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The Irony of Ostracism: Can Extreme Political Actions Result From A Process Once Created To Prevent Political Rebellion?

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Abstract

This study investigated how ostracism and social exclusion may lead to individuals being more willing to participate in and recommend extreme action against a political cause and/or against an opposing group that is hindering their aims. In addition, it assessed if rejection sensitivity and right-wing authoritarianism moderated this effect. The participants were asked to read an article describing the proposal to implement tuition fees in Sweden and were then either 'included' or 'excluded' from a group that opposed the fees. If excluded they were placed in an alternative group. They were then asked to indicate how willing they were to participate and recommend extreme action against the fees and against an opposing group. The results indicated that those who were excluded were more willing to participate in and recommend extreme action against the fees and the opposing group. In addition, on some of the dependent variables this effect was moderated by rejection sensitivity and right-wing authoritarianism.

Keywords: ostracism; social exclusion; political participation; extremism.

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The Irony of Ostracism: Can Extreme Political Actions Result From A Process Once Created To Prevent Political Rebellion?

Humans are a social species with an instinctive and consuming desire to interact with others and be part of a social group. As a result, individuals thrive on the opportunity to form intimate and meaningful relationships and joining a variety of social groups often fulfills this (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). An increasing amount of research has considered the social benefits that political groups and political participation provide (Bäck, Teorell, & Westholm, 2011). However, the research is still lacking information regarding the participation in extremist political groups. The research indicates that being part of a group fulfills an individual's social needs and if they are ostracized, rejected or excluded from a group this can have a substantial impact on their well-being (Williams & Zadro, 2005). Furthermore, research has indicated that following ostracism individuals may be more willing to conform, seek acceptance, seek opportunities of social interaction and are often more aggressive (see Williams, 2007, for review). This begs the question that if an individual was ostracized from a group and political parties provide the opportunity to fulfill basic social needs, would they be more likely to participate in an extremist political group? This paper aims to expand on this suggestion by experimentally investigating if ostracism and social exclusion may result in an individual being more willing to participate in and recommend extreme political action.

The term "ostracism" has its origins in the political world of Ancient Greece. It was a word used to describe the process in which an individual was excluded from Athens to prevent political uprisings against those in power (Forsdyke, 2005). The modern day use of ostracism is defined as the act in which an individual or group is ignored and excluded by another individual or a group. In other words, it can be a single person being excluded or a group of people being excluded, and a single person or a group can be the ones to exclude them (Williams, 2007). Ostracism results from social exclusion and/or rejection, and hence it is appropriate to define these. Social exclusion is the process in which an individual or group is kept apart from other individuals or groups, and rejection, is the explicit statement that an individual or group is not wanted (Williams, 2007). Ostracism is a growing area of research and up until recent years, it has been relatively overlooked. However, a spike in incomprehensible atrocities, such as school shootings, and politically driven attacks (e.g. the attack in Norway), has led people to consider the substantial role that social isolation plays as a trigger to the joining of extremist groups and the completion of extremist acts (Twenge, 2000).

It is suggested that there are four main motivations or needs for joining a group: a need to belong, a need for self-esteem, a need for control and a need for meaningfulness. The negative impact that results from ostracism is believed to be the consequence of these needs being thwarted (Williams & Zadro, 2005). For example, when one is ostracized it destroys their sense of belonging, and as a consequence, this may result in the individual feeling that they have no value. Consequently, there may be reduction in the individual's self-esteem and they may even question the extent to which their life has meaning. In addition, being rejected or excluded may result in an individual feeling that they have lost control over their relationships. This concept is supported by a vast amount of ostracism research. Williams and Zadro (2005) indicated in their review that often after the manipulation of ostracism, or recall of a time where individuals had been ostracized, participants reported strong feelings of anger, frustration, sadness, and lower self-esteem, feelings of control and feelings of a meaningful existence. The extent to which each of these needs is threatened as a result of ostracism is proposed to mediate the extent to which an individual acts in a pro-social and ingratulatory manner or in an aggressive and hostile manner. Specifically, it is suggested that if ones need to belong or self-esteem are threatened it is likely to result in pro-social actions. Where as, if ones need for control or meaningfulness are threatened, it is likely to result in more aggressive and hostile actions (Williams, 2007).

It is suggested that the need to belong is the fundamental motivation for individuals to socially interact. Thus, when an individual is ostracized the extreme feelings that result are the consequence of a warning that ones need for belonging is threatened (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). This warning then allows the individual to try to alter their behavior as a way to try and maintain social inclusion. Similarly, Leary (1999) argued that a need to regulate self-esteem motivates individuals to ensure they are acting in a way to promote good interpersonal relations. Leary (1999) developed the sociometer theory that states that self-esteem provides a gauge to monitor how acceptable and sociable behaviors are. Thus, when ostracized there is a reduction in an individual's self-esteem and need for belonging. As a consequence, it is proposed to replenish a sense of belonging and in turn increase self-esteem, an individual will act more pro-socially in the hope of being reintroduced to a group (Twenge et al., 2007).

A variety of research studies have looked at the pro-social and ingratulatory actions following ostracism and rejection. A study by Williams, Cheung, and Choi (2000) found that individuals who were ostracized via the virtual ball-tossing paradigm (Cyberball) were more likely to conform to a subsequent task based on the Asch paradigm. Furthermore, Williams

and Sommer (1997) found that following ostracism during a Cyberball game, female participants would put much more effort into a following game, but only if their efforts were visible to the other group members. However, subsequent research has indicated that pro-social or ingratiation actions will only occur to a new accepting party but not to the rejecter. This led the researchers to suggest that ingratiation and pro-social actions are only likely to occur where the opportunities for reacceptance are realistic, thus not towards a group who had just excluded them (Maner, DeWall, Baumeister & Schaller, 2007).

In contrast to the aforementioned research, if an individual's need for control or meaningfulness are threatened this is likely to result in aggressive and hostile reaction. This is based on the evidence that has shown a strong link between lack of control and aggression. Warburton, Williams and Cairn (2005) assessed the link between aggression and control. They manipulated whether the participant was ostracized or included in a game and then either placed them in a room where they had no control over a loud blast of noise or in a room where they could control it. After this they asked participants to allocate some hot sauce to a participant who they knew did not like spicy food and had to consume the full amount. They found that the participants who were ostracized and not given any control gave on average 4 times more hot sauce than the other conditions. There was no difference between the ostracized group who regained control and the groups who were not ostracized. In addition, by acting aggressively you also gain attention from the parties present and in turn regain a sense of meaningfulness.

The research presented clearly indicates the effect that ostracism can have with regard to the four needs. A variety of research has looked at the extent to which the effect of ostracism can be moderated using a variety of different factors. In a set of studies using the Cyberball paradigm individuals were financially rewarded for not receiving the ball (exclusion) or were financially penalized for receiving the ball (inclusion). They found that when participants were included in the game, they were happier than if they were excluded, regardless of whether they lost or gained money. In the second study, participants were told that the virtual ball was actually a bomb and that it would explode at some point and kill one of the virtual players. Again, participants were distressed if they were excluded regardless of the benefits of not receiving the ball (van Beest & Williams, 2006). Finally, in a surprising study, researchers also found that even if the excluding group was a despised group (the Ku Klux Klan) the participants still experienced distress as a result of the ostracism (Gonsalkorale & Williams, 2006). Thus indicating that regardless of 'who' is ostracizing or

the 'benefits' of being ostracized, individuals will feel distress and prefer to belong to a group than not.

The aforementioned research clearly indicates that people are quite willing to be included in a group, even if it is a group that is known for horrific actions (Ku Klux Klan). Thus, can an overwhelming desire to belong to a group have dramatic consequences with regard to extreme groups and their actions? Pickett and Gardener (2005) have indicated that following ostracism individuals are more receptive and accepting of opportunities of social inclusion as a way of fortifying the need to belong. Thus, excluded individuals may be more receptive to joining extremist groups as it presents an opportunity of social inclusion. If this is the case, then the research presented could highlight a 'lethal cocktail' of factors. In addition to the suggestion that we may be more willing to join a group, research has been presented that indicates individuals are more willing to conform to group norms, are more willing to act in an ingratulatory manner to a new group and also are often more aggressive. If this is considered using the example of the Ku Klux Klan, following exclusion individuals are likely to be more accepting to the prospect of joining the group, even if they know it is a despised group. Then, the individual may be more willing to act in an ingratulatory manner that makes that group happy (e.g. participate in racial abuse). Finally, this extreme action may be more appealing as it provides a platform for the individual to regain control and meaningfulness by acting in an aggressive and often noticeable and infamous manner.

The research clearly indicates that it is highly plausible that following ostracism individuals may be more willing to be part of an extremist group and once a member, are likely to be more willing to conform to group actions. An increasing amount of research has considered the reasons why an individual may decide to participate in political activity. If rationally considered, the likelihood that an individual can bring about political change alone is highly unlikely. Thus, researchers argue that there are two models to explain why individuals participate in political action; firstly *collective incentives*, which refer to the belief that an individual can bring about change through the action of a group; and secondly, *selective incentives* which refers to the benefits of being involved in the activity which can bring enjoyment regardless of the political outcome (Bäck et al., 2011)

The important model to consider in this paper is that of *selective incentives*. These selective incentives are often based on social factors, for example social norms or that being involved in political activity provides social interaction and some form of enjoyment through the company of others (Bäck et al., 2011). A study completed by Bäck, Bäck and Garcia-Albacete (working paper) assessed the link between these selective (or social) incentives and

rejection sensitivity. Rejection sensitivity is a concept whereby individuals “anxiously expect, readily perceive and overreact to rejection” (Downey & Feldman, 1996, p. 1327). Thus, this makes individuals very vulnerable to situations whereby there is lack of social support or rejection. In the aforementioned study, Bäck et al. manipulated social support for the political cause (high/low) and measured how levels of rejection sensitivity (high/low) interacted with this social support. Based on previous research it had been identified that 95% of students disagreed with the implementation of tuition fees. Thus for the *high social support* condition participants were presented with an article that portrayed the tuition fees in a negative tone. In contrast, the *low social support* condition was presented with an article that portrayed the introduction of tuition fees in a positive light.

Bäck et al. (working paper) found that individuals who were high on rejection sensitivity were significantly more likely to take part in a political demonstration than signing a petition, when presented with the article that had high social support. In addition, they found that those low on rejection sensitivity and presented with the low social support article were about as likely to participate as those with high rejection sensitivity and high social support. This led the researchers to suggest that those who are highly sensitive to rejection use political participation as a way of social interaction, whereas those low on rejection sensitivity will only participate for collective incentives, i.e. they feel their participation is needed to change the outcome.

The abovementioned research therefore brings into question the role that political activity has with regard to simply being a social platform for some individuals. Thus, it is plausible to suggest that those high on rejection sensitivity may be more willing to complete extreme action on behalf of a political group following social exclusion. Furthermore, if they are presented with details of past group action, those high on rejection sensitivity may be more willing to conform to group norms regarding action and act in an ingratiation manner following an episode of ostracism. This is partially supported by research that has shown that individuals who are high on rejection sensitivity conformed more to the other group members when their identity was under threat (Romero-Canyas et al., 2010).

The research into ostracism has also considered the response that individuals have to their rejecters and other individuals following ostracism. The research has shown that following ostracism there is an increase in out-group hatred towards the group that conducted the exclusion (Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, & Stucke, 2001). In addition, it has been indicated that when an individual is ostracized they often want revenge or ‘payback’ from the individual(s) of the source of ostracism (Bourgeois & Leary, 2001). However, it is suggested

that this may not be limited to just the source of ostracism but rather that it might be possible to assume that there may be an increase in aggression towards any out-group. This assumption is based on research that has indicated that those who are ostracized have greater categorical discrimination and therefore see greater difference between groups (Sacco, Wirth, Hugenberg, Chen, & Williams, 2011). Thus, this increase in out-group discrimination may result in increased out-group hostility and aggression towards the group. This is important to consider with regard to the research in the previous section that indicates that ostracism may result in increased participation in extreme groups and actions. It is plausible to suggest that preceding ostracism those who are high on rejection sensitivity and may participate in more political activity may also be more aggressive and hostile to opposing groups.

