

National Identity Ownership

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Abstract

People come to feel ownership over groups in which they have membership. Current social psychological theory concerning identity does not address perceived group ownership. This paper examines the potential relationship between perceptions of ownership and an individual's group membership. Integrating work from social psychology and organizational psychology on identity and ownership, this paper suggests that individuals can and do come to feel ownership over groups in which they have membership. Feelings of group ownership are theorized to develop through three important mechanisms: perceived control over, engagement in, and knowledge concerning the group. The importance of group ownership feelings as well as some potential implications is discussed. Four studies construct a measurement of ownership and determine its distinctiveness from previous forms of national ownership. Studies 1 and 2 attempt to replicate previous work on forms of national identification (patriotism and nationalism) and investigate the possible existence of a group ownership construct. Study three further develops a measurement of national ownership and tests whether it is a distinct form of national identification from patriotism and nationalism. Finally, study four manipulates ownership and replicates the findings of study three concerning the construct's distinctiveness.

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National Identity Ownership

The possibility of individuals feeling ownership over their group identity has been neglected in psychological literature. Research concerning ownership and identity has emphasized describing how owned objects can represent a person's identity, but ignored the possibility that ownership can be felt over one's group. In this paper I integrate the extant social psychological theory concerning ownership and identity with that of organizational psychology and show that individuals can come to feel ownership over their group identity.

The concept of psychological ownership is one of the oldest in social psychology (James, 1890/1981); but it has received little recent empirical investigation within the field. Where the concept of ownership has been addressed in social psychological literature, it has been discussed mainly in reference to owned material objects and their implication on identity and one's sense of self (Beaglehole, 1932; Beggan, 1992; Dittmar, 1992; Heider, 1958; Isaacs, 1933; James, 1890). Owned objects become incorporated into the self, or act as important markers of a person's identity, in effect displaying this identity for others to witness. Theories of identity are abundant in social psychology, but many of these give scant consideration to the impact of ownership. Work on identity addresses many of the factors associated with individuals' connections to their group, but where ownership appears to be discussed it is most often in terms of how owned items act as markers of the identity group to which the individual belongs.

This paper examines psychological ownership as a distinct way of relating to the group from previous identity constructs because of its conceptual basis. Psychological ownership's conceptual base is possessiveness whereas the basis for previous constructs such as group identification and membership lay elsewhere. The basis for group identification is attachment and personal need for positive evaluation versus group membership which can be simple

categorization or belonging and can be imposed by outside individuals. Membership could even be looked at as a passive form of the relating to the group where one is simply lumped in with a group based on real or artificial categories determined by others. Identification can also be looked at as a form of group relation in which an individual can choose the level of investment in and distance from the group; distancing from the group when it might be harmful to one's positive evaluation. Ownership on the other hand is an active investment into a group and should entail upkeep and even defensive responsibilities that cannot be as easily done away with. In this way ownership comes with a responsibility that neither simple identification nor membership do.

The paper will first examine the use of ownership in speech related to identification and then summarize previous psychological literature on the development ownership as well as work concerning group identification. Work on ownership of organization is then studied and tied to identity group ownership while examining both the positive and negative consequences of felt ownership. Finally, the paper introduces four studies investigating the conceptual distinctiveness of ownership as an identification construct. Studies 1 and 2 replicate previous identity work while trying to establish ownership as its own identity domain in two different identity group; the nation in study 1 and the university in study 2. Studies 3 creates new ownership scale and tests its distinctiveness from previous national identification scales and study 4 attempts to manipulate participant's level of felt ownership over the national identity.

Identity Ownership in Speech

The absence of discussion on identity and ownership persists even though common speech often describes identity in terms of ownership. National identity is often discussed in terms of "my country" or sports teams to which one invests her/his identity become "our team." In addition, these identities are defended using terms indicating that some get to own the identity

while others do not, “this is our country, not theirs,” and when these identities begin to change terms indicating dispossession are often used, “I have lost my country.” With references to owned identities frequently used in speech it is even further surprising that there appears to be rather little in the way of research addressing the degree to which individuals may come to feel as if they have some form of ownership over their identity.

The fact that individuals use language that marks ownership over an identity indicates they can and do come to perceive some such felt ownership. Researchers have posited the link between language use and perceived reality. Linguistic relativism, the idea credited to Whorf (1956), has fluctuated in and out of favor but the weak version of the argument that linguistic structure or usage can affect thoughts and behavior has remained intact (Genter & Goldin-Meadow, 2003; Hunt & Agnoli, 1991).

Further evidence of language use making meaning for individuals can be seen in the use of conceptual metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Hammack & Pilecki, 2012). Conceptual metaphors allow an individual to use language to structure her/his understanding; complex ideas or thoughts can be given more concrete meaning through the use of metaphors. In the realm of identity the complex web of social relations can be made more concrete and understandable if a person uses ownership as a metaphor for her relation to an identity group. If nothing else, research on how individuals use language points to a link between individual language use and the way those individuals actually perceive the world and their relation to that world. Language use indicating ownership when discussing an identity group provides evidence that individuals perceive groups as entities that can be owned. This paper will discuss where feelings of ownership come from, how they may develop for one’s group, and some potential implications of feeling ownership toward the group.

Psychological Discussions of Ownership

In his work James sets the basis for the importance of feelings of ownership for developing one's sense of self or identity. James claimed that we are in essence the sum total of all that which we possess:

A man's Self is the sum total of all that he CAN call his, not only his body and his psychic powers, but his clothes and his house, his wife and children, his ancestors and friends, his reputation and works, his lands, and yacht and bank-account (p. 279, *emphasis original*).

James' sexism notwithstanding, his point remains: ownership allows individuals to form their self-concepts. Owned entities, both tangible and not, provide narratives about the individuals both to themselves and to the public. Sartre also recognized the importance of ownership to an individual's sense of self, going so far as to include "to have," along with "to be" and "to do," as his three categories of human existence (Sartre, 1969, p. 591). The act of ownership allows for the investment of the self into objects and the extension of the self through those objects.

There is also evidence to suggest that separation from owned objects has real implication to a person's sense of identity. Individuals often characterize the loss or theft of items as a loss of self, believing that the burglar had stolen part of who they were. Cram and Paton (1993) discuss the detrimental effects often observed when moving elderly individuals into assisted living facilities. They blame this on the separation of the individual from her possessions and thus her sense of self. In this way ownership and identity seem to be intimately related in that both may be dependent on the other. Having a sense of self or one's existence is necessary to feel ownership over a given entity, but likewise the owning of an entity serves to define who a person is. The link between identity and ownership is clear but these conceptions mainly appear to

conceive of ownership over entities as markers of one's identity, but the fact that a loss of such items can be felt as a loss of part of one's identity provides compelling evidence individuals can come to see their identity as a possession.

In the same way that employees can begin to feel ownership over organizations for which they have no legal ownership, possessions can and are seen as not only material objects but also non-material entities. The previous quote from James refers to not only tangible objects such as a house and land but also the intangible such as reputation and psychic powers. The possible possession of non-material entities is also backed up by other theorists in social psychology; Heider (1958) discusses the feelings of ownership that scientists can have toward their ideas, in fact the cleaving off and defense of one's ideas as one's own seems to be a fairly common practice in many fields of academia. Isaacs (1933) showed that children feel ownership toward nursery rhymes and songs suggesting an early pattern of thought whereby non-material entities come to be possessed. Abelson and Prentice (1989) further show that functionally beliefs also become possessions and that language is even used to describe this relationship as individuals "cling to" or "lose" their beliefs and "adopt" new ideas. It is the ability to feel ownership over the intangible that allows people to come to feel ownership not only of their ideas and beliefs (Heider, 1958; Abelson & Prentice, 1989) but also over their person (McClelland, 1951), their personal identity (Reysen, 2009), and, as this paper will argue, their group identity.

Development of Psychological Ownership

Theories concerning the development of psychological ownership, like much of psychology, come from two separate camps: those who look to a biological determinate of ownership and those who propose it derives from human socialization. Many scholars advocating a more biological perspective point to ownership as an innate human need based in

the genetic structure (McDougall, 1923). This group of theorists point to behavior in animals, which suggests an innate drive to possess; they point to hoarding instincts and territorial claims of animals as evidence of such an innate drive (Litwinski, 1942). Researchers also point to evidence from laboratory animals, which appear to favor food that they “earn” by pressing levers as opposed to food that is freely available (Ellis, 1985). In humans they point out that feelings of ownership develop at a very early age and may be universal in that forms of ownership appear in all human societies (Ellis, 1985).

Beaglehole (1932), who also wrote extensively on possessions among animals, favors the other side of the argument. He finds little support in his work for any sort of innate drive to feel ownership. Like Beaglehole, scholars aligning with the socialization perspective also point out that the development of a sense of ownership comes about at a very early age. They, however, argue that it is the experience of control that leads to the development of ownership and as will be shown later the experience of control is important both in research concerning intragroup identification and in the organizational literature.

Young children learn the difference between what is self and what is not self by aligning it with what they can control. Aspects of the environment that can be controlled are incorporated into the self, such as one’s body and objects around the young child. Those that are out of the child’s control are not incorporated into the self and not possessed (Furby, 1978). Socialization plays an important role in this process as parents are able to set the boundaries of what a child can control using phrases such as “not yours” or “don’t touch.” They also help develop a more intricate feeling of ownership by incorporating the idea of “not yours, but mine”, such as “that toy is your sister’s not yours, give it back” (Furby, 1978). In this way control over objects is seen as a way of placing it within one’s identity and incorporating it into one’s self. No definitive

answer exists to validate either of the black-and-white perspectives concerning the development of psychological ownership. This paper will instead simply entertain the possibility put forth by Dittmar (1992) and Pierce, Kostova, and Dirks (2001) that both nature and nurture are important factors in psychological ownership.

In a later work Pierce et al. (2003) also discuss three important experiences that lead an individual to feel psychological ownership of a target: control of the target, knowing the target intimately, and investing the self in the target.

Control of the ownership target. The importance of control over objects has already been discussed in this paper, but here again control is seen to be a contributing factor in the development of psychological ownership. The ability to control a target entity gives rise to a feeling of ownership toward the entity (Furby, 1978); the more a person can control an object the more that object is integrated into that person's self. Prelinger (1959) found that people were more likely to consider items which they were able to exercise control over as parts of their self than items which they could not. Control allows for a sense of efficacy and also ownership, which in turn incorporates the entity into one's sense of self.

Knowing the target intimately. Both James (1890/1981) and Beaglehole (1932) recognize the importance knowing a target for the development of ownership. It is through this process they argue that an entity is integrated to an individual's sense of self. In this sense time becomes important to the development of ownership feelings. The more time one is associated with an object the more they come to know that object and the more information one possesses about an object the more intimately one feels associated with it (Beggan & Brown, 1994). Intimate knowledge of an object allows one to more easily establish that object as a part of one's self.

