersonal, meaning no awareness of social categories, to interactions that only occur across social categories, suggesting that people essentially act as representatives of their groups or social category. SIT suggests that when category distinctions become salient or pronounced, people emphasize similarities within the group and draw on differences and distinctions from other groups (Tajfel & Wilkes, 1963). This theory has mostly explained ingroup favoritism.

Social identity theory has been used to explain both one's concept of the self and one's relationship with groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Individuals identify themselves with social surroundings in order to gain and maintain a positive sense of self while also maintaining a certain amount of distinctiveness between themselves and others. Subsequently, individuals tend to define themselves in social terms, categorizing themselves into groups in which they belong (ingroups) and, conversely, groups in

which they do not belong (outgroups). Membership in these categories becomes part of the definition of the self (e.g., “I’m American”, “I’m a Democrat”, “I’m a professor”).

As individuals feel a sense of group membership, they also become aware of threats to the group that challenge the group’s identity and subsequently member self-esteem (Spears, Jetten, & Doosje, 2001). Tajfel and Turner (1986) suggest three strategies that an individual may use in overcoming the adverse effects of a group threat, which in turn can harm the individual’s sense of self (Kreiner, Ashforth, & Sluss, 2006; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The first strategy depends on the individual’s mobility with regards to the group. If an individual discovers that the group in which they are a part of is deemed undesirable they may exit the group and attach themselves to a non-tainted group (Hogg, 2003). An example of this strategy is former employees and clients of the accounting firm, Arthur Andersen. While Arthur Andersen was under identity threats of dishonesty and illegal practices during the Enron scandal, clients and employees started to disassociate, distance, and disidentify from the organization and sought employment or services elsewhere (Jensen, 2006).

The second strategy for combating threats is social competition (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Members of the ingroup desire to achieve positive distinctiveness by directly competing with the outgroup and these competitions can be on various status dimensions or for limited resources. Tajfel and Turner (1986) suggest that the social competition strategy requires the existence of a well-defined and salient out-group, a group representing a group rival or opposite other. Kreiner et al. (2006) suggest that social competition is useful in organizational studies if “the” outgroup is defined in more

general terms such as societal perceptions or in some cases, multiple outgroups. For example, an organization such as People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) combats multiple organizations that threaten PETA's values and is not pitted against one certain rival or opposite-other organization.

The third strategy for maintaining positive distinctiveness is by redefining the elements of comparison. Rather than competing with the outgroup, members of the ingroup will alter the elements of comparison with the outgroup in a way that makes the ingroup look more desirable or have higher status. This tactic is also found in the social comparison literature (Buunk & Gibbons, 2007; Festinger, 1954; Hakmiller, 1966) when making upwards and downwards comparisons, individuals undergoing a threat to their identity will choose to make downward comparisons with others who are worse off or of lower status on certain elements (Hakmiller, 1966; Wills, 1981). For example, Elsbach and Kramer (1996) found that members of U.S. business schools faced threats to their identity and positive sense of self when *Business Week* rankings did not reflect or agree with the members' perceptions of their respective schools. In order to maintain that positive self-image, members who felt threatened redefined the comparative elements (e.g., public vs. private universities, regional schools, research vs. teaching, etc.). Each of these three strategies could be used by an individual to maintain distinctiveness and a positive sense of self and all of the strategies involve some sort of distancing or disidentification from a particular social group or categorization.

Social identity's sister theory, self-categorization theory (SCT; Turner, 1987), shares many of the same assumptions and theoretical perspectives and are often

interchanged and referred to as ‘the social identity perspective’ or ‘social identity approach’ (Hornsey, 2008). SCT focuses on intergroup relationships as well as looking at group formation, deindividuation, conformity, deviance, and cohesion. This theory suggests that people make self-categorizations based on the accessibility and fit, both normative and comparative fit (Hornsey, 2008; Oakes, Turner, & Haslam, 1991). This view takes SIT a step further and says that people cognitively represent their groups, serving as a prototype of the group, thus taking on defining features of the group or social category. Making these cognitive distinctions, members of the social category will also take on prototypical behaviors and attitudes of the ingroup (Hogg, 1996) which often results in ingroup bias and outgroup derogation (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Zhong et al., 2008a).

Ashforth and Mael (1989) first began to integrate social identity theory into the management literature by clarifying the concept of organizational identification. While identification with an organization had been a concept recognized by management scholars (Brown, 1969; O’Reilly & Chatman, 1986), Ashforth and Mael used the theory of social identity to give clarification and coherence to the phenomena of organizational identification and its managerial implications. Ashforth and Mael (1989) point out how social identification in part derives from group identification literature (Tolman, 1943). The group identification literature points out four main principles that Ashforth and Mael investigate when introducing organizational identification. First, identification is a “perceptual cognitive construct that is not necessarily associated with any specific behaviors or affective states” (pg. 21), meaning that an individual does not necessarily

need to engage in behaviors or affectively be satisfied with the group in order to feel a part of or fused to the group.

Second, group identification involves the individual to experience the successes and the failures of the group (Foote, 1951; Tolman, 1943). It is important to note that even though identification is a cognitive construct, it may have affect-related consequences. Indeed, experiencing successes and failure with a group can be reason for the group becoming more cohesive, defined, and solidified—clarifying the organization’s overall identity and as well as the individual’s identity (Albert & Whetten, 1985).

The third aspect that Ashforth and Mael (1989) point out is that identification is distinctive from internalization (Kelman, 1961; O’Reilly & Chatman, 1986). Internalization is more associated with the alignment of values and attitudes while identification is aligned with social categories. This distinction allows individuals to identify with an organization while also not adopting its values, conversely, an individual may agree with certain values and attitudes of an organization while also not necessarily identifying with that organization. Identification is related to a social category in which the individual defines him/herself (I am X) while internalization involves values without category dependence (I believe in X).

Lastly, identification with a group or organization is similar to identification with a person or relational-identification. Individuals are often defined in terms of relationships (e.g., parent-child, husband-wife, teacher-student). These relationships give structure, often hierarchical, to the individual’s own standing relative to others (Sluss &

Ashforth, 2007). Brewer and Gardner (1996) also explain how relational identities give clarity to one's roles, suggesting that many of the roles people undertake are derived on the relational identities that are salient in one's life.

The integration of the social identification literature into the management sphere by Ashforth and Mael (1989) has stemmed a vast amount of research exploring the antecedents to and consequences of organizational identification as well as different targets of identification such as role identification (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Sluss et al., 2011), relational identification (Sluss & Ashforth, 2007; Sluss & Ashforth, 2008), supervisor identification (Hollensbe, Khazanchi, & Masterson, 2008), occupational identification (Ashforth et al., 2008; Hekman, Steensma, Bigley, & Hereford, 2009), and workgroup or subunit identification (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Kramer, 1991). I will briefly summarize the research on each of these targets.

A role has been considered the set of behavioral expectations related to one's position in a social setting (Merton, 1957; Sluss et al., 2011; Stryker, 2007). Subsequently, role identification represents how the role occupant interprets the role and makes sense of in-role versus extra-role behavior (Stets & Burke, 2000; Tepper, Lockhart, & Hoobler, 2001). At times, individuals may have multiple roles which they must take on at various points of time throughout their career (newcomer to mentor) or even throughout their day (supervisor in one meeting and subordinate in another meeting). Roles can be a short duration or a long duration, each requiring their own unique transitions between roles (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000). The ease of movement between roles and also what often determines role behaviors of an individual

is due in part to which role is salient to an individual (i.e., which role is consistent with the individual's identity or maintenance of a positive identity). It is also important to delineate the terms of job position and work role (Ilgen & Hollenbeck, 1991). Two individuals may have the same job position (bank teller) but have different roles (mentor vs. newcomer). Role identification is important to understand in the grand scheme of social identification because when individuals take on a certain role, they often take on prototypical behaviors of that role even across social boundaries (Ashforth et al., 2000).

Relational identification is related to role identification due to the inherent social environments that people are typically in. Within relationships, specifically dyadic relationships, each individual plays a particular role (e.g., parent-child, supervisor-subordinate). Sluss and Ashforth (2007) theorized that relational and role identifications are intertwined and help make sense of the individual, interpersonal, and collective levels of self. Encompassed in relational identification is supervisor identification (Hogg, Martin, Epitropaki, Mankad, Svensson, & Weeden, 2005). Much of the literature in supervisor identification has yielded to the findings and literature related to leader-member exchange and the importance of this dyadic relationship and the part that identification with the supervisor can play in that relationship (Hogg et al., 2005; Hogg et al., 2012).

At a seemingly higher level of identification is what is known as occupational or professional identification (Ashforth et al., 2008; Hekman et al., 2009). Occupational identification explains how individuals define themselves within a certain occupation, typically found among "professional" occupations such as lawyers, doctors, professors,

etc. (e.g., “I’m a doctor”, “I’m a lawyer”). Individuals with a high sense of occupational identification do not have a particular commitment or attachment to a certain employing organization; rather, they are loyal to their occupation and occupational standards. Recent research among physicians found that physicians were more likely to adhere to overall professional standards of patient care and demands rather than adhere to requests from hospital administrators with regards to patient turnover and quantity of patients seen in a particular period of time (Hekman et al., 2009).

Workgroup identification is unique in that it contains similar characteristics to organizational identification in that they both emphasize the idea of defining the self as part of a collective. However, workgroup identification tends to maintain a relatively small collective, yet is larger than the dyadic examples often found in relational identification. Organizational identification is often seen as a “superordinate” identity illustrating the commonalities across various “subordinate” identities. For example, U. S. citizens share the common collectives of being Americans, which serves as a superordinate identity; however, each U.S. citizen is a resident of a specific state in the country (Texans, Kansans, etc.) representing a subordinate identity. Similarly, in work organizations there are often departments and divisions to which an employee is a part of which is embedded within the larger collective of the organization (e.g., accounting, sales, marketing, etc.).

Workgroups tend to be more concrete and exclusive than overall organizations making the collective workgroup identity salient to the individual (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Kramer, 1991). Group identification has been found to have various benefits such

as a reduction in social loafing and tardiness (Ellemers, de Gilder, & Haslam, 2004; van Dick, 2001), fighting for the group and monitoring group behavior (Branscombe & Ellemers, 1998; Spears et al., 2001). Overall group attachment has been found to be beneficial for group satisfaction, group climate, and group extra-role behavior (Riketta & van Dick, 2005).

Previous research has suggested that identification with the workgroup is often times the most influential with regards to an individual's social identity within the work context. Individuals are typically more influenced by their immediate workgroup in which they spend most of their time within those roles and more easily interpret prototypical behavior for the workgroup (Ashforth et al., 2008). However, not all group norms and behavior are desirable; indeed high identification has led to undesirable actions such as unethical behavior (Umphress, Bingham, & Mitchell, 2010) and overall intergroup hostility and conflict (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

This overview of social and organizational identification is meant to give some context to the complexity and nuances of identification. A more extensive review can be found in Ashforth and coauthors (2008) in which they delve into the importance of identification and the cognitive process as to why individuals identify with their organizations or workgroups.

Understanding identification is particularly important, especially in dealing with separate groups or organizations that at some point in time have to interact with each other, whether it is in a competitive environment such as market competitors or

collaborative conditions such as various workgroups needing to collaborate to accomplish overarching organizational goals. An aspect of identification that has been alluded to since the theory's inception but has seldom been explicitly investigated is the process of defining oneself by which categories one does not belong or disidentification (Elsbach, 1999; Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004; Pratt, 1998). This notion of disidentification and the corresponding literature will be reviewed in the following section.

Disidentification

What is Disidentification

When applying the social identity approach to understanding employees and their organization, it is important that for every ingroup (we) there is an outgroup (them). Additionally, within the organizational identification literature there have been attempts to expand the identification model to include ambivalent identification, neutral identification, and disidentification (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2004; Elsbach, 1999). Among this expanded model organizational disidentification introduces the concept of self-definition based on categorical differences or “non-membership” rather than similarities or organizational membership. Similar to organizational identification (i.e., oneness with an organization), there has been some research on organizational disidentification (i.e., separateness with an organization; Elsbach, 1999).

Elsbach and Bhattacharya (2001) defined organizational disidentification as “a self-perception based on a cognitive separation between one's identity and one's perception of the identity of an organization, and a negative relational categorization of

oneself and the organization” (pg. 397). They highlight five attributes emphasized in this definition: 1) disidentification is a cognitive process, 2) it is a relational categorization focusing on enemies or rivals, 3) it is conceptually different than cognitive apathy or nonidentification, 4) it is a self-perception of the organization, not a perception of the organization, and 5) negative perceptions of an organization does not require a person to define his or her identity based on the separation, however, this is true in some cases (e.g., anti-gun).

Organizational disidentification has been theoretically conceptualized as orthogonal or independent of organizational identification, meaning that identification and disidentification are not opposite ends of a continuum but are distinct constructs (Elsbach, 1999; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004). Elsbach and Bhattacharya (2001) conducted focus groups from the general public to identify an organization in which people frequently brought up as one in which they made deliberate efforts to detach themselves from or include as part of their self-definition as not belonging to this organization. The organization that was frequently discussed in the focus groups was the National Rifle Association (NRA). Once the NRA was identified as being an organization in which people disidentified, Elsbach and Bhattacharya surveyed individuals in the general public about their views of the NRA and found various antecedents predicting individual-level organizational disidentification. Second, a study by Kreiner and Ashforth (2004) sought to illustrate the discriminate validity to the different facets of organizational identification model (e.g., identification, disidentification, ambivalent identification, neutral identification). They found that in fact these different facets found

empirical support as being distinct in their correlations and predictive ability to related constructs. Additionally, Elsbach and Bhattacharya found that disidentification also had different antecedents than identification and disidentification can also lead to different outcomes or behaviors than just merely “low identifiers”. Conversely, Lane and Scott (2007) suggested that disidentification has a stronger relationship with affective components rather than the cognitive approach that the identification literature tends to focus. Despite these few studies, there have been various calls for more research in this area to understand the larger picture of organizational identification

Disidentification can highlight the ingroup bias and outgroup derogation by emphasizing differences between groups through means such as cynicism, rumors, protests, and other forms of separation between the individual and the entity (Einwiller & Kamins, 2008; Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001; Fleming, 2005). Individuals who disidentify with certain outgroups will also make biased judgments towards those outgroups. Einwiller and Kamins (2008) found that individuals are more likely to believe an aversive rumor about an entity in which they disidentified from and would also be willing to spread the rumor; however, if the aversive rumor was related to an entity in which they did identify, individuals would be quick to dispel the rumor and actually show stronger commitment to that entity.

Disidentification can also play a role in the sensemaking process of defining the self (Ashforth et al., 2008; Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001). Within the identification literature there is discussion about emulation, where one changes to become more congruent to the target of identification (Pratt, 1998). Emulation also precedes affinity,

where one recognizes congruence with the target's identity (Ashforth et al., 2008; Pratt, 1998). Conversely, individuals can develop their self-concept by avoiding negative role models rather than just emulating good ones (Gibson, 2003). Gibson (2003) asked people about attributes they look for in a role model; among the respondents, 35% identified attributes and attitudes in role models that they sought to avoid, suggesting that when individuals look for models of behavior they identify negative examples to distance and disidentify from (Gibson, 2003).

Zhong and coauthors used the term “negational identity” or “negational categorization” to illustrate the effects of disidentification from an organization or social group (Zhong et al., 2008a; Zhong et al., 2008b). One study took place during the 2008 presidential election in which Black voters overwhelmingly preferred Barack Obama and Latinos and Asians favored Hillary Clinton. Individuals participated in an experiment that was similar to primary polling procedures; however, the framing of the social category was manipulated such that individuals were categorized in negational terms (e.g., non-White) or on their affirmational identity (e.g., Asian or Latino). Zhong et al. (2008b) found that when Asians and Latinos categorized themselves in negational terms as “non-White” they were more likely to vote for Obama than Asians and Latinos that were categorized in the affirmational identity (e.g., Asian or Latino). In a related study on negational categorization, Zhong et al. (2008a) found that people increase their negational identification (i.e., defining themselves by categories in which they do not belong) based on the need for distinctiveness between groups; additionally they found that negational identity (e.g., “not group M”) led to increased outgroup derogation. That

is, when a group was literally defined as a “non” group (“not group M”), members of that group would express derogation for the affirmation group (“group M”). These studies highlight that in some cases, sharing common enemies or having a “negational identity” is sometimes the very element which defines a group and makes that group cohesive. Similarly, Bosson, Johnson, Niederhoffer, and Swann (2006) found that sharing a negative attitude or derogation about a third party was effective in promoting closeness between people. This supports the notion that identification and disidentification can be related, in that part of identifying with your ingroup may involve disidentifying with an outgroup; however, affirmational identity is conceptually and empirically distinct than negational identity (Bosson et al., 2006).

As many of these examples illustrate, disidentification, much like identification, can occur at many levels whether it is at superordinate identities such as national or racial disidentification (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007) or between small collectives or groups (Zhong et al., 2008a). Given the managerial and practical implications, the focus of this study is workgroup disidentification. As previously mentioned, individuals often find their workgroup identification to be most salient in their work environment due to the proximity and frequency of interactions with ingroup members. Additionally, workgroups are often exposed to other peer workgroups within the same organization and at times compete for overall organizational resources but still have a charge and incentive to collaborate in order to reach “superordinate” or overall organizational goals. Hogg et al. (2012) recently illustrated the challenges of managing workgroup identities within an organization and gives organizational examples such as groups of doctors and

nurses within a hospital. Both have their own space and domain within the hospital and each group has its own distinct identity, which at times are at odds with the other group's identity and objectives. These intergroup relations can often be bitter and lacking in respect. These intergroup conflicts illustrate that disidentification can likely occur within an organization at the intergroup level.

What Disidentification is Not

Somewhat ironic, but nonetheless appropriate, the construct of disidentification must be contrasted with similar constructs. Specifically, how disidentification is different from related constructs such as rivalry and social competition, and also how disidentification is not the other end of an identification continuum but is indeed orthogonal to identification (Elsbach, 1999; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004).

Recent research on organizational rivalry has defined it as “a subjective competitive relationship that an actor has with another actor that entails increased psychological involvement and perceived stakes of competition for the focal actor, independent of the objective characteristics of the situation. In other words, rivalry exists when an actor places greater significance on the outcomes of competition against—or is more ‘competitive’ toward—certain opponents compared to others, as a direct result of his or her competitive relationships with these opponents (with any financial, reputational, or other objective stakes held constant)” (Kilduff, Elfenbein, & Staw, 2010, pg. 945). This definition of rivalry shares common elements with disidentification but also has distinctive boundary conditions that may not apply to disidentification. Rivalry puts an emphasis on competitiveness between two or more entities. While rivalry

certainly and likely encompasses some sense of disidentification, disidentification does not require traditional competitiveness between organizations. The negative perception does not stem from market share or product placement, rather, it can stem from deep-level dissimilarity between individual values and organizational values. For example, in Elsbach and Bhattacharya's (2001) study of individuals' relationship to the NRA, individuals did not see the NRA as a competing organization; in fact, respondents did not share a common incumbent organization, but nevertheless part of their own sense of self was enhanced by disidentifying from a highly visible and at times controversial organization.