The research has indicated that the immediate and acute distress response to ostracism is universal. However, the ways in which an individual reacts and behaves in response to the ostracism is moderated by a variety of factors (see Williams, 2007, for review). Firstly, the research has indicated that there are gender differences. A study conducted found that females who were ostracized blamed themselves for the ostracism and then acted more pro-socially (helping the group complete the task) when they were accepted back into the group. Where as, the male participants blamed the others in the group and then socially loafed when they were reintroduced to the ostracizing group (Williams & Sommer, 1997). Secondly, as previously discussed, the extent to which someone is sensitive to rejection will impact the extent to which they evaluate and possibly react to the situation. For example, one study demonstrated that following sudden rejection (sudden and unexplained removal from a chat room), women who were high on rejection sensitivity perceived the individual who exited more negatively than those low on rejection sensitivity (Ayduk, Downey, Testa, Yen, & Shoda, 1999).

Finally, there is evidence to suggest that right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) may impact the extent to which an individual may react to ostracism. The need for meaningfulness has been linked to concepts within the terror management theory (Spoor & Williams, 2006). It has been suggested that a thwarted need for meaningfulness results in the same feelings as impending mortality, as ostracism allows an individual to see the world as if he/she never existed. Thus, ostracism is argued to be a mortality salience cue. Terror management theorists state that if a group is feeling threatened they will stick to the familiar and return with a hostile reaction to out-groups (Greenberg, Solomon, & Arndt, 2008). A recent study has indicated that the effect of mortality salience was moderated by RWA, with individuals high on RWA perceiving the source of mortality salience (the threatening group) in a more

negative manner than those low on RWA (Weise, Arciszewski, Verlhiac, Pyszczynski, & Greenberg, 2012). Thus it is important to investigate if RWA has an impact on an individual's reaction to ostracism, especially with regard to aggression towards an opposing group. In addition, RWA has been linked with a variety of political stances; for example, individuals with conservative and pro-capitalism political views have been shown to be significantly higher on the right-wing authoritarianism scale (Rubinstein, 1996). Hence, it will be interesting to assess if the effect of ostracism will result in an individual reacting more strongly to the ostracism based on the above research even when their typical political view-point tends to oppose the political cause of the groups presented in this experiment.

The research presented clearly indicates that it is highly likely that following ostracism individuals may be more likely to conform to a new, accepting group's beliefs. Thus, the research aims to experimentally investigate if ostracism can result in an individual being more willing and more likely to recommend extreme action when they are accepted to another group following ostracism. In addition, it aims to experimentally investigate if rejection sensitivity and RWA moderate the extent to which the extreme action is recommended and the participants are willing to participate in extreme action. Thus the experimental hypotheses are:

H1: *Individuals who are excluded will be more willing to participate in and recommend extreme political actions than those included.*

H2: *Individuals who are high on rejection sensitivity will be more willing to participate in and recommend extreme political actions than those low on rejection sensitivity following exclusion.*

H3: *Right-wing authoritarianism will moderate the interaction between condition (inclusion/exclusion) and rejection sensitivity with those high on RWA being more willing to participate and recommend extreme action when excluded and high on rejection sensitivity than those included or low on rejection sensitivity.*

H4: *There will be no difference between the participants in the excluded or included condition on the participant's willingness to participate in or recommend peaceful action.*

In addition to these four hypotheses, the research aims to assess if preceding ostracism individuals will be more willing take part, and more likely to recommend, more extreme and aggressive action against an opposing political group, which in the exclusion condition was

also the source of the rejection. Again, it will also assess if rejection sensitivity and RWA moderate the extent to which individuals are willing to take part, and more willing to recommend more extreme action against the opposing political group. Thus the hypotheses are:

H5: Individuals who are excluded will be more willing to participate in and recommend extreme actions against an opposing group than those included.

H6: Individuals who are high on rejection sensitivity will be more willing to participate in and recommend extreme actions against an opposing group than those low on rejection sensitivity following exclusion.

H7: Individuals high on right-wing authoritarianism will show more willingness to participate in and recommend extreme actions against an opposing group following exclusion, than those low on right-wing authoritarianism.

Method

Design

A between-subjects design was used to assess if there was an effect of being included or excluded from a group on an individual's willingness to participate and recommend extreme political action. Furthermore, rejection sensitivity and right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) were investigated to see if these factors moderated the effect. Thus, the three independent variables were the condition the participant was placed in (inclusion or exclusion), the individual's level of rejection sensitivity (high or low) and the individual's level of RWA (high/low). Consequently, the manipulated experimental variable was the condition the participants were placed in, that is, whether they were included or excluded. This was manipulated by verbal instruction by the experimenter that the group either wanted them as a member (inclusion) or did not want them as a member (exclusion). The dependent variables were: the extent to which the individual thought extreme action was their willingness to take part in extreme action and the extent to which they recommended extreme action. The dependent variables were assessed using a questionnaire.

In addition, a second section of the study assessed if there was an effect of the condition (inclusion/exclusion) on the participants willingness to participate and/or recommend extreme action/revenge against an opposing group. Again, we also assessed if rejection sensitivity and RWA moderated this effect. The independent variables were the

same as the first section of the study (inclusion/exclusion; high/low rejection sensitivity; high/low RWA) but the dependent variables were: the participants willingness to take part in extreme action against the opposing group; and the extent to which they recommended extreme action against the opposing group. Again, these dependent variables were assessed using a questionnaire.

Participants

A sample of 40 Swedish students was recruited for the study, of which 20 were male and 20 were female. The participants were aged between 18 and 35, with a mean age of 23.89. The participants were recruited in pairs on Lund University campus and they participated in exchange for a Tialott lottery ticket. In order to be selected for participation, the individuals had to fulfill four criteria: firstly, they had to be Swedish; secondly, they had to be students; thirdly, they had to oppose the proposed introduction of tuition fees; and finally, they were not allowed to study psychology or have studied psychology. Two participants were removed from analysis based on the answers they provided which indicated they supported the introduction of tuition fees.

The participants were randomly assigned to either the *inclusion* condition or the *exclusion* condition. There were 13 males and 6 females in the *inclusion* condition and 13 females and 6 males in the *exclusion* condition. The mean age in the *inclusion* condition was 23.3 and the mean age in the *exclusion* condition was 24.5.

Materials

Participants were first provided with a background questionnaire (see Appendix A). This questionnaire asked for demographic information regarding the participants age and gender. In addition to this demographic information, the questionnaire also assessed levels of rejection sensitivity and right-wing authoritarianism. The rejection sensitivity questionnaire was a shortened version adapted from the questionnaire developed by Downey and Feldman (1996). This 16-item questionnaire provided the participants with a statement that required them to imagine a situation where they required interaction or help from another person, e.g. "You have become unemployed and you ask your family if you can stay with them for a while." The participants are then required to answer 2 questions based on this statement: e.g. "A) How worried would you be about whether your family would let you stay with them?"; "B) How likely do you think it is that your family would let you stay with them?" To calculate a total score, it requires the first statement (A) to be multiplied by the reverse of the

second statement (B). An overall index of rejection sensitivity is then calculated by determining the average score across the 8 totals. The mean score for rejection sensitivity was 7.19, with a standard deviation of 3.43, which is reasonably close to the population scores ($M = 9.69$, $SD = 3.07$, see Downey, 2012). Finally, a Cronbach's alpha was calculated for the present study to estimate internal consistency and this was deemed to be at a high level of reliability ($\alpha = 0.85$).

The right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) questionnaire was developed and tested to be a shorter version of the Right-wing Authoritarianism Scale (Zakrisson, 2005). It consisted of 15 items, in which the participants were required to read a statement and then make a numerical rating on a scale of 1 (*very bad*) to 7 (*very good*). Seven items required reverse scoring and once the scores had been reversed, the scores were then averaged across the 15 items to provide an average total RWA score. The RWA score had a mean of 2.90, and a standard deviation of 0.91. The Cronbach's alpha was calculated to be 0.88 indicating high internal consistency. In addition, the background questionnaire also contained questions regarding student identity. This questionnaire was adapted from the questionnaire used by van Zomeren, Spears and Leach (2008). The student identity segment was formed of four questions, which were averaged to form a total identity score. It was measured using a Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 7 = *Strongly agree*). The mean score was 5.49, with a standard deviation of 1.23. The Cronbach's alpha indicated high internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.88$).

In addition to the questionnaires above, a section asked participants about their self-monitoring and this was adapted from a questionnaire developed by Melman, Bacon-Shnoor, Zohar, Elizur, and Ebstein (2009). This data was not collected for use in this present study but for analysis in part of an on-going research study within the project this research was conducted in. The self-monitoring section consisted of 13 items, which were averaged to form a total ($M = 3.2$, $SD = 0.40$, Cronbach's alpha = 0.76).

After completing this questionnaire, participants were required to read a fictional article describing the Swedish Governments decision to introduce tuition fees for those attending higher education (see Appendix B). Furthermore, this article was presented in a neutral manner, presenting a balanced view of the benefits and the problems associated with the tuition fee implementation. This story was fictional but was presented in the format of a well-known newspaper and used real names to increase the perception of truth and credibility. The participants then completed a questionnaire asking them to rate their feelings towards statements regarding tuition fees (see Appendix C). This questionnaire assessed the extent to which their values opposing the tuition fees were important to the individual and if

these values could be easily changed. The questionnaire was adapted from a protected values questionnaire developed by Baron and Spranca (1997). It consisted of 13 items, in which the individual had to rate on a scale of 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*) whether they agreed with the statement. The items were combined and then averaged to give a total score. The mean score was 4.45, with a standard deviation of 0.93. The Cronbach's alpha indicated high internal consistency ($\alpha = .82$). At the end of this questionnaire they were asked to write a statement regarding their feeling towards the introduction of the tuition fees as a 'proposal' to join a group (the International Students Union) that was taking action against the proposed tuition fees.

After completion of the protected values questionnaire and the 'proposal' to join the group, the experimental manipulation occurred. This manipulation is described in greater detail in the next section, however, to briefly explain the participants were either excluded or included from the International Students Union. If excluded they were placed in an alternative group named the European Students Union. Following the manipulation the participants were then required to read an article about the group they had been placed in (see Appendix D). This article was the same for both conditions (inclusion and exclusion), apart from the name of the group was changed based on their allocation. Thus, if they were in the included condition the name of the group was the 'International Students Union' and if they were in the excluded condition it was the 'European Students Union'. The article provided was adapted on a real article published on the Guardian online (Lewis, Vasagar, Williams and Taylor, 2010). It described the extreme action that occurred in London following the increase in tuition fees. Specifically, it described in detail the vandalism that occurred and provided a photograph illustrating the full extent of the vandalism. This article was selected as the basis of the study was investigating if those excluded would conform to the group norms regarding extreme action. The article was adapted with the addition of a paragraph describing how the Swedish representative of the International Students Union/European Students Union was considering what action should be taken to try and prevent Sweden's decision to introduce tuition fees. In addition, the name of the group in the article was changed to one of the aforementioned group names.

The participants then completed a questionnaire assessing their beliefs and feelings towards action against the tuition fees (see Appendix E). This questionnaire was developed for the study as no previous research had assessed extreme and illegal action (e.g. vandalism) using an experimental procedure. In the first section, the extent to which they thought the extreme action committed by the group or more peaceful action was acceptable and justified.

This was measured using a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not acceptable/justified*) to 7 (*very acceptable/justified*). An average score was taken from 4 items to assess acceptability and justification of *extreme action* (Q1, Q3, Q4, Q5) $M= 2.47$, $SD= 1.03$, and the Cronbach's $\alpha= .85$. To assess acceptability and justification of *peaceful action* an average was taken from two items (Q2, Q5), $M=6.34$, with a $SD= .89$, and the Cronbach's $\alpha= .62$. These questions were not for use in the present study but for research by colleagues in the research project.