Investing the self into the target. The final experience developed by Pierce, et al. (2003) has to do with the relationship between work and psychological ownership. Locke (1690/1988) himself recognized the importance of work toward the development of private property or possessions. He argued that for an object to be taken from the “state of nature” and turned into one’s own possession a person must first make use or work over that object. Our labor is our own, so that which we put labor into becomes ours as well and is incorporated into the self. Perceivers also recognize that investing work into an object enhanced a person’s claims to ownership (Beggan & Brown, 1994). Labor is not limited to work on physical objects, work can be done on ideas, as in academics (Heider, 1958), or put in to organizations, such as at the workplace (Pierce, et al., 2003). Here we can see the basis for developing feelings of ownership for one’s identity group, such as feeling ownership for the identity of being American. Individuals can invest in that identity through various means, voting, paying taxes, or even displaying flags can be interpreted as investing one’s self in the group and psychological ownership may then develop from such actions.

Social Identity Theory on Identity Development

While social psychology may have relatively little to say concerning the perceived ownership of one’s groups, the field has an abundance of work on the concept of identity. Theories concerning identity, in fact, have led to the development of one of social psychology’s most influential theoretical frameworks: Social identity theory. Social identity theory, developed by Henri Tajfel and John Turner (1979), postulates that people form identities based on two underlying processes: categorization and self-enhancement (Hogg, 1996). Categorization is a basic human process whereby entities, both social and non-social, are placed into groups with defined boundaries based on evaluative and normative perceptions of that entity. A person’s self

is included in the categorization of social entities and the different categories to which a person belongs can be said to make up their identity. Self-enhancement is another basic human process, according to Social Identity Theory, where humans strive to see themselves in a positive light and this process drives the categorization process. Individuals seek to view themselves and their groups positively in comparison to other groups, especially relevant other groups; comparisons to non-relevant groups does little in the way of self-enhancement. These processes lead to in-group favoritism and beliefs, accurate or not, in the superiority of the groups to which one belongs. In this way an identity is established based on group membership that allows individuals to maintain a positive view of them and is thus a resource to be defended.

Social identity theory provides a framework for understanding the process that leads to identification, but much of the research and work has centered on an intergroup as opposed to intragroup analysis (Hogg, 1996). The development of identity is seen as an evaluative process between groups and less attention is paid to within group processes in identity formation. This problem is partially addressed by Turner in self-categorization theory (Turner, 1985), which developed from social identity theory. “Self-categorization theory represents a shift in emphasis from intergroup relations... to intragroup processes, and the social-cognitive basis of group membership and group phenomenon” (Hogg, 1996: p 68). Specifically, evaluations of group membership, according to self-categorization theory, are based on a target’s perceived group prototypicality. Group prototypes are representations of the central, defining member of a group, who may not exist, but is an ideal representative. Prototypes are often embodied by group members perceived to most represent the group, although a prototype can just be a subjective set of ideal features not necessarily embodied by any one member (Hogg & Terry, 2000). While partially addressing the intragroup processes, discussions of group prototypes for the most part

fail to address how prototypes develop beyond saying that they match the traits of prototypical members. Conditions that lead to the development of group ownership may also account for individuals developing into prototypical group members.

These prototypical features allow for intragroup differentiation, based on the degree that any given group member is able to embody these features. Small or highly cohesive groups should see a more consensus on prototypes and thus less differentiation within the group. Larger diverse groups may have diverse representations of prototypical members and thus produce differentiation within the group as members strive toward behaviors conforming to representations of one of a possible set of prototypes. Larger groups or ones with democratic principles undergoing change may be good candidates for more within group differentiation and would see a larger array of prototypical features of which members could possess more or less than others.

Social attraction can also lead to differentiation; when group membership is the basis for self-perception, members who are perceived as less prototypical become less popular. In this way self-categorization produces an evaluative process in which the group becomes structured around more and less prototypical members. In extreme circumstances members low on prototypicality may even be rejected and excluded from membership in the group, in essence being dispossessed of their identities.

Group differentiation may also occur simply so that members may structure the group into roles and subgroups based on the need for uncertainty reduction or distinctiveness. Intergroup comparisons would likely drive this structuring process (Hogg, 1996). Groups are rarely, if ever, completely homogenous so some prototypicality-based differentiation will inevitably occur.

Intragroup differentiation involves stratification within a group, with members high in prototypicality garnering higher status than those with lower prototypicality, and at the extreme low of the spectrum the potential for removal from the group. Group leadership is often allocated on the basis how well candidates match or fit group prototypes, with leaders having high prototypicality. This leads prototypical group members to have a disproportionate amount of power over the group. Prototypical members set the group agenda and even determine group identity, in a sense reinforcing their position as prototypical members and devaluing non-prototypical traits (Hogg, 2001; Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007). Although prototypes wield a disproportionate amount of power over the group and are able to establish what it means to be a group member and who gets to be included, the research on prototypical members fails to address whether these members come to feel ownership over their groups.

As research on ownership has shown, control over a target, knowing it intimately, and investing oneself produces feelings of ownership and these processes are all present in prototypical group members. It, therefore, may follow that prototypical group members or leaders do indeed come to feel ownership over the group identity, while less prototypical members do not develop the same sense of ownership.

Research examining the behavior of small groups has also used the social identity or self-categorization paradigm and examined the processes or stages that individuals go through as they become members of groups. The stages or roles that members can have while within a group include: Prospective member, new member, full member, marginal member, and ex-member (Moreland, Levine, & Cini, 1993). These varying roles or stages of group membership entail differing levels of commitment to the group and differing levels of status within the group. Group socialization drives the process whereby members move through the different stages of

group membership. Again, it is through comparisons to group prototypes that individuals are evaluated and although socialization as a driving force would seem to hint at time within the group being an important determinant of prototypicality the authors point out that this need not be the case.

The stages model (Moreland et al., 1993) proposes how members move through their various roles within a group and even that their identification with that group should vary depending on the level of membership, but the perspective seems to deal more with commitment to group goals and prototypicality as opposed to felt ownership of that group. However, interesting parallels can be drawn between the motivations for ownership and self-categorization and small groups paradigms.

The motivation for having a place can be seen in the attraction to joining groups and in the carving out of one's specific role within that group; taking ownership allows the individual to feel as if the group is indeed a place of one's own. The desire for uncertainty reduction or distinctiveness discussed as reason for within group differentiation is also seen in ownership as the motivation toward building one's self identity. Ownership reduces uncertainty by allowing for the continuity of the self across time (Pierce, et al., 2001). Another similarity between the motives driving ownership and self-categorization theory can be observed in the desire for control and positive self-evaluation. The desire for control or to feel efficacious appears to be driven by the desire for positive self-evaluation. Both bring about an inherent pleasure and it would follow that taking ownership over a group, which brings one a positive self-evaluation, would lead to a heightened sense efficacy and pleasure. While many parallels can be drawn between the motives for ownership and forces driving individuals to form groups and differentiate within those groups, identity researchers have done little to investigate whether

individuals are motivated to take ownership over groups to which they belong. This paper will attempt to explore whether motivations for ownership drive an identification process.

Social Dominance Theory and Black Exceptionalism

Another perspective that discusses individual and group identity but does not discuss them in terms of ownership is provided by Sidanius and Pratto's (1999) social dominance theory (SDT). Like social identity theory, (SDT) scholars hold that individuals are compelled to categorize into groups, but SDT holds that individuals are compelled to desire hierarchy in social systems. Often looked at in terms of national identification, SDT holds that powerful groups within a nation will attempt to stratify the institutions within that nation to produce and maintain a social hierarchy that keeps their group on top. These hierarchies have the effect of producing what is called "exclusionary patriotism: a situation in which communal and national identities are supportive and positively correlated among social dominant groups, but in conflict among those in subordinate communal groups" (Sidanius & Petrocik, 2001, p. 108). The product of exclusionary patriotism is that some groups are left out of the national identity. Individuals perceive that the nation's institution are set up hierarchically in a way that excludes their group and internalize this exclusion forcing them to identify more strongly with the subgroup than the national group. Subordinate groups even come to recognize this exclusion and may even separate themselves completely from the national identity as has been shown with minority groups ascribing whiteness to the definition of American (Devos & Banji, 2005).

SDT provides further insight into how group stratification occurs, but does not address the underlying mechanism that leads to different levels of identification. Perhaps examining identity stratification through the development of perceptions of ownership can help shed light on this mechanism. SDT itself actually addresses identification in a manner that almost implies

ownership without ever explicitly mentioning the concept. Hierarchies produce stratification with the groups at the top essentially owning the superordinate identity and, as Devos and Banaji (2005), show that ownership is often even conceded by subordinate groups who should have an equal right to the superordinate identity. In their study Devos and Banaji find that minority groups themselves (African-American and Asian-American) rated White individuals as more American than their own group members. The question becomes what compels one group to feel ownership while the others relinquish it? Feelings of ownership arise from several factors, one of which is control over the target of ownership and perceived control may be driving the stratification seen in SDT. Minority groups can see direct evidence of their lack of control by observing the institutional hierarchy of the nation; this lack of perceived control means that minorities are less able to feel any sense of ownership over the national identity while majority members come to view it as their possession.

While SDT observes that African Americans and other minority groups consistently show low levels of patriotic attachment (Sidanius & Petrocik, 2001), the black-exceptionalism hypothesis (Sears & Savalei, 2006) suggests that this effect stems from two separate sources. African Americans have a unique history among minority groups; perhaps African Americans above all groups in American history have experienced a lack of control. Slavery, racial segregation, over representation in the prison system, and even current efforts to suppress voting rights with identification rules that disproportionately affect African Americans are just a few examples in a long and sordid history of American treatment toward African Americans in which control was systematically removed from the group. With this directly observable lack of control over the nation and what it means to be an American, African Americans come to feel less patriotic attachment to the nation. Other minority groups tend to be more recent migrants to the

United States and while they too enter the country as a stigmatized group, they appear less likely to encounter the hard and fast color line that African Americans do because of their unique historical experience. Sears and Savalei (2006) find support for their black-exceptionalism hypothesis in data they gathered from the Los Angeles County Social Survey. They find that while both African American and Latino respondents reported similar ethnic consciousness in general, this effect appears to be more transitional for Latinos. Latinos born in the United States showed less ethnic consciousness than their foreign-born Latino counterparts, while number of generations spent in the United States did not affect African American levels of ethnic consciousness. The experience of African Americans from slavery to the Jim Crow laws and even present day imbalance in incarceration and sentencing rates all contribute the group's unique history in the United States of having their control systematically removed leading to a break from the national identity.

Owning an Organizational Identity

One place where the ownership of one's identity has been examined is in the field of industrial organizational psychology and research concerning felt or actual employee ownership. Similar to research on self-categorization theory or small groups research, researchers examining organizations and the behavior of individuals involved in those organizations have sought to examine the factors that lead one to identify with her or his organization. However, unlike the identity based researchers in social identity or self-categorization theory, researchers looking into the development of an organizational identity have attempted to address the idea that individuals can come to feel ownership over their identity group; in this line of research that identity group is usually the company that one works for. Based on their theory concerning the development of

psychological ownership in the work place Pierce et al., (2001) presented three propositions on how individuals may come to ownership toward their work organization.