Additionally, the proposed antecedents of rivalry and disidentification are conceptually different. Antecedents to rivalry are 1) similarity; meaning that entities typically compare performance to similar others and are likely to have similar 'valued identities' or identities they strive for, 2) prior competitive interaction, and 3) history of competitiveness or contests decided by small margins. These antecedents are fundamentally different than antecedents of disidentification which Elsbach and Bhattacharya (2001) proposed as 1) perceptions that one's personal values conflict with the values of the target organization, 2) perceptions that the organization's reputation may affect one's personal reputation, 3) perceptions that all organizational members are similar in their values and beliefs, and 4) perceptions of the organization based on limited personal experience with its members. While these antecedents are conceptually different it should be noted that rivalry and disidentification are both dependent on individual perception. There are likely many instances of competitive, and similarly

disidentification, asymmetries (Chen, 1996). One individual or group may deem a target group as a rival, but that same perception may not be reciprocated. Both constructs of rivalry and disidentification are not dependent on mutual or reciprocal antagonistic perceptions, rather both are defined as self-perceptions of the outgroup or competing rival.

Rivalry also tends to be based more on the history between groups while disidentification is less dependent on intergroup interaction and in contrast disidentification may be heightened when there is less interaction between groups and individuals are left to discern opinions of the outgroup based on limited exposure and prototypical judgments (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Rivalry has an emphasis on similar identities between individuals or groups. Rivals can cognitively disidentify with each other in order to highlight the distinctive qualities between each other while in reality the two may share more commonalities than differences. However, disidentification is not dependent on the similar identities between two groups in the same way as rivalry. An individual may disidentify with an organization or group because the identity of the individual and the identity of the referent group are incompatible or, in extreme cases, the antithesis of the individual's identity. Additionally, rivalry heightens with the more contact or closer physical proximity between two opponents; disidentification, however, follows the social identity approach of prototypes and stereotypes, suggesting that the keeping of personal experience with the opposing organization limited will increase disidentification as opposed to more frequent contact (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1987).

It is also important to delineate disidentification from the more positive sense of attachment, identification. As noted, disidentification has been conceptualized as a separate construct than identification by various scholars (Elsbach, 1999; Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004). One can have a high level of identification towards their ingroup but have no real sense of disidentification towards an outgroup (Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004). Additionally, one does not need to have a high level of identification towards an ingroup to result in disidentification towards another group or organization. This is illustrated by Elsbach and Bhattacharya's (2001) investigation of individual's disidentification from the NRA. The participants in their study did not belong to a certain organization that was opposing the NRA nor did they even belong to the same group. However, they still used their negative relationship with the NRA as a way of defining themselves despite not having a strong identification towards an opposing social group.

Measurement Issues in Disidentification

While the conceptual treatment of disidentification has primarily adopted the point of view that identification and disidentification are two distinct constructs, the empirical treatment of disidentification has strayed from this original conception, thus adding confusion to the treatment of disidentification. Specifically, many studies have operationalized disidentification as low levels of identification. Additionally, while originally conceptualized as the detachment towards "outgroups" or "others," disidentification has, at times, been empirically been targeted towards ingroups or organizations in which the respondent belonged (Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004). Examples

of each mistreatment will be highlighted below. These empirical mistreatments of the original theoretical conception of disidentification has stymied the use and understanding of the construct of disidentification. While the current project is not intended nor designed to be a measurement validation of disidentification, it is intended to clarify the construct and emphasize the construct's original meaning.

The first empirical use of disidentification comes from Elsbach and Bhattacharya (2001) when they surveyed many individuals from the general population about their feelings toward the NRA. They went through a validation process of their measure and the target of the disidentification was the NRA. Since they surveyed the general population, most respondents had no formal attachment to the NRA; additionally, very few were formally attached to some type of "anti-gun" group. Results showed discriminant validity and internal reliability of their three-item measure of disidentification. The three items were worded, "the NRA's failures are my successes," "when someone praises the NRA it feels like a personal insult", and "when someone criticizes the NRA it feels like a personal compliment".

With an attempt to expand the identification literature, Kreiner and Ashforth (2004) created a measure of organizational disidentification similar to Elsbach and Bhattacharya (2001). However, this measure conceptually deviates from that of Elsbach and Bhattacharya (2001). Kreiner and Ashforth (2004) describe disidentification with the organizational in which the individual is a member while Elsbach and Bhattacharya (2001) do not make any association with actual organizational membership; in fact, most of those who disidentified with the NRA were not affiliated with the NRA or an anti-

NRA organization. Identifying the target of the disidentification is important for making predictions for what is causing disidentification and also predicting the outcomes of disidentification. In particular, disidentification from an incumbent organization is more conceptually in line with constructs such as “ambivalent identification” (Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004; Elsbach, 1999) and schizo- or split identification (Gutierrez, Howard-Grenville, & Scully, 2010). Disidentification toward an incumbent organization is likely to lead to organization exit or, in some circumstances, facilitate change efforts among organizational members. These are individuals who have attachment and desire to remain in the organization but protest certain aspects or policies of the organization (Gutierrez et al., 2010). Nonetheless, the target of the disidentification is important; however, it is unclear whether the target needs to be a specific organization or group or if it can be directed towards outgroups in general. Certainly the salience of a specific target would perhaps trigger heightened affective feelings (Kilduff et al., 2010); however, disidentification is not limited to perceptions of separation towards one single entity (Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001).

As noted, some limited research has treated disidentification and identification on a continuum with low levels of identification representing disidentification (Einwiller & Kamins, 2008). While the two constructs are related, low identification should not be used as a substitute for identification given the conceptualizations of the two constructs previously discussed (Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004). Additionally, a graphical measure has been used to assess identification (Bergami & Bagozzi, 2000). The graphical scale consists of two circles, one representing the organization and the other representing the

individual. These two circles are presented at different distances from each other and eventually overlapping suggesting the overlap between individual and organization. It is unclear how this single-item graphical scale would depict disidentification.

These multiple empirical uses of disidentification have no doubt caused some conceptual confusion as well as methodological difficulties. The purpose of this study is to investigate disidentification at the workgroup level which allows for the original measure of disidentification established by Elsbach and Bhattacharya (2001). While there may be intergroup competition for resources within an organization, some workgroups are fundamentally different and provide categorically different products and services for the organization. For example, a sales department and a human resources department have different objectives, training, and procedures but an individual in the sales department must interact with the HR department at some point during the tenure with the organization. The two departments are not necessarily competitors; however, there is likely to exist some disidentification between the two departments that may affect intergroup relations (Hammonds, 2005). Certain work practices may contribute to this intergroup disidentification such as socialization tactics. Socialization typically has the objective of removing ambiguity in the work environment. In doing so, socialization may define and label certain workgroups in positive or negative ways. The following discussion highlights how socialization practices relate to intergroup disidentification.

Hypotheses Development: Socialization and Disidentification

When employees enter a new work environment, whether a new place of employment or a new workgroup, they undergo some sort of socialization process.

Newcomers are often concerned with the sensemaking of their situation and the building of a self-definition in relation to the organization (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Ashforth et al., 2008; Louis, 1980; Van Maanen, 1978; Weick, 1995). Likewise, newcomers often experience a sense of uncertainty about their place and standing in the environment (Katz, 1985; Saks & Ashforth, 1997). In the initial application of social identity theory into the work environment, Ashforth and Mael (1989) suggested organizational socialization as a key aspect in the process of individuals adopting their views of the organization and their initial attachment, internalization, and identification with the organization.

Ashforth and Mael (1989) argued that the socialization process introduces newcomers to the values and beliefs of the organization; this then begins the process of the newcomer identifying prototypes of the group and group behavior and internalizing the values and beliefs. They argue that the internalizing of values and beliefs can be preceded by identification, or cognitive evaluation of oneness, with the organization. The attachment between self and organization at times requires the detachment from other social groups. Van Maanen (1978) describes the difference between investiture and divestiture processes that organizations pursue to either ratify the newcomer's incoming identity (investiture) or redefining the incoming identity to incorporate an organizational-referent identity. This is similar to Louis' (1980) discussion of the socialization process that individuals undergo; specifically, the contrast feature of her model highlights that some newcomers will have certain levels of detachment when entering a new organization by "letting go of old roles" (p. 236). Although Louis (1980)

suggests this detachment process to be somewhat internal to the newcomer rather than a public display, some organizations undergo a socialization process to facilitate the detachment process through rituals or ceremonies to distinguish the role the incumbent plays and does not play (Ashforth, 2000) which can result in an internalization of the new role of the newcomer. For instance, individuals in the medical profession or law enforcement are socialized in a way that their occupation takes on an existential role, meaning they are never “off-duty.” This type of identification with their occupation or organization inherently requires the individuals to separate or disidentify with others in a more “civilian” type occupation (e.g., “I’m a police officer, not a civilian”).

Socialization can be performed through various tactics (e.g., orientations, mentoring) and can vary in content (e.g., job tasks versus organizational culture) as well as the source of the socialization (e.g., institutionalized or organizational level, supervisor, coworkers). Van Maanen and Schein (1979) originally defined six dimensions of socialization tactics; namely 1) collective versus individualized, 2) formal versus informal, 3) sequential versus random training steps, 4) fixed versus variable sequencing of training, 5) serial or disjunctive in reference to insider help with adjustment (mentors), and 6) investiture versus divestiture (asking newcomers to give up their prior identity). Jones (1986) classified these tactics along the continuum of institutionalized and individualized tactics. Institutionalized tactics typically come in the form of large, company-wide, systematic orientation and training. These can vary in length from a few hours to several days or weeks and are typically found within larger organizations. Individualized tactics are often less formal and typically the newcomer

will begin working their new position and learn the company values and beliefs along the way (Bauer & Erdogan, 2010; Jones, 1986).

The socialization literature has trended towards a focus on sources of socialization rather than socialization tactics (Bauer & Erdogan, 2010). The sources of socialization that an individual undergoes can have various effects on overall identification and the target of identification (e.g., organization or workgroup). Likewise, this can have strong effects on disidentification from certain targets (other organizations or workgroups). Newcomers typically seek ways to reduce the uncertainty of their new role by seeking for information on their task, organizational expectations, attitudes, and beliefs (Louis, 1980). In order to reduce this uncertainty, newcomers will also look to internal prototypes to emulate desirable behaviors (Ashforth et al., 2008) and will also look for external examples of how not to behave (Gibson, 2003). Haueter et al. (2003) suggested that newcomers learn organizational values from three different domains; the organization, the workgroup, and the job itself (the task). Their research built on Chao et al.'s (1994) concepts of multiple domains and sources of organizational socialization. Additionally, Kammeyer-Mueller and Wanberg (2003) suggested that socialization influence for newcomers stemmed from organizational, leader, and coworker influences. They found that the source of socialization has differing effects on task mastery, role clarity, workgroup integration, and political knowledge of the organization, with organizational socialization influence providing role clarity while leader influences added task mastery and political knowledge and coworker influences giving clarity to

workgroup integration (Kammeyer-Mueller & Wanberg, 2003; Li, Harris, Boswell, & Xie, 2011).

Organizational socialization influences tend to be manifest in formal trainings and orientations that are consistent for all newcomers regardless of their department or workgroup and tend to improve organizational commitment (Miller & Jablin, 1991). Organizational socialization influences tend to be more institutionalized and seek to clarify the organization's mission, structure, and intergroup coordination (Kammeyer-Mueller & Wanberg, 2003). This type of socialization seeks to ensure that all newcomers are given a common onboarding experience and introduction to the organization and may set organization-wide expectations and rules. Socialization from such a high level is likely to identify referents of disidentification that are external to the organization (Ashforth et al., 2008). For instance, a newcomer to an organization that only engages in organization-wide training is only getting information about the organization and how the organization fits in the larger market of competitors and would receive information about where the organization fits in comparison with other similar organizations or competitors (e.g., "our university is ranked X", "our hospital is the best in the region").

However, Kammeyer-Mueller and Wanberg (2003) highlight the "small group socialization perspective" (p. 783) which tends to focus on how newcomers learn organizational norms from more proximal relationships such as coworkers and leaders (Moreland & Levine, 2001). Socialization influences from leaders and coworkers tend to be more individualized, organic, and idiosyncratic. Coworkers within a workgroup tend to be some of the strongest sources of information about workgroup norms and

expectations (Morrison, 1993; Ostroff & Kozlowski, 1992). Likewise, workgroup leaders or supervisors establish personal relationships with newcomers and can affect the overall climate of the workgroup as well as disseminate knowledge of reward structures and organizational expectations to newcomers (Bauer & Green, 1998; Chatman, 1989). Leaders are also effective in explaining how informal political processes occur within the organization (Ostroff & Kozlowski, 1992).

An emphasis on the role of socialization on identification has been made at the subunit or workgroup level for at least three reasons (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). First, the inherent task interdependence and proximity that occurs at the subunit level exposes the newcomer to the values and beliefs that exist within the subunit and may not be shared by all organizational members. Second, individuals prefer to compare themselves with similar others but also remain distinctive (Festinger, 1954; Kilduff et al., 2010). Similar others are likely to be found within the organization but in different workgroups where tasks and interpersonal differentiation are likely to be highlighted. Third, the subunit may be seen as a psychological group where there are opportunities for self-stereotyping and also forming collective stereotypes of outgroups (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961). Socialization from these proximal sources are more likely to identify targets of differentiation and disidentification within the organization because their proximal attachment to the workgroup will be stronger and serve as the dominant social identity in the workplace. As a result, this strong attachment at the workgroup level will yield detachment (disidentification) from other workgroups within the organization. Louis (1980) suggests that newcomers experience levels of attachment and detachment

somewhat simultaneously as they enter a new work environment. They must distinguish where they belong and do not belong through their sensemaking process of being introduced to the new environment (Brewer, 1991).

Conversely, newcomers typically go through the socialization process with a shared cohort of individuals when socialization comes from more distal sources such as organizational-wide training and orientation. This cohort may be made up of newcomers from many different workgroups and occupational disciplines, thus creating a diverse cohort of newcomers that experience the socialization process together. Exposure to individuals from different departments within the same organization tends to decrease intergroup conflicts and individuals engage in less stereotyping of outgroup members (Hogg et al., 2012). Organizational efforts to socialize newcomers will also project the overall organization's identity onto the newcomer and identify targets of disidentification outside of the organization rather than within (e.g., "We are Microsoft, not Apple"). For example, incoming freshmen at a university often participate in socialization practices that are directed by the university rather than specific academic departments. These new freshmen experience the socialization with other freshmen made up of all different types of majors and interests. Because of the integrative nature of this type of socialization experience, a freshman will be less likely to stereotype and disidentify from another student of a different academic discipline. The newcomers share a common experience with each other and also share a higher-level of identification (i.e., identification to the university). Thus, socialization practices directed

at the organizational level will be less likely to result in negative intergroup relations and result in a negative relationship with intergroup disidentification.

On the other end of the spectrum, incoming freshmen who receive all of their socialization from others within their academic disciplines and experience their orientation solely from the academic discipline level, rather than from the overall university level, will be more prone to stereotyping and disidentifying from other academic disciplines in the university. This results because there is some level of organizational identification (i.e., identification to the university) but it is the subunit identity (i.e., the academic discipline) that is made salient (e.g., “I am a member of the university, but I am in the hard sciences and not the soft sciences”).

In summary, these three different socialization influences (coworker, leader, and organizational) can affect intergroup beliefs and attitudes. Organizational influences give a consistent message to all newcomers and emphasize organizational-wide goals and values and identify targets to differentiate from that are external to the organization. However, more proximal sources such as coworkers or leaders give more idiosyncratic information highlighting differences between workgroups within the organization resulting in peer workgroups serving as comparative referents which can result in intergroup disidentification (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967).

Formally stated,

Hypothesis 1a: Leader socialization influence will be positively related with intergroup disidentification.

Hypothesis 1b: Coworker socialization influence will be positively related with intergroup disidentification.

Hypothesis 1c: Organizational socialization influence will be negatively related to intergroup disidentification.

It is important to remember that newcomers are likely to receive information from all three sources of socialization influence. Leader, coworker, and organizational socialization influence can be independent of each other, suggesting that a newcomer can receive information from all three sources simultaneously. For example, some studies find that newcomers typically undergo an organization-wide orientation at the beginning of employment (Boswell, Shipp, Payne, & Culbertson, 2009) which can be followed by subsequent training and orientations that are systematic by the organization and facilitated either by in-person contact or online procedures. During this socialization process, newcomers are also being introduced to their coworkers as well as becoming accustomed to the expectations of their supervisor. Consequently, newcomers are likely to get influences from both the organization and coworkers simultaneously. Previous research suggests that more proximal influences tend to have stronger effects on employees' perceptions and beliefs, particularly coworkers, than do more distal efforts through orientations and organizational-wide training (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Chiaburu & Harrison, 2008; Kammeyer-Mueller & Wanberg, 2003; Moreland & Levine, 2001). Newcomers look to those they interact with most frequently as role models of behavior and these proximal sources also influences the perceptions of other workgroups within the organization which can lead to intergroup disidentification. Some research suggests

that despite strong organizational efforts, newcomers are still very susceptible to the influence of their coworkers and workgroups. This strong influence at the workgroup level results in the targets of disidentification being other workgroups rather than referents external to the organization. Given the strong influence of coworkers on newcomer beliefs and subsequent intergroup disidentification, I suggest greater coworker socialization influence will weaken the negative relationship between organizational efforts and intergroup disidentification. Thus,

Hypothesis 2: Coworker socialization influence will moderate the negative relationship between organizational socialization influence and disidentification such that the relationship will be weaker when coworker socialization influence is high.

Individual Difference Moderators

Employee dispositions and characteristics are likely to affect employees' reactions to socialization tactics and specifically, the extent to which socialization sources foster disidentification. Various employee characteristics such as proactive personalities (Crant, 2000), extraversion (Kammeyer-Mueller & Wanberg, 2003), openness (Salgado, 1997), and previous employment (Carr, Pearson, vest, & Boyar, 2006) have been found associated with the socialization of new employees and their organizational adjustments and reactions to socialization (Bauer & Erdogan, 2010). Additionally, various individual traits have been found to affect individuals' perceptions of others (Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004). Likewise, individual characteristics often moderate the effects of organizational socialization methods and individual behaviors and attitudes (Ashforth & Saks, 1996). In this study I focus on the individual

characteristics that affect the relationship between socialization and intergroup disidentification; namely, social dominance orientation, social comparison orientation, self-esteem, need-to-belong, negative affectivity, and neuroticism.

