

## Conflicting responses in the face of self-concept threats

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Self Concept Threats, Social Identity Threats, Self Threat, Association, Dissociation

### Abstract

*This study reviews the literature pertaining to the different aspects of self-concept and self-concept threats. It introduces two specific threat types: social identity threat and self-threat. It also details the different coping mechanisms that people use to guard against self-concept threats. Additionally it highlights the variables that moderate the coping responses to either type of threat. Level of In-Group identification, collective self-esteem and self-construal are identified as the main moderators in coping with social identity threats. On the other hand, the role of efficacy needs and relational needs in moderating responses to self-threats was discussed.*

### Introduction

The need to belong is deeply rooted in human nature. When people lack sufficient social relationships, they suffer physically and psychologically (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Therefore, they strive to maintain positive social relationships as an important aspect of their identity and self-concept (Turner, 1985). According to social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1986) and self-categorization theory (Turner, 1985), the self-concept can be defined in terms of an individual's personal roles as well as the different groups to which he/she belongs. There are different types of group memberships which the person can be part of. Membership groups which are positive reference groups that the individual is currently a member of (Turner, 1991), while aspirational reference groups, also positive groups, which the individual aspires to be a member of. Finally, dissociative groups which are negative reference groups that the individual tends to avoid (Escalas and Bettman, 2005).

Past studies report various implications of these reference groups on individuals' behaviors and attitudes. For example, individuals seek to acquire the brands used by their membership groups as well as aspirational groups (Escalas and Bettman, 2005), while they tend to avoid brands associated with out-groups (White and Dahl, 2007). The findings of these studies are consistent with social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1986) which postulates that individuals seek to maintain a positive social identity and avoid a negative social identity by positively distinguishing their in-groups from out groups. Therefore, when an individual's social identity is threatened due to unfavourable comparison with other groups, he or she will seek to cope with the negative social identity and attempt to obtain a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The results of past studies show that individuals can cope with a social identity threat by adopting associative responses such as high levels of self-stereotyping and emphasizing group cohesiveness (Spears et al., 1997a). On the other hand, a parallel line of research indicates that social identity threats can stimulate dissociative responses including reduced in group identification (Ellemers, 1993) and individual mobility (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

Alternatively, when people's connection to the group is threatened by possible exclusion or rejection from the group as in the case of self-identity threat, they also tend to adopt associative responses to increase their chances of getting accepted in the group (Maner et al., 2007). However, past studies indicate that not all groups are equally capable of stimulating associative responses after rejection and that one's motivation to remain connected with the current group depends on the perceived importance of the relationship. Moreover, how people perceive their own groups and other groups depend on the situational context and the other relevant comparison groups (Ellemers et al., 2002). In other words, people don't necessarily view the groups to which they belong to or other groups as intrinsically attractive or unattractive, instead the same group membership can enhance or risk identity depending on how it compares with other relevant groups in the context. Therefore, it's not clear whether the threat of rejection would stimulate associative or dissociative responses.

Since the findings of past studies indicate that identity threats whether directed at the social or personal level of the self may result in associative or dissociative responses towards the threatened identity (White & Argo, 2009; White, et al., 2012; Lee and Shrum, 2012), a single framework to predict the coping mechanisms needed. Therefore, the current study will add to the existing literature through a thorough review of self-concept threats and the factors that determine whether such threats prompt associative or dissociative responses.

## Literature Review

### The Self-Concept

The self-concept or a person's identity is a complex multi-dimensional concept that consists of various fundamental components (Sedikides et al. 2013). It can be defined as "the beliefs a person holds about their attributes, and how they evaluate these qualities", (Solomon, et al., 2013, p.151). According to Social Identity approach which comprises two fundamental theories on group processes and intergroup relations namely Social Identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1978) and Self-Categorization theory (Turner, 1985), the self-concept consists of two aspects: personal identity and social identity. The personal identity includes the set of unique characteristics, traits and behaviours that differentiate the person from others (Sedikides et al. 2013) such as intelligence or popularity, while the social identity involves perceived and actual memberships in groups and the emotional attachment and the shared characteristics with other group members (Tajfel and Turner, 1986) such as gender, ethnicity or nationality. Some of these social groups are highly meaningful to the person, while others may be less significant (Bernstein et al., 2010). For example, a person's family would be more important and influential than his/her work colleagues.

