

GET THE FUCK OUT FOR A POSITIVE IDENTITY

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Abstract

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The present work examined the conditions under which political partisans would desire to schism from their political party. Drawing on uncertainty-identity theory, the social identity theory of leadership, and the literature on schism, this thesis predicted that under conditions of high uncertainty, partisans would be less likely to schism from their party because they would be willing to accept limits to their voice from political leaders. A broad sample of California Republicans ($N = 218$) and Democrats ($N = 249$) were examined using the pretense of either support for or opposition to legislation on DACA enacted by the leader of their respective party. The results did not support the primary research hypotheses that people who experience elevated levels of self-uncertainty will have less of a desire to schism relative to people lower in self-uncertainty when they are denied voice from a political leader. However, the experimental design and exploratory analyses suggest a novel way to examine schism with respect to uncertainty.

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Get the Fuck Out For a Positive Identity

Societal groups often form through the division of superordinate categories when subgroups perceive that their identity does not align with the entire group. Schisms occur frequently in religious institutions, with the name itself (schism) being derived from the vast amount of divisions, factions, and denominations that form from an original religion (Blasi, 1989; Rochford & Burke, 1989; Sani & Reicher, 1999). Not only occurring in religion, schism commonly occurs in political parties (Husbands, 1989; Sani & Reicher, 1998), nations (Hassan, 1993; Sindic & Reicher, 2009), and social movements (Mamiya, 1982; Strickland, 1996). Examples of historical schisms include the United States seceding from English rule and the Civil War in the United States of America wherein the South attempted to secede from the United States to establish their own government. In the U.S. Civil War, the U.S. is a superordinate group and the North and South are two groups with differing perceptions of a true American identity. Contrasting beliefs concerning slavery and the value of human life caused a deep divide in Americans' interpretations of their identities, leading to the secession of the American South. The Revolutionary War and the U.S. break with England occurred in part because people in the relatively new America felt that they lacked autonomy over their own lives and voice in their own governing. That is, British rule subverted American values of independence and autonomy. Contemporary examples of schism include the Brexit independence from the EU and the Catalan vote for independence from Spain. Schisms effectively shape historical landscapes of social, political, and religious identities of countries throughout the globe and across civilizations. Themes which underlie schism, relate to members

feeling a negative change to their identity, lacking voice, and perceptions of unrepresentative leadership. These processes highlight what it means to identify with social categories and uncertainty about future inclusion in a group.

Membership in societal groups (e.g. nation, political, state) provides people a sense of identity. These groups can be cohesive units yet dynamic structures, which may change based on social context. Common fate, similarity, and proximity are structural components that serve to establish individuals as a collective entity (Campbell, 1958). People come to perceive groups as a single entity (cohesive and homogenous) rather than a collection of individuals because of perceived similarity among members and the belief that collective units have common goals and a shared fate (Lickel et al., 2000). However, within large groups, differences naturally exist in member characteristics, which can create divisions in the group. For example, within a large state, people can categorize themselves as rural vs. urban populations based on differences in location and population density as well as perceived differences in values (Cramer, 2016).

Competing groups sometimes exist in one social category, which creates intergroup processes defined by varying social contexts (e.g., competition, perceived threats). This leads to evaluative comparisons among members and groups who attempt to establish their place in the larger shared social categories (Tajfel, 1972; Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007). Various factors help groups establish how they are similar to or different from other factions in an overarching group. Groups use norms, beliefs, and values to delineate their own group from relative outgroups to establish

consensual agreement on core group characteristics (Hogg, 2012). These serve as the basis for intragroup and intergroup comparisons which aim to achieve and maintain a positive identity (Reicher & Haslam, 2006; Sindic & Reicher, 2009; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). When factions do not agree with unprecedented changes to their group's core ideals, members sometimes strive to fracture from their parent group to preserve their identity and maintain their ideal reality in the social world.

Schism may occur when a group splits into factions, which are comprised of people that share similar worldviews who desire to exit their parent group in an attempt to establish or maintain important aspects of group identity (Ditrich & Sassenberg, 2016; Sani, 2005). Because leadership is often a core element that drives the direction of a group and is a source of group identity (Hogg, 2001), it follows that perceptions of group leadership as unrepresentative (i.e., non-prototypical) can shake subgroup identities with respect to the larger group. Unrepresentative leadership may prompt the desire to exit the group among those who feel leadership does not give them an equal say in superordinate group actions, whereby lacking voice, members might perceive changes imposed by a leader to undermine important facets of their group identity. Leadership can leave group factions feeling voiceless in the parent group. This occurs when some members lack the ability to voice dissent over changes to central characteristics that define their group identity (Sani, 2005; Sani & Todman, 2002). Schism is the process of exiting a social category to maintain or establish elements that are central to group identity.

Social Identity

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) posits that individuals derive a sense of self from important group memberships. A social identity is an evaluative aspect of the self, which includes membership in groups of people who psychologically share certain features and attributes. This is not necessarily what makes an individual unique in a group (i.e., a personal identity), but what makes people perceive themselves as a group member.

Social identities can take many forms (e.g., political, state, nation, ethnicity, gender), and are derived through the process of individuals seeing the self represented in important group memberships. Group identity can be positive or negative, but group members strive toward a positive identity, and often desire to maintain or enhance their social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Membership in a group creates a collective representation of a social entity with similar norms, values, and beliefs (see Reicher, 2004). People derive aspects of social identity from the formation of groups through intragroup and intergroup evaluations relating to social status, power, and privilege – aspects of the social world that members seek to enhance through ingroup membership (Hogg, 2006).

Comparisons with relevant outgroups establish social identities. These comparisons construct the way in which individuals distinguish themselves by who they are (ingroup), and who they are not (outgroup) through the perception of consensual attributes, or group prototypes (Hogg, 2006). When individuals come to hold a social

identity, membership influences group behavior because identification provides a validation of ones' worldviews, and a shared identity will describe and prescribe how a person should behave.

Groups serve as a representation of one's standing in the social world. Social identities define status, power, privilege, and access to resources (Tajfel, 1982). When comparisons with relevant outgroups across these dimensions create a negative identity, members will be motivated to enhance either their personal or social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Members can enhance themselves by disidentifying with the group that provides a negative identity or through a collective effort to change the ingroup's position (Abrams & Hogg, 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Permeability of boundaries serve as a determinant in what strategy groups or members might employ to enhance their social or personal identity.

Social mobility and social change are two processes associated with enhancing identity. Social mobility is the process of individual members disidentifying with one social identity to achieve status within another group when boundaries are permeable (Abrams & Hogg, 2008). Mobility is the perception that group members have the ability to improve their standing in a flexible social system with passable barriers (Tajfel, 1975). For example, the "American dream" holds the belief that people who live in America can achieve a prosperous life with enough effort. People can seek mobility by focusing on individual characteristics such as hard work, talent, luck, or other related concepts.

Whereas, social change is a collective effort to enhance group identity under conditions of impermeable social boundaries (see Reicher, 2004).

Social change is a collective process based on a group's feelings of efficacy to enhance their social status within hierarchical social structures that contain impassable barriers (Reicher & Haslam, 2006). Members are able to effect social change by banding together and working on behalf of a collective identity (Reicher, 2004). One classic example of social change occurring from collective action is the Montgomery bus boycotts wherein African Americans refused to ride buses to protest racial inequality after Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to give her seat to a White passenger. Subgroup exit (i.e., schism) can enhance members' identities because they can shape their ideal group identity around what supports and reflects their own worldviews. Widespread exit can thus become a social change strategy, as it involves the effort of a collective, tied together through their common fates and goals, to both protect and build a "true" version of their group identity.

Desire for social change can also hinge on threats to intergroup distinctiveness, specifically when ingroup and outgroup boundaries become blurry (Pickett & Brewer, 2001). When group identity is under threat in this way, ingroup bias occurs such that group members favor the ingroup over an outgroup and seek to hold a positive identity in relation to relevant outgroups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Negative intergroup comparisons can occur when one faction believes their status to be lower than other group factions. Thus, negative comparisons may enhance ingroup assimilation and members will

strengthen perceived intragroup similarities and intergroup differences. As a result, members behave in line with salient group norms by categorizing themselves with “similar” others during intergroup conflict (Tajfel, 1982). Social change occurs when individual members band together to effect processes (e.g., schism) that enhance or maintain their identity. Processes of self- and social-categorization thus govern intragroup and intergroup behaviors and attitudes.

