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Sustained Social Movement Participation: Integration of Social Identity and Attribution Theories

By

Deryn M. Dudley

Claremont Graduate University
2019

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APPROVAL OF THE DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

This dissertation has been duly read, reviewed, and critiqued by the Committee listed below, which hereby approves the manuscript of Deryn M. Dudley as fulfilling the scope and quality requirements for meriting the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy in Psychology with a concentration in Applied Social Psychology.

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Abstract

Sustained Social Movement Participation: Integration of Social Identity and Attribution Theories

By
Deryn M. Dudley

Claremont Graduate University: 2019

Social movements can be an effective strategy through which to influence social change. However, setbacks and failures are often a part of the social movement process. Why then, in the face of failure do social movements persist? This pair of studies tested a proposed framework that drew from social identity and attribution literature in exploring the joint effects of group identification and attribution making in predicting social movement persistence. Study 1 was an experimental design conducted with a sample of 198 students that tested the first half of the framework to assess strength of identification as a moderator on the relationship between the outcome of a collective action campaign and the locus of causality, controllability and stability of the causes attributed to the outcome. Study 2 was conducted with 191 participants in the context of a real social movement and assessed the mediating effect of locus of causality, controllability, and stability on the relationship between the outcome of a collective action campaign, and the mediating effect of expectancy for future success on the relationship between the outcome of a collective action campaign and social movement persistence. Results from these studies suggest that the success of a collective action campaign predicts social movement persistence only to the extent that expectancy for future success is high. Expectancy for future success is predicted by the extent to which the causes of the campaign outcome are internal or controllable by the social movement group. Furthermore, the degree to which social movement participants attribute the campaign to internal and controllable causes is dependent on the strength of identification with the social movement group. The discussion focuses on theoretical and practical implications of the findings

for understanding social movement persistence, and particularly persistence under conditions of failure or low group performance.

Dedication

To my mother, Deborah Dudley, for without whom, this long journey would not have been possible.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: Social Movements and Collection Action

Social change is the alteration of the mechanisms currently at play within a social structure (Anele, 1999). Social change can often be a long and arduous process taking years or even decades to manifest and can happen naturally or by the collective power of individuals within a given society, community, or organization. One way in which people harness their collective power to create social change is through collective action. Collective action, defined as "a group member... acting as a representative of the group and where the action is directed at improving the conditions of the group as a whole" (Tropp & Wright, 2001, p. 203) is a popular method used to bring about change in society. Collective action may take many forms including advocacy and lobbying, protesting, and sharing of business practices (Tareen, 2013).

A social movement is a form of collective action that is used globally. Social movements are defined as “efforts by a large number of people who define themselves and are also often defined by others as a group, to solve collectively a problem they feel they have in common, and which is perceived to arise from their relations with other groups” (as cited in Simon et al., 1998, p. 647). The group in this case refers to the movement which encompasses people who are directly affected by the issue as well as allies of people affected by the issue. The gay rights movement is a powerful example of a social movement, which has focused primarily on equal rights for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) persons. Another example of a social movement is the civil rights movement, which brought a diverse group of people together to obtain equal rights for Blacks in the U.S.

The civil rights movement lasted approximately 13 years during its prime in the U.S. before Blacks achieved the right to vote, and is still on-going today with efforts such as Black

Lives Matter, while the gay rights movement has been ongoing for nearly six decades. Because of the length of time needed for social change to take place, it is important to consider the elements of a social movement or experiences with a social movement that influence how and why people persist in a social movement given the longevity needed for change to take place.

The Motivation for Social Movement Participation

Social change agents, such as activists, have started many social movements but not every movement remains active long enough to achieve the desired change. While social movement longevity does not inherently ensure change will happen, it is an important component for achieving success. Occupy Wall Street, and the marriage equality movements are two social movements that have taken place in the United States in the past decade. Occupy Wall Street dismantled before ever achieving economic equality while the marriage equality movement persevered through many setbacks and failures eventually achieving the right to marry for same-sex partners. It is difficult to predict whether Occupy Wall Street would have been successful in achieving economic equality even if the movement had persisted. One thing is clear: eight years later, economic inequality is still on the rise (“Income Inequality,” 2019). Why did participants fighting for marriage equality persist while those fighting for social and economic equality did not? Perhaps the disparate outcomes between these two movements were related to structural differences between the movements, strategic decisions that were made during the course of the movements, or the framing of the issue. It is likely that Occupy Wall Street participants had a different experience than participants of the marriage equality movement which resulted in persistence in one and discontinuation in the other. The current studies are designed to help illuminate what these differences might be.

A social movement is only successful when the people fighting for social change continue the fight until change takes place and experiences differ from movement to movement.

Much of the social psychological research on social movement behaviors focus on the factors that motivate people to join a social movement such as Klandermans work on the costs versus benefits of social movement participation (Klandermans, 1997, 1986, 1984). However, this research has not given much attention to why people stayed engaged in a movement over time and fails to consider peoples' experiences with the movement. The current research assesses the factors that influence persistence - the extent to which social movement participants continue with a social movement over time and in the face of challenges, setbacks, and even failure.

Attribution researchers have widely studied how people's experiences predict persistence in achievement-related tasks. Attribution theory (Heider, 1967; Kelley, 1967; Weiner, 1985) provides a framework for understanding how people cognitively process what caused a specific outcome. The causes attributed to an outcome are called causal attributions. These causal attributions affect peoples' motivation to continue or withdraw from engaging in the behavior in the future. Some causal attributions for success or lack thereof, are stronger motivators for persistence than other attributions. For instance, after a successful performance, internal causal attributions – attributions related to the individual or the group who participated in the task – have been found to be more predictive of task persistence than external causal attributions. Conversely, external causal attributions for failure are more predictive of persistence than internal causal attributions for failure. The relationship between attributions for success and task persistence has been supported in a number of domains including education (Weiner, 1985), health (Eiser et al., 1985), individual and group workplace performance (Crittendon & Wiley, 1980; Onifade, Harrison, & Cafferty, 1997; respectively), and leadership (Martinko, Harvey, & Douglas, 2007), among others. Essentially, success is more predictive of task persistence than is a failure. However, few researchers have studied attributions for success in a social movement

context. The current research borrows from theory and research on attribution to understand how attribution making impacts social movement persistence. Small wins, as well as setbacks, are a part of the social movement process, and as a result, it is important to consider the effect the attributional process has on social movement behaviors.

Attribution Theory

Research on task persistence draws from the attribution literature to explain how the outcomes from past behaviors and the causes that people ascribe to those outcomes predict future behaviors. Attribution theory describes the process whereby people attempt to understand the causes of specific events (Bell-Dolan & Anderson, 1999). The causes people attribute to the outcome of an achievement related event has much to do with whether they continue with that behavior in the future.

Weiner's Attributional Theory of Achievement Motivation and Emotion

Relevant to the current study is Weiner's attributional theory of achievement motivation and emotion (1985). Weiner's attributional theory of achievement motivation and emotion describes a process whereby causal attributions determine expectancy for future success, which in turn guide and motivate action. In an attempt to make meaning of past outcomes, people often attribute causes to a resultant outcome. For instance, if a student fails a math exam, she might ask herself, "Why did I fail?". Asking this question would lead her to think about the reasons why she might have failed the exam. The student may determine that failing her math exam was due to low math aptitude or due to low effort. Although the specific causal attribution for an outcome may vary, all possible causal attributions share the same underlying properties referred to as causal dimensions (Weiner, 1980). The causal dimensions serve as a classification system with which to organize and compare the causal attributions.

Weiner (1980) identified three causal dimensions: locus of causality, controllability, and stability. The first dimension, locus of causality, distinguishes between external (environmental) and internal (self) causes. Controllability refers to the amount of personal control over the perceived cause. Stability refers to the duration of the cause and whether the cause will remain stable or unstable over time. Every cause attributed to an outcome possesses the same three dimensions. Each dimension is rated along a continuum (e.g., more internal versus more external, more controllable versus more uncontrollable, and more stable versus more unstable). In illustrating this point, Weiner et al. (1980) identified four main causes attributed to success and failure in education – effort, ability, task difficulty, and luck. Accordingly, ability is internal, stable and uncontrollable; effort is internal, unstable and controllable; task difficulty is external, stable, and uncontrollable; and luck is external, unstable, and uncontrollable. These causal dimensions allow the researcher to compare the differences between causal attributions, as some causal attributions are more likely to lead to persistence than other causes depending on the outcome. For instance, if the cause of success is due to ability which is internal, uncontrollable, and stable, then persistence is likely. However, if the cause of success is due to luck, which is internal, uncontrollable, and unstable, then persistence is less likely. Having some basis on which to compare causes helps determine which causes will lead to persistence and which causes will lead to withdrawal.

Predicting persistence or withdrawal is not solely dependent on the causal attributions but also on the extent to which success is or is not expected in the future. Whether success is expected in the future is dependent on the causal attributions and their underlying dimensions. Empirical evidence suggests that all three causal dimensions predict expectancy for future success. For example, in one study, both locus of causality and controllability predicted

expectancy for future success (Forsyth & McMillan, 1981). In this study, participants completed measures of causal dimensions, affect, expectancies for success, and test performance after receiving their grades on an introductory psychology exam. Participants who passed the exam had greater expectancies for success when they attributed their success to internal and controllable causes compared to when they attributed their failure to internal and controllable causes. In another study, both stability and locus of causality were found to be significant predictors of expectancy for future success (Onifade et al., 1997). In this study, participants read a scenario which described a poor performance under their supervision and the causal attributions for the poor performance. Participants then estimated the project's future success based on the causal attributions. Poor performance attributed to internal and stable causes had lower expectancies for future success while poor performance attributed to external and unstable causes had higher expectancies for future success.

The greater the expectations for future success the more likely participants will persist with the specific task. In a study that assessed whether participants would resubmit a journal article for publication after an initial rejection, results revealed a significant correlation between the decision to resubmit the article and expectancy for future success – acceptance of the submission (Crittenden & Wiley, 1980). When expectancy for future success was relatively high, participants were more likely to resubmit the article, compared to when expectancy for future success was low. An empirical study on smoking cessation (Fucito, Toll, Roots, & King, 2016) and students' persistence on a basketball team (Cox & Whaley, 2004) found similar results. These findings provide support for the relationship between expectancy for future success and task persistence across different domains and tasks such that greater expectations for future success lead to task persistence.

The attributional framework describes the processes that flow from an achievement related outcome to persistence. Starting with an outcome of an achievement-related task, a person tries to make meaning for the outcome using causal attributions. Depending on the causal dimensions underlying the causal attributions for a given outcome positive or negative emotions will be elicited along with expectations for future success. Expectancies for future success will predict whether the behavior will persist.

Attributions and Participation in a Social Movement

Regarding participation in a social movement, it is hypothesized that the attributional process begins the same as any other achievement related task. The process starts with an outcome – quality of performance that can be measured by the degree of success or success versus failure. For example, a social movement goal might be to obtain equal protection under the law for all citizens, especially for people of color. As part of this movement, participants might be advocating to change policy to require police officers to wear body cameras. After the decision is made about the policy - the policy is instituted requiring police to wear body cameras or the policy is not instituted - social movement participants are likely to go through a cognitive search for understanding as to why they were successful or unsuccessful in getting the police department to adopt a policy related to body cameras requirements. The search for understanding results in attributing the outcome to a cause. Depending on the underlying dimensions of the causes, social movement participants will expect a similar outcome with future social movement activities along with positive or negative affect. If success is expected, then the behavior, participating in social movement activities, will continue. Participation in social movement activities is unlikely to continue if failure is expected and negative emotions are elicited.

While a considerable amount of attribution research was conducted in the education domain, there is some research on the attributional process within a social movement context. Research indicates that the attributions that predict persistence in a social movement differ depending on the success of the movement (Sheppard, Malone, & Sweeny, 2008; Zaccaro, Peterson, & Walker, 1987). Results from a qualitative study using campaign volunteers from the marriage equality campaign in North Carolina and Maryland support the idea that attributions made after a failure provide different motivations for persisting or withdrawing from the campaign than attributions made after a success (Dudley & Omoto, 2015). In 2012, volunteers in Maryland were successful in their collective action effort for marriage equality, while volunteers in North Carolina were not. Results from interviews conducted with volunteers from each state indicated that their attributions differed; that is, volunteers provided different explanations for the outcome of the campaign depending on campaign success or failure. Also, participants intended to volunteer with the campaign in the future depending on the attributions they made for previous outcomes. Specifically, successful campaign participants reported attributions that were due to group factors that were internal and controllable, such as their ability to get a large number of volunteers to canvass, to work the phone bank, and commit to the movement. Attributing success to internal and controllable causes was especially true for participants who remained active in the movement. Unsuccessful campaign participants reported causes that were external and uncontrollable such as being in a conservative state and running against an opposing group that had greater resources. Results from the marriage equality study highlight the differences in meaning-making in the event of success versus failure (see also, Anderson, 1983; Martin & Carron, 2012). The two studies outlined in this dissertation examine the role of attributions in a social movement context.

The Social Identity Model of Collective Action

Social psychological researchers have conducted few empirical studies distinguishing between social movement participation and social movement persistence. Most of the social movement research assessed the factors that motivated people to participate in a social movement or the likelihood of participating in a movement but has not often measured the extent to which participants would continue participating or have been participating over a significant period of time. The social identity model of collective action suggests that group identification is predictive of social movement participation (van Zomeren, Postmes & Spears, 2008). Research suggests that there is a positive relationship group identification social movement participation (see van Zomeren et al., 2008 for review). However, this body of research has not explicitly measured social movement persistence. Persistence implies participation, as there must be some initial participation in order to achieve persistence. However, participation does not imply persistence because individuals can engage in an activity one time which would qualify as participation but not persistence if the activity is ongoing. Studies predicting social movement behaviors based on strength of group identification have not accounted for the positive or negative experiences with the movement that might potentially affect future participation with that movement.

Social Identity Theory

Group identity is based on social identity theory which details the relationships between self-conception and group and intergroup behaviors (Abrams & Hogg, 2010; Hogg, 2018; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Social identity theory posits that social identity has three components: cognitive, affective, and evaluative. The cognitive component describes how people categorize themselves into social groups to which they belong

based on similar attitudes, values, and beliefs. The affective component refers to individuals' commitment to the group to which they belong. The evaluative component refers to their group's status in comparison to a group or groups to which people do not belong (outgroup). The evaluative component is of particular importance because it determines a group's status in society relative to other groups and influences the positive or negative perceptions people have of their social identities.

People evaluate their group by making comparisons between a group to which they belong – in-group – and an outgroup, along dimensions that their in-group finds valuable. The purpose of this comparison is to distinguish the in-group from other groups, which serves to protect, enhance, or achieve a positive group identity (Tajfel, 1974). If the comparison results in a positive evaluation, then a positive group identity is likely the result. If the comparison results in a negative evaluation, then a negative group identity is likely the result. One assumption of social identity theory is that people strive for and benefit from a positive group identity, as it leads to high prestige and esteem, while a negative social identity leads to low prestige and esteem. (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

People also categorize themselves into groups as a way to reduce uncertainty (Hogg, 2000, 2007; Hogg & Wagoner, 2017). This is related to the cognitive component of social identity where people categorize themselves into groups to reduce uncertainty about important aspects of the self. Strengthening group identification helps to relieve self-uncertainty by using group norms and values to guide one's own values, attitudes, and behaviors. A stronger group identity leads to less uncertainty while a weaker group identity leads to greater uncertainty.

Group Identification and Social Movement Participation

Being a member of a disadvantaged group (of inferior or lower status when compared to another group) may result in negative group identity. When people are members of a

disadvantaged group, they are motivated to act to change their group identity from less negative to more positive (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Under these circumstances, people have several options. One option is to act together with or on behalf of the group to change their group status. This is called collective action. Another option is to leave the group and attempt to gain access into a higher status out-group, otherwise called individual action. The degree to which people identify with their group is a primary factor that influences which option people take; high identifiers are likely to engage in collective action while low identifiers are likely to engage in individual action.

An extensive body of social psychological research provides empirical evidence for the relationship between the degree of group identification and participation in collective action (Klandermans, 2002; Stürmer & Simon, 2004; Stürmer & Simon, 2009; Simon et al., 1998; Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990). When people strongly identify with their group, they are more willing to act on behalf of that group compared to people who weakly identify with their group (Klandermans, 2002; Simon et al., 1998; Stürmer & Simon, 2004; Stürmer & Simon, 2009; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Wright et al., 1990; Wright & Tropp, 2002). For example, one study measured the strength of participants' student identity and intentions to participate in collective action to reduce tuition fees and found a positive correlation between the strength of identification as a student and collective action intentions on behalf of other students (Stürmer & Simon, 2009). Specifically, students with stronger student identity had greater intentions to participate in collective action to reduce tuition fees. Similarly, identifying strongly as a trade union member (Kelly & Kelly, 1994), student (Stürmer & Simon, 2004), and farmer (Klandermans, 2002) predicted willingness to participate in collective action on behalf of the group compared to participants who did not strongly identify with the respective group.

It is unclear if the motivations to join a social movement are the same as the motivations to remain engaged in a social movement. Other motivations may influence people's continued participation in social movements than those that motivated their initial involvement. Research focusing on social change and individual and group mobility suggests that people's experiences with a group activity play a significant role in whether they will continue working with the group on that activity (Barreto, Ellemers, & Palacios, 2004; Downton & Wehr, 1998; Mannarini & Fedi, 2012). For instance, positive interpersonal relationships between participants of a social movement and feelings of commitment were factors that influenced sustained engagement in social movement activities in research on collective action participation (Downton & Wehr, 1998; Mannarini & Fedi, 2012). If experiences with a social movement are important for future involvement with that movement, there may be additional motivating factors necessary to predict persistence than the factors that influenced the decision to join the social movement. It is necessary then, to review the literature that focuses on previous experiences and how those experiences might predict future persistence in the same or similar activities.