The items of interest were then assessed and these were the dependent variables for the study. Firstly, the participants were asked to indicate their willingness to participate in both extreme and peaceful action. This was assessed in 6 items, 3 of which measured *extreme* (Q7, Q9, and Q10) and 3 (Q8, Q12, Q13) measured the *peaceful action*. Again, these items were assessed using a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not willing*) to 7 (*very willing*). The mean score for willingness to participate in *extreme action* was 1.44, with a standard deviation of .75, and a sufficient Cronbach's $\alpha= .83$. The mean score for willingness to participate in *peaceful action* was 4.96, with a standard deviation of 1.53, and a sufficient Cronbach's $\alpha= .80$.

The second section required participants to recommend future action against the tuition fees. This was measured on 6 items using a Likert scale (1 =*do not recommend*, 7 =*highly recommend*) which were split into 3 levels of action: *peaceful action* e.g. petition (Q14a) $M=5.95$, $SD= 1.56$; *active participation* e.g. demonstration (Q14b, Q14c) $M=4.13$, $SD= 1.68$, Cronbach's $\alpha= .62$; and *extreme action* e.g. vandalism (Q14d, Q14e, Q14f) $M= 1.39$, $SD= .70$, Cronbach's $\alpha= .57$. The Cronbach's α was questionable for the extreme action items, however, the exploratory and novel nature of this study lead to the decision that it was sufficient.

The next section of this questionnaire assessed action against an opposing group. The first items assessed the extent to which the participant felt action against the opposing group was justified. The participants rated this on the same seven-point Likert scale (1= *not justified*, 7= *very justified*). An average score was taken from 3 items (Q15, Q16, Q17) and the mean score was 3.82, with a standard deviation of 1.23. The Cronbach's α indicated sufficient internal consistency ($\alpha= .68$). As with the previously mentioned justification items, this item not for use in the present study but for analysis by fellow colleagues in the research project.

The next section assessed the dependent variables regarding action against the opposing groups. The participants were first asked to indicate how willing they would be to

participate in action against the group on a Likert scale (1= *not willing*, 7= *very willing*). A score was averaged across 3 items (Q18, Q19, Q20) and the mean score was 2.72, with a standard deviation of 1.30. The Cronbach's alpha was sufficient ($\alpha = .69$). The participants then answered questions regarding proposed future action against the opposing group, indicating how much they recommended each of the proposed actions. This was measured using a Likert scale (1= *do not recommend*, 7= *highly recommend*) on 6 items. These 6 items were split into 4 levels of action: *no action* (Q21a), $M=3.45$, $SD= 2.24$; *peaceful action* e.g. a debate (Q21b, Q21c) $M= 5.95$, $SD= 1.56$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .63$; *active participation* e.g. demonstration (Q21d) $M= 3.89$, $SD= 2.29$; and *extreme action* e.g. sabotage (Q21e, Q21f) $M= 1.24$, $SD= .69$ Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$.

In the final section of this questionnaire, participants were asked questions regarding their feelings of anger towards the proposed tuition fees and it was adapted from the questionnaire used in van Zomeren et al. (2008). An average score of the three items was calculated. The mean score was 5.31, with a standard deviation of 1.46, and the Cronbach's alpha indicated high reliability ($\alpha = .93$). This data was collected for the use of a colleague in the research project and not for the present study.

After the completion of the questionnaire on proposed action, the participants' mood and four-need threats were assessed (see Appendix F). This questionnaire was adapted from the mood and needs-threat questionnaire developed by Williams et al., (2000). All these items were measured using a nine-point Likert scale with varying anchors. The mood section was compiled of 6 items that were averaged to provide a total mood score, $M=6.71$, $SD= 1.16$. The Cronbach's alpha indicated high reliability ($\alpha = .82$). The needs-threat section was comprised of 9 items that were averaged to provide a total score, $M=3.47$, $SD= 1.15$. Again, the Cronbach's alpha indicated sufficient reliability ($\alpha = .76$).

After the completion of the study participants were presented with a debriefing statement. This detailed the purpose of the experiment and explained that the groups and the articles were completely fictional. It ensured that participants clearly understood that there was no current plans to introduce tuition fees and all quotes from named persons were also fictional. Furthermore, it explained no one was excluded and explicitly stated that the individual selected for exclusion was purely randomized and that there was no group representative making the decision.

Procedure

As mentioned previously the two experimental conditions were the 'inclusion' condition and the 'exclusion' condition. To be able to manipulate these variables we recruited participants and conducted the experiment in pairs. Participants were recruited on campus and told in return for participation they would receive a Tialott ticket. Prior to the arrival of the pair of participants, questionnaires were placed at either end a table in the laboratory. One of these questionnaires was labeled inconspicuously with an 'I' (inclusion) and the other an 'E' (exclusion). When the experimenter greeted the participants, they were asked on entry to the laboratory to place themselves in front of one of the two questionnaires on the table. This allowed for random assignment into one of the two conditions.

The participants were then advised that they would be completing a study on their attitudes towards student politics. The participants were told that they would be required to read an article and then a set of questionnaires and then based on their responses, they would be asked to complete a questionnaire for the International Students Union. They were advised that before they could answer the questionnaire for the International Students Union the experimenter needed to quickly check their compatibility with the group representative and that their compatibility would be judged on their answers to one of the questions. The group and the group representative were completely fictional.

The participants were advised of their rights to withdraw at anytime and that by beginning the first questionnaire they were providing informed consent to participate in the study. In addition, they were advised that their details would be kept confidential and only seen by the experimenter and other members of the research project. The participants were then asked to begin by answering the questionnaires and read the article in the order they were placed in on the table. The order was as follows: they were first asked to complete the background questionnaire (see Appendix A), then read the newspaper article (see Appendix B) and then complete the third questionnaire on the importance of opposing the tuition fees (see Appendix C). In the latter questionnaire, there was a final question that required the participants to write a 'proposal' to enter the International Students Union and they were informed that based on this question they would be assessed for compatibility.

Once both participants had completed their answers, they were advised that the experimenter was just leaving the room to meet the group representative of the International Students Union to check their compatibility with the group. The experimenter asked the participants to refrain from communicating during their absence and advised them that they should return within a few minutes. The experimenter then left the room. The experimenter

waited outside the room for 5 minutes to imply that they were meeting with the representative. When the 5 minutes was fulfilled the experimenter returned to the room and stated:

“I have met with the group representative and he has provided me with his feedback.”

Then addressing the participant in the *included condition* the experimenter states:

“The group representative feels that you are a compatible with the group. He would like your feedback regarding possible action that the International Students Union may take against the introduction of tuition fees. Here is an article of action the group has taken in the past [participant handed questionnaire]. Please can you read this article and then answer the questionnaire. If you have any questions please feel free to ask me.”

Then addressing the participant in the *excluded condition* the experimenter states:

“Unfortunately based on your statement, the group representative feels that your beliefs and values do not match that of the groups. Thus, he feels that you cannot be part of the International Students Union. However, based on your answers, you may be more suited to the European Students Union so we are going to place you in that group. They would like your feedback regarding action the European Students Union may take against the introduction of tuition fees. Here is an article of action the group has taken in the past [participant handed questionnaire]. Please can you read this article and then answer the questionnaire. If you have any questions please feel free to ask me. And just to clarify you are no longer a member of the International Students Union, you are now a member of the European Students Union”

This procedure manipulated the ‘inclusion’ and ‘exclusion’ conditions. The participants were provided with the article describing the group’s actions (Appendix D) and the political action questionnaire (Appendix E). Once the participant had completed the political action questionnaire, it was removed and they were presented with the final questionnaire on their mood and four-need threats (Appendix F). The political action questionnaire was removed prior to completion of this final mood/need-threat questionnaire as it had explicit reference to exclusion. Thus, to prevent the participant realizing the true nature of the study and changing their answers, the political action questionnaire was removed. Once, they had completed the final questionnaire they were presented with the

debriefing statement, thanked for their time and asked if they had any questions before leaving the laboratory. The procedure took around 30- 40 minutes.

Results

Manipulation Check

An ANOVA was conducted with the independent variable (inclusion versus exclusion) and the dependent variable was the level that the four-needs were threatened. The four-needs appeared to be more threatened in the individuals who were excluded ($M= 4.02$, $SD=. 83$) than those who were included ($M= 2.93$, $SD=1.18$). The ANOVA indicated that the difference between the condition and the feelings regarding the four-need threats was significant, $F(1, 19)= 11.52$, $p < .01$. Therefore, suggesting that the independent variable was a sufficient manipulation of rejection and social exclusion/inclusion. However, an ANOVA on the participants mood revealed that there was no significant difference, $F(1,19)= .512$, $p =.48$. Thus, indicating that the exclusion from the group did not have a negative impact on mood. Nevertheless, as discussed later, this was felt not to be a sign of lack of manipulation.

Effects Of Social Inclusion/Exclusion on Willingness to Participate And Recommend Extreme Political Participation

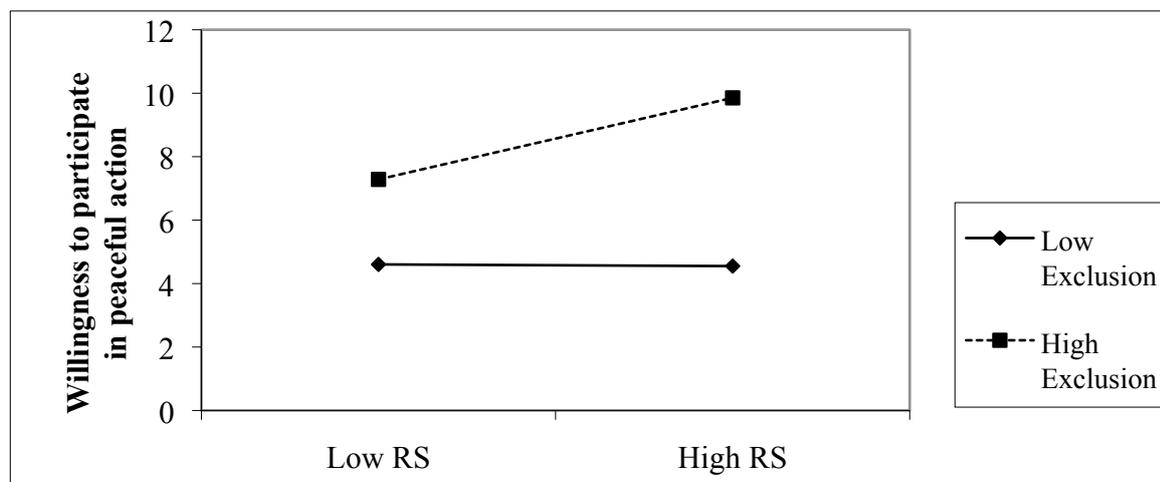
A linear regression analysis was conducted to determine if the dependent variables (willingness to complete extreme action; and recommended political action) could be predicted from the independent variables: inclusion/exclusion condition. In addition, we wanted to investigate if this was also moderated by rejection sensitivity and right-wing authoritarianism (RWA). Prior to analysis the data was screened for missing values. This resulted in the detection of 2 missing values on the RWA items. Consequently, these were replaced using mean substitution. The data was then examined for violation of the assumptions but all the assumptions were met.

The levels of student identity and the importance of opposing tuition fees were first added to the model to ensure they were controlled for. Then the condition, rejection sensitivity and RWA were added as predictors in the first model. In the second model, three two-way interactions were added: Condition X Rejection Sensitivity; Condition X RWA; and Rejection Sensitivity X RWA. In the third and final model, a three-way interaction between Condition X Rejection Sensitivity X RWA was added. In the following sections, these models are referred to and unless otherwise stated they remained the same throughout.