Self-categorization theory. Self-categorization is the cognitive process through which group members perceive themselves as similar to or different from members of their own groups and relevant outgroups (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Categorization occurs when people reify groups based on *prototypicality* (Hogg, 2006). Prototypes, the cognitive representations of groups, are consensual sets of attributes, norms, and beliefs that influence group behavior and serve to describe categories and prescribe behavior (Hogg, 2006; Hogg, 2010). Group members determine prototypes through a process of *metacontrast*, which is a ratio of intragroup similarities to intergroup differences - a distinct representation of the ingroup with respect to a relevant outgroup (Hogg, 2006). Distinct group memberships that are psychologically salient serve to influence intragroup and intergroup behavior because members perceive themselves and others to embody characteristics of their groups' prototype (Hogg & Terry, 2000).

Categorization determines how groups perceive each other in a social context. For example, Democrats understand who they are as Democrats as a function of who they are

not (e.g., Republicans) and vice versa. Salient group memberships lead people to *depersonalize* themselves and others to group prototypes (Abrams & Hogg, 2008; Gaffney & Hogg, 2017). Depersonalization entails ingroups and outgroups perceiving group members as representations of a social category rather than as unique individuals (Hogg, 2006). Prototypes serve to represent the category and also as a source of influence specifically through depersonalization. As group membership becomes psychologically salient and people view themselves and others as relative representations of their group prototype, they conform to and act in accordance with shared feelings and thoughts.

Categorization is a process that accounts for why people behave in line with salient group prototypes that describe and prescribe how members should feel, think, and behave. *Referent informational influence* occurs when group members conform to normative properties of their ingroup by internalizing the group prototype (Hogg & Reid, 2006; Hogg & Turner, 1987). This type of influence occurs when people view group norms to represent the self, causing members to conform with the prototype because it defines what makes ‘us’ a group (Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003). Members look to prototypical group members, who are an important source of information to determine group attitudes and behavior. Groups bestow influence upon ingroup members that match the prototype because members perceive these exemplars to best represent the group, and thus prescribe appropriate group behaviors. Changes to group norms alter perceptions of the prototype, and these changes can threaten some members because the group prototype no longer fits their ideal identity or their interpretation of the group’s “true” identity.

Changes to a salient group identity can threaten members' identity when changes benefit or consider some factions over others. As a result, groups may seek mobilization through a social change strategy of exit. When factions act as one entity, widespread exit can become schism.

Schism

Schisms are common throughout history. For example, the Italian right-wing party has undergone two in the last 30 years. These occurred when leadership silenced portions of the group during periods when a majority effectively brought about changes to the superordinate category in a way that did not reflect all members' ideal social identity (Sani & Pugliese, 2008; Sani & Reicher, 1998).

Fractures from a parent group occur from conflicting interpretations of a superordinate identity (Jung, Hogg, & Lewis, 2016; Sani, 2005). *Identity subversion* stems from disagreements that relate to abhorrent shifts in group identity that do not reflect all members, often leaving out or 'misrepresenting' some factions (Sani, 2005; Sani & Reicher, 1998; Sindic & Reicher, 2009). Identity subversion is a process wherein group members perceive a break in their group identity through changes made by the group's majority or leadership (Sani & Pugliese, 2008; Sani & Reicher, 2000). One example includes the schism within the Italian Communist Party during 2003. Their leader announced a change toward democracy, which a minority faction holding nationalistic views interpreted as a threat to their group's core identity (Sani & Pugliese, 2008). This threat is a form of identity subversion and led the minority group in the

Alleanza Nazionale to schism into a new faction – Liberta d' Azione (freedom of action) – allowing minority members to maintain their nationalist identity.

Members that lack voice in significant changes to their group identity also seek schism. Changes to central aspects of a group identity may become a threat to members in a superordinate category that feel group norms, values, and attributes do not reflect their identity (Sani & Reicher, 1998, 2000; Sani & Todman, 2002). When people perceive ingroup members to hold conflicting beliefs or values, they sometimes form factions of contrasting subgroups within a shared social category. These divisions essentially create outgroups of subgroups which may compete for representation in the group's superordinate identity (Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel, & Weber, 2003). Threats that relate to a shared social identity occur when certain factions do not hold consensus regarding norms, values, or beliefs (Waldzus et al., 2004). These threats relate to the perception that inclusion within a superordinate category is not a viable means to maintain or enhance their identity. Subgroup formation within a superordinate category can often yield groups with varying identities and status which members derive through social comparisons.

Comparisons among groups in a social identity sometimes lead to the formation of subgroups that ascertain minority status (e.g., power, status, resources, lack of mobility) when they feel their group to be more representative of the superordinate category but lack voice and or sufficient representation. (Rosa & Waldzus, 2012; Stathi & Crisp, 2008; Wenzel et al., 2007). Prototypicality judgements made by certain factions

reflect comparisons that lead subgroups to believe they hold a minority position and may lead an ingroup faction to desire schism. Normative changes proposed by unrepresentative leaders may be a key inciter of group fracture as subgroups compete for representation in the parent group.

Leadership research (e.g., Hogg, 2001) consistently points to the tantamount ability of leadership to bolster central aspects of a group's identity. Schism research indirectly points to the important role that leadership plays in creating group divisions (Ditrich & Sassenberg, 2016, 2017; Sani & Todman, 2002). Leaders hold a large amount of influence in groups because they are often the most prototypical member of the group (Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003). Leaders' prototypicality imbues them with substantial influence because members cognitively conform and align their behavior with the prototype because they reflect the group's status and power (Hogg, 2001).

Leadership

Modern social identity theory approaches to the study of leadership focus on leadership as a vehicle for social influence (see Hogg, 2010). Leaders provide group members information with respect to the group prototype, which motivates groups to see their leader in a positive light and thus affords leaders with a disproportionate amount of influence with regards to the direction of the group identity. Groups bestow leaders with exceptional influence abilities because members internalize the normative behavior of trusting a leader they feel embodies important group characteristics (e.g., Hoggman, Hogg, & Bligh, 2010). Leaders are members that inspire followers to embody a group's

prototypical attributes and can influence group behavior toward collective mobilizations through transforming individual actions into a group process (Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003). Leaders effectively mobilize a collective entity by defining what it means to be a prototypical member of a group. Thus, members behave in line with ingroup norms established by a leader (Hogg, 2001; Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). Leaders often hold a great deal of influence over group behaviors and have the tools to reshape, instill, and alter group norms (Gaffney & Hogg, 2012, 2017).

When a group becomes psychologically salient, members will behave, think, and feel in accordance with schemas set in part by leaders (the most prototypical members of the group). Through self-categorization to a relevant ingroup, group members operate according to group prototypes. Prototypical leaders often function as these prototypes and can thus afford followers insights as to how to achieve prototypicality and social status as well as edict member's place in a group and society (Hogg, 2001; Reicher & Haslam, 2006).

Groups generally elect prototypical members into roles of leadership because they embody central aspects of the group identity. As a result, leaders have the ability to direct group actions through leader-follower influence that shapes leaders into “entrepreneurs” of group identity (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001, 2005). Group members more strongly endorse prototypical leaders than non-prototypical leaders (Dijke & De Cremer, 2010; Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003; Steffens, Haslam, & Reicher, 2014; see also Barreto & Hogg, 2017).

Effective leaders adapt to group norms and possess the ability to transform perceptions of ‘us’ into a means for collective change. These leaders have the aim of achieving ingroup consensus around ideals that define a group prototype (Gleibs & Haslam, 2016; Steffens et al., 2014). Non-prototypical leaders may also have the ability to effect this change and garner support as their prototypicality can increase after they are elected into a leadership position (see Gaffney, Sherburne, Hackett, Rast, & Hohman, 2018).

Prototypicality is a defining feature for the election and support of potential leaders, but certain drive states influence this relationship. Uncertainty can be a factor when groups choose to elect and support non-prototypical leaders (Rast, Gaffney, Hogg, & Crisp, 2012). Non-prototypical leaders may gain support during times of uncertainty if members believe the leader is looking out for the group’s best interests (Rast et al., 2012), which in turn, may lead to a change in group norms (e.g., Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). Non-prototypical leaders can gain support when they become cognitive representations of the group prototype during situations of intergroup competition when the group identity is under threat (Hogg & Reid, 2006).

Prototypes become especially salient during uncertain times because they provide structure to the group during a breakdown in a social identity. Uncertainty drives members to potentially identify with groups that hold clear, unambiguous norms in an effort to reduce their self-conceptual uncertainty by defining the self and other members

through the lens of shared group-relevant features (Gaffney & Hogg, 2017; Rast, Hogg, & Giessner, 2016).