Group identification may not only be a motivating factor in becoming part of a social movement but may also motivate the decision to persist in a social movement. In a qualitative exploration of peace activists' sustained commitment to the social movement, bonding to the activist group's principles and to the group itself were central themes of activist commitment to the movement (Downton & Wehr, 1998). Bonding to the group's principles was described as the similarity of the activists' beliefs with the principles of the group. The more closely the activists' principles matched with that of the group, the more likely a personal bond or connection formed with that group. Although this study did not directly assess the strength of group identification with the group, bonding was defined in a way that closely matches the central tenants of social

identification, such as sharing an emotional involvement with the group based on similar personal beliefs and principles (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In a separate study using semi-structured interviews with members of the anti-globalization movement, stronger identification with the movement was associated with continued participation in the movement (Mannarini & Fedi, 2012). These studies provide preliminary support for the importance of strength of group identification in predicting social movement persistence.

Predicting Social Movement Persistence from Attributions and Group Identity

Both the attribution and social identity literature provide a framework for predicting social movement involvement. The former focuses on attributions for past behaviors in predicting future behavior while the latter focuses on identification with the group in predicting behavior. The purpose of considering variables from both theories in a social movement context is to develop a complete picture of the factors that contribute to sustained engagement in a social movement. The social identity framework of social movement participation predicts people's behaviors based on the strength of group identification. What this framework fails to take into account is previous social movement experiences and the outcomes of those experiences. Attribution theory provides a framework that predicts behavior by assessing achievement-related outcomes and determining whether the same outcome is expected in the future, but is limited in accounting for social movement involvement because it does not take into consideration the importance or value of the group. Considering both theories might help to capture the true psychological dynamics of social movement persistence.

Several pathways are proposed that might help to provide greater insight into the psychological processes underlying social movement persistence by incorporating the attributional process and group identification. The following is a proposed framework for social

movement persistence that illustrates various pathways that might lead to social movement persistence accounting for the role of group identity as well as the outcomes of previous experiences with the social movement (Figure 1). First, it should be noted that this framework takes into consideration perceptions about the group and not the individual. While the unit of analysis is the individual, it is the individual's perception of the group's behavior that is under investigation. Research has shown that when assessing causal dimensions about a group performance, it is important to consider attributions about the group also called intergroup attributions, as group level attributions are more predictive of group-level behaviors (Hewstone, 1990; Hewstone & Jaspars, 1982; Hewstone, Jaspars, & Lalljee, 1982). Because social movement participation is a group level activity, attributions about the outcome of those efforts should also be assessed at the group level. As such, the framework refers to group level achievement outcomes and attributions about the group's performance rather than individual achievement-related outcomes and attributions about individual performance.

The new framework proposes that the strength of identification with the social movement group moderates the relationship between the outcome of a social movement campaign (success versus failure or the degree of success) and the causal dimensions. Also, the framework proposes that the causal dimensions mediate the relationship between the outcome of a social movement campaign and expectancy for future success and that expectancy for future success mediates the relationship between the outcome and social movement persistence. The hypothesized relationships among the constructs are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

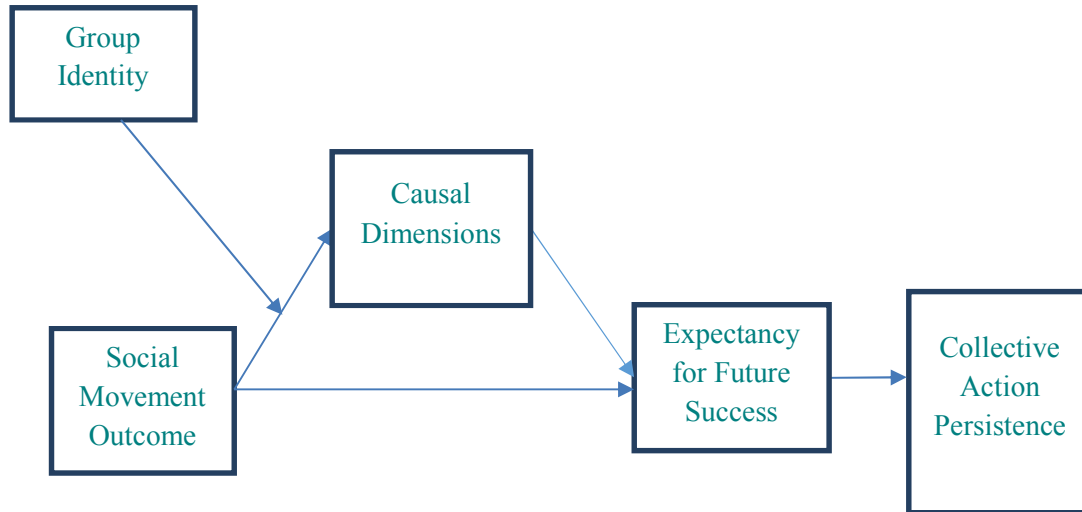


Figure 1. Attribution and group identity framework for social movement persistence

Group Identity and Biased Attributions

People often make causal attributions that will result in positive feelings about the self (Heider, 1958; Kelley, 1967; Miller & Ross, 1975). According to self-serving attributional bias, people explain their behavior in such a way as to maintain positive self-esteem by attributing positive outcomes to the self and negative outcomes outside of the self (i.e., other people or the environment). Both internal and controllable causes are associated with the self, while external and uncontrollable causes are associated with factors outside of the self. Attributing success to internal and controllable causes helps to maintain positive self-esteem because these attributions result in feelings of pride in having what it takes to succeed (Weiner, 2010). Attributing failure to internal and controllable causes lead to feelings of shame and guilt that will likely result in a threat to self-esteem. Attributing failure to external and uncontrollable causes maintains self-esteem and avoids feelings of shame and guilt (Weiner, 2010). The stability of a cause can result in feelings of hopefulness or feelings of helplessness depending on the attribution (Weiner, 1985). For example, attributing success to stable causes and failure to unstable causes results in hopefulness. Whereas, attributing success to unstable causes and failure to stable causes results in

feelings helplessness (Costarelli, 2012). Feelings of hopefulness support positive self-esteem compared to feelings of helplessness. A meta-analytic study using research from a variety of areas shows consistent support for self-serving attributional bias (Mezulis, Abramson, Hyde, & Hankin, 2004). The self-serving pattern is such that causes attributed to failure are likely to have causal dimensions that are external, uncontrollable, and unstable and causes attributed to success are likely to have causal dimensions that are internal, controllable, and stable.

The strength of group identification is an important determinant in making self-serving attributions regarding group processes such that the greater the strength of identification with the group the more likely people will make self-serving attributions (Wann & Dolan, 1994; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). More specifically, when group members receive feedback about group-related behaviors that is negative or threatening to their group identity, they will make biased attributions to mitigate that threat. When group members receive positive feedback about group-related behaviors, they will also make biased attributions to maintain or bolster their positive group identity. Not all group members are motivated to maintain a positive group identity. Whether or not group members are motivated to maintain a positive group identity is based on how strongly they identify with the group. High identification group members, then, have a greater tendency to make biased attributions compared to low identification group members. Results from several studies provide support for this tendency (De Cremer, 2000; Doosje & Branscombe, 2003; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Wann & Schrader, 2000). In one study, researchers surveyed university students after two women's basketball home games (Wann & Schrader, 1998). The researchers surveyed half of the sample after a win and the other half of the sample after a loss. Results indicated a tendency for participants to rate the cause of the outcome as more internal, stable, and controllable after a win than after a loss. High identification

participants were even more likely to rate the cause of the team's win as internal, controllable, and stable compared to low identification participants. The tendency was in the opposite direction after a loss, such that participants were more likely to rate the cause of the loss as more external, uncontrollable, and unstable than after a loss. This tendency was even greater for high identification participants compared to low identification participants.

Based on people's desire to maintain a positive group identity, several hypotheses were advanced. First social movement participants who highly identify with the social movement group will be more likely to make causal attributions that are external to the group rather than internal to the group after failing at a social movement activity compared to participants who do not highly identify with the social movement group. Making external causal attributions for a social movement failure mitigates the threat to group identity by taking the blame away from the group, which helps to protect or maintain a positive social identity. Conversely, when the social movement activity is a success, high group identifiers will be more likely to make internal causal attributions rather than external causal attributions for their success. Attributing causes to internal locus of causality for the success of the social movement should help participants maintain a positive group identity. These expectations are consistent with Weiner's (2000) and Costarelli's (2012) study results. When people can take credit for something positive that has happened, they should be more likely to feel good about themselves than if an external source was responsible for the positive outcome. When people can place blame for a negative outcome on external forces, then they can avoid negative feelings.

High group identifiers are also expected to make causal attributions that are more uncontrollable rather than controllable when the outcome of a social movement is a failure. Framing the cause of failure as something out of the group's control turns the responsibility

away from the group. If the cause of failure is seen as controllable by the group, feelings of guilt may arise (Weiner, 1985), and may involve negative evaluations of the group that are painful, depressing, tense or agitating. This negative appraisal would not be conducive to maintaining a positive group identity. On the other hand, when the social movement is successful, high group identifiers should attribute the success to more controllable versus uncontrollable causes. These expected results are consistent with findings from several empirical studies where high identification group members attributed success more to controllable causes and failure to more uncontrollable causes (Costarelli, 2012; Costarelli & Gerlowski, 2014; Wann & Schrader, 2000).

Lastly, high group identifiers are expected to attribute a social movement failure to more unstable rather than stable causes. With unstable causal attributions group members may have the perception that, in spite of failure, the situation still has the potential to change. High group identifiers are expected to attribute failure to unstable causes because it helps to preserve their positive group identity in believing that their group's current negative status after failure can still change. When the outcome of a social movement is a success, participants who highly identify with the group should make more stable rather than unstable causal attributions than participants who do not highly identify with the group. Participants should maintain a positive identity when they attribute the cause of their success to something unlikely to change. These predictions are consistent with the results found by Wann and Schrader (1998; 2000).

To summarize, highly identified social movement participants are expected to attribute failure to causes that are more external, unstable and uncontrollable and would attribute success to causes that are more internal, stable and controllable. Among low identification social movement participants, the degree of locus of causality, controllability, and stability of the causal attributions are not expected to differ significantly based on the social movement outcome.

Causal Attributions and Expectancy for Future Success

The current framework suggests that the causal dimensions would mediate the relationship between the social movement outcome and expectancy for future success. Stability should indicate whether the cause attributed to an outcome had the potential to change, and locus of causality and controllability should influence whether social movement participants perceived the group could make social change happen. These perceptions should influence whether success would be possible in the future. Based on these assumptions several hypotheses were formulated. First, group members who perceived the causal attributions for failure were internal, controllable, or stable were expected to have lower expectations for future success than when failure was attributed to external, uncontrollable, and unstable causes. When group members attribute failure to internal causes, they should perceive the failure was due to a characteristic of the group. Likewise, group members who attribute failure to uncontrollable causes should perceive that the cause of the group's failure was out of their control. Furthermore, when group members attribute failure to stable causes, they should believe that failure is inevitable in the future because the cause of their failure is unlikely to go away. The likely consequences of these stable attributions for failure are low expectations for future success.

When group members perceived the causal attributions for their success were internal, stable, or controllable, expectancy for future success was expected to be high. Perceiving that success is due to internal causes should result in the perception that group members possess the ability to make change happen. Likewise, when group members attribute success to stable causes, they should perceive that it is impossible for the cause to change in the future, which would lead them to expect that success would happen again. Lastly, attributing success to

controllable causes should lead to greater feelings of future success because group members should perceive that they have the power to effect change.

Research has found evidence for the link between all three causal dimensions and expectancy for future success (Bude, Van de Wiel, Imbos, Candel, Broers, & Berger, 2007; Minifie & McAuley, 1998; Reese, 2007; Zhou & Urhahne, 2013). For instance, researchers assessed athletes causal attributions for the success or failure of a recent performance and expectations for future performance (Reese, 2007). Results revealed that both stability and controllability were significant predictors of expectations for future performance. After a success, attributions rated as controllable and stable were associated with more positive expectations for future performance. After a failure, attributions rated as controllable and stable were associated with negative expectations for future performance. In another study, similar results for locus of causality were obtained such that internal attributions for success and external attributions for failure predicted greater expectations for success (Forsyth & McMillan, 1981). In short, the pattern of attributions will differ depending on the outcome of the social movement effort, and these pattern of results will be strengthened or weakened depending on how strongly participants identify with the social movement group.

Expectancy for Future Success and Social Movement Persistence

Whether or not to continue with a previous behavior depends on expectancy for future success (Crittenden & Wiley, 1980; Eiser et al., 1985; Onifade et al., 1997; Weiner, 1985; 2010). Specifically, the greater the expectations for future success, the greater the likelihood of persistence. The empirical evidence that supports the relationship between expectancy for future success and persistence has most often been conducted in areas of education and health. However, it is expected that the relationship between expectancy for future success and task

persistence will also hold in the context of a social movement, such that social movement participants who expect the social movement to succeed in the future will continue to participate with the movement. Social movement participants who do not expect the movement will succeed in the future are more likely to withdraw from participating in the movement.

Overview of the Studies

Two studies were conducted to test specific pathways illustrated in the framework for social movement persistence, presented above, incorporating key variables from both the attribution and social identity literatures. First, both Study 1 and Study 2 tested the relationship between the outcome of a collective action campaign and the underlying causal dimensions participants attributed to the cause of the outcome. Study 1 and Study 2 also tested the moderating role that the strength of identification with the social movement group had on the relationship between the outcome of the campaign and the causal dimensions. Study 2 examined the relationship between the outcome of the campaign and expectancy for future success and the mediating role that the causal dimensions had on that relationship. Study 2, also, examined whether expectancy for future success mediated the relationship between the outcome of the collective action campaign and persistence. The goal of these two studies was to demonstrate that the major tenets of both the social identity and attribution theories, when integrated, can better predict social movement persistence than either of the two theories, independently.

Study 1 used an experimental design with university students in which students read a hypothetical scenario about a student advocacy group campaigning to prevent an increase in school tuition. The purpose of using an experimental design in Study 1 was to manipulate the outcome of the student advocacy group's efforts and the strength of identification with the student advocacy group. Study 1 tested the first half of the proposed framework with the main

goal of assessing the moderating effect that the strength of identification has on the relationship between the outcome of the collective action campaign and the causal dimensions. Study 2 was a field study conducted with active social movement participants. The goals of Study 2 were to replicate the findings from Study 1 in the context of an actual social movement. Also, Study 2 aimed to assess the mediating effect that expectancy for future success has on the relationship between the causal dimensions and social movement persistence. The two studies tested the relationships above to further understand in what ways group identity and the attributional process predict social movement persistence.

CHAPTER TWO

Study One

The context for Study 1 was based on the rising cost of college tuition nationwide, and specifically, in California where the study took place. Although tuition cost was not a widely verbalized concern among students at the university where data were collected, the cost of tuition for private universities has more than doubled over the last 20 years (Mello, 2019). The rising cost of tuition coupled with a difficult housing market leading to increased living expenses, makes college affordability challenging, especially when attending a private university. This has resulted in students graduating with an average of \$20,000 in debt.

Within the context of rising tuition costs, Study 1 tested the first half of the proposed attribution and group identity framework of social movement persistence using an experimental design. Specifically, Study 1 tested the moderating effect of the strength of identification on the relationship between the outcome of a collective action campaign and the causal dimensions. In this study, the outcome of the collective action campaign was defined as a success or failure. Undergraduate students enrolled in a psychology course during the 2017 fall semester participated in the study. Participants read a hypothetical scenario about a proposed substantial tuition increase and then imagined that they campaigned with a student advocacy group to prevent the proposed tuition increase. The outcome of the campaign and the strength of identification with the issue of a tuition increase were manipulated using false feedback followed by a measure of the causal dimensions for the cause attributed to the campaign outcome. The purpose of the experimental design was to test if there was a causal relationship between outcome, identification, and causal dimensions and to have greater confidence that any differences based on outcome or strength of identification were not due to extraneous variables.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. Participants who experienced success with a collective action campaign were expected to attribute their success to more internal, stable, and controllable causes, compared to participants who experienced failure. This prediction was based on the attribution literature as well as literature on self-serving attributional bias in which participants rated the cause of successful or positive outcomes as internal, stable, and controllable and rated the causes of unsuccessful or negative outcomes as external, unstable, and uncontrollable (Islam & Hewston, 1993; Russell & McAuley, 1986).

Hypothesis 2. The strength of identification with the campaign group was expected to moderate the relationship between the outcome of a collective action campaign and the causal dimensions. In general, the pattern of results was expected to differ by outcome only for participants who highly identified with the campaign group, but results were not expected to differ by outcome for participants who did not highly identify with the campaign group. Specifically, participants whose campaign efforts were successful and who highly identified with the campaign group were expected to rate the cause of their success as more internal, stable, and controllable than participants who were unsuccessful and highly identified with the campaign group. To the extent that participants did not highly identify with the campaign group, the ratings of the causal dimensions were not expected to differ, significantly, regardless of the outcome of the collective action campaign.

Methods

Participants and Design

Undergraduate students ($N = 206$) were recruited through the psychology department's research study pool at Azusa Pacific University in Southern California and received partial course credit for their participation. Eight participants were excluded from the analyses because

they did not respond to any causal dimension scale items. Data for 198 participants (147 females and 49 males) were included in all subsequent analyses (see Table 1). The average age of the participants was 19.20 years ($SD = 1.84$). The majority of the participants were freshmen (53.5%) and identified as White (51.5%).