These individual-level moderators can be categorized into two theoretical perspectives aimed at explaining the motives behind individuals' tendencies to affiliate and differentiate themselves with groups. One theoretical perspective is to enhance the sense of self (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). People affiliate with groups to feel good about themselves and to compensate personal voids that affect their own self-worth. Individuals' social dominance orientation, self-esteem, and negative affect fit into this category of identification motives. The other motive for identification is more of a cognitive approach to reduce uncertainty for individuals with regards to their social standing within certain environments. Newcomers are particularly prone to experience ambiguity and uncertainty when starting new employment (Jones, 1986; Louis, 1980). People look to self-categorize themselves in groups and distinguish groups in which they do not belong in order to reduce uncertainty (Turner, 1987). Individual's social comparison orientation, need to belong, and neuroticism correspond with the uncertainty reduction motive to disidentify. Both the self-enhancement motive and the uncertainty reduction motive for disidentification are likely to be found in newcomers given the ambiguity of starting a new job and the desire to have a positive onboarding experience (Louis, 1980). I now present hypotheses for each of these moderators.

Social Dominance Orientation

Social dominance theory proposes that an individual-level disposition, called social dominance orientation (SDO), will affect the perceptions of intergroup bias and derogation. Specifically, people high on SDO view groups in a hierarchy of status and power with some groups being superior and others inferior (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). SDO is considered to play an important role in the adoption of policies and ideologies that are relevant to group relations. SDO has also been shown to play a key factor in the relationship between group asymmetries such as ingroup favoritism and outgroup discrimination. Sidanius, Pratto, and Mitchell (1994) found that individuals who were high on both ingroup identification and SDO showed the most ingroup bias; however, Levin (1992) found that group members with low ingroup identification and high SDO actually favored the outgroup, highlighting evidence for system justification theory.

Social dominance orientation's focus on ingroup superiority and outgroup inferiority is likely to affect the socialization-disidentification relationship. Although social dominance theory proposes that inferior or low-status groups are still likely to favor a higher-status outgroups, some research on organizational identification suggests that low-status occupations or organizations still manage to create a strong bond and identification among its members despite the appearance of being involved in "dirty work" (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Kreiner et al., 2006). Integrating social identity theory and social dominance orientation would suggest that a member of any group could see their ingroup as more favorable despite social stigmas related to the group. Those higher

on social dominance orientation emphasize group differences and are regarded as prejudiced and manipulative (Altemeyer, 2004; Sidanius, Pratto, Van Laar, & Levin, 2004). Additionally, SDO predicts a person's acceptance of ideologies and policies that are relevant to group relations (Pratto et al., 1994). This suggests that those higher on SDO will be more likely to adopt proximal sources of influence found in coworkers and leaders that create a shared understanding of group behavior, norms, and attitudes. Thus, social dominance orientation is likely to strengthen the relationship between coworker and leader socialization influence and intergroup disidentification. The stronger the socialization influence from the group or leader, the more likely that individuals who already view groups through a hierarchical lens (i.e., high on SDO) will express intergroup disidentification. Formally stated:

Hypothesis 3a: The positive relationship between supervisor socialization influence and intergroup disidentification will be stronger for individuals high on social dominance orientation.

Hypothesis 3b: The positive relationship between coworker socialization influence and intergroup disidentification will be stronger for individuals high on social dominance orientation.

Self-Esteem

Self-esteem has long since been associated with the social identity literature (Hogg & Turner, 1985; Tajfel, 1978). Individuals identify themselves with social groups in order to enhance their self-esteem, reduce uncertainty, and maintain a positive sense of self. As an individual becomes "one" with the group they become dependent on that

group and experience group success and failures as their own (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Wagner, Lampen, & Syllwasschy, 1986).

Individuals with high self-esteem are less reliant on the social categorizations to enhance their self-esteem while people with low self-esteem look for social entities for esteem and may also look for high status organizations with a high collective self-esteem, additionally, those with high self-esteem are less influenced by peers and coworkers (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Wheeler (1991) suggested that individuals with a low self-esteem responded more favorably in situations when comparisons took place, suggesting that low-self-esteem individuals were more likely to look for inferior groups to compare themselves with. With disidentification being a perception towards the outgroup, low-self-esteem individuals are likely to make comparisons that will highlight differences between groups, identifying elements where the referent group may be inferior or perceptually undesirable in order to restore a positive sense of self (Wheeler & Miyake, 1992).

Likewise, high-self-esteem individuals are less likely to focus on the negative aspects of outgroups because they are not fulfilling a self-enhancement need that can be found from ingroup affiliation and outgroup disidentification and they are also less influenced by proximal groups. This would suggest that the relationship between coworker and leader socialization influences and disidentification would be weaker for high-self-esteem individuals. Formally stated:

Hypothesis 4a: The positive relationship between supervisor socialization influence and intergroup disidentification will be weaker for individuals high on self-esteem.

Hypothesis 4b: The positive relationship between coworker socialization influence and intergroup disidentification will be weaker for individuals high on self-esteem.

Negative Affect

Watson, Clark, and Tellegen (1988) described negative affect as “the general dimension of subjective distress and unpleasurable engagement that subsumes a variety of aversive mood states, including anger, contempt, disgust, guilt, fear, and nervousness...” (p. 1063). Kreiner and Ashforth (2004) found that negative affect was related to organizational disidentification because people high on negative affect looked for the “worst” in groups. Additionally, these people are likely to emphasize negative experiences and adopt negative attitudes towards other social units (Kanter & Mirvis, 1989; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004; Watson et al., 1988). Beyond the tendency for those higher in negative affectivity to experience higher disidentification, I also expect dispositional affect to play a role in the socialization-disidentification link. I focus on negative affect as opposed to positive affect because negative affect is more consistent with its relationships with negative reactions and behaviors while the role of positive affect is somewhat less clear conceptually (e.g., in the case of *schadenfreude*—pleasure in outgroup’s misfortune; Leach, Spears, Branscombe, Doosje, 2003)

Socialization influences from proximal members can highlight the positive aspects that make up group membership and also highlight differences between groups within an organization in order to clarify roles and expectations of different workgroups (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Kammeyer-Mueller, & Wanberg, 2003; Moreland & Levine; 2001). People high in negative affect tend to emphasize these differences between

groups and have more negative relationships such as intergroup disputations. Labianca and Brass (2006) explored negative relationships in organizations as they proposed that “a negative relationship with someone who is disliked by many others will result in a positive impact on the focal person’s outcomes” (p. 606). This would be consistent with the SIT and SCT’s reasoning of shared group perceptions and efficacy and attitudes towards outgroups. Additionally, Labianca and Brass (2006) proposed that individuals high in negative affect will have more negative relationships than low-negative affect individuals.

Additionally, people high on negative affect are also more likely to make negative comparisons and tend to experience more stress than others (Kanner, Coyne, Schaefer, & Lazarus, 1981; Watson et al., 1988). To cope with these stressful situations, those higher in negative affect look to alleviate their stress by targeting some sort of outgroup (Buunk & Gibbons, 2007). Socialization from subunit or workgroup sources, such as coworkers and leaders, readily provide outgroups to target; however, these outgroups are found within the organization (Ashforth et al, 2008). Those who are high on negative affect likewise highlight differences between groups (Johnson, Morgeson, & Hekman, 2012) which would suggest a multiplicative effect between socialization influences and negative affect. Thus the relationship between coworker and leader socialization influence and intergroup disidentification will be stronger for those who are higher on negative affect because individuals high on negative affect are more disposed to recognize the intergroup differences that are highlighted when socialization comes from workgroup and supervisor sources. Formally stated,

Hypothesis 5a: The positive relationship between supervisor socialization influence and intergroup disidentification will be stronger for individuals high on negative affect.

Hypothesis 5b: The positive relationship between coworker socialization influence and intergroup disidentification will be stronger for individuals high on negative affect.

Social Comparison Orientation

Another dispositional construct related to individuals determining their social position is that of social comparison orientation (Buunk & Gibbons, 1997). Sherif (1936) showed that two individuals who face uncertain and unstable situations develop themselves through a process of mutual social influence. Festinger (1954) refined this line of research by introducing the term of social comparison, offering specific suggestions of the process individuals undertake in making social comparisons with other individuals or groups. Since Festinger (1954), social comparison theory has been refined and has enhanced the understanding of the process of using of social referents for self-evaluation (Buunk & Gibbons, 1997, 2000, 2007; Suls & Wheeler, 2000; Wheeler, 1991).

Social comparison theory has identified multiple situations and targets that individuals choose to use as social referents. The choice of referent often is determined by the situation in which the individual is experiencing (e.g., threat, fear, change, etc.). The “classic” view of social comparisons is an upward comparison, meaning that an individual looks to compare him/herself with an individual who is higher in status, capability, standing, etc. as an example of something to achieve or strive for (Buunk & Gibbons, 2007; Festinger, 1954; Wheeler, 1966). Individuals typically make upward

comparisons in the process of change. Additionally, the tendency to compare upwards is stronger when the comparison is made privately and no actual contact or interaction occurs between the individual and the referent and when there is no anxiety of others looking down on them for expressing a seeming inferiority (Buunk, Shaufeli, & Ybema, 1994; Gibbons et al., 2002; Smith & Insko, 1987; Ybema & Buunk, 1993).

Conversely, researchers have investigated downward comparisons and why individuals would make comparisons with seemingly “worse-off” or inferior individuals or groups (Hakmiller, 1966; Thornton & Arrowood, 1966). Downward comparisons are typically sparked by an external threat to an individual’s ability or standing. These downward comparisons can be manifest in active forms such as physical harm or, more commonly, in passive forms such as merely acknowledging another group as worse off (Buunk & Gibbons, 2007; Wills, 1981).

Elsbach and Kramer (1996) investigated business school reactions to *Business Week*’s rankings of “top-20” business schools. When the rankings did not coincide with students’ expectations of their school and their sense of self was threatened, students often found a different dimension to compare themselves to other schools that were worse off in those particular dimensions. For example, the University of Texas dropped out of the top-20 ranking, creating dissonance between students’ beliefs of the organization in which they belonged and the actual ranking of their institution, with one student exclaiming, “I applied to a top 20 school and this is not a top 20 school” (Elsbach & Kramer, 1996 pg. 454). However, students also shifted the elements of comparison to make themselves look more favorable by making comparisons to other

“regional” schools or their standing among public schools, thus emphasizing their position in a certain domain. Individuals undertake these comparisons in order to achieve and maintain a positive sense of self (Festinger, 1954).

While comparisons tend to be dependent on the situation (e.g., threat or change), there is an individual characteristic at play known as social comparison orientation (SCO). Individuals high on SCO tend to have a high activation of the self, meaning they are typically proactive and self-conscious. They also have a strong interest in what others feel and are influenced by others; that is, they are somewhat higher in conformity and lower in independent thinking (Gibbons & Buunk, 1999). Individuals high in SCO are more likely to be influenced by coworker and leader socialization influences and conform to the prototypical roles and values they are supposed to adopt. Additionally, those high in SCO can be negatively affected by comparisons, particularly comparisons with undesired referents. In order to alleviate these comparisons they undergo cognitive distancing from the comparison targets (Buunk & Gibbon, 2007). This would suggest that individuals high in SCO, given their susceptibility to social influence (Gibbons & Buunk, 1999), will be more influenced by socialization influences from coworkers and leaders. This results in newcomers identifying peer groups as comparison referents and strengthens the relationship between coworker and leader influence and intergroup disidentification. This effect can occur regardless of the actual relative status of the referent group because even when individuals are part of a low-status group, they shift the elements of comparison to highlight domains in which their ingroup is superior (Buunk & Gibbons, 2007; Elsbach & Kramer, 1996) or they use their low-status as a

defining feature of their ingroup resulting in an affiliation with high-status groups violating their sense of self (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). For example, an orderly (low-status position) may identify nurses as a comparative group and disidentify with nurses despite belonging to a lower-status group.

In summary, newcomers high on SCO are more likely to be influenced by their peer groups as well as look for referents to compare themselves with in order to mitigate ambiguity of their new environment as well as increase their positive sense of self (Festinger, 1954; Gibbons & Buunk, 1999; Suls & Wheeler, 2000). Thus the relationship between coworker and leader socialization influence and intergroup disidentification will be stronger among those who are dispositionally susceptible to group influence and likely to make comparisons among groups. Thus,

Hypothesis 6a: The positive relationship between supervisor socialization influence and intergroup disidentification will be stronger for individuals high on social comparison orientation.

Hypothesis 6b: The positive relationship between coworker socialization influence and intergroup disidentification will be stronger for individuals high on social comparison orientation.

Need to Belong

Individuals also tend to vary on their need of organizational attachment or their need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Consistent with collective identity and self-representations, people seek belonging to a collective or group as a fundamental part of human nature (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Much like identification, there are both

cognitive and emotional or affective elements driving individuals need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). For instance, Sedikides, Olsen, and Reis (1993) found that relationships are natural categories meaning that individuals classify incoming information in terms of social relationships.

Hornsey and Jetten (2004) suggested that people not only have a need to belong, but also need to be different. They suggested that individuals form social bonds in order to reduce uncertainty of their social environment and they look to ingroup members to know what behaviors and attitudes are appropriate in a situation (Turner, 1987). While converging to ingroup norms, individuals still have a need to be different. In order to maintain optimal distinctiveness people will look for outgroups to make contrasts (Brewer, 1991). Individuals find that when belonging to large groups, it is difficult to find optimal distinctiveness within the group so they look for intragroup comparisons to maintain a unique sense of self; however, in smaller groups it is easier for individuals to maintain a balance between their need to belong to a collective while also maintaining distinctiveness. People in smaller groups can assimilate themselves to the norms of the group but find outgroups more easily to discern differences (Brewer & Weber, 1994; Hornsey & Jetten, 2004). In light of the relationship between socialization and disidentification, individuals who have a high need to belong with a group that is socialized through more individualized methods are more likely to draw distinctions between their peer workgroups rather than organizational outsiders, making intergroup disidentification more likely.

This need to belong also explains the relationships between ingroup and outgroup members. Individuals expect more favorable treatment from their ingroup than by outgroup members which can also affect information processing and memory of behavior, suggesting that people tend to forget bad behavior that fellow ingroup members commit but emphasize negative traits in outgroup members (Howard & Rothbart, 1980; Ostrom, Carpenter, Sedikides, & Li, 1993). Those with a higher need to belong to their ingroup are more likely to undertake ingroup behavior and be susceptible to these ingroup biases and outgroup derogation. For instance, Linville and Jones (1980) found that individuals view outgroup members as more extreme, polarizing, and simplistic.

Theory and empirical evidence of individuals' need to belong while also maintaining optimal distinctiveness suggests that people with a higher need to attach and assimilate themselves to a social group are also more likely to find comparative outgroups to disidentify from and maintain distinctions (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Brewer, 1991; Hornsey & Jetten, 2004). Particularly, smaller groups tend to offer higher levels of distinctiveness than do larger groups because they create more interactions between group members (Brewer & Pickett, 1999; Brewer & Weber, 1994; Hornsey & Jetten, 2004). Individuals high on their need to belong will attach themselves to the unit in which they are socialized and draw distinctiveness from peer units to maintain optimal distinctiveness while still maintaining a sense of belonging (Brewer, 1991). Thus, when newcomers experience socialization from coworkers and leaders, those high on their need to belong will attach themselves to these workgroups and draw distinctions from

other workgroups. In other words the relationship between coworker and leader socialization influence and intergroup disidentification will be stronger for those high on their need to belong. Formally stated:

Hypothesis 7a: The positive relationship between supervisor socialization influence and intergroup disidentification will be stronger for individuals high on their need to belong.

Hypothesis 7b: The positive relationship between coworker socialization influence and intergroup disidentification will be stronger for individuals high on their need to belong.

Neuroticism

Some personality constructs have been identified to be related to organizational identification based on the theoretical premise of uncertainty reduction (Hogg & Terry, 2000; Johnson et al., 2012; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Johnson et al. (2012) hypothesized that neurotic individuals desire certainty and are fearful of ambiguous situations (Hirsh & Inzlicht, 2008). It is important to highlight the relationship between neuroticism and negative affect as some researchers have found these to be highly related constructs (Watson & Clark, 1984; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Watson and Clark (1984) view trait negative affect as a more unitary measure while neuroticism tends to be somewhat more multifaceted. I focus on neuroticism because of the more complex nature of the motive to reduce uncertainty rather than the more affective-related self-enhancement arguments made for the moderating effect of negative affect. Highly neurotic individuals “will perceive their lives as having more uncertainty and be motivated to reduce this uncertainty with clearer self-definitions.” (Johnson et al., 2012

pg. 1145). Neurotic individuals look for ways to cognitively categorize themselves into groups to reduce uncertainty, particularly given a new environment.

Socialization tactics are designed to help reduce some of the uncertainty that newcomers experience by orientating the newcomer to the workplace as well as train them on their role and task (Jones, 1986). More proximal sources of socialization such as coworkers and supervisor provides more specific clarity to not only role and organizational expectations, but also workgroup expectations. An individual's level of neuroticism will affect the relationship between sources of socialization and intergroup disidentification such that those higher in neuroticism will more strongly disidentify with other workgroups than those who are low on neuroticism. Neurotic individuals are constantly seeking ways to reduce uncertainty by making cognitive separations between groups and if they are getting organizational information primarily from coworkers and supervisors they will be more likely to make group distinctions within the organization (Johnson et al., 2012).

Hypothesis 8a: The positive relationship between supervisor socialization influence and intergroup disidentification will be stronger for individuals high on neuroticism.

Hypothesis 8b: The positive relationship between coworker socialization influence and intergroup disidentification will be stronger for individuals high on neuroticism.

Outcomes of Intergroup Disidentification

To this point I have introduced new antecedents and contextual variables predicting the individuals' disidentification with surrounding groups. Specifically, I have addressed why certain socialization influences, namely coworker and leader influences,

can activate the intergroup disidentification among newcomers to an organization. However, while much of the disidentification research has focused on antecedents to disidentification, a focus needs to be made on outcomes of disidentification as well (Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004). I will focus on outcomes of disidentification and how they relate to intergroup relationships, particularly given the socialization context of how newcomers tend to respond to group memberships. The dependent variables of disidentification that this study investigates are ingroup favoritism, outgroup derogation, and intergroup conflict.

Disidentification and Ingroup Favoritism/Outgroup Derogation

Social identity theory has suggested that intergroup conflict would occur whenever groups are formed or people are categorically separated (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This conflict has been found to occur in arbitrarily made groups that would have little to no interaction with each other (Tajfel, 1978). Various experiments were conducted by Tajfel and others illustrating the ingroup bias and outgroup discrimination (Tajfel, 1978). Part of group membership often involves taking on prototypical group behaviors and attitudes. Members of the ingroup maintain biased favoritism for the ingroup and tend to retain negative attitudes and perceptions of outgroups (Sunar, 1978). In a study of subunits, Perrow (1970) found that members of subunits were less likely to criticize members of their subunit.