Leaders may strategically induce uncertainty to garner support because the experience of uncertainty motivates group identification (e.g., Hogg, 2007). Members bestow influence to prototypical and non-prototypical leaders, as members would rather trust a leader and see a leader as an extension of the self rather than give up an important social identity (Ditrich & Sassenberg, 2016; Hogg, Abrams, & Brewer, 2017). Leaders (both prototypical and non-prototypical) become agents of change and hold the ability to champion collective change when they can enhance or maintain a group identity during times of uncertainty (Gaffney, Rast, & Hogg, 2018).

Group members afford leaders the ability to reshape group norms when they share a common social identity because this creates the perception that leaders represent the group as a whole (Haslam & Platow, 2001). When leaders are able to establish a group identity and push norms that benefit the entire group, members will begin to derive one voice, represented through a leader who speaks on behalf of the group (Reicher et al., 2005). This enables members to trust their leader and bestow them influence over the direction of the group (Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003). Trust and influence concerning leadership has the potential to drive members to behave in line with norms set in part by the leader. Members may essentially give their voice to the leader so long as doing so serves to maintain group status or a positive identity (Reicher & Haslam, 2006). Prototypical leaders instill a sense of voice to the group, and because members of a group

feel that prototypical leaders represent their best interests, they may even hold the ability to limit member's voice and gain support, among those who strongly identify with the group (Ullrich, Christ, & van Dick, 2009).

Voice. Voice is the perception that people have equal say and the ability to represent themselves during decisions that change or impact a social identity (Sani, 2005). Impermeable boundaries that threaten group status can marginalize groups. When a faction becomes marginal, or holds minority status, majority groups may provide a voice to these groups to prevent the dissolution of an identity and to avoid conflict (Crano & Seyranian, 2009). Denying groups voice can lead factions adopt to schismatic intentions because of feelings of marginalization in a superordinate category (Sani, 2005; Sani & Pugliese, 2008) or lacking equity within their group (Cremer & Sedikides, 2004).

Leaders who are representative of their group and embody the group identity provide voice to their group, and members will confer their individual voice to the respective leader (e.g., Ullrich et al., 2009). Alternatively, leaders also have the ability to limit some members' voice. One current case is the Catalonia vote for independence in which a division arose among those in the country who desire to stay with Spain and citizens who desire independence. This situation did not allow all members to voice dissent in the future of their group's identity and created clear factions within the autonomous region. When leadership does not represent group identity for some factions and or limits some factions' voice within the superordinate group, changes to norms, and a lack of clear representation can subvert subgroup identity. Identity subversion serves as

a tipping point for decreased superordinate identification, and increases subgroup solidarity and desire to schism (Sani & Pugliese, 2008; Sani & Todman, 2002).

Lacking voice in normative group decision making reduces superordinate identification because of perceptions that authorities do not recognize all members equally (van den Bos et al., 2005; Wagoner & Hogg, 2016). Identity subversion and lack of voice may cause group members to identify with groups that engage in extreme behavior to enhance or maintain their social identity by the maintenance of a faction's cultural worldviews (see Sani & Pugliese, 2008; van den Bos et al., 2005). Voice is a powerful social concept, and when denied by leaders or majority groups, can threaten social status in a superordinate category (Prooijen, van den Bos, & Wilke, 2005).

Leaders' prototypicality may create a sense of voice among their followers, but leaders also can subvert certain members' identities when leadership proposes normative changes that do not reflect the group identity (Sani & Pugliese, 2008). These changes can elicit a threat to members' social identity and instill feelings of self-conceptual uncertainty (Hogg & Reid, 2006).

Changes to group norms that lead to a negative identity instill the need for collective mobilization among group members that seek to maintain or establish their ideal identity (Reicher, 2004; Sindic & Reicher, 2009). When inclusion within a superordinate category becomes impossible, some factions might experience self-uncertainty that stems from intragroup actions by members or leaders that subvert the group identity.

Uncertainty-identity theory. People often experience self-uncertainty as a negative drive state. Future oriented uncertainties can take the form of unemployment, potential layoffs, or social and political conflicts (van den Bos & Lind, 2002). One example being how a faction in Catalonia desires to schism because they perceive a lack of representation and autonomy from Spain. Individuals and groups alike have the motivation to reduce uncertainty when it calls into question one's identity and place in the social world.

Uncertainty-identity theory (Hogg, 2000, 2007, 2012) posits that uncertainty can be a negative drive state that individuals can reduce through group identification. Self-categorization is effective at reducing uncertainty because it allows people to cognitively represent themselves as a prototype of a social category, giving them a sense of "we" that validates their place in the world and effectively tells them who they are (Hogg, 2014). Cohesive groups with a clear prototype are effective at reducing uncertainty because they prescribe how a person should think, feel, and behave (Hogg, 2012; Hogg et al., 2007). Identification can be with high or low status groups so long if they have clear prototypes that describe how one should think, feel, and behave in the social world (Hogg & Reid, 2006). Because uncertainty brings into question central characteristics of a self-relevant group's identity and one's place in a group, it may impact schismatic intentions.

Uncertainty is a precursor to extreme behavior when normative group changes conflict with a certain faction's identity in a superordinate category (Hogg, Kruglanski, & van den Bos, 2013). Thus, uncertainty can contribute to the formation of homogenous

groups that will strongly defend their cultural worldviews (van den Bos, 2007), and can arise from inclusion in a group that undermines an ideal group identity (Hogg & Reid, 2006). Uncertainty is a reaction to not having a say in one's ingroup concerning events and changes to group norms from authorities (van den Bos, 2007) or majority factions (Sani & Reicher, 1998).

Overview of the Research

Distinct groups that have representative leadership can drive extreme pro-normative behavior that aims to benefit group members and protect their identity (Hogg, 2014; Hogg & Adelman, 2013). In contrast, when a leader undermines aspects of a group identity and denies members a voice, this can induce identity subversion and enhance schismatic intentions (Sani, 2005). However, under uncertainty, leadership roles might not be tantamount in leader support (see Rast et al., 2012), and members may give up their voice to a leader who shares and appears to defend an important social identity (Sherburne, Gaffney & Hackett, under review). This occurs in part because in times of uncertainty, people solidify their group identification and desire to preserve personal ideologies through the process of enhancing ingroup solidarity (van den Bos, 2009).

Schisms occur for a multitude of reasons – one being a result of people lacking the ability to voice dissenting opinions in important group decisions imposed by a leader that impact central characteristics of a social identity (Reicher, 2004; Sani & Pugliese, 2008; Sindic & Reicher, 2009). Hence, a schism is a means to achieve a positive social

identity and gain understanding of one's place in the social world by identifying and acting in line with collective group behavior (Sani & Pugliese, 2008).

The current research examines and integrates three literatures (social identity of leadership, voice/procedural justice, and uncertainty-identity theory) to test the hypothesis that people who are primed with self-conceptual uncertainty may be willing to accept limits to their voice, which in turn, will reduce schismatic intentions. The current study examines two samples of California populations (Democrats and Republicans). The aim of the current study is to examine conditions under which people may be willing to abrogate their voice to a superordinate leader using an experimental paradigm.

Hypothesis One. In conditions under which a federal leader who does not provide his political party with voice, party members low in uncertainty will express greater desire for schism from the party than participants high in uncertainty.

Hypothesis Two. Participants low in uncertainty will identify less with their political party if they are exposed to a non-prototypical leader who provides them no-voice than participants high in uncertainty.

Hypothesis Three. Participants high in uncertainty who experience no-voice in their party will be more supportive of a non-prototypical party leader than participants who are low in uncertainty.

Hypothesis Four. Identity subversion will have an indirect effect on the relationship between leader prototypicality and schismatic intentions among participants low in self-uncertainty.

Method

Institutional Review Board

An IRB application was submitted and approved with data collection date starting July 26, 2018. The IRB number for the project is IRB-18-002.

Participants and Design

Participants were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (see Table 1 for Republican demographics; see Table 2 for Democrat Demographics), an online program that allows for the testing of experimental paradigms. Participants (259 Democrats, 218 Republicans) only took part in this study if they were over the age of 18 and a resident of California. Republicans age range was 18-80, with a mean age of 53.7. Democrat's age range was 18-78 with a mean age of 47.85. A power analysis revealed the need for a sample size of at least 242 participants to achieve an adequate effect size, significance, and power level ($f = .06$, $\alpha = .05$, power = .80).

Participants were randomly assigned to all experimental conditions. The design is a 2 (uncertainty: high vs low) x 2 (voice: voice vs no-voice) x 2 (leader: prototypical vs non-prototypical) between subjects design.