Proposition 1: The more control employees feel over their organization the higher a degree of ownership those employees will feel toward the organization.

Proposition 2: The more employees come to intimately know their organization the higher a degree of ownership the employees feel toward that organization.

Proposition 3: As employees invest in and engage with their organizations, they will come to feel more ownership toward that organization (Pierce et al., 2001).

These three propositions could again be equally applied to identity group members and the groups with which they identify, and because of this may be adapted to look at how individuals can come to feel ownership over their identity group. Following the first proposition, individuals often come to feel some sort of control over groups to which they belong and this control can be real or even imagined. High status or prototypical group members often hold sway over their groups, determining the groups meaning and goals. Individual group members can even seek to feel control where it may not possibly exist, think of individuals highly identified with their sports teams superstitiously imagining that their cheering and watching of games from home may actually have some impact on their team's play.

The second proposition suggests that developing a more intimate knowledge of one's group will increase the degree of felt ownership toward that group. Again, anecdotal evidence would seem to support this claim. Over time members of a group develop more knowledge and familiarity with that group and begin to take more ownership of the group. University students first joining their new group may feel they do not yet belong but as time and familiarity increase so to should the extent to which individual group members claim ownership.

The more individuals invest in their group the more they will come to feel psychological ownership over that group. Again, anecdotal evidence would seem to support this claim the more work one puts into her/his group identity the more likely they will feel sort of ownership. So following an earlier line of reasoning, acts of investment like voting or flag displaying should increase the extent to which individuals feel ownership over their national identity.

Implications of Psychological Ownership of Identity Groups

The question of what effects psychological ownership of one's group may have is also addressed by looking at the literature on organizational ownership. Van Dyne and Pierce (2004) suggest several positive benefits of feelings of ownership for an organization. The first they address relate to work attitudes. They suggest that ownership, which is felt through efficacy or control over one's organization, should be positively related to both organizational commitment and job satisfaction. Again we can draw a corollary between their predictions concerning organizations and ours on identity groups:

Hypothesis 1: Feeling ownership for one's group is positively related to perceived control over that group and commitment to the group.

Individuals who have come to feel ownership over their group should show observable levels of felt control over that group above and beyond what a standard group member or one who does not feel high levels of ownership would and would also evaluate that group more highly. Control over the group should also lead to satisfaction with the group as it fulfills an individual's need for efficacy and boosts self-regard.

Along with perception of control over the group and the satisfaction it brings, positive behavioral outcomes can also be proposed for psychological ownership of one's group. Group members, who feel ownership, should be more likely to engage in group related activities.

Hypothesis 2: Feeling ownership for one's group is positively related to engagement in group related activities.

There is a link between psychological ownership and positive work behavior in that ownership should increase employee performance and be positively related to organizational citizenship, which they classify as discretionary work behaviors that contribute to organizational well-being (Van Dyne & Pierce, 2004). As individuals come to feel ownership over their group they will see and increased commitment to group activities deemed to be central to the group. On a national identity level this might be seen in behaviors such as voting; on a smaller scale ownership over work identities might lead to increased participation in work functions.

Scholars working on organizational ownership have also suggested some negative impacts of psychological ownership of organizations. "Individuals separated against their will from that for which they feel ownership... may engage in deleterious acts such as sabotage, stalking, destruction, or physical harm as opposed to letting others control, come to know, or immerse the self into the target of ownership." (Pierce, et al., 2003) Feelings of ownership toward one's identity can also lead to negative outcomes when a person comes to feel dispossessed of that identity.

Hypothesis 3: When individuals come to feel dispossessed from an identity they felt they had ownership over, they will attempt to defend that identity by attacking those who are seemingly taking over or changing the identity in question.

An example one could point at in the current media is the feeling of many white Americans that they are being dispossessed of the American identity, one in which they have long felt to be "theirs." As individuals come to feel dispossessed of their American identity they look to undermine the legitimacy of other group member's identity. For example, "birthers" are

attempting to undermine the President's legitimacy as an American by insisting his citizenship is invalid and that he was not born in the United States. This could serve to completely remove him from the group "American," so as to disregard claims to the identity. A similar movement can be seen in advocates for removing 14th amendment rights, which grant citizenship to individuals born within the United States. They claim that the children of immigrants should not be legitimate Americans and employ names such as "anchor babies" to imply conspiracies on the part of immigrants to steal citizenship.

This behavior can again be looked at as individuals attempting to defend an identity they feel they own but that is slowly changing. Individuals often express a nostalgic concern for this identity as the speaker is either removed in time from the past identity or sees threat to the current identity. Nostalgic concern is a cultural practice as a group culture becomes more diffuse and potentially less recognizable or controllable by groups which formerly felt ownership (Stewart, 1988). Nostalgia brings with it a desire to return to a previous temporal state and with felt ownership might lead to attempts at defending a previous national identity. In this way nostalgia for the 'good old days' of the country tends to be felt by the dominant or formerly dominant group in that society. In the United States those yearning for the past are likely to be white majority group members who enjoyed the privilege that previous and current racial disparities accrued for their group. Other groups can certainly feel nostalgic yearning for their pasts as well, but the history of white dominance in the United States makes this group more likely to feel a nostalgic ownership for a past America.

As more and more immigrants strive to take possession or be included amongst those that possess the American identity, that identity slowly changes and those already feeling possession come to feel dispossessed and attempt to defend their ownership by undermining the

legitimacy of other group members. One possible avenue for defense of ownership over the American identity might be for individuals who believe that whiteness or European descent is a prototypical characteristic of the identity to support harsh immigration policy, specifically ones that tend to target Hispanic immigrant groups (Mukherjee, Molina, & Adams, 2012).

Intergroup Threat

Ownership threat should also be considered a conceptually distinct form of threat from those discussed in the social identity theory literature if for no other reason than the threat proposed here is much more about an intragroup threat as opposed to the intergroup threats most often investigated by social identity scholars (see Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999).

Intergroup threats are most often conceptualized as taking one of five separate forms: categorization threat, distinctiveness threat, threat to the value of one's social identity, acceptance threat, and extinction threat (Branscombe et. al, 1999, Wohl, Branscombe, & Reysen, 2010). For each of these types of threat the authors have proposed the difference in reaction between high and low identifiers and provide an avenue for us to examine how felt group identity ownership may be distinct from merely being highly identified with one's group. Categorization threat is experienced when individuals are concerned about being categorized as a group member against their will. Distinctiveness threat occurs when group members feel that their group's distinctiveness is prevented or undermined. A threat to the value of a group's social identity usually stems from a negative comparison between the ingroup and a relevant outgroup causing ingroup members to confront potential value discrepancies between the two groups. Acceptance threat occurs when individuals are worried about their acceptance within a group and

that other group members will recognize them as an actual member. Extinction threat arises because group members perceive their group's future to be in jeopardy.

All five forms of threat tend to focus on threats from outside the ingroup; threats to perceived ownership are likely to arise from within one's group as more individuals come to have legitimate claims toward the identity in question. Ownership comes with a level of felt responsibility to defend an identity from changes taking place from within. These are seen as a threat against the nostalgic 'good old days' or the way things used to be and need to be defended. An example of this might be seen in the United States as more children are born to immigrants. These children are constitutionally legitimate Americans but conservative Americans who hold that to be an American implies being white will feel their ownership over previous conceptions of 'American' as being threatened and attempt to delegitimize the identity claims of immigrant populations.

Conceptual Distinctiveness

The final question this paper will attempt to address is whether identity ownership is really conceptually distinct from other forms of group identification—in this case national identification. Two other concepts concerning national identification may be of particular interest in determining the distinctiveness of psychological ownership: patriotism and nationalism. In their seminal work on national identification Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) describe patriotism as tapping into an affective part of one's feelings toward her/his country "It assesses the degree of love for and pride in one's nation-in essence, the degree of attachment to the nation" while nationalism, "reflects a perception of national superiority and an orientation toward national dominance" (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). Just as the authors note that patriotism and nationalism overlap somewhat, so too does this paper propose that all three concepts (patriotism,

nationalism, national ownership) should be positively related since they all are based on the common construct of group identification. This paper, however, theorizes that psychological ownership is distinct from the other two constructs because of its conceptual basis. Psychological ownership's conceptual base is possessiveness whereas the basis for patriotism appears to be attachment and the need to belong, and nationalism appears to be the need for positive evaluation. In addition psychological ownership answers the question of, "what is mine" (Pierce, et al., 2001) while patriotism examines "who a person is" and nationalism looks into "what makes me better than others." Assuming that psychological ownership is conceptually different from the other two constructs, it ought to explain an aspect of identity over and above what the other constructs do.

Along with being conceptually distinct from the constructs of patriotism and nationalism seen in current social identity theory, the concept of identity ownership may also help in understanding some of the reasons that social identity theories have not had the impact expected in other fields, namely political science. Leonie Huddy (2001) examines some of the critical issues as to why social identity theory has not been more broadly adopted in the political science literature. Huddy breaks down the reasons into four key issues. The first of these issues concerns the subjective meaning of an identity; her critique focuses on social identity theorist's adherence to the idea of group salience and the idea that individuals simply identify with whichever group is currently salient. Importantly, Huddy points to research showing that strong identities often undercut other identities that should be salient, and also points out that identities often do not mean the same thing across individuals (Huddy, 2001).

The potential advantages of looking at felt ownership over an identity should be that first, it focuses only on individuals who are highly identified, for it is these individuals who will come

to feel ownership over their group's identity. These are the individuals who would likely continue to identify with the group over which they feel ownership as opposed to other groups that may become salient. Huddy's point that the subjective meaning of an identity often differs and that its content is important in the realm of politics for understanding behavior is important one, and one that ownership would likely support. Identity ownership should allow for individuals to score highly on felt ownership over the nation but still have a differing content of belief concerning their country. In this way, both Democrats and Republicans could have a high level of national ownership but differing ideas of what it is to be American. The ownership theory assumes that individuals will differentiate themselves as to whether they perceive themselves to be an identity owner, and those that do will show some important and predictable behaviors as mentioned before. Perceived identity ownership should lead to commitment and satisfaction with the group and engagement in group activities; ownership should also be linked to defense of the group and willingness to engage in behaviors aimed at its maintenance. All of these behaviors should be of importance to political scientists.

Huddy also challenges that social identity theory does not seek to explain individual group member's decision to identify as a group member and that the process appears to be conceptualized as an all-or-none phenomenon. The first of these two problems could be partially addressed by examining the small groups literature and its stages model of membership. But in a similar vein, the identity ownership concept provides a look at the mechanisms that contribute to people coming to feel ownership over their group identity. It is through three processes that a feeling of ownership can be developed toward one's group: control, knowledge, and investment. By examining participants perceived level on these three dimension it should be possible to examine the basis of how and why individuals come to see themselves of having possession of a

given group identity. As for the critique that social identity theory represents identification as an all-or-none phenomenon, at the very least the conceptualization of identity ownership should indicate separate levels of identification. Individuals can still identify with a group simply through an attachment process but to feel ownership over that group requires another level of identification entirely and these differing levels should have measurable differences in outcomes as well.