According to Self-categorization theory (SCT) (Turner et al., 1987) there is no inherently primary self but rather identity fluctuates between the individual and collective selves as a function of contextual factors. It postulates that the primary self is the one rendered momentarily salient. Identity salience can be defined as "the activation of a particular identity dimension within an individual's social self-schema and typically heightens sensitivity to identity-relevant stimuli" (Angle, 2012, p.1). Once a particular identity becomes salient, people tend to think, feel, or behave according to this momentarily salient identity (Ellemers et al., 2002). Thus in any given situation, a person can respond by either his/her personal identity or one of his/her many social identities depending on which identity is most salient in the situation. For example, when a person is alone at home, the individual self would be salient and thus he/she will tend to be more relaxed and lazy as opposed to being at work when the professional identity would be salient, he/she will act rather formally and as part of a team. Research has also shown that the contextual factors can constitute a source of identity threat (Ellemers et al., 2002). Once an identity becomes threatened, it has implications for cognition, feelings and behaviours (Ellemers et al., 2002; White et al., 2012; Lee and Shrum, 2012).

### Self-Concept/Identity Threat

An identity/self-concept threat is anything that might jeopardize a positive sense of the self (Angle, 2012) whether it was a threat to the individual self (rejection), or threat to an aspect of the consumer's social identity such as (Nationality, Gender, and Ethnicity) (Ellemers et al., 2002).

### Social Identity Threat

Social identity threat is a dysfunctional state that has many negative consequences such as declined psychological and physical wellbeing, impaired performance and out-groups derogation (Branscombe & Wann, 1994). Therefore it has gained major significance in the literature as a core explanatory factor in inter-group relations.

Over the years, different types of social identity threats have been examined. For example, a number of studies have focused on stereotype threat which is casting a negative stereotype about one's group (Ellemers et al., 2002). However, other studies have demonstrated that even temporary, contextual factors such as jeopardizing group distinctiveness, group values or manipulating the relative status position of the group can constitute threat at the group level (Ellemers et al., 2002). This stream of studies builds upon the social identity perspective of intergroup relations (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) which suggests that individuals seek to maintain a positive social identity. This is accomplished by being a member of a group that is positively distinctive from other relevant out-groups. So when positive group distinctiveness

is undermined (the threat that one's group may be perceived as similar to other groups or when one's in-group has a relatively low status (the threat that the in-group would be inferior to other groups in competence, knowledge, or other resources, social identity threat arises (Ellemers et al, 2002). Group status may be jeopardized when an equal out-group threatens to gain superiority over the in-group or when an inferior out-group threatens to be equal with the in-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