Table 1

Gender, Race/Ethnicity, and Annual Income for Republicans

	<i>N</i>	Percentage
<i>Gender</i>		
Female	193	68.4
Male	88	31.2
No Response/Other	1	0.3
<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>		
African American/Black	3	0.9
Asian American	7	2.0
Asian Indian American	1	0.3
Hispanic/Latino	10	2.8
White American	258	73.5
Other ^a	6	1.7
<i>Annual Household Income</i>		
<\$10,000	17	4.8
\$10-19,999	25	7.1
\$20-29,999	31	8.8
\$30-39,999	28	8.0
\$40-49,999	33	9.4
\$50-59,999	17	4.8
\$60-69,999	19	5.4
\$70-79,999	25	7.1
\$80-89,999	19	5.4
\$90-99,999	19	5.4
\$100-149,999	33	9.4
>\$150,000	19	5.4

Note. ^a “Other” race ethnicity for Democrats (e.g., “Native American”, “Mixed Race”) for Republicans (e.g., “Armenian”, “Middle Eastern”). Percentages are rounded.

Table 2

Gender, Race/Ethnicity, and Annual Income for Democrats

	<i>N</i>	Percentage
<i>Gender</i>		
Female	201	51.6
Male	103	25.2
No Response/Other	1	0.2
<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>		
African American/Black	51	12.3
Asian American	20	4.8
Asian Indian American	3	0.7
Hispanic/Latino	20	4.8
White American	200	48.3
Other ^a	11	2.7
<i>Annual Household Income</i>		
<\$10,000	10	2.4
\$10-19,999	31	7.5
\$20-29,999	38	9.2
\$30-39,999	38	9.2
\$40-49,999	31	7.5
\$50-59,999	36	8.7
\$60-69,999	24	5.8
\$70-79,999	21	5.1
\$80-89,999	13	3.1
\$90-99,999	19	4.6

Note. ^a “Other” race ethnicity for Democrats (e.g., “Native American”, “Mixed Race”) for Republicans (e.g., “Armenian”, “Middle Eastern”). Percentages are rounded.

Survey. Qualtrics, an online software computer program, hosted the online survey and all of the experimental conditions.

Procedure

Participants received informed consent (see Appendix A) that provided them with information that they would take part in a study that examines peoples' opinions, attitudes, and agreement with United States leadership. Participants were randomly assigned to all conditions. Following random assignment to the conditions, participants completed a survey that assessed their attitudes and opinions toward a variety of issues. After completing the survey, participants were fully debriefed that the true nature of the study was to determine if uncertainty, leadership, and voice related to the desire for California to schism from the United States and become an independent country through the process of schism.

Independent Variables

Uncertainty. Participants were randomly assigned to conditions in which they completed a high or low uncertainty prime (Hogg et al., 2007). See Appendix B.

Leader prototypicality. Participants were randomly assigned to conditions in which they read about a leader who was high or low in prototypicality (Rast et al., 2012). See Appendix C.

Voice. Participants were randomly assigned to conditions in which they were given a voice or no-voice manipulation (van den Bos, 1999). See Appendix D.

Measures

Schism. Four items, adapted from Sani (2005) measured the extent to which participants desired the secession of California from the U.S. Sample items included: “Because of the American political landscape, I will support California leaving America”, and “Because of political leadership, I will support the secession of California from America”. Items appeared on 7-point Likert scales ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) and were averaged to create a composite variable. Items were coded such that higher scores indicate a greater desire to schism (Democrats $\alpha = .96$, Republicans $\alpha = .96$).

Leader support. Seven items, adapted from Rast et al. (2012) measured to the extent to which participants support Trump (Schumer) as the leader of their political party. Sample items include: “I think that Donald Trump (Chuck Schumer) is a trustworthy”, and “Donald Trump (Chuck Schumer) is committed to California”. Items appeared on 7-point Likert scales ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) and were averaged to create a composite variable. Items were coded such that higher scores indicate a greater support (Democrats $\alpha = .97$, Republicans $\alpha = .96$).

Identity subversion. Five items, adapted from Sani (2005) measured the extent to which participants viewed their respective party’s candidate as undermining the identity of their party. Sample items include: “Donald Trump (Chuck Schumer) has subverted the true nature of America”, and “Donald Trump (Chuck Schumer) has fundamentally changed the identity of America”. Items appeared on 7-point Likert scales ranged from 1

(*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) and were averaged to create a composite variable. Items were coded such that higher scores indicate a greater subversion (Democrats $\alpha = .88$, Republicans $\alpha = .79$).

Voice. Seven items created for the purpose of this study measured the extent to which participants viewed their respective party's leader provides them a voice in their party. Sample items include, "Trump (Schumer) gives people like me a voice in the Republican (Democratic) Party", and "Trump (Schumer) allows people like me to have a say in the Republican (Democratic) Party". Items appeared on 7-point Likert scales ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) and were averaged to create a composite variable. Items were coded such that higher scores indicate greater voice (Democrats $\alpha = .91$, Republicans $\alpha = .93$). See Tables 3 and 4 for bivariate correlations between variables for Republicans and Democrats, respectively.

Demographics. Demographics were assessed to avoid potential confounds. Age, race, gender, political ideology, California residency, and socioeconomic status were collected.

Manipulation Checks

Manipulation checks determined the effectiveness of each prime (voice, leader prototypicality, and uncertainty). Leader prototypicality and voice checks were placed immediately after the manipulations whereas uncertainty was placed in the survey itself.

Table 3

Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for Predictor and Criterion Variables for Republicans

Variables	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5
1. Schism	3.36 (1.99)	-	-	-	-	-
2. Voice	4.20 (1.59)	-.03	-	-	-	-
3. Uncertainty	4.25 (1.51)	.19**	-.29***	-	-	-
4. Subversion	4.74 (1.71)	.28***	-.30***	.43***	-	-
5. Support	4.29 (1.74)	-.11	.84***	-.34***	-.38***	-
6. Identification	4.67 (1.40)	.20	.39***	-.15*	.05	.32***

Note. Schism refers to desire for state secession. Voice refers to the amount of voice participants feel Trump gives them in their party. Uncertainty refers to self-uncertainty. Subversion refers to the extent that Trump undermines the U.S. identity. Support refers to support for Trump. Identification refers to the extent of belongingness to the Republican Party. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

Table 4

Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for Predictor and Criterion Variables for Democrats

Variables	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5
1. Schism	2.22 (1.51)	-	-	-	-	-
2. Voice	3.56 (1.75)	.08	-	-	-	-
3. Uncertainty	4.44 (1.40)	.08	.03	-	-	-
4. Subversion	4.12 (1.58)	.18**	-.40***	.13*	-	-
5. Support	3.82 (1.75)	-.01	.86***	.05	-.48***	-
6. Identification	4.75 (1.38)	-.05	.34***	-.07	.002	.29***

Note. Schism refers to desire for state secession. Voice refers to the amount of voice participants feel Schumer gives them in their party. Uncertainty refers to self-uncertainty. Subversion refers to the extent that Schumer undermines the U.S. identity. Support refers to support for Schumer. Identification refers to the extent of belongingness to the Democratic Party. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

Management of Risks and Benefits

Debriefing and exit. After completing the study, a debriefing section informed participants to the true nature of the study, after which directions notified participants to exit the survey. Participants may have felt a sense of uncertainty and loss of voice concerning policies enacted by authorities in their group. These are processes that should not have created any more than normal aversive feelings. To manage these a debriefing was administered which directed participants to services to manage individual rise or adverse feelings (see Appendix E).

Results

Data Storage, Screening, and Transformation

Qualtrics saves the data as a .csv and .sav file that can be stored on a personal U: drive accessible by the primary investigators. The primary investigator cleaned, organized, and prepared the data for analysis. Factorial ANOVAs tested all main hypotheses, utilizing a homogeneity of variance at ratio of less than 4 to 1. Skewness and kurtosis examined normality and outliers for the measured variables. For Democrats: schism was found to be positively skewed, and a square root transformation was found to be the most appropriate transformation. All other variables for Democrats were found to be normal. For Republicans: schism was found to be positively skewed, and leader support was found to be negatively skewed, and a square root transformation and inverse transformation (respectively) were found to be the most appropriate transformations. All other variables for Republicans were found to be normal. However, the transformed and

non-transformed variables produced the same results so the non-transformed were used to for more interpretability of the data.

Manipulation Checks

Uncertainty. A manipulation check on uncertainty examined the effectiveness of the uncertainty manipulation.