Table 1

Frequency of Participants Demographic Characteristics

Demographic Variable	Percentage
Gender	
Male	24.7%
Female	75.3%
Age	
18	47.7%
19	21.8%
20	14.2%
21	10.7%
≥ 22	6.1%
Year in School	
Freshman	53.5%
Sophomore	20.7%
Junior	19.7%
Senior	6.1%
Race/Ethnicity	
Asian/Asian-American	19.7%
Black/African-American	6.6%
Hispanic/Latino	19.2%
White	51.5%
Other	3.0%

Procedure

Once enrolled in the study, participants accessed a URL linked to an online survey. The online survey consisted of eight sections with 29 questions that participants completed in one session. The first page of the survey consisted of the student consent form (see Appendix A). Students advanced to the survey after checking a box giving their consent to participate in the

study (Appendix B). Participants then read a brief story about the rise in tuition costs around the country. The introduction script read:

As many of you know, there has been a significant decrease in university and college budgets throughout the U.S. Because of this; many institutions are significantly raising their tuition. These potential increases come at a time when there is a great push for affordable education. Often, students are at a disadvantage when it comes to making decisions regarding their tuition and fees, as they typically do not have the power to influence the decision.

Imagine for a moment that at the beginning of the Spring 2018 semester, you were notified that tuition was increasing by 20% during the 2018-19 academic year and will be increasing by another 30% in the following academic year. This significant increase in tuition is more than any increase in the past decade.

Participants then completed the identity with student advocates measure, which assessed participants' degree of identification with other students in support of the issue of preventing a tuition increase followed by the identification with APU measure which assessed participants' degree of identification with the university. Different types of identities are significant predictors of collective action participation. Identification with the group in support of an issue – politicized identity, such as identification with marriage equality, and identification with the larger group of people affected by the issue – collective identity, such as identification with the LGBTQ community have both been found to be significant predictors of collective action behaviors (Klandermans et al., 2002). As a result, both types of identities were assessed in the current study.

In addition to completing the two identification measures, participants responded to six additional filler items about participation in university extracurricular activities, such as participation in sports, student government, and music theater groups, among others. The filler items were included to make it difficult for participants to calculate their scores on the identity measure. Participants then received false feedback about how their score on these measures compared to other APU students who also completed these same measures. The purpose of the false feedback was to manipulate the strength of identification with student advocates by randomly assigning participants to one of two issue conditions – *high identification with student advocates* or *low identification with student advocates*. In the low identification condition ($N = 96$), participants read that their score was 20 points lower than the average score for other students regarding identification with other students who were in support of preventing a tuition increase. In the high identification condition ($N = 102$), participants read that their score was 20 points higher than the average score for other students in support of preventing a tuition increase. The use of false feedback to manipulate the degree of social identification was similar to a method used by Ellemers, Spears, and Doosje (1997).

Next, participants thought about a hypothetical situation in which they participated in a student advocacy group for three months and had contributed 10 or more hours per week to preventing a tuition increase. The prompt read:

As a result of increased tuition, many students at universities around the country have formed advocacy groups to fight against the increases. Some have been successful, and others have not. Imagine that APU students decided to form an advocacy group to campaign against the increase. The cost of tuition is an important issue for you as is participating in student-led organizations. Therefore, you have committed to participate.

Imagine that as a member of this advocacy group you spent 10 or more hours per week throughout three months writing individual letters to the University Provost, distributing a campus-wide petition and submitting it to the university board, and speaking at faculty meetings to get faculty support.

Participants received false feedback about the outcome of their advocacy efforts.

Participants were randomly assigned to one of two outcome conditions: *successful* or *unsuccessful*. Participants in the successful condition ($N = 101$) read that the Provost had decided not to increase tuition while participants in the unsuccessful condition ($N=97$) read that the Provost had decided to increase tuition.

After receiving feedback about the decision to increase tuition, participants completed the Causal Dimension Scale II (McAuley, Duncan, Russell, 1992) by freely responding why they perceived the campaign was successful or unsuccessful and then rated the cause that they identified along the three causal dimensions. More specifically, participants freely listed one reason they believed they were successful/unsuccessful in preventing the tuition increase. The prompt read: “After months of advocating to prevent a tuition increase, list one reason why you think you were successful (unsuccessful) in your efforts.” Next, participants evaluated the cause of the success or failure on ten semantic differential scales. Instructions read: “Think about the reason you have written above. The items below concern your impressions or opinions of this cause of the outcome. Circle a number from one to nine for each of the following questions.” Participants then responded to four demographic items followed by a debriefing statement and were thanked for their time.

Measures

Identification with Student Advocates. Participants responded to six items to assess their strength of identification with students in support of preventing a tuition increase (e.g. *At this moment, I identify with other students who are in support of preventing a tuition increase*). This scale was adapted from Simon and Stürmer (2003) and Doosje, Spears, and Ellemers (2002). The response scale for all items was 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). All six items were averaged to create a composite score for identification with student advocates, with higher scores indicating greater identification ($\alpha = .864$).

Identification with APU. Participants responded to six items to assess their strength of identification with APU. The response scale for all items ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). These items were similar to the ones used to measure identification with student advocates replacing the phrase *other students who are in support of preventing a tuition increase* with the phrase *Azusa Pacific University*. Each of the six items was averaged to create a composite score for identification with APU ($\alpha = .951$).

Causal dimensions. After receiving the false feedback, participants completed 10 of the 12 items that make up the Causal Dimension Scale II (McAuley, Duncan, Russell, 1992) which assessed participants' perceptions of the dimensions underlying their causal attributions. The CDSII scale consists of 12 items and four dimensions – locus of causality, stability, personal controllability, and external controllability. However, for this study, personal control was the only controllability subscale that was relevant and the two items that assessed external controllability were not included. Three items were averaged to create a composite score for locus of causality ($\alpha = .790$). An example of the semantic differential scale for locus of causality is, 1 = *Reflects an aspect of the student body* to 9 = *reflects an aspect of the situation*. Three

items were also averaged to create a composite score for stability ($\alpha = .535$). An example of a stability semantic differential scale is, 1 = *temporary* to 9 = *permanent*. While the reliability of the stability subscale was low, the subscale did not improve with the deletion of any items (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). Therefore, all items were included in the stability subscale. Four items were averaged to create a composite score for controllability ($\alpha = .900$). An example of the controllability semantic differential scale is, 1 = *is under the control of the student advocate group* to 9 = *not under the control of the student advocacy group*.

Demographics. Participants responded to four demographic items, providing their age, gender, race/ethnicity, and year in college. Both age and gender were free-response items. For race/ethnicity, participants selected from one or more of the following options: Asian, Black, Latino/Hispanic, Pacific Islander, American/Alaska Native, White, Other, or refuse to answer. Participants selected one of the following options to indicate their gender: male, female, transgender, and gender non-conforming. Lastly, participants reported on their year in college by selecting one of the following: freshman, sophomore, junior, senior, and graduate student.

Results

Data Management

Participants in the high identification with student advocates condition were coded with a score of “1” and participants in the low identification with student advocates condition were coded with a score of “0.” Likewise, participants in the successful condition were coded with a score of “1” and participants in the unsuccessful condition were coded with a score of “0.” All of the causal dimension items were reversed coded so that higher scores on each of the subscales reflected internal locus ($M = 5.16$; $SD = 2.09$), greater controllability ($M = 5.29$; $SD = 2.14$), and

greater stability ($M = 4.19$; $SD = 1.60$). All scales were examined for normality. Skew and kurtosis fell within the normal range for all variables with skew ≥ -1.23 and $\leq .04$ and kurtosis ≥ -2.02 and ≤ 1.34 (see Table 2 for range, mean, standard deviation, and correlation for all variables).

Preliminary Results

The types of causal attributions provided by participants differed between participants in the successful condition compared to participants in the unsuccessful condition. In the successful condition, participants most commonly attributed their success to the group's ability to rally together as a team, get faculty support, and students' passion for the issue. Participants in the unsuccessful condition most commonly attributed their failure to the lack of support from other students and faculty, the university's priority as a business, lack of student power and authority, and the lack of concern from the university about how tuition affects students financially.

Before testing the main hypotheses, zero-order correlations were examined for multicollinearity and to assess whether any of the demographic variables were correlated with the independent and dependent variables (see Table 2 for correlations). Each of the three causal dimensions were correlated with one another. More specifically, greater internal locus was associated with causes that were rated as controllable, $r = .76, p = .000$, and stable, $r = .23, p = .001$. Furthermore, there was a positive correlation between controllability and stability; attributions made to causes rated as more controllable were associated with attributions that were rated as more stable, $r = .15, p = .041$. The correlation between casual dimensions was similar to results found in the two studies testing the validity of the Casual Dimension Scale and Causal Dimension Scale II (Russell, 1982; McAuley, Duncan, and Russell, 1992).

The correlations among variables provided some initial support for *Hypothesis 1* as there was a significant correlation between outcome and the three causal dimension subscales such that success was related to higher scores on locus of causality, $r_{pb} = .43, p = .000$; controllability, $r_{pb} = .42, p = .000$; and stability, $r_{pb} = .21, p = .003$. There was no correlation between identification with student advocates – whether manipulated or measured - and the three causal dimensions subscales. Furthermore, the measure of identification with student advocates and the manipulated variable of identification with student advocates was not correlated, $r_{pb} = .00, p = .990$. None of the demographic variables were significant covariates with any of the dependent or independent variables and thus were not used in any subsequent analyses.

Table 2

Range, Mean Scores, Standard Deviations, and Correlations for Sociodemographic Variables, Independent, and Dependent Variables

	Range	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Outcome	0, 1	.49	.50							
2. Tuition Importance (Condition)	0, 1	.52	.50	-.040						
3. Identification with issue (tuition cost)	0, 1	5.52	1.11	.013	.00					
4. Identification with APU	1-7	5.29	1.41	.055	-.05	.08				
5. Locus of Causality	1-9	5.16	2.09	.46**	-.11	-.06	-.12 ⁺			
6. Controllability	1-9	5.29	2.14	.42**	-.08	-.08	-.13 ⁺	.76**		
7. Stability	1-9	4.19	1.60	.21**	.11	.05	-.17*	.23**	.15*	
8. Age	18-30	19.21	1.84	-.01	.03	.11	-.07	-.11	-.09	-.09

Note. ⁺ $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Three independent sample t-tests were conducted to assess the relationship between the outcome of the campaign and the causal dimension subscales. Scores on each of the three subscales were compared for participants in the successful condition with participants in the unsuccessful condition. There was a significant difference in scores between successful and unsuccessful participants on locus of causality; $t(196) = 7.30, p = .000$, controllability; $t(196) = 6.56, p = .000$, and stability; $t(196) = 2.96, p = .000$. Specifically, participants in the successful condition reported higher scores on all three causal dimension subscales compared to participants in the unsuccessful condition (see Table 3). The results from these t-tests provide preliminary support for *Hypothesis 1*.

Table 3

Mean Comparison of Causal Dimension Subscales between Successful and Unsuccessful Conditions

	Successful		Unsuccessful		<i>t</i> -test
	M	SD	M	SD	
Locus of Causality	6.14	1.73	4.21	1.97	7.30***
Controllability	6.22	1.79	4.41	2.08	6.56***
Stability	4.53	1.26	3.87	1.81	2.96**

** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Main Analysis

Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2: Outcome predicting the causal dimensions moderated by identification. A separate regression analysis was conducted using one of the three causal dimensions as the criterion variable. For each hierarchical multiple regression, identification with student advocates and outcome were entered into the first step of the regression model. The multiplicative interaction term of identification with student advocates

and outcome was entered into the second step of the regression model. A post hoc power analysis revealed that power was greater than .99 for all multiple regression analyses predicting the causal dimensions from outcome and identification.

When predicting locus of causality, *Hypothesis 1* was supported. The first step of the model was significant, $R^2 = .22$, $F(2,195) = 27.74$, $p = .000$ (see Table 4). Participants in the successful condition rated the cause of their success more to internal locus compared to participants in the unsuccessful condition, $b = 1.92$, $SE = .26$, $t(195) = 7.23$, $p = .000$. There was no support for *Hypothesis 2*; the interaction between outcome and identification with student advocates was not significant, $R^2_{\text{change}} = .01$, $F(3,194) = 1.99$, $p = .160$.

Table 4

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Results Predicting Locus of Causality from Outcome and Identification

Predictor	Step 1			Step 2		
	B	SE _B	β	B	SE _B	β
Outcome	1.92	.26	.46***	1.53	.38	.37***
Identification	-.37	.26	-.09	-.73	.37	-.18
Outcome X Identification				.74	.53	.15
F		27.74***			19.25***	
R ²		.22			.23	
ΔR^2					.01	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

For the second hierarchical multiple regression predicting controllability ratings, the pattern of results was the same as when locus of causality was the criterion variable providing additional support for *Hypothesis 1* (see Table 5). Outcome significantly predicted controllability, $R^2 = .18$, $F(2,195) = 21.97$, $p = .000$. Participants who were successful rated the cause of their success as more controllable than participants who were unsuccessful, $b = 1.80$, $SE = .28$, $t(195) = 6.51$, $p = .000$. The interaction between outcome and identification with

student advocates was not significant $R^2_{\text{change}} = .01$, $F(1,194) = 1.15$, $p = .284$. These results provided no support for *Hypothesis 2*.

Table 5

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Results Predicting Controllability from Outcome and Identification

Predictor	Step 1			Step 2		
	B	SE _B	β	B	SE _B	β
Outcome	1.80	.28	.42***	1.50	.40	.35***
Identification	-.27	.27	-.06	-.56	.39	-.13
Outcome X Identification				.59	.55	.12
F		21.97***			15.05***	
R ²		.18			.19	
ΔR ²					.01	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Stability was the criterion variable in the third hierarchical multiple regression. Similar to the first two regression analyses, the first step of the model was significant, $R^2 = .06$, $F(2,195) = 5.92$, $p = .003$ providing support for *Hypothesis 1* (see Table 6). Outcome was a significant predictor of stability, $b = .68$, $SE = .22$, $t(195) = 3.44$, $p = .003$, such that successful participants rated the cause of their success as more stable than unsuccessful participants. The interaction between outcome and identification with student advocates was not significant $R^2_{\text{change}} = .01$, $F(1,194) = 1.66$, $p = .199$, providing no support for *Hypothesis 2*.

Table 6

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Results Predicting Stability with Outcome Campaign and Identification

Predictor	Step 1			Step 2		
	B	SE _B	β	B	SE _B	β
Outcome	.68	.22	.21**	.97	.32	.30**
Identification	.38	.22	.12 ⁺	.67	.31	.21*
Outcome X Identification				-.57	.44	-.15
F		5.92**			4.51**	
R ²		.06			.07	
ΔR ²					.01	

⁺ $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

The results from each of the regression analyses provided support for *Hypothesis 1* which replicated prior work on attributions. Participants who were successful gave higher ratings on the causal dimension subscales suggesting more internal, controllable, and stable causal attributions. However, *Hypothesis 2* was not supported. Identification with student advocates did not moderate the relationship between outcome and the causal dimensions.

Additional Analyses

Given that locus of causality and controllability were highly correlated, $r = .76, p < .001$, a new scale was computed by averaging the locus of causality and controllability subscales and creating a composite score. Similar to the independent subscales of locus of causality and controllability, higher scores indicated greater internal locus and controllability. A similar regression analysis was run with the combined causal dimension scale as the criterion variable and identification with student advocates and outcome as the predictor variables. The results from the regression analysis were the same as the regression analysis with each of the causal dimensions entered as the criterion variable separately (see Table 7). The first step of the regression was significant, $R^2 = .23, F(2,195) = 29.11, p = .000$. In the successful condition, participants were more likely to have higher scores on the causal dimension scale than participants in the unsuccessful condition, $b = 1.86, SE = .25, t(195) = 7.46, p = .000$. Likewise, the degree of identification with student advocates was not a significant predictor of the causal dimension scale, $b = -.32, SE = .25, t(2,195) = -1.29, p = .200$. There was no interaction effect between identification with student advocates and outcome on the causal dimension scale, $b = .67, SE = .50, t(3,194) = 1.34, p = .181$. A post hoc power analysis revealed that power was greater than .99.

Table 7

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Results Predicting Causal Dimensions - Combined from Outcome and Identification

Variable	Step 1			Step 2		
	B	SE _B	β	B	SE _B	β
Outcome of	1.86	.25	.47***	1.52	.36	.38***
Identification	-.32	.25	-.08	-.65	.35	-.16
Outcome x identification				.67	.50	.15
F		29.11***			20.11***	
R ²		.23			.24	
ΔR ²					.01	

** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Despite no support for *Hypothesis 2*, the data were filtered by outcome (successful outcome vs. unsuccessful outcome). Filtering the data by outcome would highlight if there was a different pattern of results for participants in the successful condition compared to participants in the unsuccessful condition as it relates to identification with student advocates. Including participants in the unsuccessful condition, identification with student advocates was moderately correlated with locus of causality, $r = -.19$, $p = .063$ and stability, $r = .18$, $p = .066$. The higher the identification, the more likely participants rated the cause of their failure as more internal and less stable. Identification with student advocates was not significantly correlated with controllability, $r = -.14$, $p = .176$. Identification with student advocates was not correlated with any of the causal dimensions when the data were filtered for only participants in the successful condition. These findings illustrate that there might be some indication of the expected interaction effect, but the relationship was not strong enough to reach statistical significance.

Several additional regression analyses were conducted to assess whether the measure of identification with student advocates or the measure of identification with APU had a different effect on predicting any of the causal dimension subscales. The regression results were not meaningfully different when using the measure of student advocates in the regression analysis. However, when identification with APU was used in the regression analysis, identification with

APU was a significant predictor of all three causal dimensions. The more participants identified with APU, the more they attributed success to external, $b = -.22$, $SE = .09$, $t(195) = -2.39$, $p = .018$, uncontrollable, $b = -.23$, $SE = .10$, $t(195) = -2.37$, $p = .019$, and unstable, $b = -.21$, $SE = .08$, $t(195) = -2.66$, $p = .008$, causes (see Tables 8 – 10).