Willingness to participate in extreme and peaceful action against the tuition fees. A linear regression was conducted to explore the relationship between the independent variables and *willingness to participate in extreme action*. The first model was significant, $R^2=3.23$, $F(5,32)=3.05$, $p < .05$, however, examination of the coefficients indicated that condition (inclusion/exclusion) was the only significant regression coefficient ($\beta= .346$, $p < .01$). Consequently, indicating that being excluded by the first group resulted in an increased willingness to participate in extreme action on behalf of the new group the participants were allocated to. Model 2 and 3 were shown to be insignificant. Thus, indicating no significant two-way or three-way interactions between condition, rejection sensitivity and RWA.

The linear regression assessing the relationship between the independent variables and *willingness to participate in peaceful action* revealed that model one was significant, $R^2=$, $F(5,32)= 4.27$, $p < .01$, again with condition (inclusion/exclusion) indicating the only significant regression weight ($\beta= .35$, $p < .01$). Model 2 was also shown to be significant $R^2= 5.26$, $F(8,29)=$, $p < .01$. Examination of the coefficients indicated one significant regression coefficient- an interaction between rejection sensitivity and condition (inclusion/exclusion). This indicated that those excluded and high on rejection sensitivity were more willing to participate in peaceful action than those low on rejection sensitivity. This interaction is illustrated in Figure 1. Model three was also significant, $R^2= .53$, $F(9,28)=$, 3.47 $p < .01$, however, there was minimal difference in the R^2 and no significant regression coefficients.

Figure 1. A Graph demonstrating the interaction between condition (inclusion/exclusion) and rejection sensitivity (high/low) on willingness to participate in peaceful action

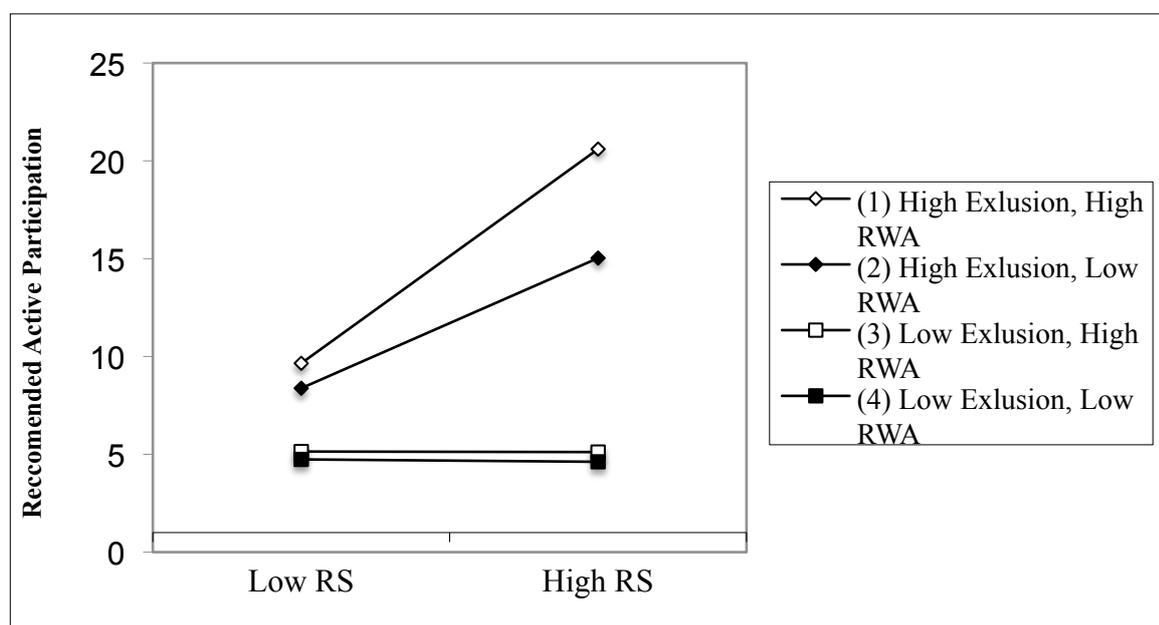


Severity of recommended action against the tuition fees. A linear regression examining the relationship between the independent variables and the three levels of recommended participation (peaceful, active and extreme participation) was conducted. The linear regression on the *peaceful participation* revealed that Model 1, Model 2 and Model 3 were all non-significant.

A linear regression was conducted to examine the relationship on *active participation* and it revealed that Model 1 was significant, $R^2=.357$, $F(5,32)=3.55$, $p < .05$. The regression coefficients revealed that only condition (inclusion/exclusion) provided a significant regression coefficient ($\beta=.44$, $p < .01$). Model 2 was also significant, $R^2=4.33$, $F(8,29)=2.76$, $p < .05$, however, there were no significant regression coefficients. Although, there was a non-significant interaction between rejection sensitivity and condition, that indicated a tendency towards the significant ($\beta=1.85$, $p = .08$), suggesting those high on rejection sensitivity and excluded are more likely to recommend active participation than those low on rejection sensitivity.

The linear regression revealed that Model 3 was significant, $R^2= .36$, $F(9,28)=3.36$, $p < .01$. In addition, the regression coefficients revealed a significant three-way interaction between condition, RWA and rejection sensitivity ($\beta=4.78$, $p < .05$). This interaction is presented in Figure 2. The figure demonstrates that those high on rejection sensitivity and RWA and are excluded are more likely to recommend more active participation than those low on rejection sensitivity or RWA or those not excluded.

Figure 2. A graph illustrating the three-way interaction between condition, rejection sensitivity and RWA on recommended active participation



The linear regression on *extreme participation* and the dependent variables indicated that all three models were significant: Model 1, $R^2 = .52$, $F(5,32) = 6.87$, $p < .01$; Model 2 $R^2 = .55$, $F(8, 29) = 4.49$, $p < 0.001$; Model 3 $R^2 = .55$, $F(9, 28) = 3.85$, $p < 0.01$. However, only Model 1 indicated significant regression weightings, with both exclusion from the group ($\beta = 3.41$, $p < 0.01$) and high rejection sensitivity ($\beta = 3.04$, $p < .01$) positively predicting an increase in recommendation of extreme action.

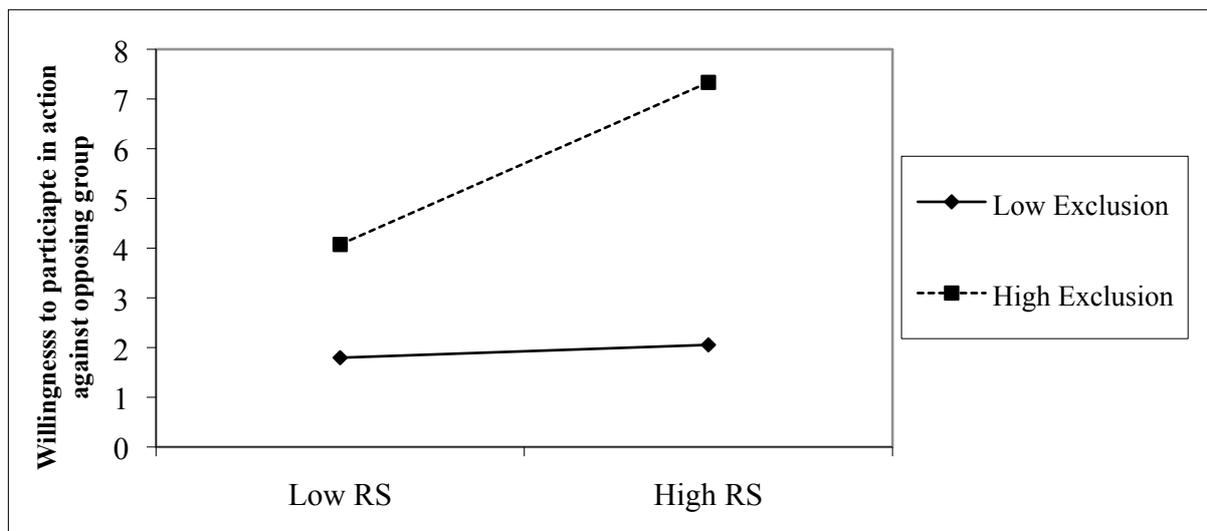
Effects Of Social Inclusion/Exclusion And Rejection Sensitivity On Justification, Desire And Recommendation Of Action Against An Opposing Group

As with the previous analyses a linear regression analysis was conducted to determine if the dependent variables (willingness to complete extreme action against an opposing group; and recommended action against an opposing group) could be predicted from the independent variables: inclusion/exclusion condition and rejection sensitivity. Again, we assessed if this was moderated by RWA.

The same models were used from the previous analyses, with levels of student identity and the importance of opposing tuition fees being first added to the model to ensure they were controlled for. Then the condition, rejection sensitivity and right-wing authoritarianism were added as predictors in the first model. In the second model, three two-way interactions were added: Condition X Rejection Sensitivity; Condition X RWA; and Rejection Sensitivity X RWA. In the third and final model, a three-way interaction between Condition X Rejection Sensitivity X RWA was added. As with the previous section, these models are used throughout all the preceding analyses.

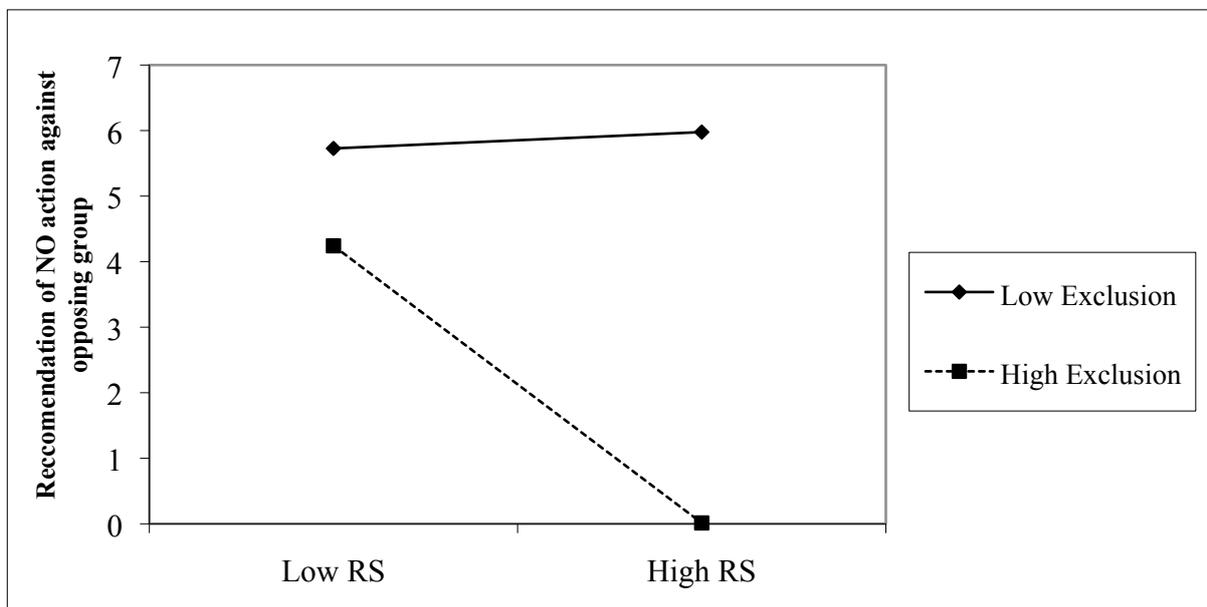
Willingness to participate in action against an opposing group. A linear regression was conducted to examine the relationship between the independent variables and the willingness to participate in extreme action against an opposing group. Model 1 was insignificant, $R^2 = .45$, $F(5,32) = 1.60$, $p > .05$, and none of the predictors resulted in a significant regression coefficient. However, Model 2 was significant, $R^2 = .64$, $F(8,29) = 2.57$, $p < .05$. The regression coefficients revealed that an interaction between rejection sensitivity and condition (inclusion/exclusion), was a significant predictor of willingness to participate in action against an opposing group ($\beta = 3.04$, $p < .005$). Specifically, it indicated that those high on rejection sensitivity and excluded were more willing to act against the opposing group than those low on rejection sensitivity and excluded (See Figure 3). Model 3 was significant, $R^2 = .648$, $F(9,28) = 2.25$, $p < .05$, but there were no significant regression coefficients.