Democrats. There was not a significant difference between reported self-uncertainty among participants in the low ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 1.46$) and high ($M = 4.59$, $SD = 1.33$) uncertainty conditions, $t(252) = -1.90$, $p = .06$, $d = 0.24$.

Republicans. There was not a significant difference between reported self-uncertainty among participants in the low ($M = 3.78$, $SD = 1.55$) and high ($M = 4.12$, $SD = 1.48$) uncertainty conditions, $t(216) = -1.64$, $p = .10$, $d = 0.22$.

Leader prototypicality. A manipulation check on leader prototypicality examined the effectiveness of the leader prototypicality manipulation.

Democrats. There was a significant difference between reported prototypicality among participants in the low ($M = 2.77$, $SD = 1.41$) and high ($M = 4.99$, $SD = 1.27$) prototypicality conditions, $t(260) = -13.33$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.65$.

Republicans. There was not a significant difference between reported leader prototypicality among participants in the low ($M = 4.03$, $SD = 1.45$) and high ($M = 4.30$, $SD = 1.32$) prototypicality conditions, $t(224) = -1.25$, $p = .21$, $d = 0.17$.

Voice. A manipulation check on voice examined the effectiveness of the voice manipulation.

Democrats. There was a significant difference between reported voice among participants in the low ($M = 2.84$, $SD = 1.48$) and high ($M = 4.31$, $SD = 1.69$) voice conditions, $t(252) = -7.40$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.93$.

Republicans. There was not a significant difference between reported voice among participants in the low ($M = 4.04$, $SD = 1.76$) and high ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.82$) voice conditions, $t(216) = 0.43$, $p = .67$, $d = 0.06$.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis One: Schism. Hypothesis one predicted that party members low in uncertainty will express greater desire to schism from the party if they are exposed to a non-prototypical leader who provides them no-voice than participants high in uncertainty.

Democrats. Results from the factorial ANOVA suggest that there was not a significant difference between participants in the low and high self-uncertainty conditions on the desire to schism, $F(1, 241) = 0.28$, $p = .60$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. There were no main effects for voice, prototypicality, or uncertainty.

Republicans. Results from the factorial ANOVA suggest that there was not a significant difference between participants in the low and high self-uncertainty conditions on the desire to schism, $F(1, 210) = 0.08$, $p = .78$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$. There was a main effect for voice, $F(1, 216) = 8.69$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, on schism, such that people in the voice ($M = 2.50$, $SD = 2.51$) vs. no-voice ($M = 1.87$, $SD = 1.43$) condition reported a greater desire to schism.

Hypothesis Two: Group identification. Hypothesis two predicted that

participants low in uncertainty will identify less with their political party if they are exposed to a non-prototypical leader who provides them no-voice than participants high in uncertainty.

Democrats. Results from the factorial ANOVA suggest that there was not a significant difference between participants in the low and high self-uncertainty conditions on party identification, $F(1, 241) = 1.06, p = .30, \eta_p^2 = .004$. There were no main effects for voice, prototypicality, or uncertainty.

Republicans. Results from the factorial ANOVA suggest that there was not a significant difference between participants in the low and high self-uncertainty conditions on identification, $F(1, 210) = 1.42, p = .24, \eta_p^2 = .01$. There were no main effects for voice, prototypicality, or uncertainty.

Hypothesis Three: Leader support. Hypothesis three predicted that participants high in uncertainty who experience no-voice in their party will be more supportive of a non-prototypical party leader than participants who are low in uncertainty.

Democrats. Results from the factorial ANOVA suggest that there was not a significant difference between participants in the low and high self-uncertainty conditions on support, $F(1, 254) = 0.06, p = .80, \eta_p^2 = .001$. There were main effects for voice, $F(1, 254) = 31.67, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .11$, and prototypicality, $F(1, 254) = 121.47, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .32$. People who experience voice ($M = 4.34, SD = 1.71$) vs. no-voice ($M = 3.32, SD = 1.65$) report higher levels of leader support. People exposed to a prototypical ($M = 4.78, SD = 1.41$) vs. a non-prototypical ($M = 2.86, SD = 1.52$) reported higher levels of

support.

Republicans. Results from the factorial ANOVA suggest that there was not a significant difference between participants in the low and high self-uncertainty conditions on support, $F(1, 218) = 0.07, p = .79, \eta_p^2 = .00$. There were no main effects for voice, prototypicality, or uncertainty.

Hypothesis Four: Subversion. Hypothesis four predicted that identity subversion will have an indirect effect on the relationship between leader prototypicality and schismatic intentions among participants who experience low self-uncertainty.

Democrats. Results from the moderated mediation suggest that there was not a significant difference for the indirect effect of subversion on schism between participants in the low and high self-uncertainty conditions, index of moderated mediation = .04, 95% CI [-0.07, 0.22].

Republicans. Results from the moderated mediation suggest that there was not a significant difference for the indirect effect of subversion on schism between participants in the low and high self-uncertainty conditions, index of moderated mediation = .12, 95% CI [-0.17, 0.41].

Exploratory Analysis

An exploratory analysis using measured variables revealed a significant three-way interaction between leader prototypicality, voice, and uncertainty on schism for Democrats, $\Delta R^2 = .03, F(1, 245) = 7.48, p = .007, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.01, 0.09]$, but not Republicans, 95% CI [-0.15, 0.30]. This suggests, that among Democrats, for those high

in uncertainty, and view the leader as high in prototypicality, as voice increases the desire to schism increases, $b = 0.47$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.22, 0.71]. Among those low in uncertainty, voice and leader prototypicality were not significant predictors of schism, 95% CI [-0.36, 0.17]. See Figure 1.

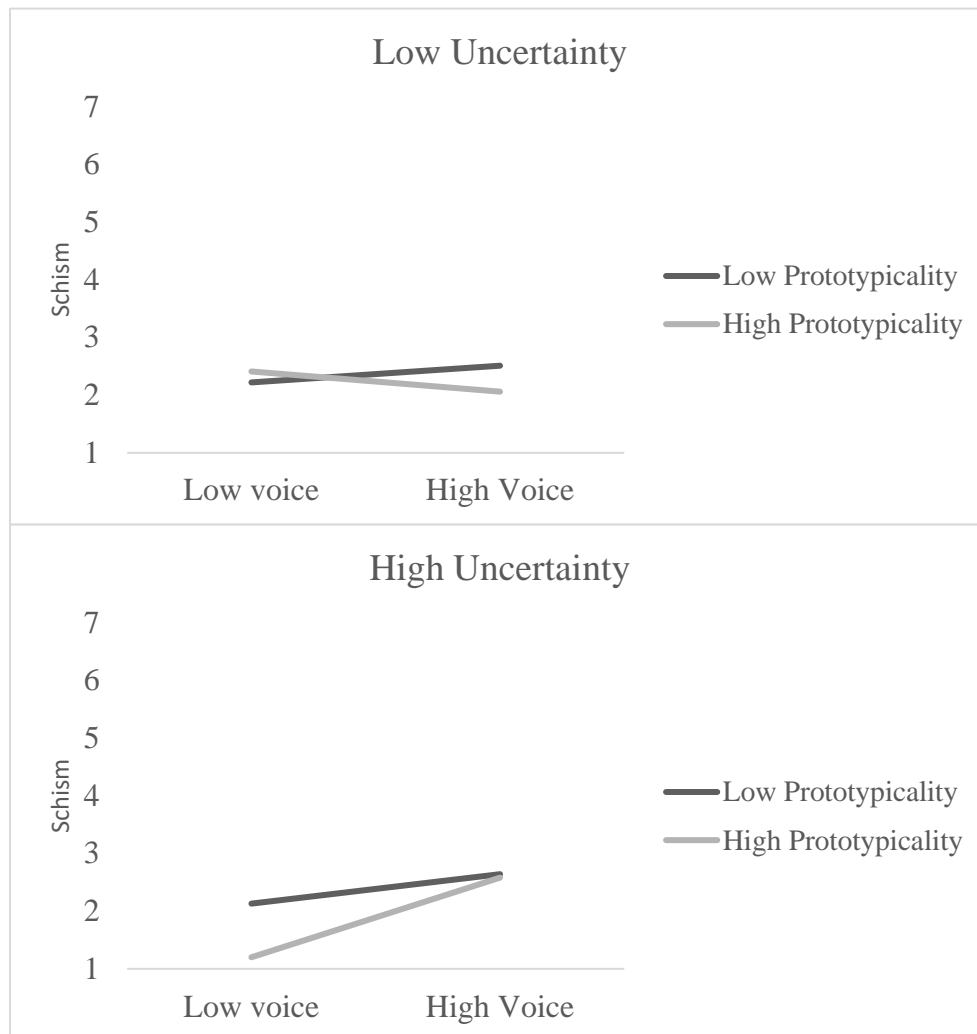


Figure 1. The desire to schism derived as a function of uncertainty, leader prototypicality, and voice. High and low values for the predictors are plotted at one SD above and one SD below the mean.