Table 8

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Results Predicting Locus of Causality from Outcome and Identification

Predictor	Step 1			Step 2		
	B	SE _B	β	B	SE _B	β
Outcome	1.96	.26	.47***	1.96	.26	.47***
Identification	-.22	.09	-.15*	-.22	.12	-.15
Outcome X Identification				-.01	.19	-.00
F		30.14***			19.99***	
R ²		.24			.24	
ΔR^2					.00	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 9

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Results Predicting Controllability from Outcome and Identification

Predictor	Step 1			Step 2		
	B	SE _B	β	B	SE _B	β
Outcome	1.85	.27	.43***	1.85	.27	.43***
Identification	-.23	.10	-.15*	-.28	.13	-.18*
Outcome X Identification				.11	.20	.05
F		24.81***			16.59***	
R ²		.20			.20	
ΔR^2					.00	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 10

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Results Predicting Stability with Outcome Campaign and Identification

Predictor	Step 1			Step 2		
	B	SE _B	β	B	SE _B	β

Outcome	.69	.22	.22**	.69	.22	.22**
Identification	-.21	.08	-.18**	-.26	.10	-.23*
Outcome X Identification				.13	.16	.07
F		8.04***			5.56***	
R ²		.08			.08	
ΔR^2					.03	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Discussion

Overall, only *Hypothesis 1* was supported, in that participants in the successful condition rated the cause for their success as more internal, controllable, and stable, such as their ability to rally together as a team, get faculty support, and the passion students had for the issue.

Participants in the unsuccessful condition rated the cause of their failure as more external, uncontrollable, and unstable; causes such as not enough support from other students and faculty, and the university's concern with money. These findings are consistent with previous attribution literature that suggests that people attribute the outcome of an achievement related activity in such a way as to maintain a positive self-concept or to mitigate the threat to self-concept (Weiner, 2010; Russell, 1982). Attributing success to causes that are internal, controllable, and stable is likely to produce feelings of pride, positive self-esteem, and hopefulness (Weiner, 1980). Feelings of pride and hopefulness are associated with a positive self-concept. Attributing failure to causes that are external, uncontrollable, and unstable is unlikely to produce the negative feelings typically associated with failure because the cause for the failure can be placed on someone or something else. These findings support the tendency for attributional bias in a social movement context.

The pattern of results from this study also highlights the role that strength of group identification plays on the relationship between a social movement outcome and causal dimensions. Filtering the data by outcome indicated that the degree of identification with student advocates was negatively correlated with controllability and stability under conditions of failure

but not success, suggesting that high identifiers made more biased attributions than low identifiers under conditions of failure. These results are consistent with results from previous research in which high identifiers made more biased attributions after a poor performance compared to low identifiers, as a way of protecting their group identity (Sherman et al., 2007, Castorelli, 2012).

Furthermore, identification with APU significantly predicted each of the causal dimensions. Though there were no expectations that degree of identification with APU would significantly predict the causal dimensions, the results suggested that greater identification with APU resulted in attributing success to causes that were external, uncontrollable, and unstable. The fact that high identifiers were more likely to rate the cause for the outcome as external, uncontrollable, and unstable and low identifiers were more likely to rate the cause as internal, controllable and stable, is not consistent with the literature on biased attributions (Castorelli, 2012; Mezulius et al., 2004). However, it may indicate that different types of identities produce slightly different results. Previous studies on collective action participation suggest that identification with the group working to change a social issue is more predictive of collective action participation than is identification with the group of people affected by the issue (Klandermans, 2002). Further research is needed to explore the distinction between identification with other supporters of an issue versus identification with the general group of people affected by the issue and attribution making.

Study 1 had several limitations. First, given the order of the measures and manipulations, it is difficult to determine whether the manipulation had the intended affect. Participants read a scenario about the increase in tuition and then completed the identity measures. Reading the scenario could have primed their identity towards APU or towards the issue affecting their

scores on these measures. Participants also completed the two identity measures in succession with the measure of identification with APU coming after the measure of identification with student advocates. Completing the measure of identification with student advocates may have impacted participants' identification with APU. Participants may have attributed the cause of the high cost of tuition to the university and therefore, their identification with APU may have decreased. Given that the measure of identification with other student advocates and the manipulated variable were uncorrelated, might suggest that the manipulation worked at least to some degree. However, there was no manipulation check, and thus, no way to determine whether the manipulation was effective or why the two variables were uncorrelated. Therefore, results should be interpreted with this limitation in mind.

The second limitation of this study was using a hypothetical scenario as the collective action activity. Although using a hypothetical scenario allowed for manipulation of the outcome of the campaign, it limited the generalizability of the results. The results of this study may not be generalizable to a real-world context based on peoples' experiences with a social movement in which they have been participating.

Study 2 attempted to overcome the limitations of Study 1 by conducting the study in the context of an actual social movement. This was beneficial for two reasons. First, conducting the study in a real-world context allowed for the measurement of identification based on groups to which participants belonged and with which they had previous experience. Secondly, conducting the research in the context of a real social movement would allow for greater generalizability of the results. Similar analyses were conducted in Study 2 as in Study 1 to test the relationship between outcome and the causal dimensions and the moderating role of strength

of group identification on that relationship. Also, Study 2 assessed the extent to which causal dimensions and expectancy for future success were predictors of social movement persistence.

CHAPTER THREE

Study Two

Study 2 tested the integrated framework for social movement persistence using a field study with active social movement participants. This study paid particular attention to the pathways in the second half of the framework. The second half of the framework predicted that the causal dimensions would mediate the relationship between the outcome and expectancy for future success and that expectancy for future success would mediate the relationship between the outcome and social movement persistence.

Data for Study 2 were collected in conjunction with the Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy (AAPIP) 5-year giving circle campaign. A giving circle is a method of philanthropy in which individuals pool their money and resources and make a collective decision on which charities or community projects to donate, in this case, with the mission of improving the lives and well-being of Asian-Americans and Pacific Islanders. The purpose of the 5-year giving circle campaign was to increase awareness of and participation in the giving circle movement. Two goals were associated with the campaign. The first goal was to increase the number of giving circles nationwide from 26 to 50 giving circles. The second goal was for each giving circle to reach a minimum yearly fundraising amount, which was collectively determined by the giving circle members. While the giving circle movement may not be considered a typical social movement, the goals of the giving circle movement fit the definition of a social movement in that it is an informal gathering of a group of individuals or organizations focused on a

particular social or political issue. Data for this study were collected as part of an evaluation of AAPIP's 5-year giving circle campaign.

Study 2 also differed from Study 1 in that the outcome of the social movement was not manipulated by the researcher. Rather, participants rated the degree to which they perceived their giving circle was more or less successful in achieving its intended outcome. Often, an outcome is not determined by absolute success or failure. For instance, obtaining a C on a group project may be considered a great success for one student, but another student may perceive that same grade as less successful than their group mate. The purpose of allowing participants to rate the degree to which they perceived their group was successful was to account for the variation in perceptions of success.

Hypotheses

The first two hypotheses were identical to the two hypotheses tested in Study 1.

Hypotheses 3 and 4 are specific to Study 2.

Hypothesis 1. Participants whose giving circle was more successful in meeting its yearly fundraising goal for the 2014-2015 season were expected to attribute their success to more internal, controllable, and stable causes compared to members who rated their giving circle as less successful in meeting its yearly fundraising goal.

Hypothesis 2. The strength of identification with the giving circle network was expected to moderate the relationship between participants' perceived success of their giving circle and the causal dimensions. Specifically, low identification participants' ratings of the causal dimensions were not expected to differ by the degree of success of their giving circle. However, high identification participants were expected to report higher ratings on locus of causality, controllability, and stability when they perceived their giving circle was more successful and

were expected to report lower ratings on locus of causality, controllability, stability when they perceived their giving circle was less successful.

Hypothesis 3. The causal dimensions were expected to mediate the relationship between outcome and expectancy for future success. To the extent that participants rated their giving circle as more successful, they were expected to rate the attributions for their success as more internal, controllable, and stable, which was expected to result in greater expectations for future success. Participants who rated their giving circle as more successful but attributed their success to more external, uncontrollable, and unstable causes were expected to have lower expectations for future success. Participants who perceived their giving circle was less successful and rated the attributions for their lack of success as more external, uncontrollable, and unstable participants were expected to have had higher scores on expectancy for future success than when they rated the attributions for their low success as more internal, controllable, and stable. Furthermore, it was expected that the mediation pathway would differ depending on the level of identification, specifically under conditions of low success. It was expected that when identification was high, and success was rated low, participants would have greater expectations for success than when identification was low and success was rated low.

Hypothesis 4. Expectancy for future success was expected to mediate the relationship between outcome and persistence. Participants who perceived their giving circle as more successful were expected to be more likely to continue being a giving circle member than participants who perceived their giving circle as less successful, but only to the extent that they expected success in the future. If success was not expected in the future than participants were not expected to continue being a giving circle member.

Methods

Participants and Design

Giving circle members ($N = 214$) completed an online or paper questionnaire. Data were reviewed to identify significant missing data. Data for twenty-three cases were excluded because the participant did not respond to more than two items that made up a measure. Data for 191 participants (129 females, 54 males, and two “others”) were included in all subsequent analyses. The vast majority of participants identified as Asian (86%). The majority of the sample were college graduates (78%) with the greatest percentage earning over \$100,000 annually (45%). A summary of participant demographic characteristics is shown in Table 11.

Table 11

Frequency of participant demographic characteristics

Demographic Variable	Percentage
Gender	
Male	29.2%
Female	69.7%
Other	1.0%
Highest Degree Completed	
Less than Bachelor’s Degree	3.7%
Bachelor’s degree	36.8%
Master’s degree	41.6%
Other	17.9%
Race/Ethnicity	
Asian/Asian-American	89.7%
Non-Asian-American	10.3%
Annual Income	
< \$50,000	14.2%
\$50,000-\$99,999	36.9%
\$100,000-\$149,999	23.3%
≥ \$150,000	25.6%

Procedure

All data were collected as part of a larger evaluation study to assess the success of AAPIP's 5-year giving circle campaign. As part of the evaluation study, approximately 600 current giving circle members were recruited to complete a donor survey. First, the Senior Director of Community Philanthropy at AAPIP sent out a recruitment email to all giving circle leaders and giving circle members. The email sent by the Senior Director contained a study link for members to respond to a questionnaire. Specifically, the email asked giving circle members to complete the questionnaire as part of the evaluation of the 5-year giving circle campaign. All giving circle leaders reminded their giving circle members during monthly meetings to complete the survey.

Also, AAPIP staff recruited members to complete the questionnaire at the end of AAPIP's 3-day annual national convening held in Los Angeles, CA. AAPIP staff asked all members who were present at the convening and had not yet completed the online questionnaire to complete a paper survey on the last day of the convening.

For both online and paper surveys, the first page of the questionnaire contained the participant consent form (see Appendix C). Participants typed or signed their name on the signature line to proceed to the rest of the study (see Appendix D for full questionnaire). Next, participants read a more detailed description of the evaluation explaining that the purpose of the evaluation was to identify best practices, challenges, and assist in the organization's strategic planning efforts for giving circle 2.0. Next, participants completed six items to assess their degree of identification with the giving circle network followed by a question to assess whether their giving circle reached their annual fundraising goal. Participants, then, listed one reason they believed their giving circle was

more or less successful in meeting its fundraising goal. As in Study 1, participants rated the dimensions underlying their causal attribution for their giving circle's success, or lack thereof, on 11 semantic differential scales. Then participants completed two items which measured expectancy for future success and persistence. Lastly, participants responded to four demographic items; gender, ethnicity, annual income, and level of education, then read a short debrief description.

Measures

Identification with the Giving Circle Network (Identification). Similar to Study 1, identification with the giving circle network was measured using six items (e.g., *At this moment, I identify with being part of the giving circle network*) and then averaged to create a composite score ($\alpha = .679$). The response scale for all items ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). However, the scale was more reliable as a 5-item scale ($\alpha = .934$) excluding the item, *It would upset me if I could not be a part of the giving circle network*. The five-item scale was used in all subsequent analyses.

Success of the Giving Circle (Outcome). The outcome of the giving circle was measured with one item by asking participants to rate how successful they felt their giving circle was in reaching its goals in 2015 on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*very unsuccessful*) to 5 (*very successful*).

Causal Dimensions. Causal dimensions were measured using the same items as in Study 1 (with items taken from the Causal Dimension Scale II; McAuley, Duncan, & Russell, 1992) but with one change. Each item was measured on a 9-point semantic differential scale. Only two stability items from the original subscale were included due to restrictions imposed by the client who commissioned the evaluation. Locus of causality was measured using a composite of three

items ($\alpha = .771$). Stability was measured using a composite of two items ($r = .31, p = .000$).

Controllability was measured using four items. However, Cronbach's alpha was negative due to a negative covariance with one of the items. The item *the giving circle can regulate: the giving circle cannot regulate* was deleted from the scale ($\alpha = .853$).

Expectancy for Success (Expectancy). Expectancy for future success was measured with one item to assess how successful participants felt their giving circle would be in reaching its future goals, *How successful do you feel your giving circle will be in reaching its future goals*. This item was measured on a 5-point scale from 1 (*very unsuccessful*) to 5 (*very successful*).

Persistence. Two measures of persistence were used. Persistence was measured using a single item that assessed the likelihood that participants would continue being a member of their giving circle with the item, *I am likely to continue being a member of my giving circle*. This item was measured on a 5-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). For the purposes of this study, this measure of persistence will be referred to as member persistence. In addition, persistence was measured using two additional items that assessed the extent to which participants would commit to volunteering more time and donating more money to the giving circle movement. The items read: *Would you be willing to contribute an additional \$50 in the coming year to support this effort?* and *Would you be willing to donate 20 hours of your time in the coming year to support this effort?* The response options were *yes* or *no*, where *yes* was coded as 1 and *no* was coded as 0. Both items were averaged to create a composite score ($\alpha = .507$). This aggregate measure of persistence is referred to as action persistence.

Demographics. Lastly, participants responded to four demographic items. For all demographic items, participants were asked to choose from a list of options that best reflected their annual income, level of education, race/ethnicity, and gender.

Results

Data Management

Identical to Study 1, the causal dimension items were reverse coded so that higher scores on each of the subscales reflected internal locus, greater controllability, and greater stability. All scales were then examined for normality. Skew and kurtosis fell within the normal range for all variables (skew ≥ -0.20 and ≤ 2.81 ; kurtoses ≥ -0.71 and ≤ 2.17) except the measure of outcome which had a wide flat distribution with scores clustered around the positive tail of the distribution (kurtosis = 4.80). To handle the non-normality of outcome, the data were winsorized by recoding all scores equal to or less than 2.00 with the value of three standard deviations below the mean (2.29). A total of three scores were winsorized.

Preliminary Results

The most frequent causes attributed to the outcome of the giving circle were related to the leadership of the giving circle, the commitment of giving circle members, the number of giving circle members in the giving circle, and matching funds from AAPIP. Participants who had lower ratings of success seemed to attribute their lack of success to the lack of commitment of giving circle members, inability to gain support from the community, the inability to get more people to volunteer as a giving circle member, the lack of leadership and guidance, and not receiving matching funds from AAPIP. Participants with higher ratings of success seemed to attribute their success to the strong commitment of giving circle members, the ability to gain

support from the community and other community-based organizations, and exceptional leadership and guidance.

Table 12 shows the range, means, standard deviations, and correlations for all variables. The correlation matrix was examined to determine if there were any indications of multicollinearity and to identify any covariates or control variables. Income was correlated with identification, $r = .18, p = .021$, and expectancy, $r = .18, p = .019$. Subsequently, income was used as a covariate in all regression analyses in which identification and expectancy were included. Since gender, education level, and race/ethnicity were categorical variables, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to assess whether there were meaningful differences between categories within these sociodemographic variables and any of the predictor or criterion variables. A separate ANOVA was conducted with either outcome, locus of causality, controllability, stability, identification, expectancy, or persistence as the dependent variable and age, gender, educational level, or ethnicity as the independent variable. There were no significant differences on any of the independent or dependent variables based on participants' level of education, $F < .20, p > .171$, ethnicity, $F < 1.41, p > .289$, or gender, $F < 1.22, p > .297$, on any of the predictor or criterion variables.

Table 12 shows that the causal dimensions scales were significantly correlated with one another. More specifically, there was a positive correlation between locus of causality and controllability, such that greater internal locus was associated with more controllable causes, $r = .72, p = .000$. This was also true for stability such that greater internal locus was associated with causes that were more stable $r = .25, p < .000$. However, controllability and stability were not significantly correlated, $r = .13, p = .067$. This pattern of results mimics results found by McAuley et al. (1992) in testing the validity of the CDSII.

As expected and similar to results from Study 1, there was a positive correlation between outcome and each of the three causal dimension subscales; locus of causality, $r = .33, p = .00$; controllability, $r = .25, p = .000$; and stability, $r = .24, p = .000$, which provides initial support for *Hypothesis 1*. There was also a positive correlation between outcome and identification, $r = .30, p = .001$, such that greater success was associated with greater identification with the giving circle network. This positive correlation was in contrast to what was found in Study 1 in which there was not a statistically significant correlation between outcome and identification. The reason for the difference between Study 1 and Study 2 is likely a function of the difference in methodology between the two studies. In Study 1, outcome was manipulated and in Study 2 outcome was measured allowing participants to provide their ratings of their group's success. The results from Study 2 might indicate that people who more strongly identify with the group tend to perceive their group efforts as more successful compared to people with a lesser degree of identification.

There was also a positive correlation between outcome and expectancy, $r = .40, p = .001$, as well as a positive correlation between outcome and persistence, $r = .30, p = .000$; higher ratings of success, were associated with higher expectancy for future success and a greater likelihood of continuing as a giving circle member. There was a positive correlation between identification and member persistence, $r = .27, p = .000$, such that greater identification with the giving circle network was associated with greater intentions to continue as a giving circle member. Likewise there was also a significant correlation between identification and action persistence, $r = .29, p = .000$, such that greater identification with the giving circle network was associated with greater intentions to donate more time and money.

Furthermore, member persistence was statistically significantly correlated with action persistence, $r = .22, p = .002$, such that the greater intentions of continuing as a giving circle member were associated with greater intentions to donate more time and money in the future. However, outcome was only statistically significantly correlated with member persistence, $r = .30, p = .000$, but not with action persistence, $r = -.02, p = .756$.