Figure 3. A graph illustrating the interaction between condition and rejection sensitivity on willingness to participate in action against an opposing group



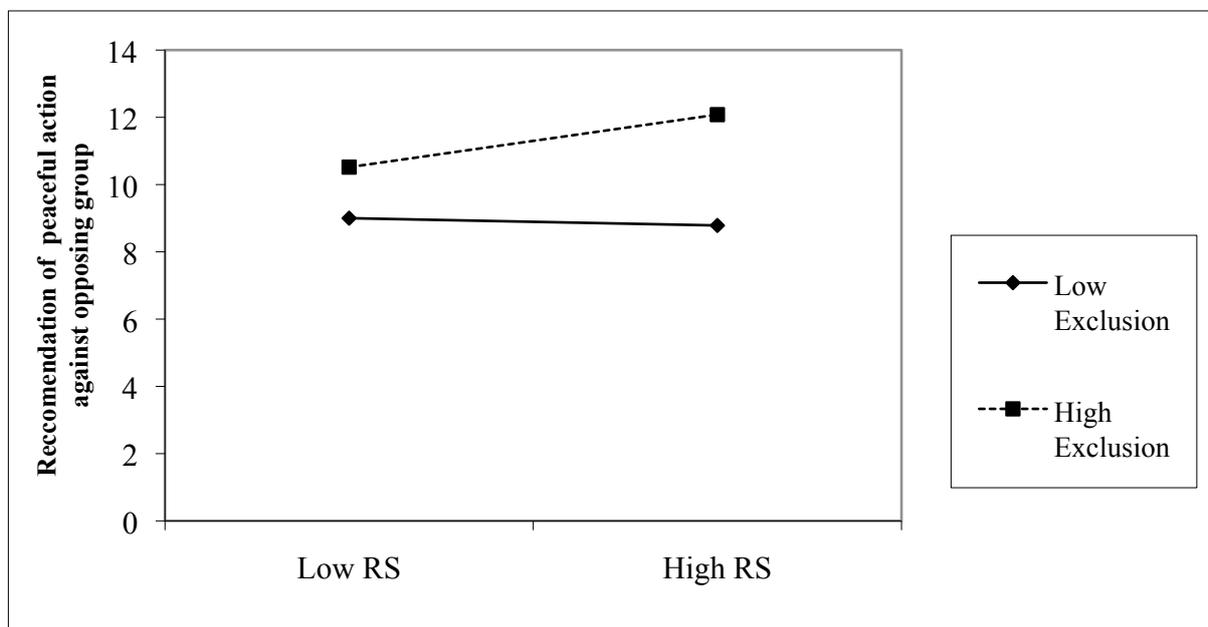
Severity of recommended action against an opposing group. A linear regression was conducted on the independent variables and four levels of recommended action against the opposing group. The four levels were: no action, peaceful action, active demonstration, and extreme action. The linear regression for *no action*, revealed that model 1 was not significant, $R^2=.19$, $F(5,32)=1.46$, $p>.05$. However, model 2 was significant, $R^2=.39$, $F(8,29)=2.30$, $p<.05$, and an interaction between condition (inclusion/exclusion) and rejection sensitivity was revealed ($\beta=-2.74$, $p<.01$). The interaction revealed that those high on rejection sensitivity disagreed with the recommendation to take no action against the group compared to those low on rejection sensitivity (See Figure 4). In other words, those high on rejection sensitivity did not feel a lack of action against the opposing group was the best course of action. Model 3 was not significant, $R^2=.41$, $F(9,28)=2.19$, $p>.05$.

Figure 4. A graph illustrating the interaction between condition and rejection sensitivity on recommendation of no activity against opposing group



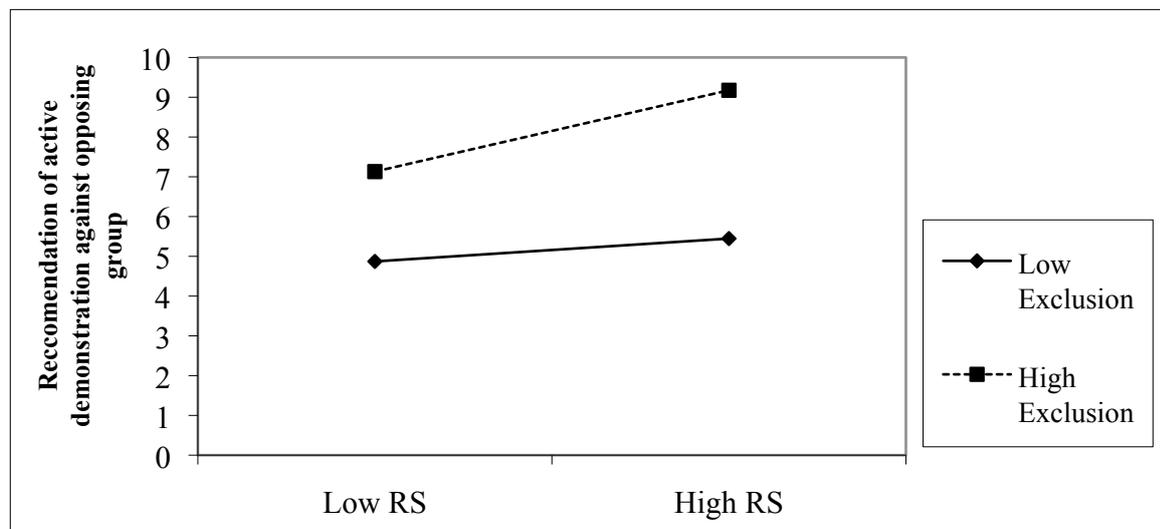
The linear regression for *peaceful action* indicated that Model 1 was not significant, $R^2=.19$, $F(5,32)=1.50$, $p> .05$. However, Model 2 was significant, $R^2=.49$, $F(8,29)=3.51$, $p< .01$ and it indicated a significant interaction between condition (inclusion/exclusion) and rejection sensitivity. This interaction is illustrated in Figure 5. The interaction indicates that those high on rejection sensitivity and excluded are more willing to participate in extreme action compared to those low on rejection sensitivity. Model 3 was also significant, $R^2=.49$, $F(9,28) = 3.01$, $p< .05$, however, there was no change in R^2 from Model 2 and no significant regression coefficients.

Figure 5. A graph illustrating the interaction between condition and rejection sensitivity on recommendation of peaceful activity



The linear regression for active demonstration against the opposing group indicated that model 1 was not significant, $R^2= .19$, $F(5,32)=1.46$, $p > .05$. However, there was a main effect of condition in the coefficients that inclined towards the significant. Model 2 was significant, $R^2= .41$, $F(8,29)= 2.53$, $p < .05$. An examination of the regression coefficients indicated a significant interaction between condition and rejection sensitivity ($\beta= 3.33$, $p< .005$). This interaction indicated that those high on rejection sensitivity were more likely to recommend active demonstration if they were excluded than those low on rejection sensitivity (See Figure 6). Model 3 was significant, $R^2= .44$, $F(8,29)= 2.53$, $p < .05$. However, there was minimal difference in R^2 and no significant regression coefficients.

Figure 6. A graph illustrating the interaction between condition and rejection sensitivity on recommendation of active demonstration



The linear regression on *extreme action* against the opposing group found that Model 1, Model 2 and Model 3 were all non-significant. Thus, indicating that no factors were able to predict recommendation of extreme action. Nevertheless, Model 1 was almost significant, $R^2 = .27$, $F(5,32) = 2.37$, $p = .61$ and the coefficients indicated that rejection sensitivity was tending towards the significant ($\beta = 3.04$, $p = .08$). Thus, indicating those high on rejection sensitivity were more likely to recommend extreme action.

Discussion

The results from the study indicate that following exclusion from a group, and reacceptance into another group, the participants were more willing to participate in and recommend extreme action. This extreme action included active demonstration, vandalism, violent protest and a non-specific action that was indicated to be at a greater extremity than the aforementioned examples. Thus, hypothesis one that stated that individuals who are excluded would be more willing to commit and recommend extreme political actions than those included was supported.

The results then assessed the interactions between the condition (inclusion/exclusion) and rejection sensitivity on willingness to participate and recommend extreme and active participation. This revealed no significant interactions. However, there was a non-significant tendency for those high on rejection sensitivity and excluded to be more willing to participate in active demonstration than those low on rejection sensitivity. Even so, hypothesis two which stated that individuals who are high on rejection sensitivity will be more willing to

participate in and recommend extreme actions than those low on rejection sensitivity following exclusion was rejected.

Nevertheless, a three-way interaction between condition (inclusion/exclusion), rejection sensitivity and RWA was revealed with regard to active participation (e.g. demonstration). This indicated that those higher on RWA and rejection sensitivity were more likely to recommend active participation (e.g. demonstration, occupation) when excluded than those low on rejection sensitivity and lower on RWA. Consequently, this result partially supported hypothesis 3 that stated RWA will moderate the interaction between condition (inclusion/exclusion) and rejection sensitivity, with those high on RWA being more likely to commit extreme action when excluded and high on rejection sensitivity, than those included or low on rejection sensitivity.

On the other hand, this three-way interaction was not found with extreme action or willingness to complete extreme action. It is suggested that this may have occurred as the active demonstration implied a group effort, for example, an occupation and a demonstration insinuate that it requires a group of people. This possibly provided the perception of an opportunity to fulfill the four needs which research indicates are thwarted following ostracism (Williams & Zadro, 2005). As discussed in the introduction, it was predicted that those high on RWA would have a greater impact on their need for meaningfulness and thus, the participants may have seen these social gatherings as an opportunity to fortify this need. Where as when it referred to the extreme action, other than violent protest, it had no explicit reference to a group action. Thus, it could be suggested that those high on RWA, who have been demonstrated to have a fear of deviance and rebelling, return to their typical stance with regard to them usually being against political action when the action is explicitly illegal, and there is no explicit reference to the participation of other group members (Butler, 2009). In other words, when ostracized their fear of deviance becomes second to the need to participate in group activities, where as when there is no explicit reference to a group action, their fear of deviance becomes priority but their need to belong and be part of a group is still having an effect. It is clearly not just a fear deviance by committing an illegal action, as there was no significant negative main effect of RWA on recommendation of extreme action. Nevertheless, hypothesis three was only partially supported.

Hypothesis four stated that there would be no difference between the participants' willingness to participate in and/or recommend peaceful action between the conditions (inclusion/exclusion). The results indicated that this hypothesis can be supported with regard to the participants' recommendation of the peaceful action, as there was no difference

between the two conditions. This is due to the majority of participants indicating high support for peaceful action regardless of the condition and this was predicted. However, a surprising result was found in conjunction with this result when assessing willingness to participate in peaceful action. The results indicated that those who were excluded were more willing to participate in peaceful action, therefore going against hypothesis four, as described above. In addition, it was shown that this was also moderated by rejection sensitivity. We had predicted that there would be no difference between the conditions regarding recommendation of peaceful action, as we believed those who supported extreme action, were also likely to support peaceful methods. However, after evaluating the items assessing willingness to participate in peaceful action, it became clear why this result might have occurred. The items referred to 'being involved in campus politics' and 'organizing group action'. Both of these items present social opportunities and consequently, the participants who were excluded may have been more receptive to these suggestions as a result of increased sensitivity to opportunities of social inclusion following ostracism (Pickett & Gardener, 2005). In addition, rejection sensitivity may have moderated this as previous research has indicated when social support for a cause is high, individuals high on rejection sensitivity are more willing to actively participate in political actions (Bäck et al., working paper). The newspaper article provided to the participants clearly demonstrated the extreme efforts the group had gone through to prevent the tuition fee increase in London. Hence, the participant was likely to deduce that social support from the group against the fees was high. Consequently, it is suggested that they were more willing to participate in and organize active group politics after being rejected and excluded as it provided them with an opportunity to socialize. Furthermore, the recommended peaceful action was a petition online and thus presented no social opportunity. Consequently, it explained why there was no difference between the conditions (inclusion/exclusion) on the participants recommended peaceful action.