Discussion

The results do not support the primary research hypotheses that people who experience elevated levels of self-uncertainty will have less of a desire to schism relative to people lower in self-uncertainty when they are denied voice from a political leader. These findings are in contrast to past work which finds that less, relative to more voice predicts the desire to schism (Sani, 2005). However, the current work examines a specific context and integrates identity-uncertainty, thus the current findings could reasonably differ from past studies. The current work expands on previous work through emphasizing the contextual nature of schism in a psychological context where barriers may be present. The present study provides a foundation to study the process of schism through the lens of uncertainty. Exploratory analyses revealed a relationship between voice, prototypicality, and uncertainty on the desire to schism which contrasted to past findings that lower levels of voice were related to a greater desire to schism (e.g., Sani & Pugliese, 2008). The primary experimental design provides a contribution to the literature through the inclusion of new methodology to test causal effects of these variables. The exploratory analyses contribute to present literature by suggesting that the voice – schism relationship might be in part related to identity-uncertainty. These findings may be partially explained by subgroup identification and competing representation in the superordinate group, yet this study simply cannot test this given the current design or measured variables. However, the study design and the exploratory analyses highlight the contextual nature of schism and by testing a novel way to examine group fracture.

Implications

The current work uses the U.S. political climate in California to explore the motivational role of uncertainty in schism. These findings expand on past literature for schism and may expand beyond the U.S. political sphere where leaders often seek to change policy that impacts all factions in a group. One example is the current climate in Catalonia wherein there is a clear division among those who want to remain in Spain, and those who seek independence from Spain because of perceived illegitimacy and lack of autonomy in the politics that govern their identity. Schism brings with it many questions, one being the future of a faction after separation from a superordinate group (see Hogg & Reid, 2006). This implicates uncertainty in the process of schism, in which people may latch on to groups that are structured and serve an identity function in the effort to maintain control over their worlds during social changes (Hogg, 2012).

This work has implications for collective action as well. As people who accept changes to their social identity may not only reduce the desire to schism, but also the desire to engage in collective action. However, more work is needed to refine the understanding of schism and the processes or factors that implicate certain group factions desire to schism.

Future Directions

Future work might explore the role of efficacy in a faction's ability to change or stop changes that impact the consensual representation of the superordinate identity. These might help explain the results as people might be more likely to act on behalf of

the collective if they feel the group has the ability to succeed in their common goal. Thus, groups may mobilize to achieve their goals (e.g., schism) and combat their disadvantage when they have the means or resources to advance a collective effort (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). Another factor may be the ability for people to project their faction's attributes onto the superordinate identity (see Wenzel et al., 2007). When members feel that their faction is not represented in the superordinate group, they may feel uncertain about what future inclusion in that group may mean for their subgroup identity. If a faction feels out of place and lacks representation in leadership, this may magnify the desire for schism. However, because people often view their world through the lens of leadership (Hogg, 2001), future work might explore how legitimacy can lead certain groups to accept subordinate status (see Tyler, 2006). Legitimacy might enhance the extent to which factions feel represented in the superordinate group, which may in turn mitigate the desire to schism, as established legitimacy increases perceptions of group equality (Tyler, 2006).

Limitations

The current work explores a specific social and political context that is historically bound. Social and political contexts undergo continuous change, which may alter the way in which people construct their identity. Leaders are often changing and political identities - as evidenced historically - are subject to change. Thus, the current work may not be reflected in future contexts but may serve as a foundation to explore the role of uncertainty and its effect on schismatic intentions. Another limitation of this study

was the voice manipulation, as it was worded in a way that the leader limited people's voice in their political party (e.g., voice in the Republican party), yet the primary dependent variable was desire to schism from the superordinate category of the United States. Future work can and will address this by making the voice manipulation and measurement of desire to schism compatible and specific to the identity from which the schism may occur.

Concluding Remarks

The current research suggests that schism is a complex topic that requires further work to understand the processes that contribute to the desire for schism. The results suggest that uncertainty plays a motivational role in the relationship between prototypicality and voice on the desire to schism, but not in the predicted direction, in that as that higher voice predicted greater desire to schism. This suggests that it is very relevant and important to understand the contextual nature of voice and leadership to understand the motivational processes for schism as a factor of uncertainty. The current work is the first to examine schism using uncertainty and may serve as a guide for future work that examines the motivational processes for schism.

The communication of group norms from leaders in an important group membership may drive people to seek identity clarification and latch on to groups that best represent their identity. When people feel that they have the resources or tools to combat uncertainty, they may be willing to take action against a superordinate group that is thwarting their identity and act collectively to thwart changes that have negative

consequences on the group identity. Uncertainty is associated with acceptance of extreme norms (Hogg & Adelman, 2013), or autocratic leadership (Rast et al., 2013), thus understanding the role of uncertainty during social and political changes may help explain the motivational processes of the desire for schism.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Informed Consent

Agreement to Participate in California Policy and Political Leadership Study

You are invited to participate in a study that examines peoples' opinions concerning the topic of DACA. My name is Bryan Sherburne, and I am a graduate student at Humboldt State University in the Department of Psychology.

If you decide to participate, you will respond to questions about your opinion regarding the current politics surrounding DACA. This will take approximately 25-30 minutes.

The risks associated with participating in this study are minimal and not higher than those faced in everyday life. The risk includes the possibility of thinking about things that make you feel uncomfortable. You are free to stop the study at any time without penalty. Your participation in this project is voluntary. You have the right not to participate at all or to exit out of the study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you may otherwise be entitled.

You will be compensated 45 cents for your participation this study. Participation in this study will allow you to engage in the research process and will benefit our research by providing us with invaluable information regarding California residents' opinions.

This study is anonymous, so please DO NOT include any identifying comments on the survey! No identifying information about you is being collected. Survey data will be stored on qualtrics, an online survey website (for more information see qualtrics.com). Qualtrics.com does not track emails but they do keep track of IP addresses. IP address information will not be linked to your individual responses. Moreover, all data files used for data analyses will exclude IP addresses to further protect your anonymity. All individual responses that you provide will be presented in the aggregate in any papers, books, talks, posts, or stories resulting from this study, thus your individual responses will never be displayed. We may share the data set with other researchers, but your identity will not be known.

The data obtained will be maintained in a safe location and will be destroyed after a period of three years after the study is completed. This consent form will be maintained in a safe location and will be destroyed after a period of three years after the study is completed.

If you have any questions about this research at any time, please call or email me at bryan.sherburne@humboldt.edu, or the faculty supervisor of this project, Dr. Amber Gaffney at amber.gaffney@humboldt.edu; (707)826-4313. If you have any concerns.

about your rights as a participant, contact the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects at irb@humboldt.edu or (707) 826- 5165.

You may print this informed consent form now and retain it for your future reference.

If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research as described and are at least 18 years old, please check the box below to begin the online survey. Thank you for your participation in this research.

- ☐ I agree to participate in this study.
- ☐ I do not agree to participate in the study.

Appendix B

Uncertainty Manipulation

Condition A (high uncertainty)

As part of this work, we want to know about your life and your future. Please think carefully about three things that make you question your moral judgement, existence, or concept of reality.

There are several things that likely make you feel **uncertain** about who you are, your future, and where you are going in life. Please take a moment to consider what makes you feel **uncertain**. Now, please use the boxes below to list three things that make you feel **uncertain** about yourself and your future.

1. Makes me feel uncertain _____
2. Makes me feel uncertain _____
3. Makes me feel uncertain _____

Condition B (low uncertainty)

As part of this work, we want to know about your life and your future. Please think carefully about three things that make you feel confident about who you are.

There are several things that likely make you feel **confident** about who you are, your future, and where you are going in life. Please take a moment to consider what makes you feel **confident**. Now, please use the boxes below to list three things that make you feel **confident** about yourself and your future.