The final challenge leveled by Huddy is that social identity theory holds identities to be more fluid than they appear to be in practice and that her own research in feminist identity bears out her claim that, “The considerable stability evinced by political identities, not just feminist identity, provides an important fourth challenge to social identity theory that has previously gone unexplored” (Huddy, 2001, p.131). Again the concept of perceived ownership over one’s group identity would seem to be in line with the research Huddy is pointing toward. In the conceptualization of identity ownership the level of identification is at such a level that it should remain stable. Indeed, it is claimed that attempts to change that identity will be met with an adverse reaction from those who feel ownership over it. Feeling ownership over a given identity is a process that takes time and investment, which lends itself to being less fluid than lower levels of identification.

Studies

To examine whether felt ownership over one’s identity group is a distinct construct and supports the aforementioned hypothesis, four studies were conducted. Study 1 will examine whether ownership might be a distinct construct from Kosterman and Feshbach’s patriotism and nationalism (1989) by including some preliminary measures of felt ownership and analyzing scale reliability and factor loadings. Study 2 will then use these same measures and methods but

test them for a group identity other than national identity, in this case a university identity, to see if perceived ownership over one's group exists as a construct outside of the realm of national identification. In addition studies 1 and 2 will act as replications of the Kosterman and Feshbach's earlier work on national identification. Study 3 will further develop a new scale of felt ownership over one's national identification and examine how national ownership may allow for a more nuanced understanding of national attitudes than existing scales do. Finally, study 4 will attempt to manipulate perceived ownership and examine the impacts on important outcome measures.

Study 1:

Study 1 was a preliminary study investigating whether identity ownership related items would form a common factor distinct from other previous national identification items, such as those from Kosterman and Feshbach's patriotism nationalism scale (1989). If identity ownership is a conceptually distinct mode of identifying with one's group then running an exploratory factor analysis on the different items should produce several distinct factors each able to explain a significant portion of the observed variance within the items. Three distinct factors should be obtained; one representing patriotism, one representing nationalism, and one that encompasses items representing participant's ownership over the national identity. While these factors are hypothesized to be conceptually distinct from one another, I expect that they will still correlate with one another because all deal with an aspect of national identification. Items may also cross load onto more than one factor, in large part because patriotism and nationalism measures often contain ownership pronouns and related factors. Although working from a specific hypothesis concerning the number of factors, an exploratory factor analysis will be run which allows the research to establish the number and nature of the factors. Confirmatory factor analysis will not

be used because of the expected high correlation between factors and the ensuing difficulty of determining the positions of zero loadings in this preliminary study.

Also embedded in Study 1 are several partial tests of the hypothesis. Participants answer several demographic questions including political affiliation and ideology measures as well as a measure of length of U.S. citizenship and frequency of voter participation. Length of citizenship and vote participation allow the researcher to detect a possible relationship between two of the hypothesized factors leading toward felt ownership and endorsement with the hypothesized ownership factor from the scale items mentioned above; length of citizenship relating to participants' knowledge over the identity and vote participation their engagement with the identity of American.

Method:

Participants

Participants (N=208) were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (Mturk), a crowd sourcing internet marketplace. MTurk allows requesters, in this case researchers, to post work (surveys) for a marketplace of workers to complete for a small monetary incentive. Research evaluating Mturk as a participant source has found it to be highly effective often surpassing student samples in several key factors including age range and ethnic diversity (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). Each worker or participant received \$.35 for completing the survey; the average participant took 6 minutes 15 seconds to complete the survey. Of the 208 participants signed up to take the survey through the Mturk marketplace, 8 of these were excluded for having missing data. The remaining 200 participants (101 female, 96 male, 3 declined to answer; mean age = 34.53, $SD = 13.34$) made up the data set to be analyzed.

Participants averaged close to the middle of the political identification scale with a normal distribution, mean = 3.35, $SD = 1.27$ on a 1-5 scale with 5 = Democrat.

Design and Procedure

This study was designed as a survey to allow replication of Kosterman and Feshbach's (1989) nationalism and patriotism measures. In their original study Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) factor analyzed over a questionnaire of over 100 items; for the purposes of this study only the resulting 12-item patriotism and 7-item nationalism scales were used. The survey also included preliminary measures based on previous literature concerning ownership which were meant to capture that construct. Participants followed a link from Mturk to a Qualtrics (an online survey software provider) survey. Once at the Qualtrics site, participants were informed that we were investigating perceptions of the United States and that no risks were involved in the study but that they may choose to end their participation at any time. Upon finishing the dependent measures the participants read a debriefing, were thanked, and compensation was credited to their account.

Dependent Measures

Patriotism

Participants completed Kosterman and Feshbach's (1989) 12-item scale assessing participant's patriotic feelings toward their country: "I love my country", "I am proud to be an American", "In a sense, I am emotionally attached to my country and emotionally affected by its decisions", "Although at times I may not agree with the government, my commitment to the U.S. always remains strong", "I feel great pride in the land that is our America", "It is not important for me to serve my country" (r), "When I see the flag flying I feel great", "The fact that I am an American is an important part of my identity", "It is not constructive for one to develop an

emotional attachment to his/her country” (r), “In general, I have very little respect for the American people” (r), “It bothers me to see children made to pledge the allegiance to the flag or sing the national anthem or otherwise induced to adopt such strong patriotic attitudes” (r), and “The U.S. is really just an institution, big and powerful yes, but just an institution” (r). Response choices were made on a 1-5 Likert-type scale with 1 = “Strongly Disagree” and 5 = “Strongly Agree”.

Nationalism

Nationalistic attitudes were also assessed by having participants completed Kosterman and Feshbach’s (1989) 9-item scale: “In view of America’s moral and material superiority, it is only right that we should have the biggest say in deciding United Nations policy”, “The first duty of every young American is to honor the national American history and heritage”, “The important thing for the U.S. foreign aid program is to see that the U.S. gains a political advantage”, “Other countries should try and make their government as much like ours as possible”, “Generally, the more influence America has on other nations, the better off they are”, “Foreign nations have done some very fine things but it takes America to do things in a big way”, “It is important that the U.S. win in international sporting competition like the Olympics”, “It is not really important that the U.S. be number one in whatever it does” (r), and “The U.S. should not dominate other countries” (r). Again, response choices were made on a 1-5 Likert-type scale with 1 = “Strongly Disagree” and 5 = “Strongly Agree.”

Preliminary Ownership Items

Based on a review of literature concerning the development of feelings of ownership, a preliminary 7-item scale was constructed to attempt to measure participant’s felt ownership over their national identity: “The U.S. is truly my country”, “Changes in the country make me feel as

if I have lost something I once had”, “I feel I should have some level of control over what it means to be an American”, “When I talk about Americans I usually say ‘we’ rather than ‘they’”, “It is important that everyone see me as American”, “In a sense, some U.S. citizens are more American than others”, and “I personally feel more American than some of my countrymen”. Participants indicated their level of agreement with each item on a 1-5 Likert-type scale with 1 = “Strongly Disagree” and 5 = “Strongly Agree” (see Appendix A), and the items were averaged to form a composite of national ownership attitudes.

Additional Measures for Analysis

In addition to replicating previous scales of national identification and suggesting a new conceptualization of identification, the researcher also embedded measures meant to act as a partial test of hypothesis concerning ownership development and its implications. A measure of participants’ length of U.S. citizenship was given asking the participants to indicate the length of their U.S. citizenship in years. Participants were also asked to indicate their vote frequency; “How often do you vote in elections?” Participants indicated their level of frequency on a 1-5 Likert-type scale with 1 = “Never” and 5 = “Always.”

Results

Scale Analysis

Replicating the items from Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) patriotism and nationalism scales, the scales once again proved to be reliable. The patriotism scale $\alpha = .919$ and nationalism scale $\alpha = .880$ both replicated the reliability scores from the 1989 paper of $\alpha = .866$ and $\alpha = .798$. Likewise, the preliminary ownership measures formed a reliable scale, $\alpha = .736$ supplying evidence for the internal consistency of the scales and items. As expected the scales tended to be correlated with one another (see table 1) as all three scales measure an aspect of national identity.

These correlations are a bit higher than would have been predicted based of the original results of Kosterman and Feshbach, who only found a correlation of $r = .28$, whereas this study found a correlation of $r = .58$ between patriotism and nationalism. This correlation is, however, closer to those found between patriotism and nationalism ($r = .46$ in Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, and Pratto's 1997 work on national attachment). All three scales were negatively correlated with Democratic political identification with higher identifiers expressing more Republican affiliation. This finding is also in line with the previous patriotism/nationalism research.

Table 1: *Scale and length of citizenship correlations study 1*

	Patriotism	Nationalism	Ownership	Length of Citizenship
Nationalism	.576**			
Ownership	.645**	.603**		
Length of Citizenship	.238**	.062	.168*	
Political ID (Democrat)	-.363**	-.358**	-.389**	-.051

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Running an exploratory factor analysis on the items using maximum likelihood factor extraction and Promax rotation, an analysis of the scree plot suggested that three factors be retained (Cattell, 1966). While the model suggested the predicted three factor model, the interpretation of those factors was inconclusive but generally supportive of the proposed national identity factors. Both the original patriotism and nationalism seemed to form distinct factors with all original items loading highly ($+ .50$) with the one exception being the item, "I love my country" from the patriotism scale. The interpretation of the third factor, the proposed ownership factor, was more tangled. The third factor cross loaded on to a large portion of the first (patriotism) and only three of the proposed seven items measuring ownership loaded higher than

a .50 level. In addition, some of the proposed ownership items cross loaded onto factors 1 (patriotism) and 2 (nationalism) making interpretation difficult. This may be partially accounted for because of the oblique rotation method which allows factors to correlate with one another but does not account for the failure of ownership items to load significantly.