In summary, there is a clear relationship between exclusion and rejection sensitivity with regard to extreme action against the proposed fees. The results clearly suggest that those who are excluded are more willing to participate in and/or recommend extreme action. Furthermore, this effect is particularly pronounced when there is reference to group participation, as it is suggested it indicates an opportunity to socialize. In addition, although hypothesis two and three were not wholly supported there is evidence to suggest that in some cases, and again particularly when there are opportunities for social interaction, there was a moderating effect of rejection sensitivity and RWA.

In the second section of the study we assessed the participants' willingness to participate in extreme action against an opposing group. In addition, it assessed what specific action the participants recommended should be taken against the opposing group. The results indicated that there was no main effect of condition (inclusion/exclusion) on willingness to participate in extreme action. Furthermore, there was no main effect of condition (inclusion/exclusion) on the four levels of severity of recommended action against the group: no action, peaceful action, active demonstration and extreme action. Consequently, hypothesis five that stated individuals who are excluded will be more willing to commit and recommend extreme actions against an opposing group than those included was rejected.

Nevertheless, the results indicated that there was an interaction between condition (inclusion/exclusion) and rejection sensitivity on willingness to participate in action and on all levels of recommended action, except extreme action e.g. sabotage. The results indicated that those high on rejection sensitivity and excluded strongly disagreed with the recommendation that no action should be taken against the opposing group compared to those low on rejection sensitivity. In keeping with this, those high on rejection sensitivity and excluded, were more likely to recommend peaceful action (e.g. a letter or public debate) and active participation (e.g. a demonstration at their headquarters). Thus, hypothesis six which stated individuals who are high on rejection sensitivity would be more willing to participate in and recommend more extreme actions against an opposing group than those low on rejection sensitivity following exclusion was supported.

The results clearly indicate that if an individual is high on rejection sensitivity, and excluded they were more willing to participate in extreme action against the opposing group, and in turn, were more likely to recommended action against the group, although this was limited to peaceful action or active demonstration. The reason for the low results found in the recommendation of extreme action may be the result of the similar issue discussed with regard to action against the opposing group. The insignificant result with regard to extreme action may be the result of the perception that the extreme action might be committed unaccompanied rather than by the group (e.g. sabotage and vandalism). The peaceful and active demonstrations involve social gatherings (e.g. protest or debate) and thus this may be the reason why individuals were more eager to recommend these actions as they provide an opportunity for social interaction, and in return, a sense of belonging. However, unlike the results discussed in the previous section, RWA was not a moderating factor here and thus hypothesis seven that stated RWA would moderate the interaction between rejection sensitivity and the condition was rejected.

The results provide strong support for the research that has previously demonstrated that following ostracism individuals may be more ingratiation, especially to a new and accepting group (Maner et al., 2007). This project has complimented this previous research indicating that even if the action is extreme, and in the case of action opposing the tuition fees also illegal, the participants were more willing to participate and recommend such action when presented with an article indicating the group has completed extreme action in the past.

In spite of this, there is a limitation to this research and that is with regard to whether they are conforming to the group norms to fulfill a sense of belonging and self-esteem or whether they are acting in an aggressive manner to restore control and a feeling of meaningfulness. Thus, if there were less time-constraints, it would have been beneficial to add a second manipulation regarding the extremity of the action presented in the article. As described previously, the article described action that the group had taken in the past and this action was extreme (vandalism). Therefore, it may have been interesting to add an article whereby the previous action was more peaceful (e.g. petition). An interaction between the condition, rejection sensitivity and the two articles (peaceful versus extreme) could have then been assessed and as a result, it would have been possible to assess if the increase in willingness to participate and recommended extreme action following ostracism was an ingratiation reaction (e.g. conforming to past group action) or the result of increased aggression. Furthermore, we would of also been able to assess if individuals are more ingratiation and conformist following ostracism and they join a negative group that provides the opportunity to act aggressively (as in this research) whether a combination of these factors result in a 'lethal cocktail' of factors and lead to a much higher rate of extreme action.

Nevertheless, it does appear that the results are likely to be the product of an ingratiation action as when participants were presented with no reference of past action when asked to recommend action against the opposing group, the participants who were excluded were *not* more likely to recommend extreme action against the group, even though the results indicated they recommended extreme action against the fees. Thus, it could be suggested that although they were more willing to recommend less extreme action against the group, the fear of future rejection prevented them from indicating more extreme action as they were trying to act in a way to please the group by choosing the middle level of extremity. Consequently, it may have been beneficial to provide the participants with a reference of how the group had dealt with opposing groups in the past as a reference to conform to.

In addition to the aforementioned limitations, another issue is the lack of a control group. Due to time constraints it was felt that it was best to assess the relationship between

being excluded and included on extreme action. Consequently, the significant difference between the groups may be the result of the included group acting in a more peaceful manner rather than the extreme group acting in a more anti-social manner. Thus, a third group that acted as a control, in which participants just received the articles and questionnaires and did not experience the inclusion/exclusion manipulation with the fictional group representative, may have been beneficial. This would have allowed us to assess the differences between the inclusion/exclusion groups but also the differences between the inclusion group and exclusion group in comparison to the control. As a result, we would have been able to more accurately pin point the exact mechanism that resulted in the difference. That being said, the literature presented in the introduction clearly indicated that when the four-needs are thwarted this can lead to an individual demonstrating increased conformity and aggression (Williams et al., 2000; Warburton et al., 2006). The manipulation check indicated that those who were excluded had indicated a significantly higher threat to the four-needs, and accordingly, it is believed that the results are the consequence of exclusion leading to more extreme action rather than the inclusion resulting in more pro-social actions. Although, the manipulation check revealed no decreased mood following ostracism. However, this is very common in ostracism research and is said to be the result of 'emotional numbing' or 'cognitive destruction' (Twenge et al., 2001). Thus, this was felt not to indicate a lack of manipulation, as the previous research is still split on whether ostracism results in decreased mood or not.

The final limitation of the study refers to the gender assignment in each condition. As discussed in the methods section, to ensure random assignment, the participants were placed in a condition depending on the questionnaire they self-selected. It was assumed that using this method would likely result in relatively equal numbers of male and females in each condition. Surprisingly, this was not the case and as described previously, our assignment resulted in many more female participants in the exclusion condition than male participants, and vice versa for the inclusion condition. The unequal gender assignment may have implications for the result. Previous research has indicated that females may be more ingratulatory following exclusion as they tend to blame themselves for the ostracism, where as males blame the group or external factors (Williams & Sommer, 1997). Furthermore, there is also research to suggest that females who are high on rejection sensitivity are more hostile in reaction to suggestions of rejection, than males high on rejection sensitivity (Downey, Freitas, Michealis, & Khouri, 1998). In addition, females who are high on rejection sensitivity are also more likely to perceive their rejecters as more negative (Ayduk, et al.,

1999). Thus, the significant results found may not be able to be completely attributed to the exclusion but rather the result of gender biasing. Nevertheless, this still has important implications and is a point to consider when focusing on future research. It may be beneficial to repeat this experiment with equal gender assignment and assess if gender has an interaction with rejection sensitivity and ostracism on the extreme action measure. Furthermore, it is in line with the previous research and thus provides further support for continuing to evaluate the role of ostracism in extreme actions.

Although the limitations appear quite extensive, all the results are in line with previous research and findings. Furthermore, they are not limitations that discredit the results but rather refer to limitations that occurred due to the time constraints not allowing for more factors to be investigated. The research clearly indicates that ostracism and exclusion can lead to more extreme action and furthermore, if you are high on rejection sensitivity this may also lead to a greater desire to recommend and participate in action against an opposing group. The gender bias in the assignment of the conditions, may be contributing to the significant result but this is still of great importance. As stated, this is in line with previous research and provides an opportunity for further study assessing gender differences and extreme action as a result of ostracism.

This research has provided greater understanding of political participation and extreme group action and therefore is likely to have consequences for applied psychology and may also provide the opportunity for practical application. The research in the introduction described the increasing amount of research exploring the social motivations for joining and participating in political action (Bäck et al., 2011). The results provided by this research clearly indicate that this is likely to be the case. As discussed, the research and subsequent analyses demonstrated that participants were more willing to participate and recommend extreme act on behalf of a new and accepting group. However, the strongest effect appears to be on actions resulting in social interaction e.g. organizing group activities, active demonstrations and university 'sit-ins' or occupations. Thus, this can have serious implications with regard to understanding of how and why people get involved in extreme political participation.

These results may have dramatic consequences in the consideration how of individuals can commit the atrocious acts as those seen in terrorism. As presented previously there is an increasing amount of research to consider the role social isolation plays in understanding the spike in the incomprehensible violence seen in school shooting and other similar attacks (Twenge, 2000). Our results demonstrated that even after controlling for the

individuals thoughts and feelings regarding the importance of the political cause, the effect was still apparent. Thus, it is plausible to suggest that if the cause was of great importance for the individual, they experience ostracism and are given the opportunity to join an extremist group, based on this research it is likely that they will be more willing to act in an extremist way on behalf of the group. Furthermore, the results indicated that high RWA can moderate this effect, with those high on RWA and rejection sensitivity and excluded than those low on these factors. This result is surprising, as those high on RWA tend to have a pro-capitalistic view, which normally indicates that they would be more willing to examine the benefits of the fees. Thus, what could be of concern would be the consideration of action on behalf of things associated with high RWA, for example, religious causes. Consequently, it is plausible to suggest that if this study was repeated using, for example, anti-abortion protests, the results could indicate a greater willingness to participate in extreme action. In summary, unfortunately it seems quite likely that ostracism and social exclusion may play a role in individuals being radicalized and joining extremist political groups, although this is likely to be moderated by rejection sensitivity and RWA.

This is a new area of research and as a result there are many factors that could not be assessed in this study but warrant great importance for future consideration. An important factor to consider is the effect that multiple episodes ostracism or long-term ostracism has on an individual's political decision making. Ostracism research is beginning to consider societal level and intercultural exclusion and this is likely to have huge implications in relation to this research. If one group is continuously excluded within a society, this may have implications regarding the extremity of the political parties that excluded groups in society vote for or the extremity of their political participation. An increasing multicultural and diverse society is likely to be enhancing these issues and if individuals are forced to assimilate to mainstream values, they may feel excluded from society if they do not integrate. Thus, in line with the above this is likely to lead to an increasing amount of individuals joining extremist groups, for example, terrorist organizations or extremist right wing parties.

In summary, this research has provided a promising explanation for why individuals may join extremist groups or participate in extremist activity. It is important to continue to consider the reasons why it occurs and not just assume it is due to a strong devotion to the cause. There is clear evidence for people to consider the roots of political activism and extremism within psychology rather than just examining it as a purely political phenomenon. This investigation has highlighted an area that is lacking in research and hopefully it will be the necessary platform for future research considering the mechanisms of social exclusion

and ostracism with regard to extreme action. As presented in the introduction, ostracism was a word that originated to describe a technique used to prevent political rebellion and uprising. However, in an ironic twist, this research appears to indicate our modern day version of ostracism results in the one thing it was created to prevent: political activism.

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Appendix A

Bakgrundsfrågor

Deltagare:

Din ålder: _____ år Kön: (m/k): _____

Nedan beskrivs ett antal situationer där man frågar andra om hjälp eller dylikt. Försök sätta dig in i dessa situationer.