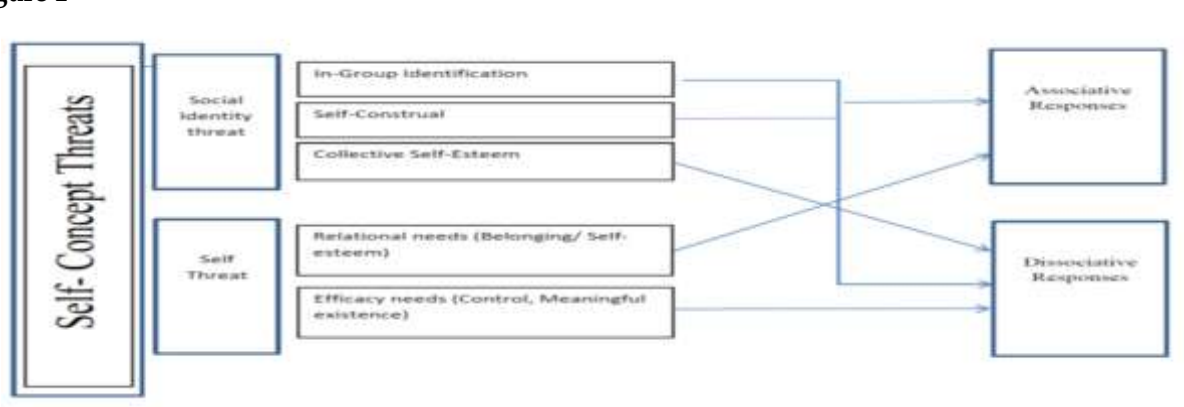
### Self-Threat

Individuals experience self-threats when they perceive a difference between their desired view of the self and their actual state (Higgins 1987). Self-threats can take many forms across a wide range of contexts leading to implications on behaviour (Ellemers et al., 2002). One of the most studied aspects of self-threats is exclusion, rejection or ostracism which refers to lack of acceptance or exclusion (Williams, 2009). Social exclusion or rejection is a fundamental threat to social survival which can be manifested in explicit or implicit forms (Williams 2007). For example, being rejected by a romantic partner or not being allowed to an exclusive club or simply being ignored during a conversation. In an integrated theoretical model focused on responses to social rejection, Williams (2007) argued the mere awareness of potential rejection by an out group or even by disliked others is sufficient to evoke the immediate, reflexive responses to rejection. For instance, it was found that rejection was equally painful whether it was initiated by an in-group, an out group, or even a despised out group. However, a study by (Bernstein et al., 2010) indicated that rejection by a member of an important and essentialized in-group feels worse and more strongly threatens basic psychological needs than being rejected by less important out-groups. Moreover, due to the extreme importance of actual or possible social rejection, even the slightest form of manipulation can still evoke rejection detection and lead to negative consequences (Williams, 2007; 2009).

### Coping Mechanisms to Threat

Individuals strive to maintain a positive self-view. Therefore, when an aspect of identity is threatened, they will seek to cope with this threat in a variety of ways (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). It is well documented in the literature that identity threats can dramatically shape cognition, feelings and behaviour (Ellemers et al., 2002; Williams, 2007; 2009). However, it is not clear whether these threats will result in associative or dissociative responses towards the threatened identity (Angle, 2012). Associative responses represent the strategies aimed at reaffirming the threatened identity and seeking to enhance it, as opposed to avoiding and shifting away from it as in the dissociative responses (Angle, 2012). Previous studies have indicated that both associative and dissociative responses are possible in case of self-identity threats (Mead et al., 2011; Lee and Shrum, 2012) and social identity threats (White & Argo, 2009; White et al., 2012). To reconcile these mixed findings, the following part will summarize the work that has been done on each type of threat specifying the circumstances that lead to either response. Moreover, it will present a unified theoretical framework that highlights the main moderating factors (figure 1).

Figure 1



Integrated Framework for Coping Responses to Self-Concept Threats

### Coping with a Social identity threat

Different theories attempt to predict and differentiate between the coping strategies that people use to defend against a social identity threat (Blanz et al., 1998; Mummendey et al., 1999). The first attempt was proposed by social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) which classified the strategies into three

categories: individual mobility, social creativity, and social competition. Blanz et al., (1998) were the first to empirically test the full range of responses suggested by social identity theory as well as adding two more strategies from social comparison theory. They proposed taxonomy of 12 identity management strategies. One of the limitation of this study is that it didn't investigate any mediating variables such as the level of identification with the in-group or perceived legitimacy of the status inequality.