Table 2: *Factor pattern matrix of three factor solution study 1*

Item	Patriotism	Nationalism	Ownership
I love my country	.465		.781
I am proud to be an American	.604		.891
In a sense, I am emotionally attached to my country and emotionally ...	.520		.742
Although at times I may not agree with the government, my ...	.701		.840
I feel great pride in the land that is our America	.712		.853
It is not important for me to serve my country	.569		
When I see the flag flying I feel great	.752		.715
The fact that I am an American is an important part of my identity	.717		.625
It is not constructive for one to develop an emotional attachment to ...	.686		
In general, I have very little respect for the American people	.678		
It bothers me to see children made to pledge allegiance to the flag or ...	.790		
The U.S. is really just an institution, big and powerful yes, but just an ...	.716		
In view of America's moral and material superiority, it is only right that ...		.688	
The first duty of every young American is to honor the national...		.654	
The important thing for the U.S. foreign aid program is to see that the ...		.661	
Other countries should try to make their government as much like ours ...		.765	
Generally, the more influence America has on other nations, the better ...		.811	
Foreign nations have done some very fine things but it takes America ...		.721	
It is important that the U.S. win in international sporting competition like ...		.644	
It is not really important that the U.S. be number one in whatever it does		.525	
The U.S. should not dominate other countries		.586	
The U.S. is truly my country	.811	.537	.638
Changes in the country make me feel as if I have lost something I ...			.039
I feel I should have some level of control over what it means to be ...			.053
When I talk about Americans I usually say "we" rather than "they"	.626		.511
It is important to me that everyone sees me as American	.748	.656	.627
In a sense, some U.S. citizens are more American than others			.143
I personally feel more American than some of my countrymen	.519	.601	.430

Partial Hypothesis Tests

Participant's length of citizenship was used to predict their agreement with the preliminary ownership scale in a bivariate linear regression model. Length of citizenship was a significant predictor of ownership over national identity, $\beta = .17$, $t(198) = 2.40$, $p = .017$ and explained a significant proportion of variance in ownership scores, $R^2 = .03$, $F(1,198) = 5.74$, $p = .017$. A similar relationship was found with length of citizenship predicting patriotism, $\beta = .24$, $t(198) = 3.44$, $p < .01$ and explained a significant proportion of variance in patriotism scores, $R^2 = .06$, $F(1,198) = 11.85$, $p < .01$. Nationalism, however, was not significantly predicted by participant's length of citizenship, $\beta = .06$, $t(198) = .87$, $p = .387$.

In another partial test of the hypothesis that engagement may lead to feelings of ownership over the national identity, (self-reported) voting frequency was used to predict agreement with the preliminary ownership scale. Voter frequency significantly predicted agreement with the ownership scale, $\beta = .19$, $t(202) = 2.67$, $p = .008$, and again explained a significant proportion of the variance, $R^2 = .034$, $F(1,202) = 7.12$, $p = .008$. Similar results were found when voting frequency was used as a predictor of patriotism, $\beta = .29$, $t(202) = 4.29$, $p < .001$, explaining a significant proportion of the variance, $R^2 = .083$, $F(1,202) = 18.36$, $p < .001$. Also consistent with the findings from length of citizenship, voter frequency failed to significantly predict nationalistic attitude agreement, $\beta = .06$, $t(202) = .86$, $p = .394$.

Discussion:

Study 1 represented the first preliminary steps to investigate whether individuals can and do come to feel ownership over a given group identification. The first step was to replicate previous research examining forms of national identification, in this case Kostermann and Feshbach's (1989) patriotism and nationalism scales. In addition to assessing previous forms of measuring national identification, additional preliminary measures were included in an attempt to

explore whether individuals came to feel a form of ownership over these national identities. Both the previously used scales and the preliminary ownership scale showed strong reliability and consistency and as predicted all three scales were correlated with one another. This correlation appeared to be stronger between the patriotism and ownership items than the nationalism items.

Exploratory factor analysis also replicated previous work finding the patriotism and nationalism measure to be distinct factors. The analysis also provided moderate support for the third proposed factor of ownership. A few of these items also cross loaded onto the patriotism factor which as indicated was correlated with ownership. The ownership items were constructed as preliminary measures to investigate the potential existence of an ownership factor. To the extent that this factor did appear in the resulting analysis they provide good support for further pursuing and constructing more thorough measures examining feelings of ownership over one's group. Of the items that loaded highly on the ownership factor, several used the possessive pronoun "my" when discussing the nation or hinted a form of engagement with the national identity; both of these areas may be useful in developing a better scale of national ownership.

In attempt to partially test some the hypotheses developed in this paper, respondent's length of citizenship was used to assess whether more knowledge over the group would predict higher levels of felt ownership. In this case time spent as a citizen was presumed to increase knowledge concerning the identity group American. As predicted, length of citizenship did increase the participant's feelings of ownership based on the preliminary scale. Length of citizenship was also found to predict higher ratings on the patriotism scale but was not related to higher feelings of nationalism. These results indicate that feelings of ownership might develop from knowledge concerning the identity group or at least in this case length of time within that

group; they also provided initial support that ownership acts in distinct ways from the nationalism construct put forth in previous research.

Another partial hypothesis test examined whether voter frequency was related to feelings of ownership. It was proposed that engagement with the identity group, in this case voting in national elections, should increase the level of felt ownership over that group. Results were once again supportive of this hypothesis with higher voter frequency associated with higher scores on the national ownership scale items. Patriotism was also associated with voter frequency with those who vote more often being more likely to support the scale items; this relationship was not, however, found with the nationalism scale. These findings provide support that engagement is a factor leading to feelings of ownership over the identity group and that this is a process distinct from nationalist identities.

Study 1 provided initial, albeit weak, support for the hypothesis that individuals can and do come to feel ownership over their national group and that ownership may be a distinct way of examining national identification. The study also showed support for the hypothesis that ownership over one's group develops from knowledge concerning and engagement with that group. The findings from this study provide support that individuals might come to feel ownership over the national identity but cannot yet speak to the potential to feel ownership over other identity groups.

Study 2:

Study 2 was run at the same time as study 1 and was an attempt to duplicate the findings from study 1 using an identity other than one tied to the participants' nation. For this study the researcher looked at the participant's feelings of ownership over their school identity; in the case ownership over the identity of University of Kansas student or Jayhawk. The scales used were

directly adapted from the scales in study 1 to ensure as high a degree of consistency as possible between the variables in study 1 and study 2. In adapting the scale items wording was kept as similar as possible with the only exception being the identity target of interest, for example “I am proud to be an American” was adapted to read, “I am proud to be a Jayhawk.”(see Appendix B for full accounting of all scale items) Following the rationale from study 1 the researchers again predicted that an exploratory factor analysis should yield a three factor model; one factor representing a form of patriotic zeal felt for the university, one factor representing what was formerly described as nationalism or in this case institutionalism, one that encompasses items indicating students’ feelings of ownership over there school identity.

As with study 1, study 2 contained some additional hypothesis tests. The sample was drawn from both an introductory and an upper level psychology course allowing researchers to examine whether length of time or familiarity with the university could potentially boost felt ownership over the university identity. Unfortunately, no engagement-related measures concerning the university were measured to provide further tests on that particular hypothesis. However, unlike study 1, study 2 implanted a minor manipulation in hopes of framing feelings of ownership or feelings of attachment. In one condition students were asked to briefly reply to a prompt about how “The University of Kansas is my school” whereas the other half were asked to reply to the prompt “I am part of the University of Kansas.” These prompts were used to manipulate feelings of identity ownership or attachment on the part of the participants and allow researchers to compare the two group’s responses to various identity related factors.

Method:

Participants

Participants (138, 83 female, 55 male; mean age = 20.68, $SD = 3.24$) were drawn from both an introductory and upper level psychology course. Participants received either partial course credit (introductory course) or extra credit (upper level course) for participating in the study. As in study 1, participants fall near the middle of the political identification scale, mean = 5.09, $SD = 2.58$, on a 1-9 scale with 9 = Democrat.

Design and Procedure

The purpose and design of this study was to replicate study 1 but in a different domain of identification; in this case university or student identification. To this end the same items were used from study one, however, the object of identification was switched from the nation to the university and again preliminary measures of identity ownership were included. Participants were informed that we were investigating perceptions of the University of Kansas and that no risks were involved in the study but that they may choose to end their participation at any time. Students were then randomly assigned to one of two conditions meant to prime different forms of identification with the university. The first condition asked students to write a brief paragraph describing how “The University of Kansas is my school” (underlining provided in manipulation). A second condition asked the participants to describe how, “I am part of the University of Kansas.” The first manipulation was meant to induce a feeling of ownership, while the second was simply meant to induce a feeling of belonging. After briefly responding to the prime prompts, participants filled out the survey scale items discussed below. Upon finishing the dependent measures the participants read a debriefing, were thanked, and appropriate credits were granted.

Dependent Measures

KU-Patriotism

KU-Patriotism-type items were created by directly adapting Kosterman and Feshbach's (1989) patriotism scale. The resulting scale consisted of 11 items: "I love my university", "I am proud to be a Jayhawk", "In a sense, I am emotionally attached to my university and its reputation", "I feel great pride in the University of Kansas", "It is not important for me to serve my university" (r), "When I see the KU flag flying I feel great", "The fact that I am a Jayhawk is an important part of my identity", "It is not constructive for one to develop an emotional attachment to his/her university" (r), "In general, I have very little respect for University of Kansas students" (r), "It bothers me to see students degrade our rivals or other team's fans or otherwise induced to adopt such strong patriotic attitudes" (r), and "The University of Kansas is really just an institution, big and powerful yes, but just an institution" (r). Response choices were made on a 1-7 Likert-type scale with 1 = "Strongly Disagree" and 7 = "Strongly Agree". Items were then averaged to form a composite of KU-patriotic attitudes.

KU-Nationalism

KU-nationalistic-type attitudes were also assessed by adapting Kosterman and Feshbach's (1989) 9-item scale: "In view of the University of Kansas' moral and material superiority, it is only right that we should have the biggest say in deciding Kansas Board of Regents policy", "The first duty of every Kansas student is to honor the university's history and heritage", "The important thing for the university administration is to ensure the university retains a positive image", "Other universities would benefit from trying to make their schools as much like ours as possible", "Generally, the more influence the University of Kansas has on the state, the better off it is", "Other Midwestern universities have done some very nice things but

the University of Kansas is really the best university in the region”, “It is important that the Kansas win in intercollegiate sporting competition like the NCAA tournament”, “It is not really important that KU be number one in whatever it does” (r), and “The University of Kansas should not dominate other state schools” (r). Again, response choices were made on a 1-7 Likert-type scale with 1 = “Strongly Disagree” and 7 = “Strongly Agree”, and the items were averaged to form a composite of KU-nationalistic attitudes.

KU-Ownership

A KU-ownership scale was created by adapting the preliminary ownership scale from study 1. As in the patriotism and nationalism scales adapted for university identification, the KU-ownership scale was kept as consistent as possible to the original scale and an attempt was made to only the replace references to the nation with references to the University of Kansas where possible. The resulting scale consisted of 7 items: “The University of Kansas is truly my school”, “If the university were to make significant changes it would make me feel as if I have lost something I once had”, “I feel I should have some level of control over what it means to be a Jayhawk”, “When I talk about the University of Kansas I usually say ‘we’ rather than ‘they’”, “It is important that everyone see me as a Jayhawk”, “In a sense, some students are better Jayhawks than others”, and “I personally feel more of a Jayhawk than some of my fellow students”. Participants indicated their level of agreement with each item on a 1-7 Likert-type scale with 1 = “Strongly Disagree” and 7 = “Strongly Agree”, and the items were averaged to form a composite of KU-ownership related attitudes.

Time Spent at the University

In addition to the scale replication from study 1, a measure of participant's length of time at the university was taken. Participants were asked to indicate how many semesters they had spent at the University (mean = 4.04, $SD = 2.55$). This measure was meant to help assess a partial test of the hypothesis that engagement would lead toward heightened feelings of ownership.