Table 12

Mean Scores, Standard Deviations, and Correlations for Causal Dimensions, Income, Outcome, Identification, Expectancy for Success, and Persistence

	Range	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Income	1-7	4.43	.66	-							
2. Outcome	1-5	3.84	.47	.12	-						
3. Identification	1-9	6.80	1.83	.18*	.30**	-					
4. Locus of Causality	1-9	6.00	1.04	.14	.33**	.15**	-				
5. Controllability	1-9	4.71	1.83	.08	.25**	.15*	.72**	-			
6. Stability	1-5	4.20	.70	.01	.24**	-.07	.25**	.13	-		
7. Expectancy	1-5	4.64	.59	.18*	.40**	.35**	.26**	.28**	.11	-	
8. Member Persistence	1-5	4.43	.66	.15*	.30**	.49**	.22**	.13	.02	.32*	-
9. Action Persistence	0,1	1.59	.40	.09	-.02	.29***	.02	.15*	.01	.12	.22*

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Main Analysis

Hypotheses 1 and Hypothesis 2: Outcome and the interaction of outcome and identification predicting causal dimensions. *Hypothesis 1* and *Hypothesis 2* were tested by conducting three hierarchical linear regressions – one linear regression for each of the three causal dimensions as the criterion variable. For all multiple regression analyses in this study, each continuous predictor variable was centered at its mean. The purpose of centering the predictor variables was to lessen the correlation between interaction terms as well as to make interpretation easier

(Hofmann & Gavin, 1998). For all three hierarchical multiple regressions, income was entered into the first step of the model as a control variable. Identification and outcome were included in the second step of the model, and the interaction term of outcome and identification was entered into the third step of the model.

When locus of causality was the criterion variable, the first step of the model was marginally significant, $R^2 = .02$, $F(1,170) = 3.11$, $p = .080$, indicating income was only a marginally significant predictor of locus of causality (see Table 13). The second step of the model was significant, $R^2_{\text{change}} = .11$, $F(2,168) = 10.67$, $p = .000$. Participants who perceived their giving circle had greater success attributed their success to internal causes compared to participants who perceived their giving circle had less success, $b = .90$, $SE = .21$, $t(168) = 4.21$, $p = .000$. Results from this regression analysis provide support for both *Hypothesis 1*. In addition, there was a statistically significant interaction effect of identification with outcome on locus of causality, $R^2_{\text{change}} = .02$, $F(1,167) = 4.05$, $p = .046$, providing support for *Hypothesis 2*. A post hoc power analysis revealed that power was .43. This suggests that there may not have been enough power to detect a significant effect of outcome and identification on locus of causality.

Table 13

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Results Predicting Locus of Causality from Outcome and Identification

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	SE _B	β	B	SE _B	β	B	SE _B	β
Income	.15 ⁺	.09	.13 ⁺	.10	.08	.10	.11	.08	.10
Outcome				.90	.21	.32***	.82	.22	.29***
Identification				.17	.30	.04	.11	.30	.03
Outcome x Identification							-.81	.40	-.15*
F		3.11 ⁺			8.28***			7.32***	
R ²		.02 ⁺			.13			.15	
ΔR ²					.11			.02	

⁺ $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

To understand the nature of the interaction between outcome and identification on locus of causality, the conditional effects at each level of identification were examined (see Figure 2). Identification was categorized into three levels, with all scores at one standard deviation above the mean coded as high identification, scores at the mean were coded as average identification, and scores one standard deviation below the mean were coded as low identification. The conditional effects indicated that when identification was low, the effect of outcome on locus of causality was significant, $b = 1.20$, $SE = .26$, $t(167) = 4.69$, $p = .000$. The greater the perceived success of the giving circle the more highly participants rated the cause of their success as internal compared to external. This result was not in line with what was expected. When identification with the giving circle was average the effect of success on locus of causality was also significant, $b = .83$, $t(167) = 4.63$, $p = .000$. However, when identification was high the effect of success was no longer significant, $b = .43$, $SE = .32$, $t(167) = 1.37$, $p = .173$, such that there was not a significant difference in scores on locus of causality based on the rated success of the giving circle. These results suggest that identification moderates the relationship between outcome and locus of causality, but the pattern of results is not as predicted. According to social identity and attributional bias literature, outcome would be a significant predictor of locus of causality only to the extent that identification is high. Previous research suggests that when identification is low, participants would not be any more or less likely to rate the cause of the outcome to internal compared to external causes regardless of the outcome (Costarelli, 2012; Costarelli & Gerlowski, 2014; Wann & Schrader, 2000).

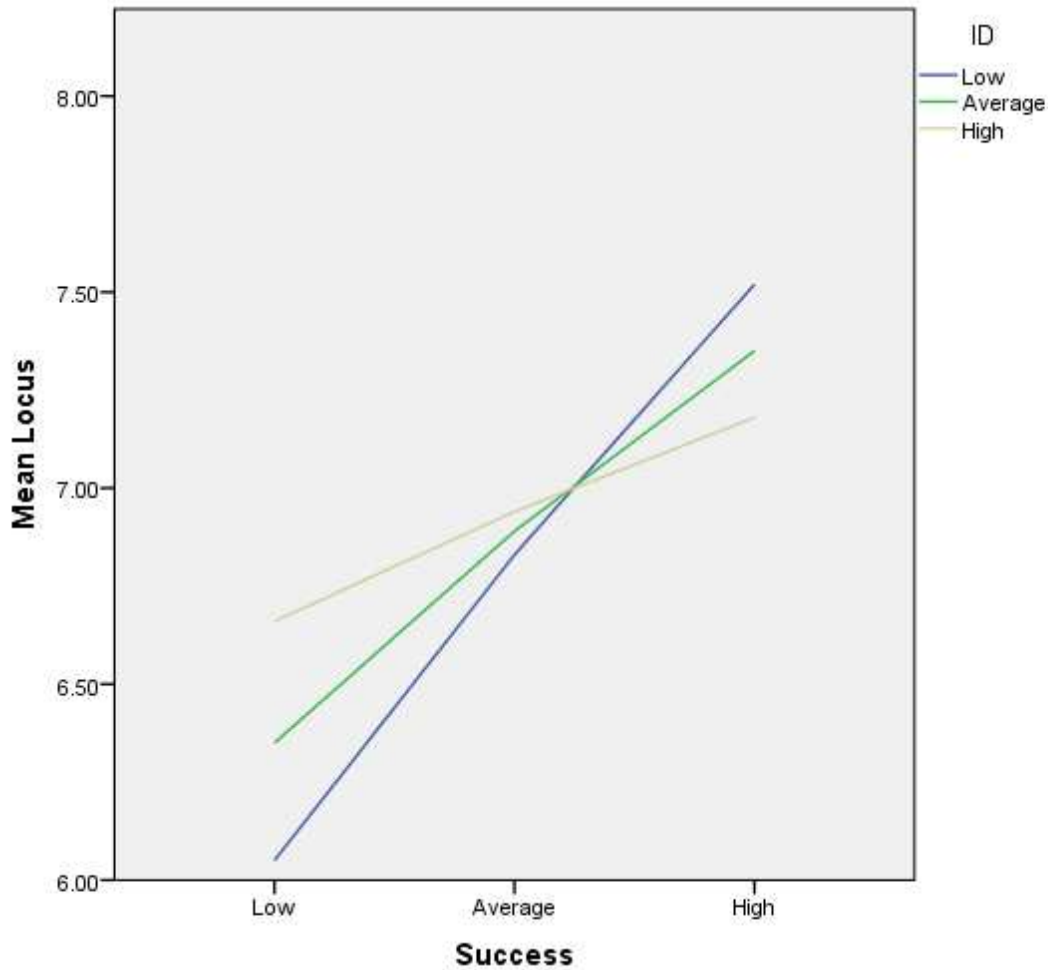


Figure 2. Interaction between outcome and identification on locus of causality

When predicting controllability, the regression results were nearly identical to the results for locus of causality. Income was not a statistically significant predictor of controllability, $R^2 = .01$, $F(1,170) = 1.41$, $p = .237$ (see Table 9). However, the second step of the model was statistically significant, $R^2_{\text{change}} = .10$, $F(2,168) = 9.08$, $p = .000$, with greater success related to greater controllability, $b = .46$, $SE = .12$, $t(168) = 3.84$, $p = .000$, providing support for *Hypothesis 1*. The interaction effect of identification and success on controllability was marginally significant, $R^2_{\text{change}} = .02$, $F(1,167) = 3.97$, $p = .056$ (see Table 14). A post hoc power analysis revealed that power was greater than .99.

Table 14

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Results Predicting Controllability with Outcome and Identification

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	SE _B	β	B	SE _B	β	B	SE _B	β
Income	.06	.05	.09	.03	.05	.05	.34	.047	.055
Outcome				.46***	.12	.30***	.42***	.12	.29***
Identification				.10	.17	.05	.07	.17	.03
Outcome x Identification							-.43 ⁺	.23	-.14 ⁺
F		1.41			6.57***			5.93***	
R ²		.01			.11			.12	
ΔR ²					.10			.02	

⁺ $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

To assess the nature of the marginally significant interaction on controllability, conditional effects at each level of identification were examined. The same pattern of results was found when predicting locus of causality as when predicting controllability. The conditional effects indicated that when identification was low, $b = .62$, $SE = .15$, $t(167) = 4.27$, $p = .000$, or average, $b = .42$, $SE = .12$, $t(167) = 3.41$, $p = .000$, the effect of outcome on controllability was significant (see Figure 3). More specifically, when identification was low or average, higher ratings of success were associated with higher ratings of controllability. When identification was high the effect of outcome was no longer significant, $b = .21$, $SE = .18$, $t(167) = 1.18$, $p = .241$. This interaction indicates that outcome was a stronger predictor of controllability only to the extent that identification was relatively low. When identification was high, the outcome of the giving circle was no longer an important predictor of controllability. The pattern of results is the opposite of what was predicted.

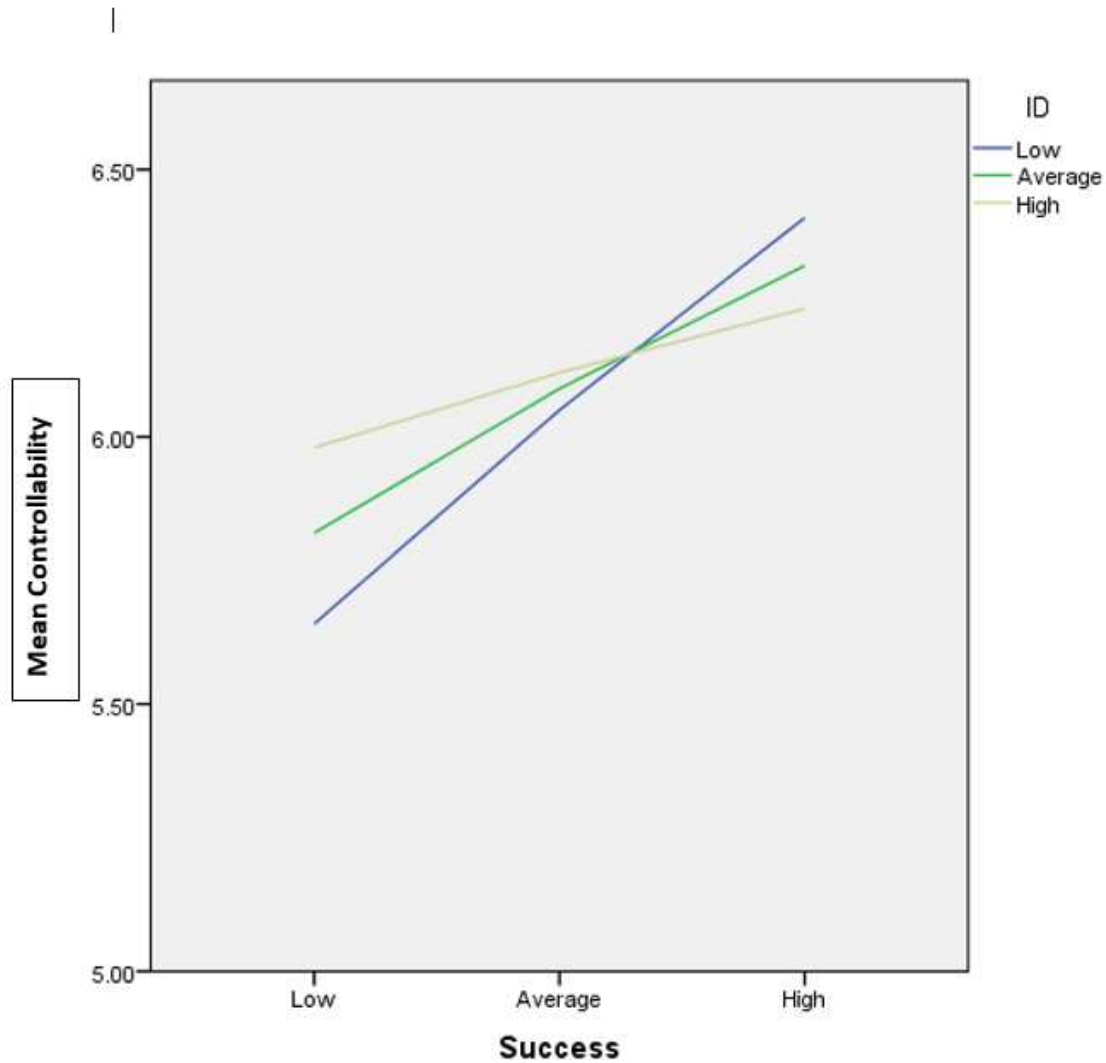


Figure 3. Interaction between outcome and identity on controllability

Stability was the criterion variable in the third hierarchical multiple regression. The first step of the model was not significant, $R^2 = .00$, $F(1,171) = .06$, $p = .811$, indicating that income was not a significant predictor of stability (see Table 10). Like the first two regression results, *Hypothesis 1* was supported. The second step of the model was significant, $R^2 = .08$, $F(2,169) = 7.70$, $p = .001$, with outcome predicting stability, $b = .83$, $SE = .22$, $t(169) = 3.80$, $p = .000$. The more successful participants rated their giving circle, the higher their scores were on the stability subscale. *Hypothesis 2* was not supported. Identification did not moderate the relationship between success and stability, $R^2_{\text{change}} = .00$, $F(1,167) = .25$, $p = .636$ (see Table 15). A post hoc

power analysis revealed that power was only .05 suggesting that there may not have been enough power to detect a statistically significant effect.

Table 15

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Results Predicting Stability with Outcome and Identification

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	SE _B	β	B	SE _B	β	B	SE _B	β
Income	.02	.09	.02	.03	.05	.05	.01	.09	.01
Outcome				.83	.22	.30***	.85	.22	.30***
Identification				-.62	.30	-.16*	-.61	.30	-.16*
Outcome x Identification							.20	.41	.04
F		.06			5.15**			3.90**	
R ²		.00			.08			.09	
ΔR ²					.08			.00	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

As in Study 1, a new causal dimension variable was computed by averaging locus of causality and controllability and creating a composite score that was used in a hierarchical multiple regression analysis. The new causal dimension variable was entered as the criterion variable with outcome and identification as predictors. Only outcome was a significant predictor of the composite causal dimension scale, $b = .69$, $SE = .16$, $t(167) = 4.44$, $p = .000$, indicating that greater success of the giving circle was related to attributing causes that were more internal, and controllable (see Table 16). Identification was not a significant predictor of the causal dimension scale, $b = .13$, $SE = .22$, $t(167) = .61$, $p = .55$ nor did the interaction between outcome and identification add to the prediction equation, $b = -.35$, $SE = .26$, $t(166) = -1.40$, $p = .166$.

Table 16

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Results Predicting Causal Dimension with Outcome and Identification

Variable	Model 1	Model	Model 3
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	B	SE _B	β	B	SE _B	β	B	SE _B	β
Income	.08	.06	.1	.05	.05	.07	.05	.05	.07
			1						
Outcome				.74	.14	.41***	.70	.14	.39***
Identification				-.12	.19	-.05	-.15	.19	-.06
Outcome x Identification							-.35	.26	-.10
F		1.97			11.06***			8.83***	
R ²		.01			.17			.18	
ΔR ²					.15			.01	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Hypothesis 3: Predicting expectancy for future success. Based on the zero-order correlations only locus of causality, $r = .26, p = .000$, and controllability, $r = .28, p = .000$, were significantly correlated with expectancy. Because stability was not significantly correlated with expectancy, $r = .11, p = .138$, it would not mediate the relationship between outcome and expectancy. Therefore, separate moderated mediation analyses were conducted using the PROCESS add-on for SPSS, one with locus of causality as the mediator and one with controllability as the mediator with identification as the moderator. Specifically, outcome was entered as the predictor variable, identification was entered as the moderator, either locus of causality or controllability was entered as the mediating variable, and expectancy for future success was entered as the criterion variable. Income was highly correlated with expectancy for future success and was entered as a covariate.

To test for moderated mediation, PROCESS assessed the influence of outcome on locus of causality and the influence of identification on locus of causality or controllability. Then PROCESS tested whether the effect of outcome on locus of causality differed dependent on the different levels of identification. Next, PROCESS assessed the extent to which outcome predicted expectancy for future success given locus of causality or controllability (the mediator). Lastly, PROCESS tested the extent to which the moderator variable, identification, was

significant when the mediator, locus of causality or controllability was held constant. Because income was correlated with expectancy for future success, it was entered as a covariate in the analysis.