Common among the social identification literature is that identification with a specific group can cause ingroup bias and outgroup derogation (Zhong et al., 2008b). Ingroup/outgroup biases are similar to disidentification in that they are both attitudes

rather than actual behaviors. However, I suggest that disidentification will precede ingroup/outgroup bias particularly in the case of newcomers because disidentification encompasses the cognitive process of self-categorization and ingroup/outgroup recognition (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1987). Zhong et al. (2008b) suggested that outgroup derogation was difficult to capture within lab experiments but is prevalent in the real world because many lab studies have focused on positive or affirmational identities (group assimilation) rather than focusing on group categorization relevant to other groups (i.e., outgroup contrasting). Group identification research also suggests that group identification and categorization precedes attitudes toward outgroups. Thus, in order for attitudes to be formed towards ingroups and outgroups, individuals must first be put into groups and also experience an assimilation or identification with their ingroup (Allport, 1954). Likewise, before attitudes towards an outgroup can be formed there must be some sort of cognitive distancing between the individual and the outgroup (Brewer, 1991). This would suggest that disidentification would precede attitudes towards the outgroup such as outgroup derogation. Keeping in line with optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991), within the socialization context, newcomers will make distinctions between work groups (i.e., intergroup disidentification) and subsequently form attitudes towards other workgroups in the organization in order to maintain optimal distinctiveness as an employee. In order to make such distinctions, while still maintaining good relations with the ingroup, individuals will have a strong sense of ingroup favoritism as well as outgroup derogation. Formally stated:

Hypothesis 9: There is a positive relationship between intergroup disidentification and outgroup derogation.

Hypothesis 10: There is a positive relationship between intergroup disidentification and ingroup favoritism.

Disidentification and Intergroup Conflict

Likewise, intergroup conflict has been suggested as an outcome of identification related constructs (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Subunits within an organization are particularly susceptible to intergroup conflict for various reasons. Individuals are likely to find these subunits salient because of their proximity and frequency of interaction with other group members. Conflict between subunits can be particularly high when these groups compete for organizational resources or if one group's identity is dominant (Friedkin & Simpson, 1985; March & Simon, 1958). However, Ashforth and Mael (1989) suggested that the relationship between intergroup conflict ("subunit differentiation") and identification has been somewhat inconclusive because it is unclear how subunits are formed (functional vs. market) and that people often see their subunit and organizational identities as synonymous, particularly with organizations that have a salient and strong superordinate identity.

Newcomers are susceptible to the uncertainty and ambiguity of starting new relationships and entering a new environment and thus will be more prone to draw distinctions between groups within the organization. When groups are formed and distinctions are made between the groups it is likely that conflicts will begin to rise in some form or another as Horwitz and Rabbie (1982) state, "hostility erupts more readily

between [groups] than between individuals” (pg. 269). I propose that outgroup disidentification serves as an antecedent to intergroup conflict.

In an organizational context, Hogg et al. (2012) explain how intergroup competition and conflict needs to be managed carefully and cannot always be settled by appealing to a higher superordinate identity. Hogg et al. (2012) highlight the role of identification and intergroup relations and calls for a better understanding of the role of disidentification within intergroup relations. There are differences between arbitrary groups, competitive groups, and even rival groups with their level of intergroup conflict and effectiveness (Kilduff et al., 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In Zhong et al.’s studies they found differences in group labeling and intergroup derogation (Zhong et al., 2008b) such that when the group was negatively identified (“not group M”), individuals were more likely to show outgroup derogation compared to individuals in a positively identified group. This research suggests that cognitive separations (e.g., “non-membership”) such as those found in disidentification can yield an individual to experience actual perceptual and behavioral conflicts between groups. Formally stated:

Hypothesis 11: There is a positive relationship between intergroup disidentification and intergroup conflict.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Pilot Study

I first conducted a pilot study using a student sample in order to detect independence between identification and disidentification as well as explore whether identifying a specific target of disidentification (i.e., disidentification towards an agreed upon rival or enemy) was necessary or if disidentification could be directed toward “other” groups in general. A sample of 223 undergraduate students were recruited from an undergraduate management course and given course credit for their participation. The average age of participants was 21.54 years and 59% were, 64% white, 18% Hispanic, and 18% were other races. Participants responded to a questionnaire that included measures of identification with their university, disidentification with a known rival of the university, and disidentification with other universities in general. Additionally, I used the commonly used six-item organizational identification scale developed by Mael and Ashforth (1992). Sample items include, “When I talk about the organization, I usually say ‘we’ rather than ‘they’” and “This organization’s successes are my successes.” The organizational referent was the university they attend. Cronbach’s alpha for this measure was .84.

To measure disidentification I used the three-item measure developed by Elsbach and Bhattacharya (2001) which consisted of the following three questions “(target organization)’s failures are my successes”, “When someone praises (target organization) it feels like a personal insult”, “When someone criticizes (target organization) it feels

like a personal compliment.” One set of the disidentification questions targeted a known rival of the university (University of Texas) and another set of questions targeted “other universities” in general. The reason for the two different targets was that I wanted to test if there was a difference between a specific rival or if people generally disidentified with other universities. Cronbach’s alpha for disidentification from the rival and other universities in general were .83 and .88 respectively.

I then conducted a factor analysis including all the items for identification, disidentification towards the rival, and disidentification towards other universities in general and used a varimax rotation to investigate my findings. I found three different factors; however, factor loadings from disidentification targeted towards the rival had some crossloadings with disidentification targeted towards other universities, suggesting some overlap between disidentification targeted towards a rival and disidentification towards a university in general. This suggests that it may not be necessary to identify a single target of disidentification, rather, individuals may disidentify with other outgroups more generally. Results of the factor analysis are given in Table 1 as well as a scree plot in Figure 1.

Additionally, Table 2 reports the correlations between each of these three variables and shows that each of correlations are statistically significant at $p < .01$; however, the correlation between identification and disidentification is moderate ranging from .22 (disidentification in general) to .25 (disidentification with a rival) while the correlation between disidentification targeted toward a rival and disidentification towards outgroups in general was .62 giving further evidence that not only is

identification distinct from disidentification but also that disidentification may not necessarily need to target a specific outgroup.

Table 1 Pilot study factor analysis

	Component		
	OrgID	DisID-“Other”	DisID-Rival
1. Other universities' failures are my successes	.09	.84	.16
2. When someone praises other universities it feels like a personal insult	.08	.85	.20
3. When someone criticizes other universities it feels like a personal compliment	.08	.88	.18
4. When someone criticizes Texas A&M, it feels like a personal insult.	.81	.03	.25
5. I am very interested in what others think about Texas A&M.	.66	.19	-.25
6. When I talk about Texas A&M, I usually say "we" rather than "they".	.81	-.06	.17
7. Texas A&M's successes are my successes.	.83	.13	.15
8. When someone praises Texas A&M it feels like a personal compliment.	.83	.09	.06
9. If a story in the media criticized Texas A&M, I would feel embarrassed.	.53	.27	-.47
10. University of Texas' failures are my successes.	.18	.44	.67
11. When someone praises University of Texas it feels like a personal insult.	.14	.40	.73
12. When someone criticizes University of Texas it feels like a personal compliment.	.15	.57	.61

Notes. These results reflect a varimax rotated matrix

N = 223

Table 2 Pilot study correlation

	Mean (1-7)	SD	DisID-"Other"	OrgID
DisID-"Other"	2.15	1.13		
OrgID	5.33	1.11	.22**	
DisID-Rival	2.49	1.31	.62**	.25**

N = 223. ** denotes $p < .01$

DisID - "Other" = Disidentification with other universities. OrgID = identification with Texas A&M. DisID-Rival = Disidentification with University of Texas.

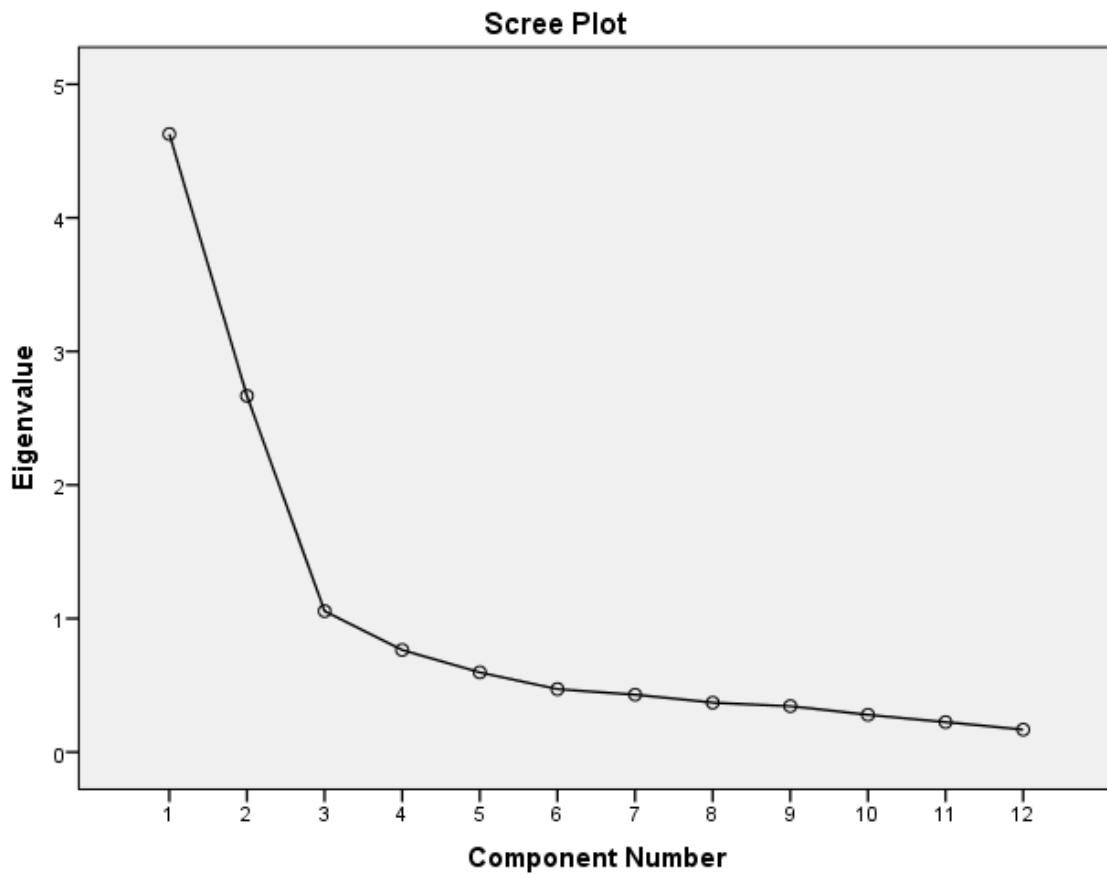


Figure 1 Pilot study scree plot

Lab Study

To test my hypotheses, I designed a series of lab studies to capture some of the effects of socialization on intergroup disidentification and subsequently tested the effects of disidentification on specific group outcomes. Because of how my lab was designed, I was able to test each hypothesis except for Hypothesis 2 which predicted the interaction between sources of socialization.

Sample

The sample for the lab study consisted of 203 undergraduate students recruited through a management undergraduate course. Students who participated received course credit for their participation. The average age of participants was 21.52 years and 44.3 percent were female and the average work experience was 31.9 months. Other demographics consisted of 76.80 percent of participants reporting to be Caucasian (White), 12.8 percent being Latino or Hispanic.

Procedure

The study consisted of two phases that were separated in time to help mitigate common method bias among self-reported measures of dispositional traits and individuals perceptions and attitudes (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). Phase 1 consisted of participants responding to an online survey measuring the individual differences outlined as moderators in the study; social dominance orientation, social comparison orientation, self-esteem, need to belong, and negative affect. Phase 2 was held three weeks after phase 1 and consisted of participants coming to the lab.

Upon arrival in the lab, participants were asked to sit at a computer carrel and were given instructions regarding their participation. They were instructed that they were logged into a computer program that would randomly assign them into teams and perform different tasks depending on the team to which they were assigned. They were told they would be part of one of three teams: a “Creative” team which would come up with creative uses of a certain object, a “Marketing” team which would identify a campaign slogan for the creative use of the project, or a “Pricing” team which was in charge of pricing the product. Additionally, participants were told that some of them would be designated as newcomers and would complete a separate task before entering in an online task with their team members. To ensure that participants were not verbally sharing with people about their experiences during the lab, they were told they can only communicate through the computer program throughout the experiment.

Although participants were led to believe that everyone was randomly assigned to a team and would interact with their team throughout the experiment through the computer, they actually only interacted with a computer program. All participants were selected as ‘newcomers’ and all participants were assigned to be a part of the “Creative” team. Their participation in the creative team included two one-minute rounds of generating as many creative uses of a certain object as they could (e.g., paperclip, textbook). While doing this they were led to believe that their teammates were doing the same. After generating creative uses of an object, they were shown all the other uses that their teammates came up with (which were in reality just electronic confederates). Of this list of creative uses they would select a few to recommend to the marketing team

and give suggested prices to the pricing team. At the conclusion of each round, they were given feedback from the “Marketing” and “Pricing” teams, both teams rejecting the recommendations of the “Creative” team.

At the conclusion of the two rounds participants were asked various questions including their identification with their own team as well as their disidentification from the other teams. After they responded to these attitudinal questions they were instructed that the computer program would now assign them to be a team leader of a team that consisted of members from each of the three teams (e.g., Marketing, Pricing, Creative). As the team leader, the participant was asked to evaluate the work of each of the team members as they conducted a new task which consisted of coming up with creative uses of a certain object (e.g., bike pump, coffee mug). Consistent with team interactions, these responses from other team members were in fact electronic confederates. At the conclusion of the tasks, the participants rated the performance of each of the team members. For example, the participant evaluated each member of a team that consisted of electronic confederates that previously belonged to each of the three possible teams (Creative, Marketing, and Pricing). So the participant conducted a performance evaluation for someone who belonged to the Creative, Marketing, and Pricing teams. To ensure that the performance was the same for each of the team members, the electronic confederate performances were counterbalanced.

Manipulation. Once participants began the computer program, it notified them that they would be a “newcomer” on the “Creative” team and that they would receive general instructions as well as some instructions from their team leader and other team

members about how to participate. Additionally, there were opportunities for them to enter text that they believed would be messages sent to their team. Participants were shown three different screens that represented instructions of how to participate in the task. One screen contained general instructions of the task, the next screen contained instructions from the supervisor, and the last screen contained instructions from their team members. To manipulate the sources of socialization, participants were randomly assigned to one of three socialization conditions: organization, supervisor, or coworker. Those in the organization condition received instructions from a screen on the computer labeled “General Instructions” and were shown blank screens on the computer from “Supervisor Instructions” and “Team Member Instructions.” Those in the supervisor condition received little information from the “General Instructions” page and most of their information came from the “Supervisor Instructions” page while the “Team Member Instructions” page was left blank. In the coworker condition the procedure was the same for the supervisor condition except all of the information was on the “Team Member Instructions” page and the “Supervisor Instructions” page was left blank. The text for the instructions that participants received was the exact same for each of the conditions in order to ensure that the source of the information was manipulated rather than the content of the information. The sample sizes for each condition were roughly equal (organization condition $n = 68$; supervisor condition $n = 67$; coworker condition $n = 69$).

Measures

Manipulation check. To ensure that participants realized that they were in fact getting information about the experiment from a specific source I asked them a question at the conclusion of receiving the information about the experiment. The question was stated “Who provided you most of the information for the task? I received most information from...” and then they selected one of the following three choices: “Standard Instructions,” “Team Leader,” or “Team Members.” The response to this question was a categorical response and results from a chi-squared test ($\chi^2 = 451.89$, $df = 10$; $p < .00$) suggests that participants’ responses to this question corresponded to their condition. All of those in the “Standard Instructions” condition that reported they received most of their information from standard instructions, 73% of those in the “Team Leader” condition reported they received most information from the team leader, and 81% of those in the “Team Members” condition reported they received information from the team members. Additionally, pilot testing of the manipulation yielded similar results.

Intergroup disidentification. To measure intergroup disidentification, I used Elsbach and Bhattacharya’s (2001) three-item measure directed towards “other workgroups.” The participants responded to each item with targets to both the Marketing and the Pricing teams that were in the task. Example items are “Marketing (Pricing) team’s failures are like my successes” and “When someone praises the Marketing (Pricing) team it feels like a personal insult.” The Cronbach’s Alpha targeted towards the Marketing team was .81 and towards the Pricing team was .86.

The responses were on a 1-7 scale with 1 representing strongly disagree and 7 representing strongly agree. Each of the following variables follows this same response scale unless otherwise noted.

Social dominance orientation was measured with Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, and Malle's (1994) 16-item measure that captures the individual difference of SDO. Sample items include "Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups" and "To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups." Cronbach's alpha = .92.

Social comparison orientation. Gibbons and Buunk (1999) developed an 11-item measure to represent an individual's disposition regarding social comparison orientation. Sample items include, "I always pay a lot of attention to how I do things compared with how others do things" and "I often compare myself with others with respect to what I have accomplished in life." Cronbach's alpha = .84.

Self-esteem. I used Rosenberg's (1965) classic 10-item scale to measure an individual's self-esteem. Sample items are, "I feel that I have a number of good qualities" and "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself." Cronbach's alpha = .88.

Need to belong. I measured need to belong using Leary, Kelly, Cottrell, and Schreindorfer (2005) ten-item measure. Sample items are, "I try hard not to do things that will make other people avoid or reject me" and "I want other people to accept me." Cronbach's alpha = .83.

Negative affect was measured using the ten adjectives from Watson, Clark, and Tellegen's (1988) PANAS scale. Sample items include "Upset," "Distressed," and

“Guilty.” Participants were asked how much they feel these adjectives in general.

Cronbach’s alpha = .83.

Neuroticism was measured using John, Donahue, and Kentle’s (1991) nine-item measure capturing the construct. Sample items include, “Does not handle stress well,” and “Gets nervous easily.” Cronbach’s alpha = .84.

Outgroup derogation was captured by the participants rating the in-role performance of the participants who were on the Marketing and the Pricing teams. I used six items from the Williams and Anderson (1991) in-role performance measure. Sample items were “Adequately completes assigned duties” and “Performs tasks that are expected of him/her.” The estimated reliabilities for the Marketing team members was $\alpha = .82$ and the Pricing team member was $\alpha = .86$.

Ingroup favoritism was captured by the participants rating the performance of their own team’s performance using the same performance measure as before but targeted towards a member of the Creative team. The Cronbach’s alpha was .77.