Results

Scale Analysis

As in Study 1, a reliability analysis was run for both the scales adapted from previous national identity measures and the preliminary felt ownership items for university identification. The KU-patriotism scale $\alpha = .860$ and the KU-nationalism scale $\alpha = .824$ were both found to be highly reliable and replicated findings from both study 1 and the original patriotism and nationalism scales. The preliminary KU-ownership scale $\alpha = .811$ also was found to be highly reliable replicating the results from study 1 as well. The correlations between the three scales were again quite high slightly exceeding those found in the first study, but as in the first study ownership and patriotism appear to be more highly related than nationalism-type forms of identification. Study 2 also found negative correlations between the three scales and Democratic political identification, once again backing up previous research and the results of the first study, although the interpretation may be more muddled in that this study was looking at university identification which may not lend itself as neatly to political discussions.

Table 3: *Scale and Political identification correlations study 2*

	KU Patriotism	KU Nationalism	KU Ownership
Nationalism	.576**		
Ownership	.729**	.615**	
KU Semesters	.054	-.105	-.067

Political ID -.323** -.287** -.295**
(Democrat)

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Using the same method as that of study 1 an exploratory factor analysis was run in hopes of reproducing a factor model that would show distinct categories for patriotism, nationalism, and ownership type feelings toward the participants KU student identity. Once again, a maximum likelihood factor extraction and Promax rotation produced three factors solution as suggested by examining the scree plot (Cattell, 1966).

Table 4: *Factor pattern matrix of three factor solution study 2*

Items	KU Patriot	KU National	KU Owner
I love my university	.862		
I am proud to be a Jayhawk	.842		
In a sense, I am emotionally attached to my university and its reputation	.786		
I feel great pride in the University of Kansas	.893		
It is not important for me to serve my university	.247		
When I see the KU flag I feel great pride	.515		
The fact that I am a Jayhawk is an important part of my identity	.476		
It is not constructive for one to develop an emotional attachment to ...	.313		
In general, I have very little respect for University of Kansas students	.752		
It bothers me to see students degrade our rivals or other team's fans ...	.133	.577	
The University of Kansas is really just an institution, big and powerful ...	.643		
In view of the University of Kansas's moral and material superiority, it is ...		.380	
The first duty of every Kansas student is to honor the university's history ...		.160	
The important thing for the university administration is to ensure the ...		.359	
Other universities would benefit from trying to make their schools as ...		.488	
Generally, the more influence the University of Kansas has on the state ...		.460	
Other midwestern universities have done some nice things but the ...		.577	
It is important that Kansas win in intercollegiate sporting competition like ...		.605	
It is not really important that KU be number one in whatever it does		.458	
The University of Kansas should not dominate other state schools		.815	
The University of Kansas is truly my school	.498		.406
If the university were to make significant changes make me feel as if ...			.473
I feel I should have some level of control over what it means to be ...			.699
When I talk about the University of Kansas I usually say "we" rather ...			.401
It is important that everyone sees me as a Jayhawk			.659

In a sense, some KU students are better Jayhawks than others			.261
I personally feel like more of a Jayhawk than some of my fellow students			.613

Ownership Manipulation

The attempted manipulation of felt ownership over and individual's university identity failed to produce a significant difference in respondent's answers on the proposed ownership items. Participants primed by responding how they were *part* of the university rated ownership essentially the same as those responding to how the university was *my* school ($M=4.79$ vs. $M=4.82$, $F=1.56$, $p=.214$). This failure may be in part due to the subtlety of the manipulation and potentially due to the preliminary nature to the ownership measure being used.

Partial hypothesis test (knowledge)

In an attempt to assess whether knowledge would increase felt ownership over the university identity, time spent at the university was used as a predictor of student's perceived ownership. Unlike in study 1 length of time spent at the university did not come out as a significant predictor of feelings of ownership over the university identity, $\beta = -.03$, $t(135) = -.79$, $p = .434$, when running a bivariate linear regression. Length of the time at the university also failed to predict patriotic like feelings for the university, $\beta = .02$, $t(132) = .62$, $p = .537$, unlike in the first study, and finally time at the university failed also to predict nationalistic feelings toward the university, $\beta = -.04$, $t(132) = -1.21$, $p = .228$.

Discussion:

Study 2 attempted to replicate the findings from study 1 in a separate identity domain. The possibility that students felt ownership over their school identity was examined as well as the tendency for individuals to view their school identities in patriotic and nationalistic-type ways. While keeping the test items as close to the original items as possible by just replacing

references to nation with those of school, the results again suggested that the scales remained reliable. Replicating the findings from the first study the scales were again correlated with one another as expected given that they all measure forms of identification, with the patriotism-like scale and ownership being slightly more correlated.

Exploratory factor analysis again suggested a three factor model, however, this time the items for patriotic and nationalistic-type identification did not load as highly onto their respective factors. The more difficult interpretation of the three factors in study 2 potentially may be due to their adaptation from measures of national identity to ones examining student identity. In general, however, the items adapted from the patriotism and nationalism scales did tend to hang together again with most items from the original scales loading highly at the .50 level or above. The ownership items did appear to load highly onto an ownership factor, again with $+ .50$ loadings, but a few of the items from the three national identity scales again cross loaded. More ownership items did load onto the proposed ownership factor in study 2 than in study 1 with six of the proposed 7 items loading highly (see table 4).

The attempt to manipulate felt ownership over the university identity failed in this study. Participants describing themselves as part of the university and those who described how the university was theirs did not significantly differ in perceived levels of identity ownership, at least for the preliminary ownership measures used in this study.

A partial hypothesis test also failed to show significant results. Students who had spent more time at the university did not differ significantly from more junior students on any of the three identity measures in this study. Possible explanations to account for this failure could include the absence of measurement of other confounding variables. Students who enter the university as legacy students may have stronger ties than senior students with no such legacy or

students from instate may feel stronger ties than out of state students. Unfortunately, none of these possibilities were explored in this study but may provide interesting future avenues for research.

As in study 1, study 2 presents only weak support for the existence of a construct of identity ownership. Taken together these two studies make apparent the need to develop a more refined measure of identity ownership if that construct is going to provide any added utility as a measure of identification. What the studies do point to is that participants are thinking in ways about their national and school identity that are not fully captured by the patriotism or nationalism constructs.

Study 3:

The purpose of study 3 was to build off of the results of studies 1 and 2, which provided weak support that an ownership factor may exist which helps explain an individual's identity beyond the previous scales and constructions discussed earlier. To further address this possibility the researchers attempted to construct a distinct scale to measure feelings of ownership over one's identity. To do so researchers relied on the factors leading to feelings of ownership proposed earlier, these include efficacy/control, engagement, and knowledge. Scale items were constructed to tap into each of these three factors (see Appendix C for proposed ownership scale). Along with the proposed new scale measuring feelings of identity ownership, the researcher included previous national identity scales to see if identity ownership was a distinct construct tapping into national identity.

Method:

Participants

A total of 304 participants agreed to participate in an online survey posted to the MTurk website used previously. Of these 304, 273 participants completed the survey. One reason for the low completion rate may have been participants simply clicking through the survey to obtain compensation, as many of the 31 participants who did not complete the survey answered no questions or only the first block of items. Whether or not they completed the survey, each worker/participant received \$.45 for participating in the survey. The completed surveys of the 273 participants (162 female, 109 male, 2 declined to answer) had a mean age = 41.18 SD = 13.07, ranging from 18 to 79. Participants tended to be close to the midpoint in their political identification with a normal distribution of scores, mean = 3.72, SD = 2.09 on a 1-7 scale with 1 = Strong Democrat.

Design and Procedure

Study 3 was designed to partially replicate the design and procedures of the previous two studies. However, study 3 sought to extend the theoretical proposition put forward that individuals can come to feel ownership over their group identity by developing a scale based on previous theoretical work on feelings of ownership. This previous work led to the creation of subscales meant to capture the elements leading to the development of ownership feelings: efficacy/control, engagement, and knowledge. Participants were solicited through the Mturk website to participate in a survey concerning attitudes toward America. Once participants agreed to participate, they were provided with a link to the survey housed on the Qualtrics site.

Upon arrival at the Qualtrics site, participants first read a brief information statement informing them that the survey would be investigating perceptions of the United States. Participants were prompted that by agreeing to participate they were confirming that they were at

least 18 years of age and were also informed that the study posed no risks to them, but they were free to cease participation at any time without penalty. The survey questions then followed including the ownership items and patriotism and nationalism scales. An immigration policy support scale was also included as a test of outcome differences between the various identification scales. Demographic measures were then taken including age, political identification, gender, and family income. Finally, participants were debriefed and thanked for their time.

Dependent Measures

Ownership Scale

Using previous research on the factors that develop feelings of ownership: efficacy/control, engagement, and knowledge (Pierce et al., 2003) an overall ownership scale was created by developing three subscales meant to tap into each factor.

The control subscale attempted to use items meant to convey a sense of control over the nation and national group it consisted of 5 items: “Change in America can occur through the voting booth”, “I believe my vote counts”, “In the United States the power is in the hands of the people”, “In a sense, I have a say about what happens in the United States”, and “My vote has an impact of what happens in this country.”

The engagement subscale looked at how engaged participants were with national activities and their willingness to serve the country it consisted of 8 items: “I stand and participate in the national anthem”, “I vote in all major elections”, “I work hard to be a good American”, “I participate in observing the American national holidays (e.g. 4th of July, Thanksgiving)”, “If called upon I would gladly serve my country”, “It is important to pass on

knowledge about our country to the next generation”, “Knowing about what is happening in the country is important”, and “volunteering is an important part of being an American.”

Finally, the knowledge subscale sought to tap into both knowledge of the important content associated with American and desire to seek information concerning the country it consisted of 5 items: “I know my U.S. history”, “I know what it means to be an American”, “I read news about what is going on in the country”, “I watch national news broadcasts”, and “It is important to know your nation’s history.” All subscale items were answered on a 1-7 Likert-type scale with 1 = “Strongly Disagree” and 7 = “Strongly Agree”. Items for each subscale were then averaged to form a composite subscale score; likewise, an ownership score was calculated by averaging the score for all items in the three subscales.

Patriotism/Nationalism

Patriotism and nationalism were again measured in this study for the purpose of comparison to the ownership scale put forth. However, study 3 used patriotism and nationalism items from Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto (1997), which was refined from Kosteman and Feshbach’s (1989) scales. The scale contains fewer items but those that remain closely resemble the original scale. The patriotism items include: “I find the sight of the American flag very moving”, “Every time I hear the national anthem, I feel strongly moved”, “The symbols of the United States (e.g. the flag, Washington monument) do not move me in one way or the other” (r), “I have great love for my country”, “The American flag should not be treated as a sacred object” (r), “I am proud to be an American”, “I don’t feel much affection for the United States” (r), and “There is nothing particularly wonderful about American culture” (r).