When using locus of causality as the mediator, the results indicated that the interaction effect of outcome and identification on locus of causality was significant, $b = -.81$, $SE = .40$, $t(167) = -2.01$, $p = .046$ (see Table 17). This indicated that identification moderated the relationship between outcome and locus of causality. Specifically, when identification was low outcome significantly predicted locus of causality, $b = 1.20$, $SE = .26$, $t(167) = 4.63$, $p = .000$, such that higher perceptions of success predicted internal locus of causality. However, when identification was high, outcome no longer predicted locus of causality, $b = .43$, $SE = .32$, $t(167) = 1.37$, $p = .173$. When controlling for locus of causality, the effect of outcome on expectancy for future success was significant, $b = .33$, $SE = .08$, $t(168) = -4.15$, $p = .001$, which indicates that locus of causality did not mediate the relationship between outcome and expectancy for future success. Furthermore, the indirect effect of the moderated mediation was not significant, indirect effect = $-.04$. $SE = .03$, 95% CI $[-.109, .003]$. These results indicated that there was no moderated mediation and thus no support for *Hypothesis 3*.

Table 17

Moderated Mediation Analysis Predicting Expectancy from Outcome through Locus of Causality Moderated by Identification

	Multiple regression analysis predicting locus of causality from outcome and identification				95% CI for indirect effect	
	B	SE _B	t	p	Upper	Lower
Outcome	.82	.22	3.77	.000	5.443	7.206
Identification	.11	.30	.37	.715	-.475	.692
Income	.11	.09	1.31	.191	-.055	.272
Outcome x Identification	-.81	.40	-2.01	.046	-1.609	-.015

Multiple regression analysis predicting expectancy from outcome controlling for locus of causality						
Outcome	.33	.08	4.15	.000	.173	.487
Locus of Causality	.05	.03	1.75	.082	-.006	.105
Income	.05	.03	1.66	.099	-.010	.101
Moderated-mediation model predicting expectancy						
Indirect effect	-.04	.03			-.110	.003

To assess whether locus of causality mediated the relationship between outcome and expectancy for future success, a mediation-only analysis was conducted. The results indicated that the total effect of outcome on expectancy was significant, $b = .38$, $SE = .08$, $t(170) = 5.05$, $p = .000$, as well as the direct effect of outcome on expectancy when controlling for locus of causality, $b = .33$, $SE = .08$, $t(169) = 5.98$, $p = .000$ (see Table 18). However, the indirect effect of outcome on expectancy through locus of causality was not significant; indirect effect = .05, $SE = .03$, 95% CI [-.001, .151]. The results suggest that there was no difference in the relationship between outcome and expectancy when locus of causality was entered as the mediator, demonstrating that locus of causality did not mediate the relationship between outcome and expectancy.

Table 18

Mediation Analysis Predicting Expectancy from Outcome through Locus of Causality

Multiple regression analysis predicting expectancy from outcome					95% CI for indirect effect	
	B	SE _B	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Upper	Lower
Outcome	.38	.08	6.31	.000	.231	.528
Income	.06	.03	1.90	.059	-.002	.117
Multiple regression analysis predicting expectancy from outcome controlling for locus of causality						
Outcome	.33	.08	4.19	.000	.176	.489

Locus of Causality	.05	.03	1.79	.076	-.005	.106
Income	.05	.03	1.71	.088	-.008	.111
Mediation model predicting expectancy						
Indirect effect (c-c')	.05	.03			-.001	.106

When using controllability as the mediator, *Hypothesis 3* was supported. The results indicated that the interaction effect of outcome and identification on controllability was moderately significant, $b = -.43$, $SE = .32$, $t(167) = -1.92$, $p = .056$ (see Table 19). This indicated that identification moderately moderated the relationship between outcome and controllability. Specifically, when identification was low outcome significantly predicted controllability, $b = .62$, $SE = .15$, $t(167) = 4.27$, $p = .000$, such that higher perceptions of success predicted greater controllability over the cause of the success. However, when identification was high, outcome no longer predicted locus of causality, $b = .21$, $SE = .18$, $t(167) = 1.18$, $p = .241$. When controlling for locus of causality, the effect of outcome on expectancy for future success was significant, $b = .32$, $SE = .08$, $t(168) = -4.07$, $p = .000$, indicating that controllability may not significantly mediate the relationship between outcome and expectancy for future success. However, the indirect effect of the moderated mediation was significant, indirect effect = $-.06$. $SE = .04$, 95% CI $[-.163, -.002]$. These results indicated that the effect of controllability on expectancy for future success is moderated by identification. Specifically, the mediation effect of controllability was sustained at both low, $b = .09$, $SE = .04$, 95% CI $[.023, .170]$ and average, $b = .06$, $SE = .03$, 95% CI $[.014, .121]$, levels of identification but not at a high level of identification, $b = .03$, $SE = .03$, 95% CI $[-.023, .095]$.

Table 19

Moderated Mediation Analysis Predicting Expectancy from Outcome through Controllability Moderated by Identification

Multiple regression analysis predicting locus of causality from outcome and identification					95% CI for indirect effect	
	B	SE _B	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Upper	Lower
Outcome	.42	.12	3.41	.001	1.754	.657
Identification	.07	.17	.43	.666	-.255	.397
Income	.03	.05	.74	.460	-.057	.012
Outcome x Identification	-.43	.23	-1.92	.056	-.880	.126
Multiple regression analysis predicting expectancy from outcome controlling for controllability						
Outcome	.32	.08	4.06	.000	.163	.469
Controllability	.14	.05	2.86	.005	.044	.239
Income	.05	.03	1.71	.089	-.008	.110
Moderated-mediation model predicting expectancy						
Indirect effect	-.06	.04			-.163	-.002

To test whether controllability significantly mediated the relationship between outcome and expectancy for future success a mediation only analysis was conducted. The total effect of outcome on expectancy was significant, $b = .39$, $SE = .08$, $t(170) = 5.16$, $p = .000$, as well as the total direct effect of outcome on expectancy controlling for controllability, $b = .32$, $SE = .08$, $t(169) = 4.17$, $p = .000$ (see Table 20). There was a significant indirect effect of outcome on expectancy through controllability; the indirect effect = $.06$, $SE = .03$, 95% CI [.015, .128]. These results indicated that controllability mediated the relationship between outcome and expectancy.

Table 20

Mediation Analysis Predicting Expectancy from Outcome through Controllability

Multiple regression analysis predicting expectancy from outcome					95% CI for indirect effect	
	B	SE _B	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Upper	Lower
Outcome	.39	.08	5.16	.000	.239	.536

Income	.06	.03	1.91	.058	-.002	.117
Multiple regression analysis predicting expectancy from outcome controlling for controllability						
Outcome	.32	.08	4.17	.000	.170	.476
Controllability	.14	.05	2.76	.006	.039	.233
Income	.05	.03	1.81	.072	-.005	.112
Mediation model predicting expectancy						
Indirect effect (c-c')	.06	.04			.015	.128

Hypothesis 4: Predicting persistence. Because outcome was only statistically correlated with member persistence, this variable was the only measure of persistence used to test *Hypothesis 4*. To test *Hypothesis 4*, a mediation analysis was conducted using expectancy as the mediator, outcome as the predictor, and persistence as the criterion. Income was used as a covariate. The indirect effect of outcome on persistence through expectancy was significant; indirect effect = .07, *SE* = .03, 95% CI [.014, .143] (see Table 21). This indicates that expectancy mediated the relationship between outcome and persistence.

Table 21

Mediation Analysis Predicting Persistence from Outcome through Expectancy

Multiple regression analysis predicting persistence from outcome					95% CI for indirect effect	
	B	SE _B	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Upper	Lower
Outcome	.23	.07	3.46	.001	.098	.356
Income	.04	.03	1.66	.099	-.008	.096
Multiple regression analysis predicting persistence from outcome controlling for expectancy						
Outcome	.16	.17	2.34	.021	.025	.299
Expectancy	.17	.07	2.58	.011	.040	.300
Income	.03	.03	1.30	.196	-.012	.086
Mediation model predicting persistence						
Indirect effect (c-c')	.07	.03			.014	.143

Additional Analyses

Although identification was not expected to be a direct predictor of persistence, the zero-order correlations indicated that there was a statistically significant relationship between identification and persistence, $r = .27, p = .000$. As a result, an additional mediation analysis was conducted to assess whether identification was in fact, a mediator, rather than a moderator in the framework. PROCESS was used to test the mediating effect of both identification and expectancy on the relationship between outcome and persistence with income as a covariate. The total indirect effect of outcome on persistence through both expectancy and identification was significant; indirect effect = .14, $SE = .04$, 95% CI [.065, .2345] (see Table 22). That is, the confidence interval did not contain zero. In agreement with the interpretation of the indirect effect, this result demonstrates that the set of mediators completely mediated the effect of outcome on persistence. However, when looking at the total indirect effects, the only significant indirect effect was the path from outcome to persistence through identification; indirect effect = .11, $SE = .04$, 95% CI [.043, .194]. The path from outcome to persistence through expectancy was not significant; indirect effect = .03, $SE = .02$, 95% CI [-.011, .078]. This indicated that most of the total effect of outcome on persistence is through identification and not expectancy.

Table 22

Mediation Analysis Predicting Persistence from Outcome through Identification and Expectancy

Multiple regression analysis predicting persistence from outcome					95% CI for indirect effect	
	B	SE _B	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Upper	Lower
Outcome	.23	.07	3.43	.000	.096	.356
Income	.04	.03	1.63	.105	-.009	.096
Multiple regression analysis predicting persistence from outcome controlling for identification and expectancy						
Outcome	.09	.07	1.32	.190	-.043	.216
Identification	.49	.09	5.55	.000	.318	.668

Expectancy	.08	.06	1.33	.185	-.040	.208
Income	.02	.02	.74	.459	-.030	.067
Mediation model predicting persistence						
Indirect effect (Identification)	.11	.04			.043	.194
Indirect effect (Identification)	.03	.02			-.011	.078
Indirect effect (identification and expectancy)	.01	.01			-.003	.022

Discussion

Study 2 aimed to accomplish three goals. First, Study 2 aimed to address the limitations of Study 1, which relied on students' imaginations rather than their actual experiences. Second, Study 2 aimed to assess whether identification moderated the relationship between success and the causal dimensions, as predicted based on the proposed framework. Study 2 also intended to test whether the causal dimensions mediated the relationship between outcome and expectancy, and also assess whether expectancy mediated the relationship between outcome and persistence.

The results from Study 2 demonstrated that the outcome of a social movement campaign determined the type of causal attributions participants made for their perceived success of the campaign. In line with previous research, Study 2 replicated the results from Study 1; the greater the success of the giving circle, the greater the scores were on each of the causal dimension subscales, suggesting more internal locus, controllable and stable causes for higher ratings of success compared to lower ratings of success. This supports previous research in which participants who were more successful rated the cause of their success as more internal, controllable, and stable and participants who were less successful rated the cause of their failure as external, uncontrollable, and unstable (Costarelli, 2012; Costarelli & Gerlowski, 2014; Russell & McAueley, 1986; Wann & Schrader, 2000; Weiner, 2010). This finding has two

implications. First, it implies that the pattern of results is similar when looking at attributions for individual outcomes and attributions for group outcomes. This means that when it comes to achievement-related tasks, whether the task is an individual endeavor such as taking a math test or a group endeavor such as a football game or a social movement campaign, the outcome itself is a strong predictor of perceived causes for that outcome. Second, the results imply that attributions for social movement outcomes appear to be similar to attributions for other group-level outcomes such as sports outcomes (Sherman et al., 2007; Wann & Schrader, 2000) and professional collaborations like group work projects (Rantilla, 2000). People whose group performs successfully attribute their group's success to more internal, controllable, and stable causes than do people whose group performs less successfully. The type of group activity, whether a social movement or a basketball game, does not appear to matter concerning the relationship between the group outcome and the types of attributions made.

Findings from Study 2 provided partial support for the interaction between outcome and identification on the causal dimensions. The strength of identification only moderated the relationships between outcome and locus of causality and outcome and controllability. There are two things to discuss about identification as a moderator between outcome and the causal dimensions. First, the interaction between outcome and identification was not significant when predicting stability. One reason why the interaction between identification and outcome was not significant in predicting stability was that the criterion variable was relatively unreliable. Eliminating one of the three items from the original measure that made up the stability subscale likely affected the reliability of the scale, making it difficult to observe a statistically significant interaction effect.

Second, the pattern of results for the interaction between outcome and identification on locus of causality and controllability was not consistent with previous literature. Based on previous literature, high identifiers who rated their group as more successful should have rated the cause of their group's performance as more internal and controllable and high identifiers who rated their group as less successful should have rated the cause of their group's performance as more external and uncontrollable. On the other hand, low identifiers should have shown no difference as a function of outcome in their causal dimension ratings on locus of causality and controllability. In the current study, the opposite was true. Low identifiers with higher ratings of success rated the cause of their group's performance as more internal and controllable and low identifiers with lower ratings of success rated the cause of their group's performance as more external and uncontrollable. There was no difference among high identifiers in causal dimension ratings based on outcome. There is no theoretical explanation for these results as it is inconsistent with any research related to attributional bias. However, one explanation might be related to the participants' perceptions of threat.

There was a positive correlation between identification and outcome, which indicated that high identifiers rated the group's performance as more successful than did low identifiers. This indicated that high identifiers had a greater tendency to perceive their group as more successful than did low identifiers. This result is consistent with previous research where high identifiers rated their group's performance more positively than low identifiers (Roberson, Galvin, & Charles, 2007; Steffans, Haslam, Ryan, & Miller, 2017). This tendency, much like attributional bias, may be a result of the need for high identifiers to protect their group identity. According to prior research, low identifiers, however, were not motivated in the same way as high identifiers to protect their group identity, because it was not an important part of their self-

concept. However, in the current study low identifiers made more biased attributions than high identifiers. This could suggest that in a social movement context, both high and low identifiers have a need to protect their group identity, but go about it in different ways. High identifiers might tend to engage in identity enhancing strategies by inflating their group's success where low identifiers might engage in identity enhancing strategies by making biased attributions.

In this study, both high and low identifiers were motivated to participate in the giving circle campaign. This likely indicated that the campaign is important to all participants in some way, even if for different reasons. If this is the case, then both high and low identifiers would be motivated to engage in identity enhancing strategies. Much of the attribution research manipulates outcome by randomly assigning participants to a success or failure condition, which does not allow participants the opportunity to rate their group's success. As a result, participants are not given the opportunity to engage in identity enhancing strategies at that time. However, when given the opportunity, perhaps high identifiers would be much more inclined to inflate the group's success to protect their social identity, in which case, they would no longer need to make biased attributions to protect their social identity. On the other hand, low identifiers may want to protect their social identity but do so by making biased attributions. In the current study, this is what the results indicated; high identifiers had more biased perceptions of the group's success, while low identifiers had more biased attributions for the group's performance.

Concerning *Hypothesis 3*, controllability was the only causal dimension where moderated mediation was found in predicting the relationship between outcome and expectancy for future success. Although locus of causality was a direct predictor of expectancy, it did not change the nature of the relationship between outcome and expectancy. This indicated that greater success predicts expectancy for future success, but only to the extent that participants

perceived the cause of their success was due to factors within their control. Meanwhile, locus of causality was a direct predictor of expectancy; more internal attributions were related to greater expectations for future success. These results suggest that expectations for future success are dependent on locus of causality and outcome, though outcome is mediated by controllability which is further moderated by group identification.

There was support for *Hypothesis 4* using member persistence as the criterion variable. Results indicated that expectancy mediated the relationship between outcome and persistence. These results indicated that greater perceptions of success are more predictive of persistence with the giving circle but only to the extent that participants expected their giving circle would be successful in the future.

While not a part of the proposed framework, additional analysis, discovered that identification played a mediating role in the relationship between outcome and persistence together with expectancy. These results indicated that when assessing the mediating effect of both identification and expectancy, the indirect effect of identification mattered more so than the indirect effect of expectancy. Identification and expectancy were significantly related, which is to be expected. If people highly identify with a group that they voluntarily committed to, it is reasonable to believe that they would expect success in the future. Because of the potential threat to the self-concept, most people would not likely risk identifying with a group they perceive would likely fail in the future.

CHAPTER FOUR

General Discussion

Social Identity and Attributions

This program of research supports the idea that social identity is a major influence on how people perceive or interpret social movement outcomes as well as how people behave in a social movement context. Although identification with the group played an important role in predicting causal attributions in both Study 1 and Study 2, the role identification played differed slightly between the two studies. In Study 1, the regression results indicated that identification with APU predicted each of the three causal dimensions, but this relationship was negative. High identifiers rated their causal attributions as more external, uncontrollable, and unstable regardless of the outcome of the collective action campaign.

On the other hand, low identifiers rated their causal attributions as more internal, uncontrollable, and unstable, regardless of the campaign. When filtering the data by outcome condition, there was a trend that suggested that the more highly participants identified with the group, the more biased were their attributions under conditions of failure, attributing failure to more uncontrollable and unstable causes compared to low identification participations. Among successful participants, there was no difference in causal dimension ratings between high and low identification participants. These results suggest that there is a trend towards identification as a moderator between outcome and controllability and outcome and stability but this trend did not reach statistical significance. In Study 2, identification as a moderator of the relationship between outcome and the causal dimensions did reach statistical significance but only when predicting controllability. The pattern of this interaction was opposite to the pattern of the

trending interaction in Study 1. In Study 2 low identifiers made more biased attributions than high identifiers.

Two explanations can be offered for why the pattern of results concerning the strength of identification and attribution making differed between the two current studies and why results from Study 2 were inconsistent with previous research. Making biased attributions is likely to happen when social identity is threatened as is often the case when a group does not perform well on a task. Although group threat was not directly assessed in the current studies, many studies use failure or low performance on a group related task as an indication of threat (Costarelli, 2009; 2012; Deitz-Uhler & Murrell, 1998; Ellemers et al., 2002). When a group receives information that threatens their social identity, such as negative feedback regarding the group's performance, group members tend to attribute the cause for their group's poor performance to external and uncontrollable causes as a way to mitigate the threat to their social identity (Ellemers et al., 2002).