A) Du närmar dig en vän för att prata efter ha gjort eller sagt något som kan ha upprört henne/honom väldigt mycket.

- Hur orolig skulle du vara över huruvida din vän skulle vilja prata med dig?

Inte alls orolig	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mycket orolig
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- Hur sannolikt tror du det är att din vän skulle vilja prata med dig?

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mycket sannolikt
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B) Du har blivit arbetslös och du frågar dina närmaste om du kan bo hos dem ett tag.

- Hur orolig skulle du vara över huruvida dina närmaste skulle låta dig bo hos dem?

Inte alls orolig	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mycket orolig
------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------

- Hur sannolikt tror du det är att dina närmaste skulle låta dig bo hos dem

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mycket sannolikt
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C) Du ringer din partner efter ett stort bråk och säger till honom/henne att du vill träffas (om du inte har en partner för tillfället, föreställ dig att du hade det).

- Hur orolig skulle du vara över huruvida din partner skulle vilja träffas?

Inte alls orolig	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mycket orolig
------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------

- Hur sannolikt tror du att det skulle vara att din partner skulle vilja träffas?

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mycket sannolikt
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(D) Du har dåligt med pengar och du frågar dina närmaste (t ex familj, nära vänner) om du kan få låna pengar av dem för att betala din hyra eller en annan viktig utgift.

- Hur orolig skulle du vara över huruvida dina närmaste skulle låna dig pengar?

Inte alls orolig	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mycket orolig
------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------

- Hur sannolikt tror du det är att dina närmaste skulle låna dig pengar?

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mycket sannolikt
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(E) Du ber dina närmaste (t ex familj, nära vänner) att komma till ett tillfälle som är viktigt för dig.

- Hur orolig skulle du vara över huruvida de skulle komma?

Inte alls orolig	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mycket orolig
------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------

- Hur sannolikt tror du det är att de skulle komma?

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mycket sannolikt
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(F) Du ber en nära vän att göra dig en stor tjänst.

- Hur orolig skulle du vara över huruvida han/hon skulle göra dig denna tjänst?

Inte alls orolig	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mycket orolig
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- Hur sannolikt tror du det är att han/hon skulle göra dig denna tjänst?

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mycket sannolikt
---------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------------

(G) Du frågar din partner om han/hon älskar dig (om du inte har en partner för tillfället, föreställ dig att du hade det)

- Hur orolig skulle du vara över huruvida han/hon skulle säga ja?

Inte alls orolig	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mycket orolig
------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------

- Hur sannolikt tror du det är att han/hon skulle säga ja?

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mycket sannolikt
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(H) Du är på en social tillställning (t ex fest) och känner ingen annan, men bestämmer dig för att börja prata med en person som står i närheten av dig.

- Hur orolig skulle du vara över huruvida han/hon skulle vilja prata med dig?

Inte alls orolig	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mycket orolig
------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------

- Hur sannolikt tror du det är att han/hon skulle vilja prata med dig?

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6
Mycket sannolikt						

Ange hur bra eller dåligt du anser att följande påståenden är. Vänligen ringa in den siffra som stammer bäst överens med din uppfattning.

1) För att stoppa de radikala och omoraliska strömningar som råder i dagens samhälle behövs en kraftfull ledare.

Mycket dåligt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket bra
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2) Vårt land behöver fria tänkare som har mod att sätta sig upp mot traditionella levnadssätt, även om det upprör många.

Mycket dåligt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket bra
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3) Det bästa sättet att leva är fortfarande enligt gamla värderingar.

Mycket dåligt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket bra
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4) Vårt samhälle skulle må bäst om vi visade tolerans och förståelse för otraditionella värderingar och synsätt.

Mycket dåligt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket bra
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5) Guds lagar om abort, pornografi och äktenskap måste strikt följas innan det är för sent, brott mot dessa borde bestraffas.

Mycket dåligt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket bra
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6) Samhället behöver visa öppenhet mot oliktankande, snarare än en stark ledare, världen är inte särskilt ond eller farlig.

Mycket dåligt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket bra
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7) Det vore bäst om tidningar censurerades så att människor inte får tag på skadligt och motbjudande material.

Mycket dåligt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket bra
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8) Många bra människor utmanar statsmakterna, kritiserar kyrkan och struntar i "det normala sättet att leva".

Mycket dåligt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket bra
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9) Våra förfäder borde hyllas mer för att de byggt upp vårt samhälle, samtidigt borde man sätta stopp för krafter som raserar det.

Mycket dåligt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket bra
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10) Människor borde lägga mindre tonvikt på bibeln och religion, istället borde de utveckla sin egen livsmoral.

Mycket dåligt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket bra
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11) Det finns många radikala, omoraliska människor som försöker förstöra för andra, samhället borde sätta stopp för dessa.

Mycket dåligt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket bra
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12) Det är bättre att acceptera dålig litteratur än att censurera den.

Mycket dåligt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket bra
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13) Fakta visar att vi måste slå ner hårdare på brottslighet och sexuell omoral för att upprätthålla lag och ordning.

Mycket dåligt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket bra
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14) Situationen i dagens samhälle skulle förbättras om uppviglare behandlades med förnuft och humanitet..

Mycket dåligt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket bra
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15) Om samhället så medger är det varje rättskaffens medborgares plikt att hjälpa till att utrota det onda som förgiftar vårt samhälle inifrån.

Mycket dåligt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket bra
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Följande uttalanden handlar om hur du känner dig i sociala situationer. Ange i vilken utsträckning varje påstående stämmer in på dig. Det finns inte några rätt eller fel svar – vi är intresserade av din åsikt. Fundera inte alltför länge innan du svarar, ditt första intryck är ofta det bästa.

16. Jag kan förändra mitt beteende när det är lämpligt.

Stämmer inte alls	1	2	3	4	5	Stämmer helt
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17. Jag kan avläsa andras känslor genom deras ögon.

Stämmer inte alls	1	2	3	4	5	Stämmer helt
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18. Jag kan kontrollera hur jag uppfattas av andra människor.

Stämmer inte alls	1	2	3	4	5	Stämmer helt
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19. Jag är känslig för små förändringar i andras ansiktsuttryck.

Stämmer inte alls	1	2	3	4	5	Stämmer helt
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20. Jag har en intuitiv förmåga att förstå andra.

Stämmer inte alls	1	2	3	4	5	Stämmer helt
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21. Jag märker om andra tycker att ett skämt är opassande.

Stämmer inte alls	1	2	3	4	5	Stämmer helt
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22. Jag kan lätt ändra min image.

Stämmer inte alls	1	2	3	4	5	Stämmer helt
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23. Jag märker när jag sagt något opassande.

Stämmer inte alls	1	2	3	4	5	Stämmer helt
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24. Jag har svårt att anpassa mitt beteende till olika människor.

Stämmer inte alls	1	2	3	4	5	Stämmer helt
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25. Jag kan justera mitt beteende efter varje situation.

Stämmer inte alls	1	2	3	4	5	Stämmer helt
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26. Jag märker när någon ljuger för mig.

Stämmer inte alls	1	2	3	4	5	Stämmer helt
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27. Jag har svårt att uppvisa en korrekt yta.

Stämmer inte alls	1	2	3	4	5	Stämmer helt
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28. Jag kan reglera mina handlingar på ett passande sätt.

Stämmer inte alls	1	2	3	4	5	Stämmer helt
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Nedan följer några frågor om hur du ser på dig själv. Ringa in ett av alternativen nedan för varje skala.

29. Jag ser mig själv som en student.

Stämmer inte alls helt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Stämmer
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30. Jag är glad över att vara student.

Stämmer inte alls helt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Stämmer
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31. Jag identifierar mig med andra studenter.

Stämmer inte alls helt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Stämmer
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32. Jag känner samhörighet med andra studenter.

Stämmer inte alls helt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Stämmer
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Appendix B

DN.se

Publicerad tisdag 15 april 2013

Studentavgifter introduceras på svenska universitet

Efter några tuffa år som ett resultat av den globala ekonomiska krisen, har den sittande regeringen nu annonserat en plan för att säkra det svenska samhällets framtida välstånd.

Ett av förslagen är att introducera terminsavgifter för alla som vill ta del av högre utbildning. Ett av de argument som framfördes var att den nuvarande europeiska ekonomin har resulterat i ett behov av extrema åtgärder och att den nuvarande budgeten inte är tillräcklig för att garantera alla en gratis utbildning.

Som ett resultat togs beslutet att terminsavgifter ska introduceras för att säkra de svenska universitetens kvalitetsrankning som nu är bland de högsta i världen. Utan introduktion av terminsavgifter och med tanke på de nära förestående budgetnedskärningarna som kommer att drabba de flesta institutioner, fruktade man att dessa nedskärningar skulle ha en skadlig effekt på det svenska högre utbildningsväsendets kvalitet och rykte.

Utbildningsministern, Jan Björklund, citerades när han gjorde följande uttalande; "Detta är en sorglig dag och en som vi försökte göra vårt bästa för att undvika i det längsta. Med det sagt så anser vi att detta är ett nödvändigt steg för att garantera framtiden för det svenska utbildningssystemet."

Beslutet möttes med blandade reaktioner där många ansåg att det "skulle hända förr eller senare" och med många som uttryckte förståelse för att regeringar tvingas till hårda beslut i det nuvarande ekonomiska klimatet.

Många kände emellertid att nedskärningar istället skulle kunna göras på andra ställen och att det här beslutet hotar framtiden för dagens ungdom. En rektor från ett av landets största universitet gjorde följande uttalande; "Detta är ett beslut som jag helt motsätter mig. Det kommer att få stora konsekvenser för de som inte har de ekonomiska förutsättningarna för att kunna gå på universitetet. Jag anser att alla medborgare har lika rätt till utbildning och jag kommer göra vad jag kan för att motarbeta beslutet."

Regeringen kommer att släppa fler detaljer angående det här förslaget under de följande månaderna och hoppas på att ha alla förberedelser klara vid slutet av sommaren.

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Appendix C

När du har läst igenom artikeln noga så var vänlig och besvara följande frågor. Vi ber dig att vara så ärlig som möjligt. Var vänlig och besvara dessa på en skala från 1 till 7, där 1 = Håller inte alls med och 7 = Håller helt med

A. Jag motsätter mig *inte* terminsavgifter.

Håller inte alls med	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Håller helt med
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B. Terminsavgifter borde förbjudas oavsett hur stora fördelarna av att införa dessa är.

Håller inte alls med	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Håller helt med
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C. Om terminsavgifter införs nu borde det inte tillåtas höjningar oavsett hur stora fördelarna är av dessa är.

Håller inte alls med	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Håller helt med
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D. Min egen roll i det här har betydelse. Om min egen regering tillåter terminsavgifter har jag en större plikt att stoppa dem än om någon annan regering gör det, även om jag skulle ha lika stort inflytande över båda regeringar.

Håller inte alls med	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Håller helt med
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E. I offentliga diskussioner om terminsavgifter är det mer effektivt att överdriva vilken kontroll våra motståndare besitter.

Håller inte alls med	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Håller helt med
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F. I offentliga diskussioner om terminsavgifter det moraliskt rätt att överdriva vilken kontroll våra motståndare besitter.

Håller inte alls med	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Håller helt med
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G. Det är omöjligt att för mig att tänka på hur många fördelar vi skulle kräva av införandet av terminsavgifter för att gå med på det.

Håller inte alls med	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Håller helt med
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H. Det är lika fel att införa låga terminsavgifter som att införa höga. Storleken på kostnaden är oväsentlig.

Håller inte alls med	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Håller helt med
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Appendix D

Studentprotester mot terminsavgifter utmynnar i våldsamheter

Demonstranter krossade fönster och klättrade upp på taket på konservativa partiets (Tories) högkvarter, samtidigt som uppskattningsvis 50,000 människor deltog i protesterna.