Intergroup conflict was assessed with a seven-item intergroup competition measure that was developed by Mael and Ashforth (1992). Example items were “There is a rivalry between the teams” and “Each team tries to stress its superiority over the other groups.” The estimated reliabilities for the Marketing team members was $\alpha = .87$ and the Pricing team member was $\alpha = .89$.

Controls. I incorporated a few controls into my analyses that tend to affect people’s reactions to conflict and also group relationships. I controlled for gender and group identification by using Mael and Ashforth’s (1992) six-item measure ($\alpha = .67$). An

investigation of the low reliability of this measure did not indicate that there was perhaps a certain item that should be omitted. This low reliability may be due to the short duration of the task and that participants found the questions towards their group identification somewhat confusing given that some had no interaction with their works at all (e.g., those in the organizational condition). Although I used random assignment in my studies I controlled for gender because it is a common control variable for identification related studies (Mael & Ashforth, 1992; Riketta, 2005) and for ingroup identification to capture whether disidentification had effects above and beyond that of identification.

Results

I used several analyses to test my hypotheses and all of my results reflect two-tailed significance tests. To test hypotheses H1a-c which made predictions about the sources of socialization's effects on intergroup disidentification, I conducted a series of ANOVA tests which used the experimental conditions as a between-subjects factor and the mean disidentification (towards the Marketing and Pricing teams) as the dependent variables. Results suggested that there were no main effect differences between the organization condition and the coworker conditions for both the Marketing ($F(1, 135) = .02, p = .90, \eta^2 = .00$) and the Pricing ($F(1, 135) = .99, p = .32, \eta^2 = .01$). However, comparing the organization condition with the supervisor condition showed a significant difference for disidentification targeted towards the Pricing team ($F(1, 133) = 7.05, p = .00, \eta^2 = .06$) but not towards the Marketing team ($F(1, 133) = 1.29, p = .26, \eta^2 = .01$). Additionally, I tested the differences between the supervisor and the coworker

conditions and found a significant difference between conditions when disidentification was targeted towards the Pricing team ($F(1, 134) = 5.09, p = .03, \eta^2 = .04$) but no difference when targeted towards the Marketing team ($F(1, 134) = 1.56, p = .21, \eta^2 = .01$). Although there were significant differences between some of the conditions when disidentification was targeted towards the Pricing team, the direction of the effects were opposite than proposed with the mean of disidentification for the supervisor condition ($M = 1.97$) being significantly lower than that of the organization condition ($M = 2.43$) and the coworker condition ($M = 2.26$). Thus, Hypotheses 1a-c were not supported.

To test my moderating hypotheses I conducted a series of regression analyses using a stepwise approach (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). The descriptive statistics and correlations of all of my regression variables are found in Table 3.

Table 3 Descriptive statistics and correlations for lab study regressions

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Disidentify Marketing	2.50	.94								
2. Disidentify with Pricing Team	2.22	.90	.78**							
3. Intergroup Conflict with Marketing	3.99	1.16	.20**	.19**						
4. Intergroup Conflict with Pricing	3.65	1.19	.24**	.33**	.74**					
5. Ingroup Favoritism	5.49	.75	-.23**	-.25**	-.06	-.12				
6. Outgroup Derogation towards Marketing	5.43	.74	-.15*	-.18**	.03	-.03	.53**			
7. Outgroup Derogation towards Pricing	5.26	.88	-.16*	-.12	.03	-.03	.53**	.68**		
8. Socialization from Supervisor	.50	.50	-.10	-.25**	.05	.01	-.07	.06	.02	
9. Socialization from Coworker	.50	.50	.01	-.09	.19*	.03	.06	.04	.05	-
10. Social Dominance	3.02	1.11	.17*	.20**	.02	.13	-.06	-.15*	-.13	-.03
11. Social Comparison	5.07	.86	.13	.01	.16*	.16*	.10	.15*	.13	-.13
12. Self-Esteem	5.70	.94	-.19**	-.14*	.01	.04	-.02	.10	.01	-.03
13. Need to Belong	4.33	.95	.23**	.13	.06	.06	-.03	.06	.10	.01
14. Negative Affect	2.76	.86	.20**	.15*	-.08	-.03	.01	-.07	-.04	-.03
15. Neuroticism	3.47	1.07	.21**	.18*	.05	.08	-.03	-.02	-.02	-.09
16. Ingroup Identificaiton	5.28	.75	.15*	.01	.31**	.23**	.18**	.17*	.17*	.04
17. Gender	1.44	.50	.10	.12	.10	.09	-.01	.20**	.10	.01

Gender Male = 1 Female = 2; Socialization from Supervisor and Coworker were dichotomus variables with the referent of Socialization from the Organization = 0.

** Denote $p < .01$ * denotes $p < .05$

Table 3 Continued

Variable	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Disidentify Marketing								
2. Disidentify with Pricing Team								
3. Intergroup Conflict with Marketing								
4. Intergroup Conflict with Pricing								
5. Ingroup Favoritism								
6. Outgroup Derogation towards Marketing								
7. Outgroup Derogation towards Pricing								
8. Socialization from Supervisor								
9. Socialization from Coworker								
10. Social Dominance	.07							
11. Social Comparison	-.04	.14						
12. Self-Esteem	-.09	.03	-.18*					
13. Need to Belong	.05	-.11	.39**	-.34**				
14. Negative Affect	-.04	.06	.18*	-.54**	.27**			
15. Neuroticism	.02	.01	.30**	-.54**	.35**	.70**		
16. Ingroup Identificaiton	.04	-.16*	.18**	-.12	.30**	.05	.14	
17. Gender	.13	-.20**	.13	-.22**	.20**	.17*	.27**	.00

** Denote $p < .01$ * denotes $p < .05$

I measured intergroup disidentification to two different targets (Marketing team and Pricing team), therefore I conducted two different sets of regression analyses for each hypotheses. Additionally, because the sources of socialization were categorical variables based on which condition the participant was in and my hypotheses were specific to how proximal sources (e.g., Supervisor and Coworker) would affect intergroup disidentification, I made the referent group the organization condition. Thus, for hypothesis H3a the supervisor condition was coded as a 1 and the organization condition was coded as a 0. Subsequently, in H3b the coworker condition was coded as a 1 and organization condition was coded as a 0. This approach was consistent for all of the moderation hypotheses. All of the results for the regression analyses with disidentification targeted towards the Marketing team are in Table 4 and all of the regression analyses with disidentification towards the Pricing team are in Table 5.

Table 4 Antecedent for disidentification targeted towards the Marketing team

Variable	H3a		H3b		H4a		H4b		H5a		H5b		H6a		
ID	.06	.09	.09	.22*	.21*	.05	.05	.15†	.16†	.07	.07	.16†	.13	.06	.07
Gender	.10	.12	.12	.17†	.17*	.07	.07	.07	.08	.09	.10	.06	.07	.10	.10
Sup.		-.10	-.11			-.10	-.10			-.10	-.10			-.10	-.10
Cow.				-.04	-.04			-.17	-.02			.01	.01		
SDO		.12	.20	.30**	.23*										
SE						-.13	-.10	-.15†	-.07						
NA										.08	.00	.17*	.01		
SCO														.02	.01
NtoB															
Neuro.															
SDOxSup.			-.11												
SExSup.							-.05								
NAxSup.										.11					
SCOxSup.															.02
NtoBxSup.															
Neuro.xSup.															
SDOxCow.					.11										
SExCow.								-.11							
NAxCow.												.22†			
SCOxCow.															
NtoBxCow.															
NeuroXCow.															
R ²		.04	.04	.13**	.13**	.04	.04	.06†	.07†	.03	.04	.07*	.09*	.02	.03
Change in R ²			.01		.01		.00		.01		.01		.06†		.00

† denotes $p < .10$; * denotes $p < .05$; ** denotes $p < .001$

Sup = Supervisor; Cow = Coworker; SDO = Social Dominance Orientation; SCO = Social Comparison Orientation; SE = Self-esteem; NtoB = Need to Belong; NA = Negative Affect

Table 4 Continued

Variable	H6b		H7a		H7b		H8a		H8b	
ID	.14	.14	.02	.03	.12	.11	.06	.06	.14	.13
Gender	.09	.10	.07	.05	.03	.04	.08	.08	.04	.04
Sup.			-.10	-.10			-.09	-.09		
Cow.	.00	-.01			-.01	-.01			.00	-.01
SDO										
SE										
NA										
SCO	.10	-.03								
NtoB			.17†	.24†	.24	.19				
Neuro.							.08	.11	.21*	.12
SDOxSup.										
SExSup.										
NAxSup.										
SCOxSup.										
NtoBxSup.				-.10						
Neuro.xSup.								-.05		
SDOxCow.										
SExCow.										
NAxCow.										
SCOxCow.		.16								
NtoBxCow.						.08				
NeuroXCow.										.13
R ²	.02	.03	.05	.05	.09*	.09*	.03	.03	.08*	.09*
Change in R ²		.01		.01		.00		.00		.01

† denotes $p < .10$; * denotes $p < .05$; ** denotes $p < .001$

Sup = Supervisor; Cow = Coworker; SDO = Social Dominance Orientation; SCO = Social Comparison Orientation; SE = Self-esteem; NtoB = Need to Belong; NA = Negative Affect

Table 5 Antecedents for disidentification targeted towards the Pricing team

Variable	H3a		H3b		H4a		H4b		H5a		H5b		
ID	.02	-.02	-.02	.07	.07	-.08	-.08	.01	.02	-.06	-.06	.02	.01
Gender	-.04	.09	.08	.18*	.18*	.02	.03	.11	.11	.04	.05	.11	.11
Sup.		-.24**	-.25**			-.25**	-.25**			-.24**	-.24**		
Cow.				-.13	-.13			-.10	-.11			-.09	-.09
SDO		.20*	.26*	.26**	.29*								
SE						-.12	-.07	-.10	-.03				
NA										.10	.01	.08	.00
SCO													
NtoB													
Neuro.													
SDOxSup.			-.10										
SExSup.						-.08							
NAxSup.										.12			
SCOxSup.													
NtoBxSup.													
Neuro.xSup.													
SDOxCow.				-.03									
SExCow.								-.09					
NAxCow.												.12	
SCOxCow.													
NtoBxCow.													
NeuroXCow.													
R ²	.00	.11**	.11**	.09*	.09*	.08*	.09*	.03	.04	.08*	.09*	.03	.04
Change in R ²			.01		.00		.00		.00		.01		.01

† denotes p < .10; * denotes p < .05; ** denotes p < .001

Sup = Supervisor; Cow = Coworker; SDO = Social Dominance Orientation; SCO = Social Comparison Orientation; SE = Self-esteem; NtoB = Need to Belong; NA = Negative Affect

Table 5 Continued

Variable	H6a		H6b		H7a		H7b		H8a		H8b	
ID	-.05	-.04	.03	.03	-.08	-.08	-.01	-.02	-.07	-.07	.00	-.01
Gender	.07	.08	.13	.14	.04	.04	.08	.09	.03	.03	.07	.08
Sup.	-.26**	-.26**			-.25**	-.25**			-.24**	-.24**		
Cow.			-.10	-.12			-.10	-.10			-.09	-.10
SDO												
SE												
NA												
SCO	-.10	-.16	-.03	-.19								
NtoB					.08	.08	.14	.04				
Neuro.									.09	.11	.16†	.09
SDOxSup.												
SExSup.												
NAxSup.												
SCOxSup.		.08										
NtoBxSup.					.00							
Neuro.xSup.									-.03			
SDOxCow.												
SExCow.												
NAXCowo.												
SCOxCow.				.22†								
NtoBxCow.							.16					
NeuroXCow.												.10
R ²	.08*	.08*	.02	.05	.08*	.08†	.04	.05	.08*	.09†	.05	.05
Change in R ²		.00		.02†		.00		.01		.00		.00

† denotes $p < .10$; * denotes $p < .05$; ** denotes $p < .001$

Sup = Supervisor; Cow = Coworker; SDO = Social Dominance Orientation; SCO = Social Comparison Orientation; SE = Self-esteem; NtoB = Need to Belong; NA = Negative Affect

Hypotheses 3a and 3b proposed that an individual's SDO would moderate the relationship between the proximal sources of socialization (e.g., supervisor and coworker) and intergroup disidentification such that the relationship would be stronger for those high on SDO. Each hypothesis was tested for both targets of disidentification—the Marketing team and the Pricing team. Results for SDO moderating the relationship between supervisor sources and intergroup disidentification yielded no support (towards the Marketing team was $\beta = -.11$; $p > .05$; towards the Pricing team was $\beta = -.10$; $p > .05$). Additionally, results for SDO moderating the relationship between coworker sources and intergroup disidentification also showed no significant moderating relationship (towards the Marketing team was $\beta = .11$; $p > .05$; towards the Pricing team was $\beta = -.03$; $p > .05$). Thus there was no support for Hypotheses 3a and 3b.

Hypotheses 4a and 4b proposed that an individual's self-esteem would moderate the relationship between the proximal sources of socialization (e.g., supervisor and coworker) and intergroup disidentification such that the relationship would be weaker for those with higher self-esteem. Results for self-esteem moderating the relationship between supervisor sources and intergroup disidentification yielded no support (towards the Marketing team was $\beta = -.05$; $p > .05$; towards the Pricing team was $\beta = -.08$; $p > .05$). Additionally, results for self-esteem moderating the relationship between coworker sources and intergroup disidentification also showed no significant moderating relationship (towards the Marketing team was $\beta = -.11$; $p > .05$; towards the Pricing team was $\beta = -.09$; $p > .05$). Thus there was no support for Hypotheses 4a and 4b.

Hypotheses 5a and 5b proposed that an individual's trait negative affect would moderate the relationship between the proximal sources of socialization (e.g., supervisor and coworker) and intergroup disidentification such that the relationship would be stronger for those with higher negative affect. Results for negative affect moderating the relationship between supervisor sources and intergroup disidentification yielded no support (towards the Marketing team was $\beta = .11; p > .05$; towards the Pricing team was $\beta = .12; p > .05$). Additionally, results for negative affect moderating the relationship between coworker sources and intergroup disidentification showed a moderately significant relationship towards the Marketing team ($\beta = .22; p < .10$) but not towards the Pricing team ($\beta = .12; p > .05$). A simple slope tests for the negative affect-coworker interaction in predicting disidentification towards the Marketing team showed that the slopes were not significantly different than zero for high levels of NA (slope = .33; $t = 1.36, p > .05$) or for low levels of NA (slope = -.29; $t = -1.22, p > .05$). Thus there was no support for Hypotheses 5a and 5b.

Hypotheses 6a and 6b proposed that an individual's SCO would moderate the relationship between the proximal sources of socialization (e.g., supervisor and coworker) and intergroup disidentification such that the relationship would be stronger for those high on SCO. Results for SCO moderating the relationship between supervisor sources and intergroup disidentification yielded no support (towards the Marketing team was $\beta = .02; p > .05$; towards the Pricing team was $\beta = .08; p > .05$). Additionally, results for SCO moderating the relationship between coworker sources and intergroup disidentification showed no significant moderating relationship towards the Marketing

team ($\beta = .16; p > .05$) but showed a moderate relationship support towards the Pricing team ($\beta = .22; p < .10$). However, simple slope tests showed that when SCO was high the slope was not significantly different from zero (slope = .23; $t = -.93 p > .05$) as well as when SCO was low (slope = $-.23; t = .92 p > .05$). Thus there was no support for Hypotheses 6a and 6b.

Hypotheses 7a and 7b proposed that an individual's need to belong would moderate the relationship between the proximal sources of socialization (e.g., supervisor and coworker) and intergroup disidentification such that the relationship would be stronger for those with higher need to belong. Results for need to belong moderating the relationship between supervisor sources and intergroup disidentification yielded no support (towards the Marketing team was $\beta = -.10; p > .05$; towards the Pricing team was $\beta = .00; p > .05$). Additionally, results for need to belong moderating the relationship between coworker sources and intergroup disidentification also showed no significant moderating relationship (towards the Marketing team was $\beta = .08; p > .05$; towards the Pricing team was $\beta = .16; p > .05$). Thus there was no support for Hypotheses 7a and 7b.

Hypotheses 8a and 8b proposed that an individual's neuroticism would moderate the relationship between the proximal sources of socialization (e.g., supervisor and coworker) and intergroup disidentification such that the relationship would be stronger for those with higher neuroticism. Results for need to belong moderating the relationship between supervisor sources and intergroup disidentification yielded no support (towards the Marketing team was $\beta = -.05; p > .05$; towards the Pricing team was $\beta = -.03; p > .05$). Additionally, results for neuroticism moderating the relationship between coworker

sources and intergroup disidentification also showed no significant moderating relationship (towards the Marketing team was $\beta = .13$; $p > .05$; towards the Pricing team was $\beta = .10$; $p > .05$). Thus there was no support for Hypotheses 8a and 8b.

Hypotheses 9-11 were aimed at predicting outcomes of disidentification. Similar to the previous hypotheses, the outcomes were targeted towards the Marketing and Pricing teams, thus there are separate tables for each set of tests. Table 6 has results for outcomes targeted towards the Marketing team and Table 7 has results for outcomes targeted towards the Pricing team.

Table 6 Outcomes of disidentification towards the Marketing team

Variable	H9		H10		H11	
	Outgroup Derogation		Ingroup Favoritism		Intergroup Conflict	
ID	.16**	.18**	.14**	.17**	.22**	.19**
Gender	.22**	.23**	.11**	.11**	.06	.05
DisID	-.24**		-.25**		.28**	
R^2	.08**	.14**	.03**	.10**	.05**	.13**
Change in R^2	.06**		.06**		.08**	

† denotes $p < .10$; * denotes $p < .05$; ** denotes $p < .001$

ID= group identification; DisID = intergroup disidentification

Table 7 Outcomes of disidentification towards the Pricing team

Variable	H9		H10		H11	
	Outgroup Derogation		Ingroup Favoritism		Intergroup Conflict	
ID	.13**	.13**	.14**	.15**	.15**	.14**
Gender	.17**	.16**	.11**	.10**	.02	.03
DisID		.16**		.30**		.33**
R^2	.05**	.07**	.03**	.12**	.02**	.12**
Change in R^2		.03**		.09**		.11**

† denotes $P < .01$; * denotes $p < .05$; ** denotes $p < .001$

ID= group identification; DisID = intergroup disidentification

Hypothesis 9 proposed that disidentification would be positively related to outgroup derogation. As mentioned previously, this was measured by the participant rating the performance of the outgroup team members (a person from the Marketing and the Pricing teams). Thus, outgroup derogation would manifest with a negative relationship between intergroup disidentification and the performance evaluation of outgroup members. Performance ratings for both the Marketing ($\beta = -.24$; $p < .01$) and Pricing team ($\beta = -.16$; $p < .01$) members yielded significant results, thus supporting Hypothesis 9.