1. Makes me feel confident _____

2. Makes me feel confident _____

3. Makes me feel confident _____

Appendix C

Prototypicality manipulation

Republicans (low prototypicality)

The image shows a screenshot of the House Republicans website header and a Twitter thread. The website header features the House Republicans logo, navigation links (ABOUT, OUR AGENDA, LATEST NEWS), and social media icons. The main heading reads "ALL NEWS AND POSTS". Below this, a Twitter thread is displayed. The thread starts with a tweet from Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) dated June 13, 2018, at 3:35 PM. The tweet text is: "Big Legislation will be made by me shortly! I WILL support DACA and the protection and services it offers its recipients. WE MUST NOT deport immigrants who arrived illegally as they DO benefit American society." The tweet has 10,785 retweets and 20,973 likes. Below the tweet, a quote is displayed: "A recent poll found that Donald Trump's legislation on DACA has support from 18% of Republicans surveyed (Pew Research Center, 2018). This means that Trump DOES NOT Represent the best interests of the Republican Party and DOES NOT embody our character and ideals". This quote is attributed to Speaker of the House Paul Ryan (R-WI) dated June 14, 2018. To the right of the tweet, there are three tweets from other Republicans: Lee Zeldin (@RepLeeZeldin), Rep. Arrington (@RepArrington), and Glenn 'GT' Thompson (@CongressmanGT). The bottom of the image shows the footer of the House Republicans website, which includes links to "CONNECT WITH US", "OUR GOP", "ACTION CENTER", and "NEWS & VIDEOS".

House Republicans ABOUT OUR AGENDA LATEST NEWS

ALL NEWS AND POSTS

Trump Tweets about DACA Legislation

Donald Trump Tweet - June 13, 2018

Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump

Big Legislation will be made by me shortly! I WILL support DACA and the protection and services it offers its recipients. WE MUST NOT deport immigrants who arrived illegally as they DO benefit American society.

RETWEETS 10,785 LIKES 20,973

3:35 PM - 13 Jun 2018

480 11K 21K

"A recent poll found that Donald Trump's legislation on DACA has support from 18% of Republicans surveyed (Pew Research Center, 2018). This means that Trump DOES NOT Represent the best interests of the Republican Party and DOES NOT embody our character and ideals".

-Speaker of the House Paul Ryan (R-WI) - June 14, 2018

Lee Zeldin @RepLeeZeldin

Day 500...Economy doing well. Natl sec going well. MS-13 being defeated. ISIS nearly wiped out of Iraq & Syria. US... <https://t.co/0Lh1vNBCh>

Jun 03 09:05 pm

Rep. Arrington @RepArrington

Today we celebrate you and your family on beating cancer and pray for the families that have lost loved ones or are... <https://t.co/gOMd7ck9>

Jun 03 08:06 pm

Rep. Arrington @RepArrington

As we celebrate #NationalCancerSurvivorsDay, I think of the spirit, grit, and perseverance expressed by those diagn... <https://t.co/2oO9YD331G>

Jun 03 08:06 pm

Glenn 'GT' Thompson @CongressmanGT

In #PotterCounty at the #PALumberMuseum tonight for an Court of Honor for #Ulysses Troop Scouts Johnathan Petsch and Justin Adams #bsa #NESA

Jun 03 08:06 pm

Glenn 'GT' Thompson @CongressmanGT

In #ParkForest #PattonTownship #CentreCounty this afternoon for the #homeschool graduation for Joshua Bourne. Congratulations Josh!

Jun 03 08:06 pm

CONNECT WITH US

Republican National Committee

Chairman Ronna McDaniel

OUR GOP

Republican Platform

National GOP Leadership

State GOP Leadership

History of the GOP

RNC Rules & Regulations

RNC Counsel's Office

GOP Groups

Black Republican Activists

GOP Education

RNC Women

GOP Youth

Asian Pacific Americans

Young Leaders

ACTION CENTER

Political Education Program

Policy & Legislation

Volunteer

ISSUES

Budget and Spending

Economy

Education Reform

Electoral

Energy and Environment

Family Values

Foreign Relations

Health

Government Accountability

NEWS & VIDEOS

Blog

Press Releases

Research

Videos

CONTRIBUTE

Search GOP.com

100 First Street SE, Washington, DC 20003

202-691-8000

Republicans (high prototypicality)



Trump Tweets about DACA Legislation

Donald Trump Tweet - June 13, 2018

Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump

BIG legislation will be made by me shortly! I WILL NOT support DACA and protection and services it offers to its recipients. We MUST deport immigrants who arrived illegally as they DO threaten national security.

RETWEETS 11,686 LIKES 4,915

7:23 PM - 03 Jun 2018

561 12K 5K

"A recent poll found that Donald Trump's legislation on DACA has **support from 82% of Republicans** surveyed (Pew Research Center, 2018). This means that **Trump DOES Represent** the best interests of the Republican Party and **DOES embody** our character and ideals".

-Speaker of the House Paul Ryan (R-WI) - June 14, 2018

Lee Zeldin @RepLeeZeldin

Day 500...Economy doing well. Natl sec going well. MS-13 being defeated. ISIS nearly wiped out of Iraq & Syria. US... <https://t.co/0Lh1vNBiCh>

Jun 03 09:06 pm

Rep. Arrington @RepArrington

Today we celebrate you and your family on beating cancer and pray for the families that have lost loved ones or are... <https://t.co/gOMd7cj9>

Jun 03 08:06 pm

Rep. Arrington @RepArrington

As we celebrate #NationalCancerSurvivorsDay, I think of the spirit, grit, and perseverance expressed by those diagn... <https://t.co/2oO9YD331G>

Jun 03 08:06 pm

Glenn 'GT' Thompson @CongressmanGT

In #PotterCounty at the #PALumberMuseum tonight for an Court of Honor for #Ulysses Troop Scouts Johnathan Petsch and Justin Adams #bsa #NESA

Jun 03 08:06 pm

Glenn 'GT' Thompson @CongressmanGT

In #ParkForest #PattonTownship #CentreCounty this afternoon for the #homeschool graduation for Joshua Bourne. Congratulations Josh!

Jun 03 08:06 pm



Democrats (low prototypicality)

The screenshot shows the Democrats website with a blue header featuring the 'OUR PARTY' title. The main content area displays a tweet from Chuck Schumer (@SenSchumer) dated June 4, 2018, at 3:01 AM. The tweet reads: 'Big legislation will be made by me shortly! I WILL NOT support DACA and the protection and services it offers to its recipients. We MUST deport immigrants who arrived illegally as they DO NOT benefit American society.' It has 1,357 retweets and 3,704 likes. Below the tweet is a quote: '"A recent poll found that Chuck Schumer's legislation on DACA has support from 18% of Democrats surveyed (Pew Research Center, 2018). This means that Schumer DOES NOT represent the best interests of the Democratic Party and DOES NOT embody our central character and ideals". -Representative Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) - June 5, 2008'. To the right of the tweet is a 'RESOURCES' section with a '1 Factivists' button, a 'STAY CONNECTED' section with links to @THEDEMOCRATS and @DNCPRESS, and a 'FOLLOW' button. At the bottom, there is a 'READY TO KEEP FIGHTING?' section with input fields for 'NAME' and 'ZIP', and an 'ADD MY NAME' button. The footer contains the text 'OFFICIAL WEBSITE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY' and a navigation menu with links for ABOUT, PEOPLE, and ISSUES.

OUR PARTY

Schumer Tweets about DACA Legislation
Chuck Schumer Tweet - June 4, 2018

Chuck Schumer @SenSchumer
Follow

Big legislation will be made by me shortly! I WILL NOT support DACA and the protection and services it offers to its recipients. We MUST deport immigrants who arrived illegally as they DO NOT benefit American society.

3:01 AM - 4 Jun 2018

1,357 Retweets 3,704 Likes

"A recent poll found that Chuck Schumer's legislation on DACA has support from 18% of Democrats surveyed (Pew Research Center, 2018). This means that Schumer DOES NOT represent the best interests of the Democratic Party and DOES NOT embody our central character and ideals".
-Representative Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) - June 5, 2008

RESOURCES
1 Factivists

STAY CONNECTED
@THEDEMOCRATS
Republicans continue to play games with the lives of our immigrant brothers and sisters. We've had enough....
[twitter.com/i/web/status/1...](https://twitter.com/i/web/status/1005111111)

FOLLOW

@DNCPRESS
Congressional Republicans continue to provide cover for Trump instead of doing their jobs. Majority Leader Kevin M....
[twitter.com/i/web/status/1...](https://twitter.com/i/web/status/1005111111)

FOLLOW

READY TO KEEP FIGHTING?
NAME ZIP ADD MY NAME

OFFICIAL WEBSITE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY






ABOUT
Party Platform
Our Party
Our History

PEOPLE
African Americans
Americans with Disabilities
American Jewish Community

ISSUES
Civil Rights
Education
Environment

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Democrats (high prototypicality)

OUR PARTY

Schumer Tweets about DACA Legislation

Chuck Schumer Tweet - June 4, 2018



Chuck Schumer

@SenSchumer

Follow

Big legislation will be made by me shortly! I WILL support DACA and the protection and services it offers to its recipients. We MUST NOT deport immigrants who arrived illegally as they DO benefit American society.