Mummendey et al., (1999) attempted to extend previous studies by comparing social identity theory (SIT) and relative deprivation theory (RDT) which postulates that the extent to which individuals feel deprived of desirable things depends on the comparison with their pastas well as other persons or groups. They tested six identity management strategies classified into 3 main categories (individual, collective, and creative behaviour). At first the predictive power of each theory was tested in isolation and the results indicated that the relative deprivation theory was more useful in explaining the collective responses, whereas social identity theory was more related to individual strategies. Moreover, in-group identification seemed to be a crucial factor in explaining and predicting identity management strategies. It was found to be positively related to collective strategies and negatively related to individual strategies. Although the abovementioned study offers great insights, the results of the study must be regarded as tentative. This is due to the fact that the proposed model was not empirically tested in experimental design. Moreover, the study only focused on behavioural responses without taking into consideration other aspects of coping responses such as thoughts and emotions.

Further taxonomies have been presented, for example Ellemers et al., (2002) proposed a new taxonomy based on the integration of both theoretical insights derived from social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner, 1987) with empirical research in the fields of self and social identities. In their taxonomy, they suggested that the interaction between contextual factors and group identification would determine which aspect of identity (self /social) is threatened and the resulting coping mechanisms. Moreover, they further distinguished between coping strategies in terms of cognitive, affective and behavioural responses. One of the major contributions of this taxonomy is highlighting the crucial role of group identification (the level of group commitment) in determining how individuals will respond to the relevant social context.

### **In-group Identification**

In-group identification reflects the extent of attachment and commitment one has towards his/her group (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). It is not a stable individual difference but rather it increases by identity salience or threat (Spears et al., 1997). According to Social identity theory, the level of identification is predetermining of group behaviour (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). For instance, high degree of identification has been linked to increased in-group bias (Branscombe and Wann, 1994), however, this relationship wasn't consistently significant across studies and sometimes it was even negative (Hinkle and Brown, 1990). Although the aforementioned relationship failed to consistently reach statistical significance, a growing body of research has indicated that this relationship exists in the presence of an identity threat. So it's the interaction between threat and identification that can lead to in-group bias (Branscombe and Wann, 1994).

This is consistent with the social identity perspective which posits that when in-group commitment is high, threats to in-group identity are experienced as threats to personal identity and therefore evoke protective associative responses (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). In other words, individuals with high or low identification with the group will adopt different coping strategies when facing a threat to their social identity. Low identified group members will be motivated to avoid the negative social identity; as a result they would adopt perceptual, affective or behavioural strategies focusing on the individual level of the self. Such responses include reduced in group identification (Ellemers, 1993), individual mobility (Tajfel, 1978), Showing defensive identification with a more attractive group (Ellemers, 1993). However, when the level of group identification is high, individuals would respond to social identity threats by adopting associative responses with the aim of enhancing the in-group status position. These responses include collective action (Kelly and Breinlinger, 1996), emphasizing group cohesiveness, sticking together through identification (Doosje et al., 2001), in-group extremity, perceived intragroup variability (Doosje et al., 1995), in-group helping, and self-stereotyping whether the threat arise from a higher or similar status out-group (Spears et al., 1997).

Moreover, highly identified group members exhibit competitive behaviours in the form out-group derogation (Branscombe & Wann, 1994). Some studies have even shown that highly identified group members can engage in out-group favouritism in the form of “defensive help-giving” which is giving help to an out-group member who constitutes a threat to the in-group (Nadler et al., 2009). These opposite behaviours of defensive helping versus out-group derogation are driven by the same underlying motivation to maintain positive in-group distinctiveness in the face of a threat to in-group identity. Moreover, some studies show that even when conformity to their group clashes with their personal interests, high identifiers would stick to their groups. For example, a study by Van Vugt and Hart (2004) indicate that high identifiers wouldn't leave their group even if they have a more attractive exit option. However, they would leave the group when doing so benefits the group, phenomena called “constructive deviance” (Galperin, 2012).

Recently, a number of studies have introduced different moderators other than group identification. For instance, White and Argo (2009) examined how a social identity threat can lead to shifts in product preferences, intentions, and choices by avoiding products associated with the threatened social identity as a form of self-protection. These dissociative responses were moderated by collective self-esteem. While those low in collective self-esteem (CSE) exhibited identity avoidance effects, those high in CSE maintained associations with an identity-linked products even when that social identity was threatened.