Paul Lewis, Jeevan Vasagar, Rachel Williams and Matthew Taylor
guardian.co.uk, Onsdag 10 November 2012 17.50 GMT

Demonstranter krossade fönster och viftade med anarkistflaggor från taket på den byggnad som huserar det konservativa partiets partihögkvarter då delar av den stora demonstrationen mot nedskärningar på universitetet utmynnade i våldsamheter.



Skalan på London-demonstrationen trotsade alla förväntningar, med uppskattningsvis 50 000 deltagare som dök upp för att ta ut sina aggressioner på regeringens planer på att höja terminsavgifterna samtidigt som man skär ner på det statliga stödet till universitetsundervisning.

Demonstranterna som separerade från demonstrationstågets huvudväg ockuperade lobbyn på byggnaden vid Millbank 30, i centrala London, där polis med batonger drabbade samman med en folkmassa som kastade delar av plakat, ägg och flaskor.

Aktivister som hade maskerat sina ansikten med halsdukar utväxlade knytnävsslag med polisen till ropen av ”Tory avskum”. Utbytet spelades in av nyhetsföretagens helikopterkameror och demonstranternas mobiltelefoner.

Polisen meddelade att åtminstone åtta personer, ”en blandning av poliser och demonstranter”, hade blivit skadade, samtidigt som flera hade blivit gripna. Kravallpolis tros ha varit inne i Millbank tower och försökt återupprätta ordningen.

Dagens stora demonstration var organiserad av [Europeiska Student Unionen/Internationella

Student Unionen]¹ (EUS/IUS). [EUS/IUS] har attackerat regeringens planer på att höja terminsavgifterna så högt som 9000 pund medan man samtidigt inför 40% nedskärningar i universitetsundervisningens budget.

De högre avgifterna kommer att införas för studenter på grundutbildningar från och med 2012 om förslaget går igenom i det engelska parlamentets underhus med en omröstning som ska hållas före jul.

[EUS/IUS] ordförande har sagt att demonstrationen var den största studentdemonstrationen sedan flera generationer tillbaka, och har sagt till demonstranterna att ”Vi är i en kamp för våra liv... vi står inför en aldrig tidigare skådad attack på vår framtid innan den ens har börjat.”

”De förespråkar barbariska nedskärningar som skulle brutalisera våra högskolor och universitet. Den här ”eländiga visionen” kommer att bekämpas”, sa han, och vädjade till studenter att protesterera och tillade: ”Detta är bara början... motståndet börjar här”

Den här demonstrationen banar vägen för andra aktioner av [EUS/IUS] för att bekämpa en introduktion eller höjning av terminsavgifter i andra av EUs medlemsstater.

En representant för [EUS/IUS] i Sverige har uttalat sig om saken, ”Det faktum att vår utbildning för närvarande är gratis i Sverige representerar allt som vi står för; vi vill ha lika möjligheter för alla i Sverige. Introduktionen av terminsavgifter begränsar tillgången till lika utbildning och kommer att ha ett skadligt inflytande på vår utbildning. Vi kommer att motsätta oss införandet av terminsavgifter”.

Samma sak inträffar över hela Europa med [EUS/IUS] som för närvarande planerar protester i Spanien, Tyskland och Tjeckien.

Höjningen av terminsavgifter och introduktionen av avgifter i länder som tidigare varit befriade från dem är tecken på det tuffa ekonomiska klimat som eurozonen för närvarande går igenom. En utbredd ökning i arbetslösheten, och en ökad inflation resulterar i att länder måste vidta omfattande åtgärder. Frågan är dock vad kostnaden för dessa åtgärder kommer att bli för dagens ungdom?

¹ This was changed depending on the group: Internationella for included or Europeiska for excluded

Appendix E

Nedan följer några frågor om hur du uppfattar organisationens handlingar. Var vänlig och besvara dessa på en skala från 1 till 7, där 1 = Inte alls acceptabelt och 7 = Mycket acceptabelt.

1) Hur acceptabel anser du att organisationens handlingar tidigare i år var?

Inte alls acceptabla	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket acceptabla
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2) Anser du att mer fredliga handlingar/aktioner är acceptabla?

Inte alls acceptabla	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket acceptabla
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3) Anser du att mer extrema handlingar (t ex våldsamma aktioner) är acceptabla?

Inte alls acceptabla	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket acceptabla
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Nu följer några frågor om ifall du anser att organisationens handlingar var rättfärdiga. Var vänlig och besvara nedanstående frågor på en skala från 1 till 7, där 1 = Inte alls rättfärdig, till 7 = Absolut rättfärdig

4) Anser du att handlingen tidigare i år var rättfärdigad?

Inte alls rättfärdigad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Absolut rättfärdigad
------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----------------------

5) Anser du att mer extrema handlingar är rättfärdigade?

Inte alls rättfärdigade	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Absolut rättfärdigade
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6) Anser du att endast fredliga handlingar är rättfärdigade?

Inte alls rättfärdigade	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Absolut rättfärdigade
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Nedan följer några frågor om vad du själv skulle kunna tänka dig att göra för att stoppa införandet av terminsavgifter. Var vänlig och besvara nedanstående frågor på en skala från 1 till 7, där 1 = Inte alls sannolikt, till 7 = Mycket sannolikt

7) Om du hade haft möjlighet att delta, skulle du då ha kunna tänka dig att delta i vandaliseringen av universiteten som organisationen organiserade tidigare i år?

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket sannolikt
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8) Skulle du kunna tänka dig att delta i en fredligare aktion?

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket sannolikt
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9) Skulle du kunna tänka dig att delta i mer extrema handlingar än vandalisering?

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket sannolikt
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10) Skulle du kunna tänka dig att bidra ekonomiskt till mer extrema aktioner?

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket sannolikt
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11) Om så är fallet hur mycket skulle du vara villig att donera?kr

12) Skulle du kunna tänka dig att gå med i en organisation som är involverad i universitetspolitiken?

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket sannolikt
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13) Skulle du kunna tänka dig att organisera sammankomster med målsättningen att förhindra implementeringen av kursavgifter?

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket sannolikt
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14) Organisationens målsättning är att organisera fler framtida aktioner och skulle vara tacksam över att få veta vad du skulle rekommendera som en effektiv och lämplig strategi. Var vänlig och ange i vilken utsträckning som du skulle rekommendera följande åtgärder:

a) Namnsamling på internet

Rekommenderas inte	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Rekommenderas högt
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b) En ockupation av universitetsområden.

Rekommenderas inte	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Rekommenderas högt
--------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------

c) En aktiv demonstration utanför en universitetsbyggnad, t. ex protester

Rekommenderas inte	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Rekommenderas högt
--------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------

d) Ytterligare vandalism

Rekommenderas inte	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Rekommenderas högt
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e) Våldsamma protester

Rekommenderas inte	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Rekommenderas högt
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f) Ännu extremare handlingar är nödvändiga för att stoppa förslaget

Rekommenderas inte	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Rekommenderas högt
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Som en organisation överväger vi även att vidta handlingar mot organisationen [Internationella/Europeiska]² Studentunionen ". Den här organisationen motsätter sig våra åsikter och mål och som en konsekvens av detta så hindrar den vår förmåga att effektivt verka i frågan om att hindra införandet av kursavgifter. Vi skulle vara intresserade av att få höra dina synpunkter angående möjligheten att vidta åtgärder mot dem.

Vänligen besvara följande frågor på en skala från 1 till 7, där 1 är inte alls rättfärdigat och 7 är mycket rättfärdigat.

15) Anser du att det skulle vara rättfärdigat att vidta åtgärder *mot* den här gruppen?

Inte alls rättfärdigat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket rättfärdigat
------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------

16) Anser du att fredliga handlingar *mot* den här gruppen vore rättfärdigade?

Inte alls rättfärdigat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket rättfärdigat
------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------

17) Anser du att extrema handlingar *mot* den här gruppen vore rättfärdigade?

Inte alls rättfärdigat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket rättfärdigat
------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------

Var vänlig och besvara följande frågor på en skala från 1 till 7, där 1 är inte alls sannolikt och 7 är mycket sannolikt.

18) Om du hade möjligheten att delta, skulle du då kunna tänka dig att agera mot den Europeiska studentunionen?

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket sannolikt
---------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------------

19) Skulle du kunna tänka dig att delta i en fredlig handling?

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket sannolikt
---------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------------

20) Skulle du kunna tänka dig att delta i extrema handlingar, t. ex sabotage?

Inte alls sannolikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mycket sannolikt
---------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------------

Vänligen ange i vilken utsträckning du skulle rekommendera följande handlingar/aktioner mot gruppen som stödjer införandet av studieavgifter:

a) Ingen handling/aktion

Rekommenderas inte	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Rekommenderas högt
--------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------

² This was changed depending on the group: Internationella for included or Europeiska for excluded

- b) Att skicka ett brev till dem där vi förklarar hur vi som grupp har en avvikande syn på deras målsättning

Rekommenderas inte	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Rekommenderas högt
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- c) Att bjuda in dem till en offentlig debatt för att diskutera våra skilda åsikter

Rekommenderas inte	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Rekommenderas högt
--------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------

- d) Att aktivt demonstrera utanför deras huvudbyggnad, t. ex protester

Rekommenderas inte	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Rekommenderas högt
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- e) Att sabotera för dem

Rekommenderas inte	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Rekommenderas högt
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- f) Att vandalisera deras huvudbyggnad

Rekommenderas inte	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Rekommenderas högt
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Hur känner du inför förslaget att skära ner på utbildningen? Ringa in ett av alternativen nedan för varje skala.

12. Jag känner mig arg.

Stämmer inte alls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Stämmer helt
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13. Jag känner mig irriterad.

Stämmer inte alls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Stämmer helt
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15. Jag känner mig missnöjd.

Stämmer inte alls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Stämmer helt
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Vänligen meddela experimentledaren om att du har fyllt i det här frågeformuläret så kommer du att få de avslutande frågorna

Appendix F

Nedan följer ett antal frågor om hur Du känner Dig *just nu*. Ringa in den siffra som Du tycker passar bäst.

1. Hur bra mår du just nu?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inte alls bra								Mycket bra

2. Hur är ditt humör just nu?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Mycket Dåligt								Mycket bra

3. Hur glad är du just nu?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inte alls glad								Mycket glad

4. Hur avspänd känner du dig just nu?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Mycket spänd								Mycket avspänd

5. Hur uppjagad känner du dig just nu?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inte alls uppjagad								Mycket uppjagad

6. Hur arg känner du dig just nu?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inte alls arg								Mycket arg

Du blev tidigare ombedd att rekommendera åtgärder eller möjligtvis aktioner. för en grupp. Vilken grupp var det?

.....
.....

Blev du avvisad från någon grupp innan du placerades i den aktuella gruppen? I så fall, vilken?

.....
.....

Nedan följer ett antal påståenden om hur Du känner Dig i relation till den *Internationella Student Unionen (ISU)*. Ringa in den siffra som Du tycker passar bäst.

1. Jag kände mig inte accepterad av gruppen.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inte alls								I mycket hög utsträckning

2. Jag kände mig utanför när jag fick höra gruppens besked.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inte alls								I mycket hög utsträckning

3. Jag kände mig frustrerad när jag fick höra gruppens besked.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inte alls								I mycket hög utsträckning

4. Jag kände att jag hade kontroll över situationen.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inte alls								I mycket hög utsträckning

5. Jag kände att gruppen inte betraktade mig som en värdefull och trevlig person.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inte alls								I mycket hög utsträckning

6. Jag kände att jag inte riktigt passade in i gruppen.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inte alls								I mycket hög Utsträckning

7. Jag upplevde att det jag gjorde [t ex skriva om mig själv] hade en viss inverkan på gruppens beslut.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inte alls								I mycket hög Utsträckning

8. Jag kände det som om jag inte fanns för gruppen.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inte alls								I mycket hög utsträckning

9. Jag upplevde det som att min tillvaro var meningslös.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inte alls								I mycket hög Utsträckning