Hypothesis 10 proposed that disidentification would be positively related to ingroup favoritism. Again, this was measured by the participant rating the performance of the ingroup team member (a member of the Creative team). Thus, ingroup favoritism would manifest with a positive relationship between intergroup disidentification and the performance evaluation of an ingroup member. Disidentification towards the Marketing

team member yielded a significant relationship with the performance rating of the ingroup member ($\beta = -.25; p < .01$) and disidentification towards the Pricing team member also had a significant relationship with the performance rating of the ingroup member ($\beta = -.30; p < .01$). However, both of these relationships are in the opposite direction as proposed, thus Hypothesis 10 was not supported. One explanation of this finding is that a performance rating is a poor proxy of ingroup favoritism and that the relationship between disidentification and performance ratings may have an alternative explanation.

Hypothesis 11 proposed that disidentification would be positively related to intergroup conflict. Disidentification towards the Marketing team member yielded a non-significant relationship with intergroup conflict ($\beta = .28; p < .01$) disidentification towards the Pricing team member yielded a significant relationship with intergroup conflict ($\beta = .33; p < .01$) thus finding support for Hypothesis 11.

Lab Study Discussion

The lab environment has shown to be a challenging setting to find meaningful results for predicting disidentification within the socialization context. One explanation for the lack of findings is that manipulating socialization in a lab study is a rare occurrence (Cable, Gino, & Staats, 2013) particularly with the short time duration of this study (each lab was no longer than one hour). Additionally, group identification and outgroup derogation are also challenging to capture in a lab environment (Zhong et al., 2008b). Although there were some findings suggesting that disidentification predicted outgroup derogation and intergroup conflict, the assessment of each of these constructs

were not direct measures and served more as proxies to the proposed hypotheses (e.g., using ratings of performance as an indicator of outgroup derogation and ingroup favoritism). Additionally, the electronic aspect of my task may have affected participants' ability to identify/disidentify with their workgroup and other workgroups because there was not face-to-face interactions. The salience of the relationships may have been depressed due to the virtual aspect of the teams.

To address many of the limitations of an experimental design in testing my hypotheses I also conducted a field study which has more direct measures of outcomes of disidentification as well as being able to capture an adequate amount of time for individuals to feel the different effects of socialization tactics upon entry into an organization.

Field Study

Sample and Procedures

To test my hypotheses in a field setting I recruited participants from a company concentrated in the oil industry. I identified newcomers as organizational members who have been with the organization no longer than 6-months (Li et al., 2011). Seasonal employees and other temporary employees such as interns were excluded from the recruitment and employees who were new to the organization due to acquisitions were also excluded from the recruitment of the sample. A total of 212 individuals were identified as potential participants.

Data were collected in two waves separated by a month. Sources of socialization and various individual difference variables were collected in the first questionnaire while

disidentification and other group perceptions were collected in the second questionnaire. Separating the two surveys in time was used to try to reduce the common-method and same-source biases (Podsakoff et al., 2003). Of the 212 potential participants, 101 individuals completed the first survey giving a response rate of (48%). Of the 101 individuals who completed the first survey, a total of 74 provided complete responses for the second survey. The total sample consisted of 62% male respondents. To comply with the organization's protocol, participant age was collected via ranges of ages in five year increments (e.g., 31-35, 36-40, etc.). The largest group of participants ranged from 26-30 years of age (22%) and the smallest group aged from 56-60 (6%). 64% of respondents identified themselves as Caucasian (non-Hispanic), 22% self-identified as Hispanic, 4% self-identified as African American while the remaining 10% self-identified as another race. The average length of tenure was 4.4 months. The sample also represented various job functions including office/clerical jobs (13.5%), professionals (35.1%), and managers (9.5%). Additionally, 73% of the respondents were salaried exempt employees.

Measures

Socialization influence. This variable was measured in the first survey. To measure the sources of socialization influence I used Kammeyer-Mueller and Wanberg's (2003) seven-item measure of socialization influence sources. The seven-item measure has three different stems, one for each of the sources of influence—organization, supervisors, and coworkers—resulting in twenty-one questions total. Participants responded to each question on a 1-7 scale (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree).

This is consistent for all of the variables measured unless stated otherwise. An example item is “To what extent have each of the following influenced how you have ‘learned the ropes’ as you’ve entered your new work environment?” Respondents then indicated on the 1-7 scale the how much they agreed that the influence came from “orientation, training, and other organizational efforts,” “supervisors or others higher up in the organization,” and “other co-workers.” The Cronbach’s alpha for the organization source was .96, supervisor was .93, and coworker was .82.

Intergroup disidentification. To measure intergroup disidentification I used Elsbach and Bhattacharya’s (2001) three-item measure directed towards “other workgroups.” Example items are “Other workgroup’s failures are like my successes” and “When someone praises other workgroups it feels like a personal insult.” Cronbach’s alpha = .83.

Social comparison orientation. Gibbons and Buunk (1999) developed an 11-item measure to represent an individual’s disposition regarding social comparison orientation. Sample items include, “I always pay a lot of attention to how I do things compared with how others do things” and “I often compare myself with others with respect to what I have accomplished in life.” The estimated reliability for SCO was .84.

Need to belong. I measured need to belong using Leary et al.’s (2005) ten-item measure. Example questions are, “I try hard not to do things that will make other people avoid or reject me” and “I want other people to accept me.” Cronbach’s alpha was .80.

Self-esteem. I used Rosenberg's (1965) 10-item scale to measure an individual's self-esteem. Sample items are, "I feel that I have a number of good qualities" and "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself." Cronbach's alpha was .93.

Outgroup derogation. I used a group evaluation measure developed by Locksley, Ortiz, and Hepburn (1980) that has been used to evaluate outgroup derogation (Zhong et al., 2008b). Individuals were asked to evaluate "other workgroups" using three negative traits and three positive traits (which were reverse coded). Example traits are "greedy" and "honest." Cronbach's alpha was .95.

Intergroup conflict. I used a four-item measure of intergroup conflict created by Richter, Scully, and West (2005). These questions will be directed toward "our workgroups" in general. Sample items include, "our workgroups try to show that they are superior to each other" and "workgroups structure things in ways that favor their own goals rather than the goals of other workgroups." Cronbach's alpha was .87.

Neuroticism. I measured neuroticism using three items from the mini-IPIP (Donnellan, Oswald, Baird, & Lucas, 2006). At the request of the organization, statements were positively worded but for analyses responses were reversed scored. Individuals responded to each question on how much they agree/disagree with how the question describes him/herself. Sample questions include, "I am stress-free most of the time," and "I don't get upset easily." Cronbach's alpha was .71

Controls. I identified several relevant controls to conduct my analyses. Due to the similarity of disidentification to identification and to further assess the discriminant validity of the constructs, I took into account workgroup identification by using the Mael

and Ashforth six-item measure of identification ($\alpha = .74$). Additionally, I also incorporated three factors of Jones' (1986) socialization tactics by measuring the amount of Formal ($\alpha = .61$), Serial, ($\alpha = .83$), and Investiture ($\alpha = .84$) tactics. I decided to control for socialization tactics because I wanted to account for the substance of the socialization to see if the sources of socialization affected disidentification beyond how newcomers were being socialized (i.e., socialization tactics). I selected these three because formal tactics are conceptually similar to sources from the organization and I selected serial and investiture tactics because they capture the "social" aspects of socialization tactics (Jones, 1986).

Results

Due to survey length restrictions and some hesitation from the organization to ask some sensitive questions (e.g., questions related to social dominance orientation) I was unable to test all of my hypotheses with my field sample. The following are results for Hypotheses 1-2; 4, 6-9, and 11. All significant values are based on a two-tailed test.

I first assessed the main effect hypotheses using regression analyses. To test my moderating hypotheses I conducted a series of regression analyses using a stepwise approach (Cohen et al., 2003). The descriptive statistics and correlations of all of my regression variables are found in Table 8 and the results of the regression analyses for antecedents of disidentification are found in Table 9.

Table 8 Descriptive statistics and correlations of field study variables

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. OutGroup	2.41	1.05								
2. InterGr	3.55	1.20	.64**							
3. Intergroup DisID	1.78	1.09	.35**	.36**						
4. Soc. Org.	4.64	1.43	-.28*	-.36**	.09					
5. Soc. Sup.	5.74	1.05	-.42**	-.40**	-.04	.40**				
6. Soc. Cow.	6.06	.70	-.30*	-.27*	-.13	.35**	.58**			
7. SCO	4.27	.81	.27*	.24*	.01	-.11	-.03	.03		
8. Self-esteem	6.20	.57	-.24*	-.15	-.01	.24*	.24*	.29**	-.11	
9. Need to Belong	3.98	.85	.28*	.28*	-.12	-.34**	-.08	-.07	.52**	-.19
10. Neuroticism	2.41	.83	.39**	.28*	.09	-.37**	-.22*	-.30**	.17	-.57**
11. Tenure	104.46	63.33	.00	-.02	.08	-.11	.01	-.16	-.01	-.01
12. Identification	5.57	.74	-.25*	-.07	-.14	-.15	.08	-.10	.09	.11
13. Formal tactics	3.83	1.10	-.27*	-.36**	-.01	.61**	.36**	.18	-.10	.26*
14. Serial Tactics	4.87	1.36	-.45**	-.43**	-.09	.40**	.49**	.39**	-.09	.32**
15. Investiture Tactics	5.64	1.06	-.61**	-.55**	-.28*	.31**	.55**	.35**	-.26*	.43**

† denotes $p < .10$; * denotes $p < .05$; ** denotes $p < .001$

OutGroup = Outgroup derogation, InterGr = Intergroup conflict, Intergroup DisID = Intergroup Disidentification
SCO = Social Comparison Orientation

Table 8 Continued

Variable	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. OutGroup						
2. InterGr						
3. Intergroup DisID						
4. Soc. Org.						
5. Soc. Sup.						
6. Soc. Cow.						
7. SCO						
8. Self-esteem						
9. Need to Belong						
10. Emotional Stability	-.34**					
11. Tenure	.19	-.20†				
12. Identification	.18	-.01	.13			
13. Formal tactics	-.18	.36**	-.14	-.06		
14. Serial Tactics	-.16	.37**	.02	.09	.41**	
15. Investiture Tactics	-.33**	.42**	.02	.13	.39**	.56**

† denotes $p < .10$; * denotes $p < .05$; ** denotes $p < .001$

OutGroup = Outgroup derogation, InterGr = Intergroup conflict, Intergroup DisID = Intergroup Disidentification SCO = Social Comparison Orientation

Table 9 Antecedents to intergroup disidentification for field study

Variable	H1abc		H2		H4a		H4b		H5a		H5b	
Tenure	.11	.08	.12	.10	.10	.09	.11	.12	.11	.15	.11	.11
ID	-.07	-.05	-.03	-.01	-.04	-.05	-.06	-.05	-.07	-.05	-.09	-.09
Formal	.09	-.09	-.06	-.06	-.07	.06	.09	.09	.06	.14	.07	.07
Serial	.08	-.01	.03	.01	.04	.03	.10	.10	.02	.02	.09	.09
Investiture	-.37*	-.45**	-.35*	-.35*	-.51**	-.56**	-.40*	-.40*	-.48**	-.53**	-.39*	-.39*
Organization	.32†		.32†	.38*								
Supervisor	.29				.22	.27			.19	.12		
Coworker	-.26†		-.14	-.12			.03	-.03			-.06	-.06
OrgXSup				.14								
SCO					-.14	-.15	-.11	-.11				
SE									.11	.07	.12	.12
NtoB												
Neurotism												
SCOxSup						.13						
SExSup										-.26†		
NtoBxSup												
NeuroxSup												
SCOxCow								-.04				
SExCow												.01
NtoBxCow												
NeuroxCow												
R ²	.11	.20†	1.61	.18	.15	.16	.12	.13	.14	.19	.13	.13
Change in R ²		.08†		.02		.02		.00		.05†		.00

† denotes $p < .10$; * denotes $p < .05$; ** denotes $p < .001$

Org = Organization; Sup = Supervisor; SCO = Social Comparison Orientation; SE = Self-esteem; NtoB = Need to Belong

Table 9 Continued

Variable	H6a		H6b		H8a		H8b	
Tenure	.17	.18	.18	.19	.11	.11	.12	.10
ID	.05	.04	.03	.02	-.06	-.06	-.08	-.07
Formal	.05	.06	.08	.08	.07	.08	.09	.07
Serial	.03	.05	.10	.12	.02	.03	.09	.07
Investiture	-.64**	-.72**	-.51**	-.53**	-.45**	-.46**	-.36*	-.35*
Organization								
Supervisor	.27†	.30†			.19	.19		
Coworker			.00	-.01			-.05	.00
OrgXSup								
SCO								
SE								
NtoB	-.40**	-.39**	-.36**	-.36**				
Neuroticism					-.03	-.02	-.03	-.06
SCOxSup								
SExSup								
NtoBxSup		.13						
ESxSup						.04		
SCOxCow								
SExCow								
NtoBxCow				.07				
ESxCow								-.16
R ²	.25**	.26*	.21*	.22*	.13	.13	.11	.13
Change in R ²		.01		.01		.00		.02

† denotes $p < .10$; * denotes $p < .05$; ** denotes $p < .001$

Org = Organization; Sup = Supervisor; SCO = Social Comparison Orientation; SE = Self-esteem; NtoB = Need to Belong

Hypotheses 1a-c proposed that sources of socialization would have significant relationships with newcomers' intergroup disidentification. Specifically, Hypothesis 1a and 1b proposed that socialization from leaders (1a) and coworkers (1b) would have positive relationships with intergroup disidentification and Hypothesis 1c proposed that sources from the organization would have a negative relationship with intergroup disidentification. Results as shown in Table 9 reveal marginally significant relationships for socialization from the coworkers ($\beta = -.26; p < .10$) and socialization from the organization ($\beta = .32; p < .10$) on disidentification; however both of the relationships are in the opposite direction as proposed. Additionally, there was not a significant relationship between socialization from the supervisor and intergroup disidentification ($\beta = .29; p > .05$). Thus, there was no support for Hypotheses 1a-c.

Hypothesis 2 proposed that socialization from the coworker will moderate the link between socialization efforts from the organization and intergroup disidentification. The interaction term between coworker and organizational sources of socialization resulted in a nonsignificant finding ($\beta = .14; p > .05$), thus not supporting Hypothesis 2.

Hypotheses 4a and 4b proposed that an individual's self-esteem would moderate the relationship between the proximal sources of socialization (e.g., supervisor and coworker) and intergroup disidentification such that the relationship would be weaker for those with higher self-esteem. Results for self-esteem moderating the relationship between supervisor sources and intergroup disidentification yielded a marginally significant relationship ($\beta = -.26; p < .10$) and the interaction was plotted in Figure 2. Simple slope tests resulted in a significantly different than zero slope when self-esteem

was low ($b = .59, t = 2.34, p < .05$) but not a significant slope for when self-esteem was high ($b = -.35, t = -1.12, p > .05$). Results for self-esteem moderating the relationship between coworker sources and intergroup disidentification showed no significant moderating relationship ($\beta = .01; p > .05$). Although the proposed hypothesis was specific about those with higher self-esteem which I found no significant relationship, I did find moderate significance that those with lower self-esteem were more likely to disidentify with other workgroups when they were socialized from their supervisor thus finding partial support Hypotheses 4a. There was no support for Hypothesis 4b.

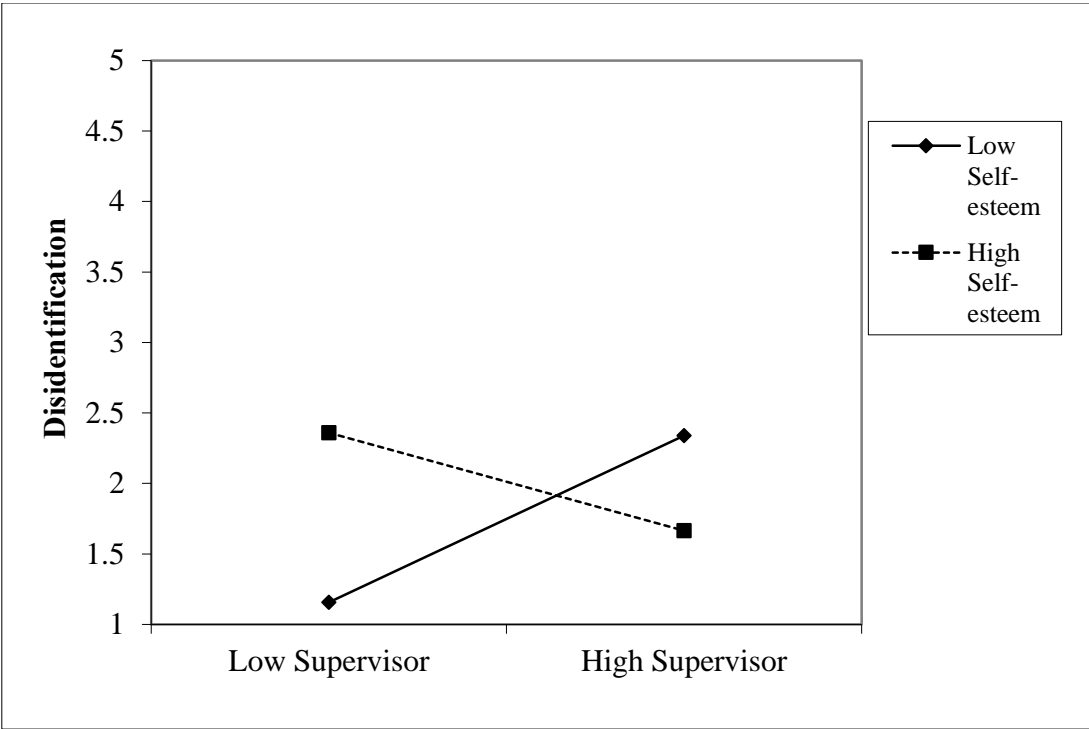


Figure 2 Interaction between socialization from supervisor and self-esteem (H4a)

Hypotheses 6a and 6b proposed that an individual's SCO would moderate the relationship between the proximal sources of socialization (e.g., supervisor and coworker) and intergroup disidentification such that the relationship would be stronger for those high on SCO. Results for SCO moderating the relationship between supervisor sources and intergroup disidentification yielded no support ($\beta = .13; p > .05$) and results for SCO moderating the relationship between coworker sources and intergroup disidentification also showed no significant moderating relationship ($\beta = -.04; p > .05$). Thus there was no support for Hypotheses 6a and 6b.

Hypotheses 7a and 7b proposed that an individual's need to belong would moderate the relationship between the proximal sources of socialization (e.g., supervisor and coworker) and intergroup disidentification such that the relationship would be stronger for those high on need to belong. Results for need to belong moderating the relationship between supervisor sources and intergroup disidentification yielded no support ($\beta = .13; p > .05$) and results for need to belong moderating the relationship between coworker sources and intergroup disidentification also showed no significant moderating relationship ($\beta = .07; p > .05$). Thus there was no support for Hypotheses 7a and 7b.