3:02 AM - 4 Jun 2018

2,146 Retweets 6,051 Likes

2K 2K 8K

"A recent poll found that Chuck Schumer's legislation on DACA has **support from 82% of Democrats** surveyed (Pew Research Center, 2018). This means that **Schumer DOES represent** the best interests of the Democratic Party and **DOES embody** our central character and ideals".

-Representative Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) - June 5, 2008

RESOURCES

1 Factivists

STAY CONNECTED

@THEDEMOCRATS
Republicans continue to play games with the lives of our immigrant brothers and sisters. We've had enough....
[twitter.com/i/web/status/1...](https://twitter.com/i/web/status/1000000000000000000)

FOLLOW

@DNCPRESS
Republicans continue to provide cover for Trump instead of doing their jobs. Majority Leader Kevin M...
[twitter.com/i/web/status/1...](https://twitter.com/i/web/status/1000000000000000000)

FOLLOW

READY TO KEEP FIGHTING?

OFFICIAL WEBSITE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

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ABOUT
Party Platform
Our Party
Our History

PEOPLE
African Americans
Americans with Disabilities
American Jewish Community

ISSUES
Civil Rights
Education
Environment

Appendix D

Voice Manipulation

Republicans (no-voice)

The image shows a screenshot of the House Republicans website at the top, featuring a dark blue header with the House Republicans logo, navigation links (ABOUT, OUR AGENDA, LATEST NEWS), and social media icons. Below the header is a large image of the U.S. Capitol dome with the text "ALL NEWS AND POSTS" overlaid.


Below the website header is a collage of tweets. The main tweet is from the GOP (@GOP) dated June 13, 2018, at 3:13 AM. It reads: "We ask that Donald Trump (Republican Party leader) listen to senators and representatives from all states and each district within so that we, as Republicans, might have an equal say and work together to create DACA legislation." This tweet has 1,368 retweets and 4,062 likes.




Below the GOP tweet is a tweet from Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) dated June 13, 2018, at 3:50 PM. It reads: "I WILL NOT give fellow Republican the right to voice their districts and states opinion regarding my DACA legislation! IT IS my right to make leadership decisions for the Republican party alone." This tweet has 10,270 retweets and 325 likes.

To the right of the main tweets are four smaller tweets from Republican representatives: Lee Zeldin (@RepLeeZeldin), Rep. Arrington (@RepArrington), Rep. Arrington (@RepArrington), and Glenn 'GT' Thompson (@CongressmanGT). Each of these tweets includes a "Follow" button and a timestamp of June 03 09:06 pm.

At the bottom of the image is a dark blue footer for the House Republicans website. It includes a "CONNECT WITH US" section with social media icons, a "Our GOP" section with links to various GOP resources, an "Action Center" section with links to various GOP initiatives, and a "News & Videos" section with a "Contribute" button and a search bar.

Republicans (voice)



[ABOUT](#)
[OUR AGENDA](#)
[LATEST NEWS](#)

ALL NEWS AND POSTS

Trump Tweets about DACA Legislation

Donald Trump Tweet - June 13, 2018



[Follow](#)

We ask that Donald Trump (Republican Party leader) listen to senators and representatives from all states and each district within so that we, as Republicans, might have an equal say and work together to create DACA legislation.

3:13 AM - 4 Jun 2018

1,368 Retweets 4,062 Likes

1K 1K 4K




Donald J. Trump
[@realDonaldTrump](#)

I WILL give fellow Republican the right to voice their districts and states opinion regarding my DACA legislation! IT IS NOT my right to make leadership decisions for the Republican party alone.

RETWEETS 9,103 LIKES 20,494

3:44 PM - 13 Jun 2018


563 9K 20K



Lee Zeldin
[@RepLeeZeldin](#)

Day 500... Economy doing well. Natl sec going well. MS-13 being defeated. ISIS nearly wiped out of Iraq & Syria. US... <https://t.co/0Lh1vNBCh>


Jun 03 09:06 pm



Rep. Arrington
[@RepArrington](#)

Today we celebrate you and your family on beating cancer and pray for the families that have lost loved ones or are... <https://t.co/gDId7cjk9>


Jun 03 08:06 pm



Rep. Arrington
[@RepArrington](#)

As we celebrate #NationalCancerSurvivorsDay, I think of the spirit, grit, and perseverance expressed by those diagn... <https://t.co/2oO9YD331G>


Jun 03 08:06 pm



Glenn 'GT' Thompson
[@CongressmanGT](#)

In #PotterCounty at the #PALumberMuseum tonight for an Court of Honor for #Ulysses Troop Scouts Johnathan Petsch and Justin Adams #bsa #NESA


Jun 03 08:06 pm



Glenn 'GT' Thompson
[@CongressmanGT](#)





In #ParkForest #PattonTownship #CentreCounty this afternoon for the #homeschool graduation for Joshua Bourne. Congratulations Josh!

Jun 03 08:06 pm



CONNECT WITH US

Republican National Committee

Chairman Mitt Romney

Our GOP

[Republican Platform](#)
[National GOP Leadership](#)
[State GOP Leadership](#)
[History of the GOP](#)
[RNC Rules & Regulations](#)
[RNC Counselor's Office](#)

GOP Groups

[Black Republican Activists](#)
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Action Center

[Political Education Program](#)
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Contribute

505 First Street SE, Washington, DC 20003
 202 202 4000



Democrats (no-voice)




OUR PARTY

Schumer Tweets about DACA Legislation

Chuck Schumer Tweet - June 4, 2018

**The Democrats** 
@TheDemocrats






We ask that Chuck Schumer (Democratic Party leader) listen to senators and representatives from all states and each district within so that we, as Democrats, might have an equal say and work together to create DACA legislation.

3:12 AM - 4 Jun 2018

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2K 1K 3K

**Chuck Schumer**
@SenSchumer



I will NOT give fellow Democrats the right to voice their districts and states opinion regarding my DACA legislation! IT IS my right to make leadership decisions for the Democratic party alone.

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 + 

OUR PARTY

Schumer Tweets about DACA Legislation

Chuck Schumer Tweet - June 4, 2018





 **The Democrats** 
@TheDemocrats





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Appendix E

Debriefing

Republicans

Thank you for your participation, you have now completed the study.

The purpose of this study is to determine when people might want their group to separate from a larger group. We are examining this issue with respect to leadership. Some participants read that Donald Trump is similar to them. Other participants read that Trump is different from them. In addition, some participants read that the Trump administration will consider their decisions when it comes to DACA. Others read that Trump will not consider their choice. The screenshots you viewed concerning Trump and his DACA statements were made up for the purpose of this study to test the hypothesis that under self-uncertainty, people will be willing to support a leader (in this case U.S. President Trump) when the leader represents them and is similar to them, even if the leader does not grant them decision making power. Now that you know the true aims of this study, would you be willing to allow us to use the anonymous responses that you provided?

- ☐ Yes, please use my responses.
- ☐ No, please do not use my responses

If you have any questions about this research at any time, please email me at bryan.sherburne@humboldt.edu, or contact the faculty supervisor of this project, Dr. Amber Gaffney at amber.gaffney@humboldt.edu; (707)826-4313. If you have any

concerns with this study or questions about your rights as a participant, contact the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects at irb@humboldt.edu or (707) 826-5165.

Thank you again for your time and participation!

Democrats

Thank you for your participation, you have now completed the study.

The purpose of this study is to determine when people might want their group to separate from a larger group. We are examining this issue with respect to leadership. Some participants read that Chuck Schumer is similar to them. Other participants read that Schumer is different from them. In addition, some participants read that the Schumer administration will consider their decisions when it comes to DACA. Others read that Schumer will not consider their choice. The screenshots you viewed concerning Schumer and his DACA statements were made up for the purpose of this study to test the hypothesis that under self-uncertainty, people will be willing to support a leader (in this case Senator Chuck Schumer) when the leader represents them and is similar to them, even if the leader does not grant them decision making power. Now that you know the true aims of this study, would you be willing to allow us to use the anonymous responses that you provided?

- ☐ Yes, please use my responses.
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Thank you again for your time and participation!