In Study 1, the outcome of the collective action campaign was manipulated, whereas, in Study 2, participants rated the outcome of the collective action campaign. Therefore, in Study 2 participants had an opportunity to enhance their social identity or mitigate threats to their social identity by inflating the success of their group's performance. If participants in Study 2 were able to engage in identity enhancing strategies by making biased performance appraisals, they might have no longer needed to engage in identity enhancing strategies by making biased attributions. In Study 1, participants did not have this opportunity, which might be why there was a trend towards high identifiers making biased attributions under conditions of failure as this would have been their only opportunity to engage in identity enhancing strategies. This explanation is similar to results found in a previous study in which results indicated that for high

identifiers biased attributions for their group's performance were eliminated when participants had an opportunity to engage in group affirmation – an identity enhancing strategy (Sherman et al., 2007).

Self-improvement motivations might also help to explain why low identifiers made more biased attributions than high identifiers in Study 2. For instance, one study found that group members put forth the greatest effort on a subsequent group task when they attributed the group's previous poor performance to causes related to the group than to situational causes (Bazarova & Hancock, 2012). Making external attributions for poor performance deprives group members of the opportunity to learn from their mistakes and enhance future performance. While this study did not assess differences in subsequent group effort based on participants' strength of identification with the group, one assumption might be that high identifiers would be more motivated to improve their group performance in hopes of being more successful in the future. This assumption is reasonable to make as results from Study 2 found that high identifiers were more likely to persist with the giving circle than low identifiers. If high identifiers were more likely to persist, then they might also be more motivated to think more critically about their performance to improve performance in the future. Low identifiers, on the other hand, might not be as motivated to improve the group's performance because they are less likely to continue participating with the giving circle. Because there were no expectations that group members would continue advocating to prevent a tuition increase in Study 1, there would have been no need to improve future performance regardless of strength of identification. Future social movement research should assess whether high and low group identifiers engage in different identity enhancing strategies in a social movement context and the motivations that guide these differences.

Attributions and Expectancy for Future Success

Results from Study 2 support previous research that indicates that locus of causality and controllability impact whether or not success is expected in the future (Bude et al., 2007; Minifiee & McAuley, 1998; Reese, 2007; Zhou & Urhahne, 2013). In Study 2, locus of causality was a direct predictor of expectancies for future success and controllability mediated the relationship between outcome and expectancy for future success. Stability was not significantly related to expectancy for future success, which is inconsistent with Weiner's theory (1985; 2010). Weiner (1985, 2010) states that only stability should predict expectancy for future success, but this was not the case in Study 2 results. Turning to internality norm theory might help to explain these results (Jellison & Green, 1981; Weary, Jordan, & Hill, 1985). Internality norm theory states that internal explanations for behavior are more socially valued than external explanations for behavior. Internality norm theory differs from attribution theory regarding which causal dimension predicts expectancy. Internality norm theory states that all internal attributions (internal locus and controllable causes) are valued more highly than external attributions (external locus and uncontrollable causes) regardless of the outcome of the activity. On the other hand, attribution theorists posit that internal explanations for positive events are rewarded, and external explanations given for negative events helps to avoid punishment (Heider, 1967; Weiner 1985).

Internality norm theory argues that expectancy is greater when people give internal explanations for an outcome compared to when people give external explanations, regardless of previous success. Attribution theory argues that it is not about internality of the cause but rather the stability of the cause that predicts expectancy for future success. For example, in Study 2, one giving circle member stated that the reason their giving circle was less successful was that

their giving circle “did not put in enough effort to raise the necessary funds.” Another giving circle member stated that “members in my giving circle do not make a lot of money and have little disposable income to donate to the campaign.” Both of these explanations are internal to the group. According to internality norm theory, both explanations would lead to high expectancy for future success whereas attribution theory would argue that the first reason would result in higher expectancy for future success than the second reason. The first reason is an unstable cause. Giving circle members have the option to put in more or less effort. On the other hand, the latter reason is more stable, in that giving circle members’ salaries are not likely to change drastically from year to year.

Internality norm theory is based on the assumption that effort based explanations are socially valued more than other types of causal explanations, such as ability or situational factors, regardless of the outcome of the performance (Pansu, Dubois, & Dompnier, 2008). In other words, internality norm theory suggests that explanations for performance that are internal and controllable are more valued than explanations that are external and uncontrollable. Because greater value is placed on internal and controllable explanations for performance, people are motivated to attribute causes for their performance in a way that is more socially valued for self-presentation concerns. On the other hand, attribution theory is more about rewards and punishments wherein people are rewarded for success more so when an outcome is attributed to internal and controllable causes rather than external and uncontrollable causes. People are also punished for failure that is attributed to internal and controllable causes compared to external and uncontrollable causes (Weiner, 2008). According to attribution theory, people would make biased attributions to avoid punishment or seek rewards. Results from Study 2 provide support for internality norm theory rather than attribution theory. Participants who rated the cause for the

outcome of their giving circle as more internal and controllable also had higher scores on expectancy for future success. This was found regardless of whether the group was more or less successful. These results might imply that social movement participants are less motivated by seeking rewards and avoiding punishment, but more motivated by social values.

Attribution and Social Identity Integrated Framework of Social Movement Persistence

The purpose of this research was to assess how identification and attributions affect persistence in a social movement context. As predicted, the results from the current set of studies indicated that there was a strong tendency for participants to make biased attributions whereby higher ratings of success were attributed to more internal, controllable, and stable causes than lower ratings of success. Strength of identification was expected to moderate the relationship between outcome and the causal dimensions such that the tendency to make biased attributions would be stronger for high identifiers than low identifiers. However, strength of identification only moderated the relationship between outcome and locus of causality and outcome and controllability in Study 2 but not in Study 1. Furthermore, low identifiers made more biased attributions than high identifiers in Study 2.

These results might have several implications for the proposed framework. First, in a social movement context, both high and low identifiers may experience threat to social identity as a result of lower ratings of group success. However, how group members respond to the threat may differ based on strength of identification. High group identifiers may respond to the threat by evaluating the group's performance more positively. There are different ways to define success in a social movement context. For instance, among North Carolina marriage equality social movement participants, although they were unsuccessful in achieving the right for same sex couples to marry, many participants felt that their efforts were successful in making progress

towards their ultimate goal (Dudley & Omoto, 2015). If high identifiers are able to mitigate the threat to social identity by redefining success in a way that is more empowering, then attributional bias becomes unnecessary. In this case, high identifiers might think more critically about their group's performance in order to determine how performance can be improved for future efforts. Low identifiers, on the other hand, may not be motivated to make biased appraisals for group performance but would still need to attend to the threat to their social identity. Because low identifiers may not be as concerned with future group performance, making biased attributions for poor group performance would be sufficient to mitigate the threat to their social identity. The framework might be modified such that strength of identification moderates the type of identity enhancement strategies performed, whereby high identifiers redefine success and low identifiers engage in attributional bias.

It was predicted that the causal dimensions would mediate the relationship between the campaign outcome and expectancy for future success and that the mediation would be moderated by strength of group identification. However, identification only moderated the relationship between outcome and controllability and only controllability mediated the relationship between outcome and expectancy. Both locus of causality and controllability directly predicted expectancy for future success regardless of the outcome. This suggests that outcome, controllability, and locus of causality predict expectancy for future success. However, outcome predicted expectancy for future success only to the extent that participants perceived the cause of the outcome was controllable. Internality norm theory might help to explain why locus of causality and controllability were direct predictors of expectancy for future success. Regardless of the degree of the group's success, group members who attributed the outcome to internal and controllable causes would expect success in the future because now they have a better

understanding of what they would need to do to be successful in the future. Together with high perceptions of control, participants would perceive they have the power to effect change and would adjust their efforts accordingly for future action.

Taking into consideration both attribution theory and internality norm theory several new predictions can be made. The first prediction might be that successful campaign outcomes would directly predict greater expectations for future success, which would result in social movement persistence. However, the path might be different under circumstances in which campaign outcomes were not as successful. When the campaign is unsuccessful, participants might engage in different identity enhancing strategies depending on the strength of their identification with the group, in which case social identity would serve as a mediator rather than a moderator. Low identifiers might make attributions that are more external and uncontrollable whereas high identifiers might make more attributions that are more internal and controllable. Internal and controllable causes would then result in greater expectations for future success compared to external and controllable causes.

In Study 2, stability was not significantly correlated with expectancy for future success. These results might indicate that in a social movement context, stability may not be an important variable to consider in predicting expectancy for future success. Social movement participants are likely to perceive that the causes surrounding their current situation have potential to change, otherwise, they would likely be unmotivated to participate in the movement. As a result, stability could potentially be excluded from the framework.

Future research should also consider taking to account other concepts of social identity theory for a greater integration of social identity and attribution theories in predicting social movement persistence. For one, the current studies did not take into account the social identity

concept of relative deprivation. Relative deprivation is the feeling of entitlement for something that has been denied, like equal access to quality education for people of color (Kawakami & Dion, 1995; Tropp & Wright, 1999; van Zomeren et al., 2008). The greater the feelings of deprivation, the more likely people will participate in collective action (Abrams & Grant, 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2008). Taking into account feelings of relative deprivation may further uncover the attributional process with respect to social movement persistence. It would be interesting to note whether feelings of relative deprivation impact the way in which social movement participants attribute the causes of social movement outcomes. One question to consider is whether greater feelings of relative deprivation predict persistence rather than withdrawal and whether this relationship is at all mediated by the causal dimensions or expectancy for future success?

Group efficacy - the belief that participating in collective action will result in a desired change or outcome (as cited in van Zomeren et al., 2008) - has received much attention with regards to predicting social movement behaviors. Social movement participation can be a time consuming and costly feat at times. Because participating in a social movement comes with personal costs and sacrifices, it is presumed that people are more willing to participate in a social movement to the extent they believe their actions will bring about the desired outcome. For instance, in one study, researchers manipulated group efficacy and found that students in the high group efficacy condition had stronger intentions to take action against poor university cafeteria food safety than students in the low group efficacy condition (Shi, Hao, Saeri, & Cui, 2015). In another study, researchers measured the rally participants' perceived effectiveness of the rally (Hornsey et al., 2006). Results indicated that participants who perceived the rally was effective

in expressing values and influencing the public had greater intentions to engage in future action than participants who perceived the rally was ineffective.

The rationale for not independently measuring group efficacy in the current studies is that it can be characterized as a causal attribution that is both internal and relatively stable. However, because group efficacy was not measured, there is no way to determine whether this assumption was accurate. The concept of group efficacy may be an important and separate variable to consider when predicting social movement persistence above and beyond locus of causality and controllability.

In the current studies, stability did not appear to be an important factor in predicting social movement persistence. The concept of stability in the current studies was based on the definition as offered by attribution theory which refers to the stability of the cause rather than the stability of the social structure as defined by social identity theory. The social identity theory concept of stability is an important variable in predicting collective action behaviors, however social identity theory defines stability as the perceived chance that the social structure between an in-group and an out-group can be reversed in the future (Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2000). Although, the cause of a social movement outcome could be attributed to the stability of the social structure, which may not always be so. For instance, a cause attributed to the success of a social movement might be that the congress is dominated by democrats which allowed for desired policy changes. However, congress will not always be dominated by democrats in which case the social structure between groups can change. This is where the stability of the cause and the stability of the social structure are similar. On the other hand, a cause for the success of a social movement might be attributed to the number of protesters the movement was able to engage. This is a cause that is unstable but also does not have much to do with the social

structure. Perhaps what really predicts expectancy for future success, in a social movement context, is the stability of the social structure and not just merely the stability of the cause attributed to the outcome. Future research should consider using the social identity theory definition of stability in integrating social identity and the attributional process to predict social movement persistence.

Although group efficacy has been found to be a significant predictor of social movement behaviors, it was not considered as an independent variable in the current studies. The rationale for excluding it in the current studies was due its conceptual similarity to internal and controllable causal attributions. However, because group efficacy was not measured, there is no way to determine whether this assumption was accurate. The concept of group efficacy may be an important and separate variable to consider when predicting social movement persistence above and beyond locus of causality and controllability.

Taking into account the various concepts of social identity theory above and beyond just group identification will allow for a greater integration of social identity and attribution theories. This will help to better understand how the two theories work together to better predict social movement persistence, but could also be important in predicting other social behaviors such as team performance in a professional or sports setting, civic and community engagement, and interpersonal or romantic interactions.

Limitations and Future Work

Several limitations should be noted and addressed in future work. The relatively low reliability of the sub-scale for stability in Study 2 may have been why a significant relationship between stability and expectancy was not detected. Only two of the three stability items from the original CDII Scale were used in Study 2 due to constraints imposed by the client for whom the

data were collected. Using the full three items sub-scale might allow for a significant relationship to be detected between stability and expectancy. Another limitation was the inability to determine whether the identification manipulation in Study 1 had the intended effect. The order in which participants completed the measures could have been a confounding factor on the manipulation. Therefore, there is no way of knowing whether some other variable or variables impacted the way in which participants responded to the identity manipulation.

Another limitation is the different methodologies used between the two studies. In Study 1, outcome was manipulated and collective identification was used in the analysis, whereas in Study 2 outcome was measured and politicized identity was used in the analysis. Therefore, the difference in results between Study 1 and Study 2 related to strength of identification as a moderator between outcome and the causal dimensions, or lack thereof, could have been a function of the identity variable, or a function of the outcome variable.

Implications

In a social and political climate where so much activity is centered on social, and systems change, whether people are working towards changing the criminal justice system, environmental regulations, or equal rights for minority citizens, new social movements are forming, and old social movements are continuing to push for the change they so desire. Social and systems change are complex and long-running processes. The success of social and systems change efforts are largely dependent on persistence of social movements and their ability to sustain social movement participation. Understanding the conditions under which social movement participants stick with the movement or bow out could help to secure the longevity of a given movement by implanting effective interventions that help to sustain engagement.

Previous research suggests that the strength of identification with the social movement group is an important predictor of why people get involved with a social movement and that attributions are important for persistence on achievement-related tasks. The current studies combined these two ideas to provide evidence that strength of identification and the attributions for the degree of success of a social movement activity are both important predictors of persisting with the movement. Taking what we know about what motivates people to get involved in a social movement and using that to explore what motivates people to stay involved was the primary goal of the current set of studies.

The current research contributes to the social psychology of social movements in a number of ways. The results from the current studies indicated that social identity and attribution theories work together to predict social movement persistence. Although the relationship between social identity and the attribution variables did not fully align with what was originally predicted, the results have several implications that might help better understand social movement persistence as well as implications for future research.

First, this research supports the idea that positive group performance outcomes are more predictive of persistence on group related tasks. Therefore, if group performance is poor, group members are less likely to persist. Failures, challenges, and setbacks are an inherent part of the social movement process. In response to failures and setbacks, group members are less likely to stay engaged in the movement compared to when the social movement efforts are successful. The focus then should be on determining ways to sustain engagement in the face of failures or setbacks.

Focusing on conditions of poor group performance, the results from the current set of studies indicated that high identifiers did not engage in biased attribution making as did low

identifiers. Although, there was a trend in Study 1 which suggested a tendency for high identification participants to make biased attributions under conditions of failure, this tendency failed to reach statistical significance. In Study 2, low identification participants were more likely to make biased attributions under conditions of failure than high identification participants. The results imply that, high identification participants are more concerned with social perceptions and performance improvement than enhancing their identity. According to internality norm theory, attributing outcomes to internal and control causes is more socially valued and it helps to improve subsequent performance.

Because low identifiers may be less likely to persist than high identifiers, social movement leaders should focus their efforts on messaging that encourages internal and controllable attributions for the outcomes of the social movement. In Study 2, results indicated that attributing an outcome to internal causes led to greater expectations for future success, and a greater likelihood of persistence. When it comes to past experiences with a social movement, locus of causality and controllability of the causes attributed to a previous outcome is what will determine whether low identifiers will stay or leave. Creating a socationormative culture that values internal responsibility will go a long way in encouraging low identifiers to stay engaged in a social movement.

Future research should test, again, the full framework, taking into considerations what was learned from the previous set of studies. More specifically, future research should focus on the processes that take place after a failure that lead to persistence. In considering persistence only under conditions of failure, future research should first assess whether engaging in identity enhancing strategies is a function of strength identification. That is, are high identifiers any more or less likely to engage identity enhancing strategies compared to low identifiers? Furthermore,

future research should consider assessing multiple identity enhancing strategies to determine if there are differences in the type of identity enhancing strategies used among high and low group identifiers and if these differences impact persistence.

Examining the role of both strength of identification and attribution making with respect to social movement persistence will lead to explanations of the conditions under which social movement participants will remain actively engaged in a movement, despite failure. Taking what was learned from the current research to assess under what conditions high and low group identifiers will engage in attributional bias or other identity enhancing strategies allows for research to truly focus on the differential motivators that lead to persistence among high and low group identifiers. Moving forward to assess the conditions under which participants will remain active will help to identify targeted strategies or interventions encourage sustained participation.

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Appendix A

Study 1 Consent Form



Informed Consent

You are being invited to participate in a research project conducted by Deryn Dudley in the School of Social Science, Policy, and Evaluation at Claremont Graduate University (CGU), which has been approved by CGU's Institutional Review Board, protocol #?. You are being asked to participate in this study because you 18 years or older and a student at Azusa Pacific University at the time of the study.

PURPOSE: The purpose of this research is to assess students' attitudes toward a tuition increase and how their attitudes about a tuition increase affects their attitudes about preventing a tuition increase.

PARTICIPATION: We are asking you to think about the possibility of a tuition increase for the 2017-2018 academic year and participating as a member of a student advocacy group to campaign against the increase. You will then be asked to take 10-15 minutes to complete an online questionnaire to assess your attitudes toward a tuition increase along with a few demographic questions. The total time for completing this study will be approximately 25 minutes.

RISKS & BENEFITS: The potential risks associated with this study may include arousal of uncomfortable feelings at the thought of increased tuition. However, we do not expect that these uncomfortable feelings will last. We expect the project to benefit your understanding of how academic research is conducted. In addition, we expect this research to benefit science by understanding how attitudes about a particular social issue affects people's perception of change regarding that issue.