Hypotheses 8a and 8b proposed that an individual's neuroticism would moderate the relationship between the proximal sources of socialization (e.g., supervisor and coworker) and intergroup disidentification such that the relationship would be stronger for those high on neuroticism. Results for neuroticism moderating the relationship between supervisor sources and intergroup disidentification yielded no support ($\beta = .04;$

$p > .05$) and results for neuroticism moderating the relationship between coworker sources and intergroup disidentification also showed no significant moderating relationship ($\beta = -.16; p > .05$). Thus there was no support for Hypotheses 8a and 8b.

Hypotheses 9 proposed that disidentification would be positively related to outgroup derogation. Results shown in Table 10 show that there is not a significant relationship between intergroup disidentification and outgroup derogation ($\beta = .15; p > .05$) thus not supporting Hypothesis 9. Additionally, Hypothesis 11 proposed that intergroup disidentification would be positively related with intergroup conflict. Results did find a significantly positive relationship ($\beta = .25; p < .05$) thus supporting Hypothesis 11.

Additionally, a post hoc power analysis was conducted using the package GPower (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009). The sample size considered was 74, eight predictor variables were entered into the baseline equation and alpha was set at .05. I looked at the amount of power for small ($f^2 = .02$), medium ($f^2 = .15$), and large ($f^2 = .35$) effect sizes (Cohen, 1977). The analyses showed the power was .22 for detecting a small effect, .91 for detecting a medium effect, and exceeded .99 for detecting a large effect.

Table 10 Outcomes of intergroup disidentification

Variable	H9		H11	
	Outgroup Derogation		Intergroup Conflict	
Tenure	.07	.06	.00	-.02
Identification	-.16	-.15	.01	.03
Formal	-.03	-.01	-.11	-.09
Serial	-.09	-.09	-.07	-.06
Investiture	-.51**	-.44**	-.43**	-.32**
Organization	-.02	-.07	-.09	-.16
Supervisor	.03	-.02	.00	-.07
Coworker	-.10	-.06	-.03	.03
Disidentification		.15		.25*
R^2	.42**	.44**	.35**	.40**
change in R^2		.02		.05*

† denotes $p < .10$; * denotes $p < .05$; ** denotes $p < .001$

Field Study Discussion

The field study provided some richer insight into the relationships with socialization and intergroup relations, including intergroup disidentification. The test of the main hypothesis that proximal sources would have a positive relationship with intergroup disidentification and that distal sources would have negative effects with intergroup disidentification were opposite to what was proposed. I highlight why I think this may be within my post-hoc analyses below. Although I found partial support for those with low self-esteem being more likely to engage in intergroup disidentification, I did not find support for any of the other moderating hypotheses.

With regards to outcomes of disidentification I found some support for intergroup conflict but not a significant relationship with outgroup derogation. Although

these measures were more direct measures than what was captured in the lab experiment, they were also collected at the same time point, thus the results may be biased (Podsakoff et al., 2003). One curious observation within my field data results was the significance of the investiture tactics throughout my analyses. This observation prompted some post-hoc theorizing and analyses to help shed light on the relationship between socialization and intergroup relations.

Post-hoc Analyses

Optimal Distinctiveness Theory

After finding results which were unsupportive and/or somewhat conflicting with my initial theorizing I revisited some of my theories and also investigated my results with more detail. My initial results tended to show null findings with regards to the sources of socialization and in some cases showed main effects that were opposite to the proposed direction (e.g., for H1 and H2 the main effects for socialization from the organization had positive effects on intergroup disidentification). Additionally, results indicated strong main effects with regards to socialization tactics, specifically investiture tactics, on intergroup disidentification, suggesting that how newcomers are socialized may be important rather than who socializes them when it comes to intergroup disidentification and relations. Reevaluating some of my theorizing I look to highlight optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991) which highlights some issues regarding an individual's need to be the same and different at the same time. More specifically, Brewer suggests that each individual has an inherent desire to affiliate with groups and belong to some type of social category. This is consistent with the social identity theories

from Tajfel and colleagues (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). However, there is also an aspect of individuality within people that motivates efforts to differentiate and be distinctive.

These two elements of affiliation and distinctiveness are somewhat subject to the level of inclusion that a person feels when they enter into a social group. When the level of inclusion is very high, individuals will look for opportunities to differentiate themselves from others within the social group and focus less on their need to affiliate. However, when the level of inclusion is low, individuals seek to affiliate more than differentiate with others within the social category.

When this theory is taken into account within the socialization context it draws focus to socialization tactics which are designed to project the organization onto the newcomer so that the newcomer can internalize the organizational missions and values (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Jones (1986) reevaluated and categorized the tactics described by Van Maanen and Schein (1979) and categorized Serial and Investiture tactics as the social elements of the socialization process which targeted the social identity of the newcomer. However, Jones (1986) reversed the meaning of Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) use of the investiture/divestiture tactic to highlight the investing in a newcomer as a more formalized way of socialization (Cable et al., 2013). Van Maanen and Schein (1979) originally argued that divestiture tactics were actually what organizations typically undertook in more formal orientations. Divestiture tactics are aimed at the deindividuation of the newcomer, meaning that the newcomer strips off their old identity and puts on a new identity of being a member of

the organization (e.g., the military having newcomers change their clothes into military fatigues etc.). Thus, divestiture tactics are aimed to be more inclusive for the individual and can thus, according to optimal distinctiveness theory, trigger the newcomer to focus on differentiating him/herself from others within the organization.

I tested optimal distinctiveness theory within the socialization context with my field sample. I focused on the social aspects of socialization tactics, namely; serial and divestiture tactics (I reversed scored investiture tactics to represent divestiture tactics since the tactics are seen as a continuum from formalized-individualized with divestiture being formalized tactics; Jones, 1986) as my main independent variables. Additionally, I focused on interactions that captured the two needs of individuals according to optimal distinctiveness—the need to affiliate and differentiate. I did this by incorporating the individual difference measures of need to belong and social comparison orientation. Brewer (1991) explains the complexity of an individual's self-esteem within optimal distinctiveness theory suggesting that results may be mixed. Given that divestiture tactics are used to “change” an individual, I propose that those with a high self-esteem are comfortable with who they are when they enter the organization and when attempts are made to change who they are they will interpret it as an identity threat and seek to differentiate themselves with others in the organization, thus being more likely to disidentify from groups within the organization.

Additionally, I sought to test the outcomes of intergroup disidentification by using intergroup disidentification as a mediating mechanism between socialization tactics and outgroup derogation and intergroup conflict. Optimal distinctiveness theory

highlights the bridge between socialization and intergroup relations using a social identity perspective. It incorporates socialization by accounting for the level of inclusion that a social group or organization tries to achieve for its newcomers through various methods of inclusion which can result in deindividuation. Additionally, it suggests that intergroup problems are one potential outcome of high levels of group inclusion and that the higher the levels of inclusion the more organizational members will differentiate themselves from others within the organization in order to maintain their distinctiveness. I propose that disidentification serves as a mechanism that links socialization and intergroup disidentification because disidentification captures the cognitive separation that newcomers can experience as they attempt to make sense of their new environment and find their “place” relevant to others within the organization.

I also incorporated the newcomer’s intention to quit as an additional outcome to socialization tactics and disidentification. Cable et al. (2013) recently found that socialization tactics aimed at projecting the organization’s identity onto the newcomer (i.e., divestiture tactics) had negative effects on newcomer retention. The reasoning is that when organizations undertake high levels of socialization through high inclusion tactics such as divestment practices, newcomers may not be comfortable with the idea of leaving their “old selves” behind. Although much of the identification literature suggests that high levels of identification yield strong relationships with organizational retention, much of the previous research does not account for whether the newcomer maintains their individuality in the identification process. Cable et al. (2013) investigated aspects of these relationships of inclusion and retention and their results suggest that too much

inclusion can lead to a loss of self-expression of the newcomer ultimately ending in organizational exit.

To measure intentions to quit I used a five-item scale used in Wayne, Shore, and Liden (1997) that was an adaptation of Landau and Hammer (1986) and Nadler, Jenkins, Camann, and Lawler's (1975) measures of intentions to quit. Sample items are, "I am actively looking for a job outside the company" and "As soon as I can find a better job, I'll leave the company." Cronbach's Alpha = .94. Additionally, some sample items of divestiture tactics are, "I have had to change my attitudes and values to be accepted in this organization" and "I feel experienced organizational members have not fully included me until I learned the job."

Results

Table 11 shows the descriptive statistics and the correlations of the variables involved in my post-hoc analyses. To test whether the divestiture and serial tactics affected intergroup disidentification I conducted a series of regression analyses shown with intergroup disidentification as the dependent variable. Regression results can be found in Table 12.

Table 11 Descriptive statistics and correlations for post-hoc analyses

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Disidentification	1.78	1.09									
2. Tenure	104.46	63.3	.08								
3. Identification	5.57	.73	-.14	.13							
4. Soc. Org.	4.64	1.43	.09	-.11	-.15						
5. Soc. Coworker	6.06	.7	-.13	-.16	-.10	.35**					
6. Serial Tactic	4.87	1.36	-.09	.02	.09	.40**	.38**				
7. Divestiture Tactic	2.36	1.06	.28*	-.02	-.13	-.31**	-.35**	-.56**			
8. Emotional Stability	5.59	.83	-.09	-.20*	-.01	.37**	.30**	.37**	-.42**		
9. Self-esteem	6.20	.57	-.01	-.01	.11	.24*	.30**	.32**	-.43**	.57**	
10. Need to Belong	3.98	.85	-.12	.19	.18	-.34**	-.07	-.16	.33**	-.34**	-.19
11. SCO	4.27	.81	.01	-.01	.09	-.11	.03	-.09	.26*	-.17	-.11
12. Intergroup Conflict	3.55	1.2	.36**	-.02	-.07	-.36**	-.27*	-.43**	.55**	-.28*	-.15
13. Outgroup Derogation	2.41	1.04	.35**	.00	-.25*	-.28*	-.30*	-.45**	.61**	-.39**	-.24*
14. Intention to Quit	1.89	1.19	.39**	-.01	-.26*	-.30*	-.21	-.53**	.50**	-.41**	-.27*

† denotes $p < .10$; * denotes $p < .05$; ** denotes $p < .001$

SCO = Social Comparison Orientation

Table 11 Continued

Variable	10	11	12	13
1. Disidentification				
2. Tenure				
3. Identification				
4. Soc. Org.				
5. Soc. Coworker				
6. Serial Tactic				
7. Divestiture Tactic				
8. Emotional Stability				
9. Self-esteem				
10. Need to Belong				
11. SCO	.52**			
12. Intergroup Conflict	.28*	.24*		
13. Outgroup Derogation	.28*	.27*	.64**	
14. Intention to Quit	.24*	.26*	.47**	.61**

† denotes $p < .10$; * denotes $p < .05$; ** denotes $p < .001$

SCO = Social Comparison Orientation

Table 12 Post-hoc regression predicting intergroup disidentification

		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4
Tenure	.09	.12	.12	.15	0.19†	.22*	.12	.19†
Group Identification	-.11	-.03	-.08	-.08	.00	-.03	-.08	-.07
Serial Tactics		.02						
Divestiture Tactics		.36*	.31*	.46**	.41**	.56**	.34*	.62**
Socialization from Org.		.29*						
Socialization from Coworkers		-.13						
SCO			-.11	-.14				
NtoB					-.35**	-.28*		
SE							.14	.18
Divest X SCO				-.29*				
Divest X NtoB						-.30*		
Divest X SE								.43**
R^2	0.02	.16†	.11†	.17*	.19**	.25**	.11†	.23**
Change in R^2		.14*		.06*		.06*		.12**

† denotes $p < .10$; * denotes $p < .05$; ** denotes $p < .001$

SCO = Social Comparison Orientation. NtoB = Need to Belong. SE = Self-Esteem

Model 1 in Table 12 shows that indeed divestiture tactics have a significant and positive relationship with intergroup disidentification ($\beta = .36, p < .05$). Additionally, the source of socialization had a significant effect ($\beta = .29, p < .05$) suggesting that more formalized socialization tactics from the organization were positively related to intergroup disidentification. Model 2 tests the interaction between divestiture tactics and social comparison orientation and found a significant interaction. I tested social comparison orientation as a moderator to try and capture optimal distinctiveness theory's suggestion that individuals have a need to differentiate themselves. This interaction is plotted in Figure 3 and finds a significant slope ($b = .67, t = 3.29, p < .01$); however, this plot suggests that those low in social comparison orientation are more likely to disidentify when there are divestiture tactics. One explanation to this finding is that the direction (upwards versus downwards) of the social comparison is not captured within the measure and could be a factor in how people seek to differentiate themselves in a socialization setting (Buunk & Gibbons, 2007).

Model 3 tests the interaction between divestiture and an individual's need to belong and it is proposed that those with a lower need to belong will seek to differentiate themselves when divestiture tactics are used because these individuals do not have the desire to affiliate themselves with the organization. I tested need to belong to capture the proposal of optimal distinctiveness theory that individuals also have a dispositional need to affiliate. Model 3 shows a significant interaction ($\beta = -.29, p < .05$) and Figure 4 plots the interaction and finds a significant slope for those low on need to belong ($b = .68, t =$

3.55, $p < .01$). Additionally, the slope for those high on need to belong was also significantly different than zero ($b = .32$, $t = 2.82$, $p < .01$).

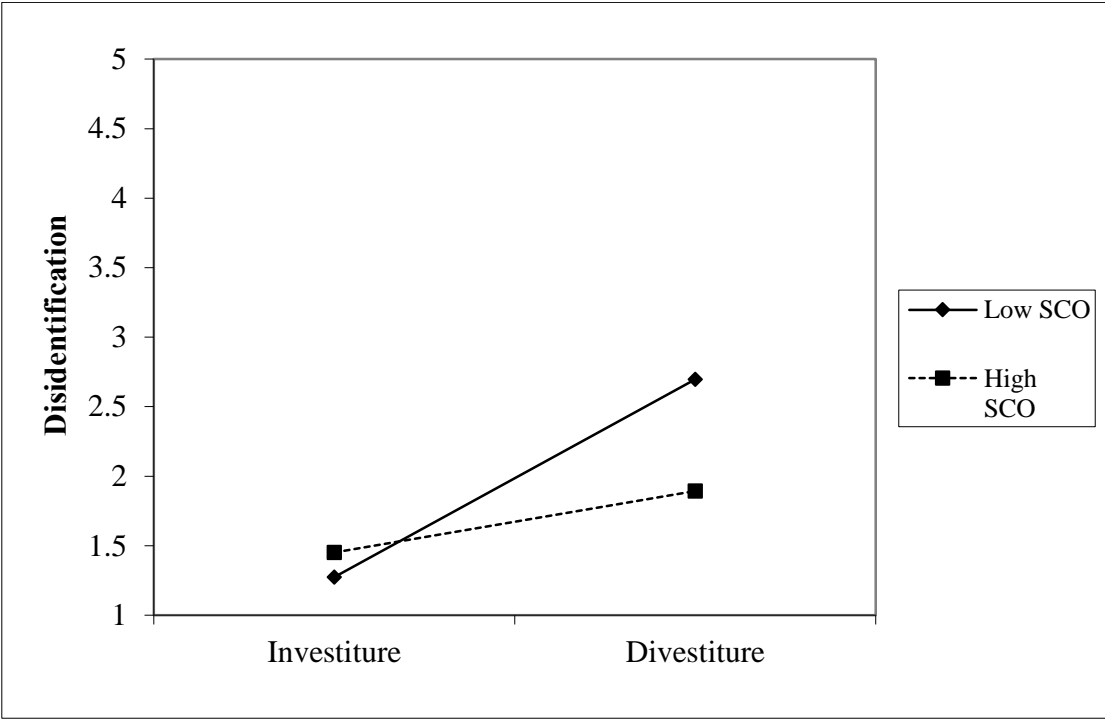


Figure 3 Interaction between divestiture and social comparison (SCO)