The nationalism items included: “To maintain our country’s superiority, war is sometimes necessary”, “To maintain our country’s economic superiority, aggressive economic

policies are sometimes necessary”, “The USA should not dominate other countries” (r), “The more the US actively influences other countries, the better off these countries will be”, and “For the most part, America is no more superior than other any other industrialized country in the world” (r). All items were answered on a 1-7 Likert-type scale with 1 = “Strongly Disagree” and 7 = “Strongly Agree”, and the items for each scale were averaged to form a composite patriotism and nationalism score.

Immigration Policy Support Scale

In addition to the identity scales, participants also indicated their level of agreement with a number of items meant to assess their support for strict immigration policy. This scale, based off of work by Mukherjee, Molina, & Adams (2012), was included to provide evidence that feelings of ownership over the American identity would produce different policy support than would the other American identification scales. Another reason for the inclusion of an immigration relevant measure is that immigration and the shifting demographics of the United States may be seen as threat to ownership over the American identity. The scale consisted of 6 items: “States should have the right to question people about their immigration status if they suspect they are in the United States illegally”, “States should have the right to question and detain anyone without proper identification who is suspected of being in the US illegally”, “US citizenship should be denied to children of illegal aliens, even if they are born in the US”, “Immigrants should be eligible for the same health benefits as Americans” (r), “Immigrants should leave the US”, and “Businesses that knowingly recruit illegal immigrants should penalized and/or jailed”. Each item was answered on a Likert-type scale with 1 = “Strongly Disagree” and 7 = “Strongly Agree”, and the items for each scale were averaged to form a composite immigration attitude score.

Results

Scale Analysis

Following the procedure from both studies 1 and 2, reliability analysis was run for each of the scales used in the study. The patriotism and nationalism scales from Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto (1997) proved to be reliable, $\alpha = .907$ and $\alpha = .690$, respectively, replicating previous findings on the patriotism and nationalism scales. The immigration policy support scale used in this study to assess participant's support for tough immigration practices also showed to be highly reliable $\alpha = .857$. The ownership scale fully developed in Study 3 consisted of three subscales: efficacy/control, engagement and knowledge. Each of these three subscale were highly reliable; control $\alpha = .923$, engagement $\alpha = .835$, and knowledge $\alpha = .738$. In addition, when taken together the overall ownership scale remained highly reliable $\alpha = .898$.

The identity based scales were then correlated with one another; as in the first two studies all scales remain significantly correlated, with ownership correlating more strongly to patriotism than nationalism. The correlation between nationalism and patriotism remained similar among the studies replicating previous work. Interestingly, the dependent measure of support for tough immigration policy scale significantly correlated to all three national identity scales but much more so to the patriotism and nationalism than to ownership.

Table 5: Correlations of key variables, study 3

	Patriotism	Nationalism	Ownership	Control	Engagement
Nationalism	.481**				
Ownership	.653**	.294**			
Control	.421**	.227**	.773**		
Engagement	.668**	.250**	.902**	.484**	
Knowledge	.479**	.254**	.729**	.296**	.646**

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

	Patriotism	Nationalism	Ownership	Control	Engagement	Immigration
Immigration	.369**	.384**	.168**	.023	.208**	
Political ID (Democrat)	-.110	.226**	-.046	.012	.059	-.311**

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

A confirmatory factor analysis was run on the ownership scale to test whether the three subscales formed distinct factors. The results of the analysis yielded only a fair fit of the model, RMSEA .098, (MacCallum, Browne, & Sugawara, 1996). Analysis of the modification indices suggested that many items from the engagement and knowledge subscales cross loaded onto both factors. The analysis was re-run combining the engagement and knowledge items onto as single factor again produced only fair model fit, RMSEA .099. However, because model fit was slightly better for the three factor model a chi-square difference test was performed and it was determined that the three factor model fit the data significantly better than the two factor model, $\chi^2=22.03$ $df=2$, $p<.001$.

Strict Immigration Support

Following the research hypothesis that feelings of ownership over one's country would form a distinct construct from previous forms of national identification; namely patriotism and nationalism, participant's level of support for strict immigration policy was compared across the different forms of identification. Running a bivariate linear regression analysis and using each national identity scale as a single predictor of strict immigration support produced similar results across the identity scales. Ownership was found to be a significant predictor of support for strict immigration policy, $\beta = .30$, $t(264) = 2.77$, $p<.01$, and both patriotism and nationalism were also significant predictors, $\beta = .46$, $t(265) = 6.46$, $p<.01$, and $\beta = .50$, $t(269) = 6.82$, $p<.01$, respectively. A test of collinearity indicated the independence of ownership from the other predictor variables with a Tolerance value =.582. While all three national identity scales predicted strict immigration policy support, both patriotism and nationalism appeared to be stronger predictors.

To test the hypothesis that ownership would allow for a more nuanced form of national identification; one in which high levels of identification allowed for the incorporation of different ideological content, strict immigration support was then analyzed by both agreement with the separate identity scales and participant's political preference. Multiple regression models were run for each of the national identity scales using both national identification and political party as predictors as well as the interaction. Analysis of the regression run with ownership as the national identity predictor revealed both ownership and political party to be predictors of tough immigration support with ownership just reaching the level of significance. This regression model proved to be highly significant and, also of note, produced a significant interaction effect between ownership and political preference on tough immigration support.

Table 6. Multiple regression with ownership by political party interaction

	B	Std. Error	β	t	Sig.
(Constant)	4.437	.084		52.975	.000
Ownership	.203	.103	.113	1.981	.049
Party	.251	.040	.350	6.243	.000
Ownership* Party	.131	.047	.162	2.818	.005

Dependent Variable: Immigration

$R^2=.184$, $F(3,265)=19.65$, $p<.001$

Regression models using patriotism and nationalism also produced significant results with political party and national identification being significant predictors of tough immigration policy support. However, neither model was able to produce a significant interaction effect.

Table 7. Multiple regression with patriotism and nationalism by political party interaction

	B	Std. Error	β	t	Sig.
(Constant)	4.433	.081		54.932	.000
Patriotism	.410	.069	.325	5.947	.000
Party	.238	.038	.334	6.194	.000

Partiotism* Party	.017	.029	.032	.597	.551
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$R^2=.246$, $F(3,266)=28.67$, $p<.001$

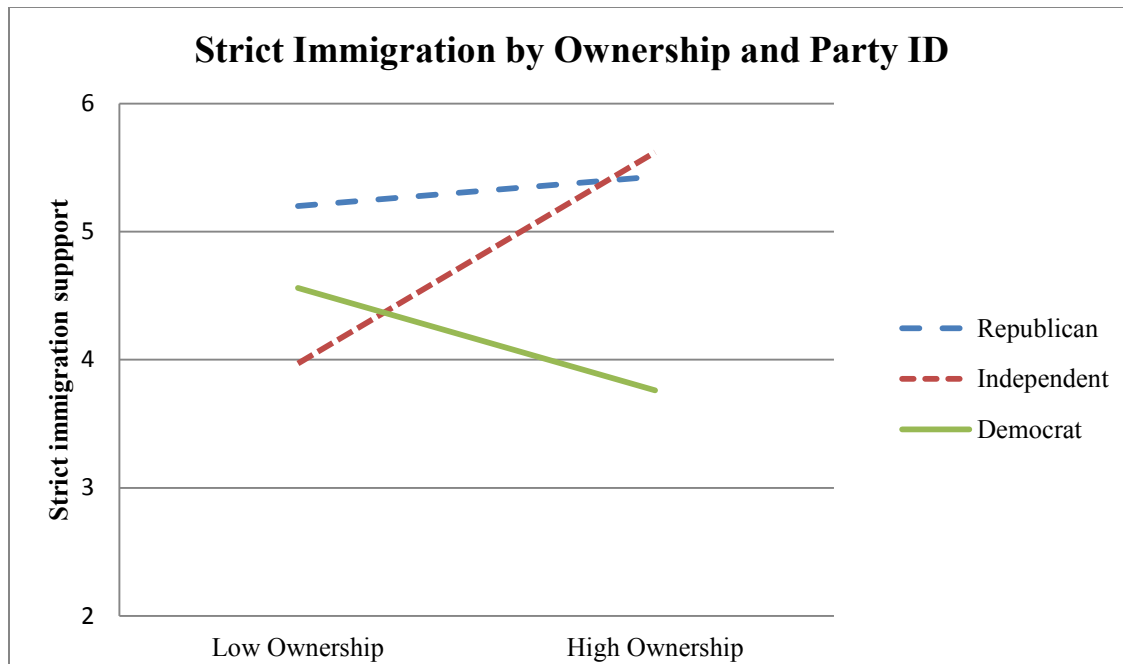
	B	Std. Error	β	t	Sig.
(Constant)	4.444	.082		54.437	.000
Nationalism	.412	.072	.318	5.697	.000
Party	.212	.039	.298	5.398	.000
Nationalism *Party	-.007	.030	-.012	-.227	.820

$R^2=.232$, $F(3,270)=26.871$, $p<.001$

Dependent Variable: Immigration

Results indicate that only ownership produced and interaction effect with political party suggesting a more nuanced construct of national identification. As felt ownership increases for Republicans so does support for strict immigration, but as ownership increases for Democrats support strict immigration policy decreases (see figure 1). This relationship is distinctly different than that observed from patriotism and nationalism, in which increases in identification for both produce increases in support for harsh immigration policy regardless of political preference.

Figure 1. Ownership and Political Party Interaction Study 3



Multiple regression models with the three ownership subscales as predictors along with party identification and their interactions were also run. All three models produced significant results and political preference remained a strong predictor. However, only the control and engagement subscales produced a significant interaction with political identification.

Table 8. Multiple regression with ownership subscales by political party interaction

	B	Std. Error	β	t	Sig.
(Constant)	4.440	.084		52.987	.000
Control	-.011	.063	-.010	-.168	.867
Party	.263	.040	.369	6.573	.000
Control* Party	.078	.029	.154	2.702	.007

$R^2=.160$, $F(3,269)=16.926$, $p<.001$

	B	Std. Error	β	t	Sig.
(Constant)	4.423	.083		53.516	.000
Engagement	.244	.089	.155	2.755	.006
Party	.247	.040	.345	6.218	.000

Engagement *Party	.106	.040	.151	2.673	.008
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$R^2=.193$, $F(3,268)=21.158$, $p<.001$

	B	Std. Error	β	t	Sig.
(Constant)	4.443	.083		53.310	.000
Knowledge	.307	.105	.165	2.972	.004
Party	.262	.040	.366	6.540	.000
Knowledge *Party	.065	.050	.074	1.304	.193

$R^2=.173$, $F(3,268)=18.507$, $p<.001$ Dependent Variable: Immigration

Discussion

Analysis of the ownership scale provided modest support for the hypothesis that feelings of ownership develop from three factors: Control, engagement, and knowledge. Scale analysis did show that the subscales and the overall ownership scale did produce good internal consistency. However, confirmatory factor analysis of a three factor model for the ownership scale yielded only fair model fit.