COMPENSATION: You will receive 2 course credits for study participation.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION: Please understand that participation is completely voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will in no way affect your current or future relationship with Claremont Graduate University, its students, faculty, or staff members or your relationship with APU, its students, faculty or staff members. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty and you will be debriefed at that time. You also have the right to refuse to answer any question(s) for any reason, without penalty.

CONFIDENTIALITY: Participating in this study is completely anonymous. There will be no information that will identify you with your survey responses. All data will be kept in secure files and only aggregate data will be reported.

If you have any questions or would like additional information about this research, please contact us at deryn.dudley@cgu.edu, by phone at (301) 523-3545 or by mail at 123 E. 8th Street, Claremont, CA 91711. The CGU Institutional Review Board, which is administered through the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs (ORSP), has approved this project. You may also contact ORSP at (909) 607-9406 with any questions.

- Please click this box if you agree with the following statements. I understand the above information and have had all of my questions about participation on this research project answered. I voluntarily consent to participate in this research.

Appendix B

Study 1 Questionnaire

In this section you will read a script. Please take the time to read through the entire script and think strongly about how the information makes you feel.

Thank you so much for participating in this study. As many of you know, there has been a significant decrease in university and college budgets throughout the U.S. Because of this, many institutions are significantly raising their tuitions. These potential increases come at a time when there is a great push for affordable education. Often, students are at a disadvantage when it comes to making decisions regarding their tuition and fees, as they typically do not have the power to influence the decision.

Imagine for a moment that at the beginning of the Spring 2017 semester, you were notified that tuition was increasing by 20% during the 2017-18 academic year and will be increasing by another 30% in the following academic year. This significant increase in tuition is more than any increase in the past decade.

Social Identity Manipulation

Think about how you would feel about this significant rise in tuition and then respond to the following items. Please read each question and fill in the bubble that most closely represents your feelings. It would help us if you answered all items as best you can even if you are not absolutely certain.

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.
(1) Strongly disagree (5) Neither agree nor Disagree Agree (9) Strongly agree

At this moment, I identify with other students who are in support of preventing a tuition increase.

At this moment, I see myself as belonging to the group of students who are in support of preventing a tuition increase.

At this moment, I am happy to be a part of the group of students who are in support of preventing a tuition increase.

At this moment, I feel committed to the group of students who are in support of preventing a tuition increase.

At this moment, I feel solidarity with the group of students who are in support of preventing a tuition increase.

It would put a strain on me if I could not be a part of the group of students who are in support of preventing a tuition increase.

Filler Items

Next we'd like to obtain information about your academic experience and participation in extracurricular activities. Please answer each of the questions to the best of your ability.

Indicate which of the following sources you use to pay for university. Please respond to each item.

	Major source	Minor source	Not a source
My own income/savings			

Income/savings from family			
Employer contributions			
Active military or veteran benefits			
Grants			
Scholarships			
Student loans (bank, federal, etc.)			
Public assistance			

How many academic semesters have you been enrolled in at Azusa Pacific University?

- This is my first academic semester
- This is my second academic semester
- This is my third or fourth academic semester
- This is my fifth or sixth academic semester
- I have been enrolled more than six academic semesters

Indicate the extracurricular activities in which you are currently participating.

- Intercollegiate sports
- Intramural sports
- Club sports
- Music/theater group
- Student publications
- Student government
- Political group
- Religious or spiritual group
- Cultural/ethnic organization
- Volunteer service
- Other student organizations or clubs
 - Please specify: _____
- I am not involved in any extracurricular activities

Why have you chosen to participate in extracurricular activities?

- It matched my interests
- To make new friends
- To build my resume
- To gain leadership skills and abilities
- Professional networking

Why have you chosen not to participate in extracurricular activities?

- I don't have enough time
- I am too focused on academics
- I have work commitments
- I commute, so it's not convenient
- I have family commitments

To what extent do you feel connected with others at Azusa Pacific University?

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.
(1) Strongly disagree (5) Neither agree nor Disagree Agree (9) Strongly agree

I feel involved with other students at Azusa Pacific University.

I have relationships with Azusa Pacific University faculty.

I have relationships with other students at Azusa Pacific University.

I feel that I am a member of the Azusa Pacific University Community.

I recognize people on campus.

I feel a sense of belonging to Azusa Pacific University

I see myself as part of Azusa Pacific University.

How often do you participate in campus events?

- Never
- Less than once a month
- Once or more a month

Based on the answers to the questions above, we've calculated two scores. The first score that was calculated is regarding the importance of the cost of tuition. You received a total score on this measure of 54. In comparison to other students who have completed this questionnaire, your score is 27 points higher/lower than the average student. This means, that in comparison to other students, the cost of tuition is/isn't an important issue for you.

The other score that was calculated is in relation to the importance of social connections in which case you received a score of 61. In comparison to other students who completed the questionnaire thus far, your score is 33 points higher than the average students. This means that in comparison to other students at Azusa Pacific University who have completed this questionnaire, participating student led groups and organizations is extremely important to you.

As you read through the rest of this questionnaire, think about the relative importance of these issues to you.

Many universities have been faced with increased tuition year after year. In the past, many students at universities around the country have formed advocacy groups to prevent tuition increases. Some have been successful and others have not. Imagine that APU students decided to form an advocacy group to campaign against the increase. Although the cost of tuition may not be an important issue to you, participating in student led organizations is extremely important to you [The cost of tuition is an important issue to you as is participating in student led organizations.] Therefore, you have made a commitment to participate. Imagine that as a member of this advocacy group you spent 10 or more hours per week over the course of three months writing individual letters to the University Provost, distributing a campus-wide petition and submitting it to the university board, and speaking at faculty meetings to get faculty support.

After 3 months of advocating the Provost finally decides whether tuition will be raised by such a significant amount and announces it at the end of the Spring 2017 semester. After all of your hard work, you find out that your efforts were successful/unsuccessful. The Provost has/has not decided to increase tuition for the 2017-2018 academic year.

Causal Dimension Scale II

Now, take a moment to think about one reason why you think the advocacy group was/was not successful in its efforts

Please write the cause here:

Think about the reason you have written above. The items below concern your impression or opinions of the cause of your performance. Circle one number for the following questions.

<i>Is the cause something that:</i>		
<i>reflects an aspect of the advocacy group</i>	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	<i>reflects and aspect of the situation</i>
<i>is manageable by the advocacy group</i>	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	<i>is not manageable by the group</i>
<i>permanent</i>	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	<i>temporary</i>
<i>the group can regulate</i>	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	<i>the group cannot regulate</i>
<i>over which the advocacy group has control</i>	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	<i>the group has no control</i>
<i>is inside of the advocacy group</i>	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	<i>is outside of the group</i>
<i>under the power of another group</i>	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	<i>not under the power of another group</i>
<i>something about the advocacy group</i>	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	<i>something about another group</i>
<i>over which the advocacy group has power</i>	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	<i>the advocacy group has no power</i>
<i>unchangeable</i>	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	<i>changeable</i>
<i>another group can regulate</i>	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	<i>another group cannot regulate</i>

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.
(1) Much below average (5) Average Agree (9) Much above average

What did your score reveal regarding your how important the issue of tuition is to you?

Demographic items

What is your current age? _____

What is your gender? Female Male Transgender Gender Non-conforming

In what year at APU are you (*check only one*)?

- Freshman
- Sophomore
- Junior
- Senior
- Graduate Student

What is your race/ethnicity (check all that apply)?

- Asian
- Black/African-American
- Hispanic/Latino
- White
- Other (please specify): _____

Thank you so much for your participation. In this study I provided you with false feedback about how you scored in comparison to other students regarding the importance of the cost of tuition of student led organizations. These comparisons were purely fictitious and in no way reflect your or other students' attitudes toward tuition costs or participation in extracurricular activities. The purpose of this study is to add to the literature on collective action and social movement behaviors. The idea here is that social movements generally have many small successes and small failures during the life of a movement. The question to be assessed with this research study is to what do people attribute their successes and failures for the outcome of a social movement or campaign within a social movement? Furthermore, how do their attitudes towards that issue, rather their social identity with that issue, affect those attributions? The answers to these two research questions will help us to better understand the role that identification with a particular issue plays in attributing causes to successes and failures of a social movement regarding that issue. In order to accurately assess the role identity plays in attributions of social movement outcomes necessitated the use of deception. Now that you have been fully debriefed on the nature and purpose of this study, you have the option to withdraw your data from being included in the study.

Please check the box below if you would like your results excluded from the study.

- Please, exclude my results from being used in this study.

If you would like more information about this study, please email me at Deryn.dudley@cgu.edu.

Appendix C

Study 2 Consent Form



As a giving circle member, AAPIP is asking you to complete this short questionnaire to evaluate the effectiveness of AAPIP's 5-year National Giving Circle Campaign. In addition to the evaluation, the results from your responses will ALSO be used in a study to assess social movement persistence as a part of the giving circle movement. This research will be conducted by Deryn Dudley in the Department of Behavioral and Organizational Sciences at Claremont Graduate University (CGU). You are being asked to participate in this study because you are a current or previous giving circle member.

PURPOSE: The purpose of this survey is to evaluate the effectiveness and impact of AAPIP's 5-year Giving Circle Campaign. In addition, this data will be used as research to understand what factors predict social movement persistence. Please note that you will be responding to some questions that are key to the evaluation such as current giving circle involvement, motivation for involvement, identification with the Asian American Native Hawaiian Pacific Islander (AANHPI) community, values, and feelings of knowledge and empowerment. In addition, as part of the research study, you will also be asked questions about perceptions of your giving circle's success, attributions for success, and intentions for continued participation.

PARTICIPATION: You are asked to take 15 minutes to complete an online questionnaire regarding your identification with the giving circle campaign and the AANHPI community, as well as questions about the effectiveness and impact of the campaign. We are interested in your personal experiences regarding the giving circle movement.

RISKS & BENEFITS: There are no foreseen potential risks associated with this study outside of any risk occurring during everyday life. We do not expect any questions to make you feel

uncomfortable. However, you are free to skip any questions you do not feel comfortable answering, or to stop your participation at any time. This study should directly benefit your participation as a giving circle member. Results from this study will be utilized in strategic planning efforts to improve the giving circle program. We also expect this research to benefit the field of psychology and philanthropy by advancing the knowledge in the field, and to gain a better understanding of the range of viewpoints and experiences that people have about social movement participation and philanthropy.

COMPENSATION: No compensation shall be given to giving circle members who take the Survey. However, giving circles with members who take the Survey have a chance to qualify to enter drawings for two prizes as follows:

- Survey Prize #1: If at least five (5) individual members of a giving circle submit the Survey, then such giving circle shall be eligible to enter a random drawing to receive an expense reimbursement for that giving circle in the amount of \$250 within the calendar year of 2016.
- Survey Prize #2: If at least ten (10) individual members of a giving circle submit the Survey, then such giving circle shall be eligible to enter a random drawing to receive an expense reimbursement in the amount of \$250 within the calendar year of 2016.

Winner of Survey Prize #1 shall be randomly drawn first on November 20, 2015 and winner of the Survey Prize #2 shall be drawn after the winner of Survey Prize #1. The winning giving circle of Survey Prize #1 is automatically disqualified from winning Survey Prize #2. The winning giving circles of Survey Prize #1 and #2 shall be notified via email. Individuals who are members of more than one giving circle and who submit more than one Survey will only have their first Survey submission counted towards the Survey Prizes.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION: Please understand that participation is completely voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will in no way affect your current or future relationship with AAPIP or its staff members. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty and you will be debriefed at that time. You also have the right to refuse to answer any question(s) for any reason, without penalty.

CONFIDENTIALITY: Your individual privacy will be maintained in all publications or presentations resulting from this study. Participating in this study is completely anonymous.

If you have any questions or would like additional information about this research, please contact Deryn Dudley at ddudley@ssg.org, by phone at (213) 553-1800 or by mail at 905 E. 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90012. The CGU Institutional Review Board, which is administered through the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs (ORSP), has approved this project. You may also contact ORSP at (909) 607-9406 with any questions. Lastly, feel free to contact Noelle Ito, AAPIP Vice President of Program at noelle@aapip.org, or by phone at (323) 251-9568.

A signed copy of this consent form will be given to you.

I understand the above information and have had all of my questions about participation on this project answered. I voluntarily consent to participate in this research.

Signature of Participant _____ Date _____

Printed Name of Participant _____

Signature of Parent/Guardian _____ Date _____

Printed Name of Parent/Guardian _____

Appendix D

Study 2 Questionnaire

AAPIP’s National Giving Circle Network Survey

Please mark the **ONE** box that best reflects your answer.

To what extent do you agree/disagree with the following statements?	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
At this moment, I identify with the giving circle network.					
At this moment, I see myself as belonging to the giving circle network.					
At this moment, I am happy to be a part of the giving circle network.					
At this moment, I feel committed to the giving circle network.					
At this moment, I feel solidarity with the giving circle network.					
At this moment, I consider myself a philanthropist.					
It would upset me if I could not be a part of the giving circle network.					
I believe that the giving circle network can achieve the goal of increasing awareness of the AANHPI community.					
I believe that the giving circle network can achieve the goal of increasing foundation funding to the AANHPI community.					

I believe that the giving circle network can make a positive impact on the AANHPI community.					
My giving circle can address AANHPI community needs by helping organizations that are working to address those needs.					

Please mark the **ONE** box that best reflects your answer.

	Very Successful	Somewhat successful	Neither successful nor unsuccessful	Somewhat Unsuccessful	Very Unsuccessful
Overall, how successful do you think your giving circle was in reaching its goals in 2015?					

READ THIS CAREFULLY

The next portion of the survey requires a two-step process. First, write a short answer to complete the sentence below then rate your short answer on each of the scales by circling a number that best reflects your response.

For example: One reason that makes me a good friend is:

I am a good listener.

Is your reason (what you wrote above) something:

About you 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 About the situation

In my answer above, I picked 2. This means that I think my reason, “I’m a good listener” is more about me, I enjoy listening to what my friends have to say, than about the situation, my friends force me to listen.

For the next 11 questions, circle the number that best describes the reason you write below.

If you responded *very* or *somewhat successful* to the question above, please think about one reason why you feel your giving circle was **successful** in reaching its campaign goals for 2015. Otherwise, please think about one reason why you feel your giving circle was *not successful* in reaching its campaign goals for 2015.

One reason I feel my giving circle was/was not successful was:

Think about the reason you have written above. The items below concern your opinions on that reason. Circle **ONE** number for **each** row for the following questions.

Is what you wrote above something that:		
reflects an aspect of the giving circle	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	reflects an aspect of the situation
is manageable by the giving circle	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	is not manageable by the giving circle
is permanent	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	is temporary
the giving circle can regulate	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	the giving circle cannot regulate
over which the giving circle has control	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	over which the giving circle has no control
is inside of the giving circle	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	is outside of the giving circle
is under the power of another group	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	is not under the power of another group
is about the giving circle	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	is about another group
over which the giving circle has power	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	over which the giving circle has no power

is unchangeable	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	is changeable
another group can regulate	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	another group cannot regulate

Please mark the **ONE** box that best reflects your answer.

To what extent do you agree/disagree with the following statement?	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I am likely to continue being a member with my giving circle.					

To what extent do you agree/disagree with the following statements?	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
How successful do you feel <u>your giving circle</u> will be in reaching its future goals?					
How successful do you feel <u>the giving circle movement</u> will be in reaching its future goals?					

In this section you will answer various questions to help the researcher get to know you a bit better. Please answer these questions to the best of your ability and be as honest as possible.

What is your gender?

- Female
 Male
 Transgender
 Agender
 Gender nonconforming

My race/ethnicity is:

- Asian or Asian American (Please mark all that apply below.)
- | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bangladeshi | <input type="checkbox"/> Hmong | <input type="checkbox"/> Pakistani |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cambodian | <input type="checkbox"/> Indian | <input type="checkbox"/> Sri Lankan |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese
(except Taiwanese) | <input type="checkbox"/> Japanese | <input type="checkbox"/> Taiwanese |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Filipino | <input type="checkbox"/> Korean | <input type="checkbox"/> Thai |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Laotian | <input type="checkbox"/> Vietnamese |
- Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (Please mark all that apply below.)
- Guamanian or Chamorro
 - Native Hawaiian
 - Samoan
- American Indian/Native American
- Black or African American
- Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
- White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic
- Mixed
- Other (write in): _____

What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed?

(If currently enrolled, the highest degree received.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> No schooling completed | <input type="checkbox"/> Associate degree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nursery school to 8 th grade | <input type="checkbox"/> Bachelor's degree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Some high school, no diploma | <input type="checkbox"/> Master's degree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> High school graduate, diploma or the
equivalent (for example: GED) | <input type="checkbox"/> Professional degree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Some college credit, no degree | <input type="checkbox"/> Doctorate degree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Trade/technical/vocational training | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (write-in):
_____ |

My income level is:

- Less than \$25,000
- \$25,000 to \$34,999
- \$35,000 to \$49,999
- \$50,000 to \$74,999
- \$75,000 to \$99,999
- \$100,000 to \$149,999
- \$150,000 or more

Thank you for taking this survey! We greatly appreciate the information you provided.

The results from this survey will help to evaluate AAPIP's 5-Year National Giving Circle Campaign. Specifically, AAPIP desired to better understand what factors were influential in getting you involved in your giving circle, your level of current involvement with your giving circle and your previous and current level of civic engagement in the AANHPI community. In addition, AAPIP wanted to know the impact that participating in the giving circle has had on your connection with and knowledge of the AANHPI community. Your responses will be extremely helpful in improving the giving circle process.

In addition to evaluating AAPIP's 5-year National Giving Circle Campaign, results from this survey will be used in a research project. The purpose of this research project is to better understand how the attributions that people make for their successes and failures within a social movement context affect their willingness to stay engaged in the movement. The items regarding the reasons you stated for achieving or not achieving success as well as those items which asked about future community involvement with the giving circle were for the purposes of the research project and not part of the evaluation commissioned by AAPIP.

If you have any questions about the evaluation or the research project please contact Deryn Dudley at ddudley@ssg.org or Noelle Ito at noelle@aapip.org.