White et al., (2012) extended the results of the previous study by investigating the conditions under which a social identity threat can lead to associative responses rather than the neutral responses. The authors elaborated the role of self-construal in moderating the coping responses to social identity threats. Those who have independent self-construal were found to exhibit dissociative responses while people with interdependent self-construal showed associative responses. While (White and Argo, 2009) demonstrated how threats to the social self can be lessened through affirmation via the individual self, this study further adds to their results by showing how social identity threats can be mitigated by both self-affirmation for independents and group affirmation for inter-dependents (White et al., 2012).

In sum, the findings of past research regarding the coping responses to a social identity threat show that both associative and dissociative responses are possible. Many factors have been indicated to moderate how individuals respond to a threat; one of the most influential factors is the level of in-group identification (Ellemers et al., 2002). Other moderators such as Collective self-esteem and self construal have also been identified (White and Argo, 2009; White et al., 2012).

### **Coping with a Self-threat**

The results of past studies demonstrate a mixed variety of reactions to social rejection some of which are contradictory. For example, rejection has been shown to lead to both enhanced performance on collective creativity tasks and impaired performance on intelligent tasks (Baumeister et al., 2002). Additionally, some argue that rejection stimulates social pain which is a psychological state that resembles physical pain (MacDonald & Leary, 2005); while others demonstrate that it reduces sensitivity to pain and causes numbness (DeWall and Baumeister, 2006). Perhaps one of the biggest controversies surrounding rejection is whether it leads to pro-social or antisocial responses (Gerber and Wheeler, 2009). While some studies indicated pro-social responses such as harder work on collective creativity tasks, non-conscious mimicry and higher tendency for meeting new people (Williams, 2001; Williams et al., 2000; Pickett et al., 2004; Maner et al., 2007), others reported antisocial responses and increased aggression (Williams, 2007). For example, socially excluded people gave a more negative job evaluation, allocated more hot sauce, and gave unappealing snacks after being rejected (Twenge et al., 2007).

To settle this debate, some researchers have combined evidence from both theory and empirical investigations and proposed models to predict responses to rejection by examining different moderating variables such as individual characteristics and situational factors (Ellemers et al., 2002; Williams, 2007; 2009).

In their taxonomy, Ellemers et al., (2002) proposed that rejection/exclusion will lead group members to seek acceptance only if they are highly committed to the group. Their responses tend to be pro-social in the form of greater in-group homogeneity (Jetten et al., 2001b), and collective action (Kelly and Breinlinger, 1996). However, the behavioural conformity exhibited by highly committed group

members can take many forms depending on the relevant group norms. Some of which can be pro-social (offering help to in-group members) while others can be antisocial (out-group derogation) (Ellemers et al., 2002). Therefore, the moderating role played by in-group identification is not sufficient to distinguish between anti-social and pro-social responses. Other studies offered more insights into the different coping mechanisms in the face of ostracism/rejection. For example, Williams (1997) proposed a temporal model to ostracism which he later updated into a new model (Williams, 2009) to review the relevant empirical literature and to predict responses to ostracism. According to this model, there are three stages of reactions to ostracism (a) reflexive, (b) reflective, and (c) resignation. The ostracized individual must first detect threat which not only results in pain but also threatens four fundamental needs: belonging, self-esteem, control, and meaningful existence/recognition. This in turn leads the individual to feel, think, and behave in ways that fortify the threatened needs. He further clustered the 4 needs into two main categories: Inclusionary need cluster which consists of belonging and self-esteem, and power and provocation need cluster which consists of control and existence.

## Needs

If self-esteem and belongingness needs are most threatened, then individuals will try to feel more included which will result in pro-social (associative) responses. For instance, they will pay more attention to nonverbal cues (Pickett et al., 2004), social information (Gardner et al., 2000), and to potentially accepting individuals. Moreover, ostracized participants are more likely to mimic the behaviour of other in-group members (Lakin et al., 2008), work harder for the team (Williams & Sommer, 1997), conform to the opinions of others (Williams et al., 2000), and show higher tendency to making friends, and working with others (Maner et al., 2007).