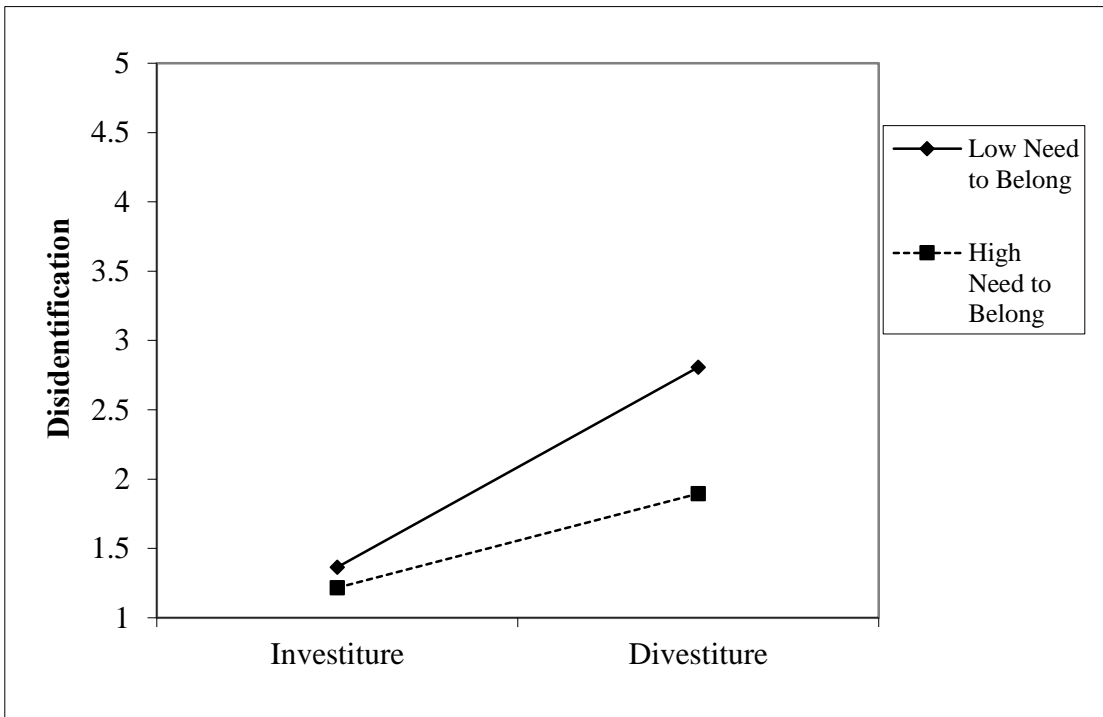


Figure 4 Interaction between divestiture and need to belong

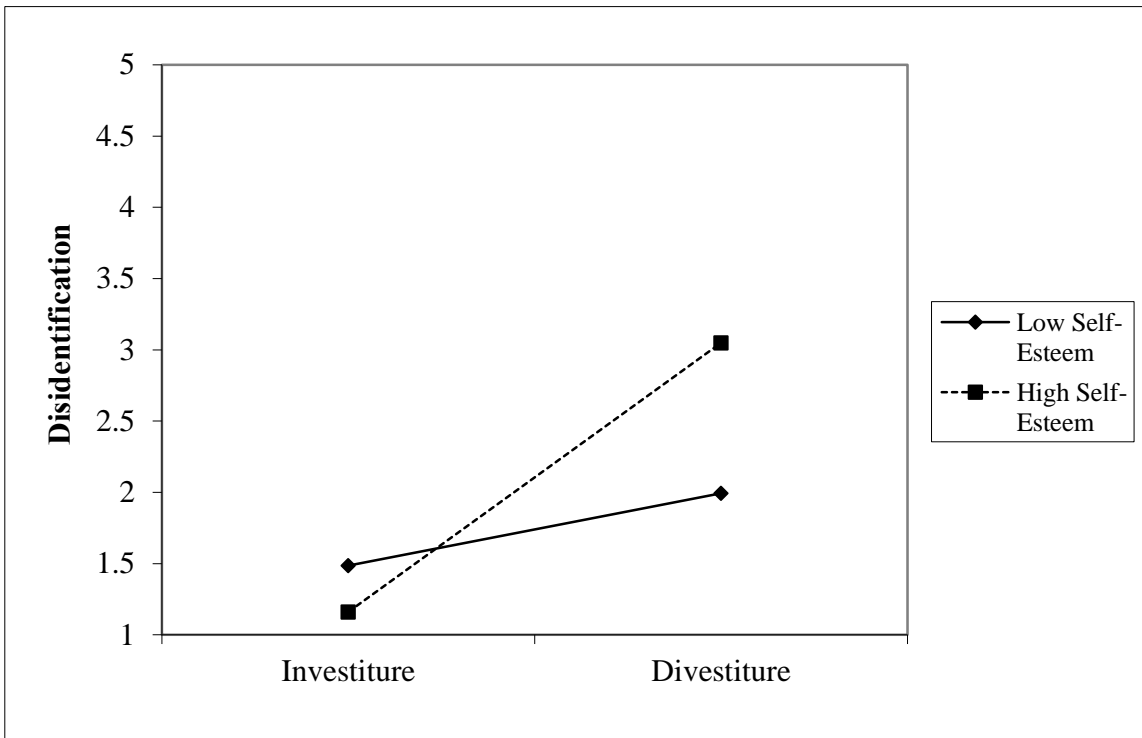


Figure 5 Interaction between divestiture and self-esteem

Model 4 tests the interaction between divestiture tactics and an individual's self-esteem. It is proposed that those with high self-esteem will seek to differentiate themselves when divestiture tactics are used because divestiture tactics can be seen as an identity threat to individuals (i.e., you must change who you are in order to be accepted). Those with high levels of self-esteem want to maintain their self-esteem as well as their individuality and when their identity feels threatened they will undergo differentiation tactics by highlighting differences from other groups within a shared social sphere (Elsbach & Kramer, 1996). Model 4 shows a significant interaction ($\beta = .43, p < .01$) and Figure 5 plots the interaction finding a significant slope for those high on self-esteem ($b = .89, t = 3.91, p < .01$). Additionally, the slope for those low on self-esteem was not significantly different than zero ($b = .24, t = 1.91, p > .05$) as shown in Figure 5. This supports the proposition that those with a high self-esteem will be more likely to disidentify when divestiture tactics are used. I could not test the other moderators related to self-enhancement (SDO and negative affect) because I could not collect these variables from my field sample. I do note, however, that I did test an interaction for neuroticism and divestiture tactics and did not find significant results but also did not anticipate significant findings since neuroticism is somewhat out of the scope of optimal distinctiveness theory.

To test intergroup disidentification as the mediating mechanism for the effects of divestiture tactics on intergroup conflict, outgroup derogation, and intentions to quit I conducted a bootstrap mediation analyses suggested by Preacher and Hayes (2008). Table 13 shows results for direct effects of divestiture tactics on intergroup

disidentification ($\beta = .28, p < .05$), intergroup conflict ($\beta = .54, p < .01$), outgroup derogation ($\beta = .53, p < .01$), and intentions to quit ($\beta = .44, p < .01$) and found significant direct effects for each dependent variable. Table 14 tested the indirect effects of divestiture tactics on intergroup outcomes through intergroup disidentification by providing confidence intervals and found that divestiture tactics had an indirect effect, through the mechanism of disidentification, on intergroup conflict [95% CI (.01, .29)] and outgroup derogation [95% CI (.00, .19)], but not on intentions to quit [95% CI (-.03, .30)]. Perhaps one reason intentions to quit was not found to be significant is that it is a more distal outcome of intergroup disidentification.

Table 13 Direct effects on mediator and dependent variables

	Intergroup DisID	Intergroup Conflict	Outgroup Derogation	Intent to Quit
Variable	β	β	β	β
Group ID	-.14	.08	-.19	-.26
Tenure	.00	.00	.00	.00
Divestiture	.28*	.54**	.53**	.44**
Intergroup DisID	-	.20†	.12	.20†

† denotes $p < .10$; * denotes $p < .05$; ** denotes $p < .001$

Table 14 Test for indirect effect of divestiture through intergroup disidentification

Dependent Variable	Bootstrap Results for Indirect Effects		
	Estimate	LL 95% CI	UL 95% CI
Intergroup Conflict	.05	.01	0.29
Outgroup Derogation	.03	.00	.19
Intention to Quit	.05	-.03	.30

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Overall Discussion

The purpose of this dissertation was to investigate the construct of disidentification within the socialization context. The formal hypotheses sought to test the effects of the sources of socialization on intergroup disidentification and found little to no significant results that supported the hypotheses. However, upon additional analyses, I found that the actual socialization tactics and not just merely the source of the socialization yielded significant results in predicting intergroup disidentification, outgroup derogation, and intergroup conflict. Specifically, divestiture tactics which are typically formalized and designed to socialize a newcomer by having the newcomer “change” who they are as they enter the organization had positive effects on outgroup derogation and intergroup conflict and intergroup disidentification served to be a mediating mechanism for these relationships. Contributions to theory and practice are outlined below followed by limitations to the current studies.

Contribution to Theory

These studies contribute to theory in several ways. First, it highlights the understudied variable of disidentification and answers some recent calls to understand this construct more fully (Kilduff et al., 2010; Sluss et al., 2011). Within these studies I argue that disidentification is related yet theoretically and empirically distinct from identification. Indeed, I found predictive differences between identification and

disidentification when predicting group perceptions. I also found discriminant validity between the two constructs in my pilot testing through factor analyses. Additionally, in my field study which allowed for an adequate time duration for the newcomers to be affiliated with the organization and workgroup (as opposed to the short duration of the lab) there was a nonsignificant correlation (-.14) between intergroup disidentification and identification. Understanding disidentification is an important element in understanding the attachment and detachment of individuals with groups and organizations and can help understand individual's commitment, withdrawal, citizenship behaviors, and task performance (Ashforth et al., 2008; Carmeli, et al., 2007; Dukerich et al., 2002; Mael & Ashforth, 1995; van Dick, Christ, et al., 2004). Future research could investigate the role of time for attachment variables identifying whether people tend to disidentify between groups before they start to identify with their own groups.

Second, similar to how understanding identification has become an important construct in understanding individual's attachments to their organization, workgroup, and occupation (Ashforth et al., 2008), understanding the cognitive process of separation (i.e., disidentification) can help scholars better understand the mechanisms that may be involved in antagonistic relationships and rivalries at the individual and organizational levels (Kilduff et al., 2010). Previous research has investigated an individual's disidentification with an organization (Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001), however, disidentification may serve as a meaningful mechanism in predicting for antagonistic interpersonal relationships. Some research has measured constructs such as deep-level dissimilarity (Tepper, Moss, & Duffy, 2012) between individuals as a mechanism

predicting negative interpersonal relationships. However, disidentification can add to these mechanisms by contributing a more cognitive element to a typically affective relationship between people. Focusing on these cognitive elements can highlight the relationship between cognitive and affective process more succinctly (Johnson et al., 2012).

Lastly, results in the post-hoc analyses highlights the use of optimal distinctiveness theory in a socialization context and integrates the literature on socialization tactics and social identity to suggest that formalized tactics may have deleterious effects on newcomers relationships with those that are outside of their workgroup. Similar to recent findings in other socialization research (Cable et al., 2013), I find that excessive attempts to socialize an individual to the point of trying to change the individual through divestiture tactics can result in negative relationships and feelings from the newcomer. Additionally, this study highlights the original conceptualization of Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) use of divestiture tactics that has been reversed in past studies creating some confusion of whether the concept represented formal or individualized tactics (Jones et al., 1986).

Contributions to Practice

This research offers important implications for practitioners, particularly with regards to the use of socialization tactics and managing intergroup relations. Many organizations, particularly large ones, undertake extremely formalized orientations which are intended to envelope the newcomer into the organization and make sure the newcomer knows they are wanted and that they want to be a part of the organization.

However, these studies suggest that there should be a balance between the amount of formal and individualized tactics used. Organizations should be aware that if their tactics are too formalized, they may be missing out on aspects of the newcomer that may be beneficial to the organization (Harris, Li, Boswell, Zhang, & Xie, in press, Li et al., 2011). Practitioners should seek to balance the amount of formalized and individualized tactics in order to optimize the level of inclusion and differentiation that a newcomer desires.

Additionally, practitioners could also identify external referents as the source of differentiation (Hogg et al., 2012) to provide the differentiation for newcomers instead of the newcomers seeking to identify differentiation within the organization. Although this type of method should also be managed with care, it can also serve as an effective socialization method for creating a bond of newcomers by identifying external competitors as the target of differentiation.

Limitations

This study has several limitations. First, testing socialization in a lab environment has inherent limitations with the shortness of the lab duration and the sustainability of relationships within the lab environment (Cable et al., 2013). Although sources of socialization were activated in participants, as shown by my successful manipulation checks, analyses from my field sample suggests that it may not be just the source of socialization that is important but also the content and motivation behind the socialization. In order to test this phenomenon in a lab context it would be useful to

extend the duration of the lab and also have the manipulations targeted at mimicking divestiture tactics of socialization, similar to that done in Cable et al. (2013).

Second, the field study has several limitations as well within its design and its sample. Although the design of the field sample attempted to reduce common-method bias by separating the measures of socialization with the dependent variables (Podsakoff et al., 2003) all of the variables were still collected from the same respondents. More objective (e.g., reported incidences) or different source measure (e.g., supervisor) of intergroup relations would be a helpful measure. Additionally, in testing the outcomes of intergroup disidentification, the dependent variables and disidentification were captured in the same survey making the directionality of causality difficult to determine. However, theories on intergroup relations suggest that cognitive separation such as disidentification precedes more affective means of separation (Ashforth et al., 2008; Johnson et al., 2012).

Additionally, the sample size of the field study is smaller than typical field samples. However, in socialization research this is a common problem that is often remedied by combining samples from various organizations (Li et al., 2011). To bolster the results of this study it would be beneficial to seek an additional sample and combine the two pending the two samples were statistically appropriate to combine (i.e., there are not confounding factors between the two samples that would contaminate the results).

Conclusion

This dissertation evaluated and applied the use of social identity theory to explain some of the antecedents of intergroup disidentification as well as some of its

outcomes. Ultimately, the results found meaningful relationships between socialization tactics and intergroup disidentification and also found that intergroup disidentification served as a mediating mechanism between divestiture tactics and intergroup relations. This study highlights some interesting assumptions about the socialization of newcomers in that more inclusive tactics are not always well received by the newcomer and may not always have the intended consequences. Additionally, it advances the understanding of the organizational affiliation process by investigating the role of disidentification within that process, highlighting the need for individuals to be the same and different at the same time.

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APPENDIX

Socialization Influence (Kammeyer-Mueller & Wanberg, 2003)

For each of the following item stems, participants will report their responses for the domains orientation, training, and other organizational efforts, supervisors or others higher up in the organization, and other co-workers.

1. To what extent have each of the following influenced how you have “learned the ropes” as you’ve entered your new work environment?
2. To what extent have each of the following affected your ideas about appropriate behaviors for your job, work group, and organization?
3. To what extent have each of the following influenced how much you have learned about the way your organization works?
4. To what extent have each of the following influenced what you see as most important to learn?
5. To what extent have each of the following influenced how you have adapted to your work environment?
6. To what extent have each of the following influenced your ideas about appropriate attitudes and norms for your job, work group, and organization?
7. To what extent have each of the following influenced how you have figured out how to act in your work environment?

Intergroup Disidentification (Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001)

1. Other workgroup’s failures are like my successes.
2. When someone praises other workgroups it feels like a personal insult.
3. When someone criticizes other workgroups it feels like a personal compliment.

Social Dominance Orientation (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994)

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against others.
3. It’s OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
6. It’s probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
9. It would be good if groups could be equal. R
10. Group equality should be our ideal. R
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life. R
12. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups. R

13. Increased social equality. R
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally. R
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible. R
16. No one group should dominate in society. R

Social Comparison Orientation (Gibbons & Buunk, 1999)

1. I often compare how my loved ones (boy or girlfriend, family members etc.) are doing with how others are doing.
2. I always pay a lot of attention to how I do things compared with how others do things.
3. If I want to find out how well I have done something, I compare what I have done with how others have done.
4. I often compare how I am doing socially (e.g., social skills, popularity) with other people.
5. I am not the type of person who compares often with others. R
6. I often compare myself with others with respect to what I have accomplished in life.
7. I often like to talk with others about mutual opinions and experiences.
8. I often try to find out what others think who face similar problems as I face.
9. I always like to know what others in a similar situation would do.
10. If I want to learn more about something, I try to find out what others think about it.
11. I never consider my situation in life relative to that of other people. R

Self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965)

1. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.
2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities
3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure. R
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of. R
6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself. R
9. I certainly feel useless at times. R
10. At times I think I am no good at all. R

Need to Belong (Leary, Kelly, Cottrell, & Schreindorfer, 2005)

1. If other people don't seem to accept me, I don't let it bother me.
2. I try hard not to do things that will make other people avoid or reject me.
3. I seldom worry about whether other people care about me.
4. I need to feel that there are people I can turn to in times of need.

5. I want other people to accept me.
6. I do not like being alone.
7. Being apart from my friends for long periods of time does not bother me.
8. I have a strong need to belong.
9. It bothers me a great deal when I am not included in other people's plans.
10. My feelings are easily hurt when I feel that others do not accept me.

Negative Affect (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988)

1. Distressed
2. Upset
3. Guilty
4. Scared
5. Hostile
6. Irritable
7. Ashamed
8. Nervous
9. Jittery
10. Afraid

Neuroticism (John, Donahue, & Kentle, 1991, used in lab study)

1. Is depressed, blue
2. Does not handle stress well
3. Can be tense
4. Worries a lot
5. Is not emotionally stable, easily upset
6. Can be moody
7. Does not remain calm in tense situations
8. Gets nervous easily
9. Is easily distracted

Neuroticism (Donnellan, Oswald, Baird, & Lucas, 2006, Individual Difference Item used in field study, all items reverse scored)

1. I am stress-free most of the time
2. I don't get upset easily
3. I am contented most of the time

Outgroup Derogation/Ingroup Favoritism (Locksley, Ortiz, & Hepburn, 1980; used in field study).

I would describe other workgroups as:

1. Greedy
2. Stingy

3. Conceited
4. Honest
5. Cooperative
6. Friendly

Intergroup Conflict (Richter, Scully, & West, 2005)

1. Workgroups try to show that they are superior to each other.
2. Workgroups structure things in ways that favor their own goals rather than the goals of the other workgroups.
3. Workgroups have a “win-lose” relationship.
4. Workgroups give high priority to the things their own workgroup wants to accomplish and low priority to the things members of other workgroups want to accomplish.

Formal vs Informal (Jones, 1986)

1. I have been through a set of training experiences which are specifically designed to give newcomers a thorough knowledge of job related skills.
2. During my training for this job I was normally physically apart from regular organizational members.
3. I did not perform any of my normal job responsibilities until I was thoroughly familiar with departmental procedures and work methods.
4. Much of my job knowledge has been acquired informally on a trial and error basis. R
5. I have been very aware that I am seen as “learning the ropes” in this organization.

Divestiture vs Investiture (Jones, 1986; coded as investiture in formal hypotheses but divestiture for post hoc analyses)

1. I have been made to feel that my skills and abilities are very important in this organization. R
2. Almost all of my colleagues have been supportive of me personally R
3. I have had to change my attitudes and values to be accepted in this organization.
4. My colleagues have gone out of their way to help me adjust to this organization. R
5. I feel that experienced organizational members have not fully included me until I learned the job.

Serial vs Disjunctive (Jones, 1986)

1. Experienced organizational members see advising or training newcomers as one of their main job responsibilities in this organization.
2. I am gaining a clear understanding of my role in this organization from observing my senior colleagues.

3. I have received little guidance from experienced organizational members as to how I should perform my job. R
4. I have little or no access to people who have previously performed my role in this organization. R.
5. I have been generally left alone to discover what my role should be in this organization. R

Organizational Identification (Mael & Ashforth, 1992)

1. When someone criticizes my workgroup, it feels like a personal insult.
2. I am very interested in what others think about my workgroup.
3. When I talk about my workgroup, I usually say “we” rather than “they”
4. My workgroup’s successes are my successes
5. When someone praises this workgroup, it feels like a personal compliment.
6. If a story in the media criticized my workgroup, I would feel embarrassed.

Perceived intergroup competition (Mael & Ashforth, 1992; used to measure intergroup conflict)

1. There is a rivalry between the groups.
2. Each group tries to stress its superiority over the other groups.
3. People are constantly comparing and rating the groups.
4. Members of my group often measure the group against other groups.
5. Each group points to reasons why it is the best group.
6. Each group tries to demonstrate that it has the most illustrious members.
7. The groups do not see themselves as competitors. R

Performance (Williams & Anderson, 1991; used to measure outgroup derogation and ingroup favoritism)

1. Adequately completes assigned duties.
2. Fulfills responsibilities specified in job description.
3. Performs tasks that are expected of him/her.
4. Meets formal performance requirements.
5. Engages in activities that will directly affect his/her performance.
6. Neglects aspects of the job he/she is obligated to perform. R

Intentions to Quit (Wayne, Shore, & Liden, 1997; used in post-hoc analyses)

1. I am actively looking for a job outside the company.
2. As soon as I can find a better job, I’ll leave the company.
3. I am seriously thinking about quitting my job.
4. I often think about quitting my job.
5. I think I will be working at this company five years from now.