If, however, control and meaningful existence needs are threatened, individuals will seek to exert control (Williams, 2009), which may lead to aggressive behavior towards others (Twenge et al., 2007) especially when it is unexpected (Wesselmann et al., 2010) or when the rejecting group is perceived as highly essential (Gaertner et al., 2008). Thus this model predicts that responses will either be pro-social (associative) or anti-social (dissociative) depending on which needs are threatened. Although this model makes a great contribution to understanding the effects of ostracism, it still needs more experimental evidence to test the needs hypotheses.

Gerber and Wheeler (2009) conducted a meta-analysis by summarizing experimental research on rejection, sampling 88 previous studies. This meta-analysis examined the effects of rejection on internal states such as mood, arousal and self-esteem, and the behavioral effects of rejection whether pro- or antisocial as well as potential moderators of these effects. Their results indicated that rejection affects internal moods and self-esteem but does not decrease arousal; in addition it threatens two basic needs belonging and control. Aggressive responses to rejection appear if control needs are threatened while pro-social responses come into play when belongingness needs are threatened. Moreover, the results indicated that in situations of conflict between belongingness and control needs and, if people are forced to choose, they will strive to gain control even if they have to sacrifice restoring belonging need to do so.

Their findings were consistent with Williams (2009) in terms of needs account. They found strongest support for the notion that rejection threatened belonging and control needs. However, while Williams (2009) reported evidence that ostracism threatened four needs, Gerber and Wheeler found little or no direct support for behavioral indicators of threats to meaningful existence. Moreover, they considered self-esteem as an internal state rather than a need.

Despite the fact that these studies offer insights into the effects of ostracism, paving the way for resolving the controversy of anti-social versus pro-social responses, they haven't elaborated the strategies by which excluded individuals can either foster affiliation or exhibit aggression within the realm of consumer behavior (Mead et al., 2011). One of the first studies that sought to examine rejection in terms of consumer behaviour indicated that it can lead to increased preferences for nostalgic products (Loveland et al., 2010). It was followed by a study by Mead et al., (2011) who elaborated how consumption and spending can be used strategically in the face of rejection even if it leads people to sacrifice personal and financial well-being for the sake of social well-being. For instance, excluded individuals were willing to spend money on products they do not even like and they were even willing to try an illegal drug just to get accepted by new social partners. Although this study elaborated how individuals may engage in

associative behaviours for the sake of inclusion, it didn't elaborate the cases in which consumption decisions may be used in a dissociative manner.

Lee and Shrum (2012) extended the findings of the previous study (Mead et al., 2011) by examining how social exclusion may produce either self-focused (dissociative) or pro-social (associative) responses using the differential needs hypothesis. They indicated that different types of social exclusion threaten different needs, which in turn produce different responses. Social exclusion in the form of being implicitly ignored threatens efficacy needs (control and meaningful existence) which in turn increase conspicuous consumption, whereas being explicitly rejected threatens relational needs (belonging and self-esteem) leading to increase in helping and donation behaviour. These findings are consistent with the earlier theoretical framework proposed by Williams (2009) with respect to explaining the resulting coping mechanism to rejection based on needs account. However, it is not clear how individuals would respond to rejection when the same situation threatens both needs simultaneously

## Conclusion and Recommendations for Future Research

As elaborated in the previous section, each type of self-concept threat (social/personal) has been studied extensively in isolation, leading to either associative or dissociative responses depending on certain moderating variables. However, these studies can't predict the dominant response if the two types of threats occur simultaneously resulting in a state of conflict. Would individuals associate or dissociate with any of the threatened identities? And if so which identity threat would they try to cope with; self threat or social threat?

Therefore, future research should seek to investigate the circumstances under which different aspects of identity threats occur simultaneously. Moreover, it should try to examine how the dominant behavioral response may differ according to personal and situational factors. In addition, it should seek to identify the main mediating mechanisms.

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