National ownership does appear to be a distinct construct from previous forms of national identification, namely patriotism and nationalism. Evidence for this can be seen in the way that Democrats who feel a high level of national ownership behave differently than those with high levels of patriotism or nationalism when it comes to support for strict immigration policy. Ownership allows for individuals to feel a high level of national sentiment while incorporating differing ideological content, which patriotism and nationalism do not allow for, at least in this study. Examination of the subscales produced a similar effect for control and engagement but not knowledge. Interactions suggested that individuals identifying as Democrats who have a high level of control or engagement behaved differently in their support for strict immigration support

than Democrats with high levels of patriotism or nationalism. This relationship did not hold for knowledge.

Republicans acted similarly across the three identification scales as would be expected with high levels of sentiment leading to high levels of support for strict immigration policy, a common Republican concern. Independents, however, also acted similarly across all three identification scales which lead to questions about the ideological content of their political identification. Are these self-classified independents actually more similar to Republicans than Democrats or are independents who feel ownership disgruntled about the present or future of the country which might lead to support of exclusionary measures for immigrants? This study does not have enough information to determine exactly how to characterize these independents, but they could provide an avenue for future research into feelings of ownership and political identification.

While evidence suggested that ownership was distinct, the scales did not produce the desired model fit and the knowledge factor seemed not to fit into the construct as well as proposed. This could be due to trouble with items themselves, but previous theoretical work had suggested the form of a three factor model. Both engagement and knowledge seemed to be highly related and wanted to load as a similar item. This is may be due in part to the nature of the construct that the researcher was attempting to measure. Most research concerning the development of feelings of ownership focuses on ownership over tangible entities, like a toy, house, or business, however, this research was attempting to investigate ownership over and intangible identity. Control, engagement, and knowledge when concerning an intangible entity can be seen as more subjective. Having perceived knowledge over one's national identity could

be seen as a form of engagement in that the gathering of said knowledge takes some personal investment.

Study 4:

Study 4 was set up to investigate whether feelings of national group ownership could be experimentally manipulated and replicate the findings from the previous studies. Using the previous theoretical work on felt ownership, this research attempts to manipulate group ownership by providing feedback concerning (1) the participant's level of knowledge and (2) control over the group identity. Patriotism and nationalism were again measured, as well as support for strict immigration policy. I hypothesized that the research would once again show differential support for policy based on one's level of felt ownership and political ideology, with individuals high in national ownership and Democratic political identification less supportive of tough immigration than high patriotism and nationalism Democrats.

Method:

Participants:

A total of 86 participants (43 female, 8 missing) agreed to take part in the study and were awarded research credits in partial fulfillment of course requirements at the University of Kansas. Mean age of the participants was 19.3 years old ($SD=1.63$) with all participants falling between 18 and 28 years of age. Participants scored at approximately the midpoint of the political preference scale with a mean score of 3.87 ($SD=1.61$) on a 1-7 Likert-type scale ranging from Democrat to Republican.

Design and Procedure

The purpose of study 4 was both to replicate the findings from the previous studies and to attempt to manipulate felt ownership over the national identity. In this attempt, randomly

assigned participants were brought into the research lab under the guise of participating in part of a large national database on attitudes about what makes a person American. Participants were then told they would fill out a brief survey that would be added to the national database and that they would receive feedback on how their scores compared to the nationally representative sample.

Participants filled out a brief survey on the computer consisting of two national identity questions, “To what extent do you feel pride in your American identity,” and “I am very attached to my identity as an American.” This was followed by the 14 item “what makes a person a true American” (Devos & Banaji, 2005).

Participants were then told the researcher would provide them with feedback on how their scores compared to the national sample and while the comparison was being calculated they were asked to fill out some basic demographic information. Participants then received one of two forms of false feedback. The feedback attempted to manipulate the control and knowledge factors which are hypothesized to lead to feelings of ownership. Participants in the high ownership condition were falsely informed that their answers to the “what makes an American” survey were in 89th percentile for agreement with the national sample. In the low ownership condition the false feedback stated that the participant was in the 29th percentile or very low agreement with the national sample. To further illustrate the feedback participants were provided with a fabricated graphical representation of their score (see appendix D).

After receiving their false feedback, participants were asked to fill out another survey, this time not to be included into the national database but instead to further the researcher’s investigation into national identification. As a manipulation check, the first item of the questionnaire asked the participants how their scores had matched the national sample. From

there, the participants filled out the dependent measures portion of the study and were fully debriefed concerning the false feedback and true purpose of the study.

Dependent Measures

As in the previous study, participants filled out the same national identification scales: national ownership, patriotism and nationalism. They also completed the immigration scale from the previous study, again as a potential differential outcome of support for the different scales. In addition to the previously used measures a “trust in other Americans” scale was generated which consisted of five items; “I am different from the average American”, “I am similar to the average American”, “Most American don’t know what it truly means to be an American”, “In general, most Americans are good Americans”, and “I trust the opinion of most other Americans” $\alpha = .68$.

Results

Ownership Manipulation

Tests for a main effect of condition failed to produce a difference between participant’s level of felt national ownership with participants in the high ownership condition ($M=5.45$, $SD=.56$) scoring similarly to those in the low ownership condition ($M=5.52$, $SD=.47$), $t(83)=-.71$, $p=.48$. Testing the subscales of ownership did produce a main effect of condition for participant’s level of felt control over the national identity, however the relationship was in the opposite direction from what was predicted and just barely achieved the level of significance, with those induced in the low ownership condition ($M=5.21$, $SD=.73$) scoring higher in control than those in the high ownership condition ($M=4.84$, $SD=.99$), $t(84)=-2.00$, $p=.048$. Neither the knowledge subscale, $t(84)=-.95$, $p=.34$, or the engagement subscale, $t(83)=.16$, $p=.87$, showed significant differences between conditions but were in the hypothesized direction. Also of note, there was no observed condition effect on participant’s response to the trust in other Americans

scales, $t(82)=-.36$, $p=.72$, suggesting that it was not participants discounting of the opinions of fellow Americans that led to the failure of the ownership manipulation. The manipulation also failed to produce any effect on the level of participant's patriotism or nationalism, $t(84)=-1.64$, $p=.11$ and $t(84)=-.68$, $p=.50$.

Strict Immigration Support

Using the same procedure from study 3, a regression analysis was performed using each of the national identity scales as predictors of support for strict immigration policy. As in study 3, ownership was a significant predictor of support for strict immigration policy, $\beta = .50$, $t(84) = 2.15$, $p<.05$, and both patriotism and nationalism were also significant predictors, $\beta = .41$, $t(85) = 2.91$, $p<.01$, and $\beta = .51$, $t(85) = 4.93$, $p<.01$, respectively. Consistent with the results from the previous studies all three national identity scales were correlated with one another and were negatively correlated with Democratic political preference. A test of collinearity indicated the independence of ownership from the other predictor variables with a Tolerance value $=.723$.

Table 9: *Scale and harsh immigration policy support correlations study 4*

	Patriotism	Nationalism	Ownership	Strict Immigration
Nationalism	.404**			
Ownership	.524**	.253**		
Strict Immigration	.303**	.474**	.230*	
Political ID (Democrat)	-.354**	-.442**	-.193	-.493**

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$

To replicate the analysis from study 3 and to attempt to gain a more nuanced understanding of the types of identification, participant level of support for tough immigration policy was then examined by their level of identification and political preference and the

interaction between the two predictors. The overall model was significant for each of the national identity measures and political preference remained a significant predictor of tough immigration support in each model with Republican political preference supporting tougher immigration policies. Nationalism based identification remained a significant predictor of tough immigration with those high in nationalism favoring tough immigration policy. Patriotism, unlike in study 1, did not significantly predict tough immigration. Ownership did not predict immigration policy attitudes.

Table 10. Multiple regression with national identity scales by political party interaction

	B	Std. Error	β	t	Sig.
(Constant)	3.785	.108		34.905	.000
Nationalism	.331	.113	.306	2.926	.003
Party	-.247	.070	-.356	-3.511	.001
Nationalism *Party	.024	.055	.041	.432	.667

$R^2=.326$, $F(3,85)=13.212$, $p<.001$

	B	Std. Error	β	t	Sig.
(Constant)	3.773	.114		33.204	.000
Patriotism	.189	.164	.138	1.148	.254
Party	-.309	.073	-.444	-4.275	.000
Patriotism* Party	.012	.093	.014	.125	.901

$R^2=.262$, $F(3,85)=9.701$, $p<.001$

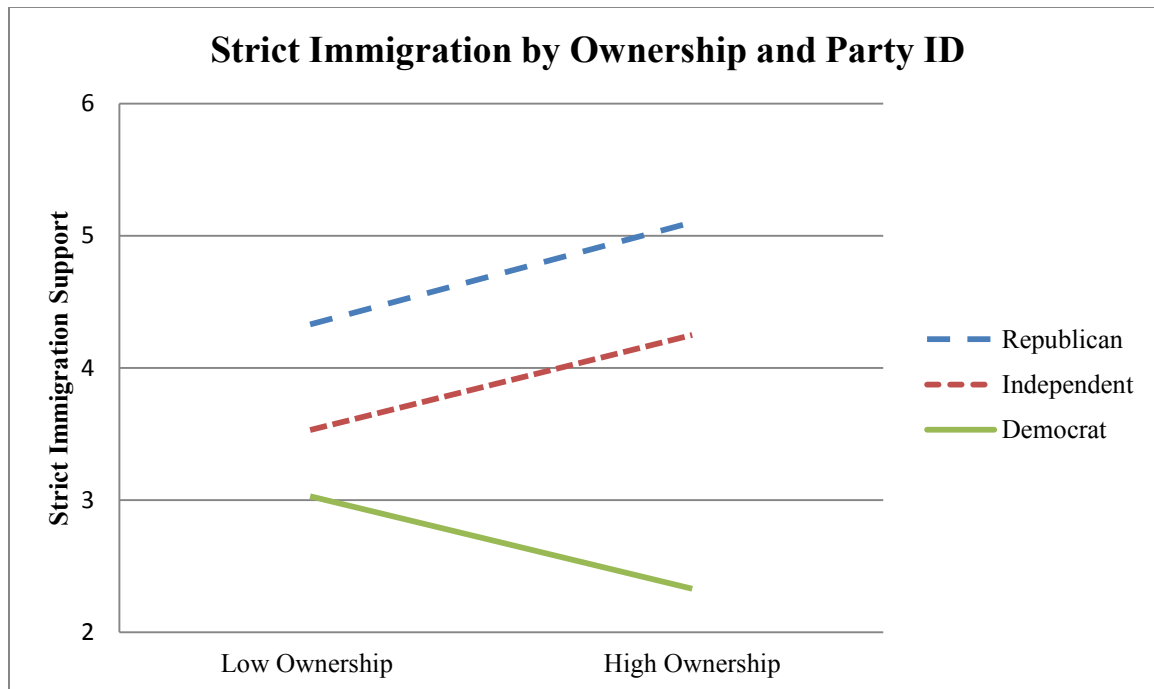
	B	Std. Error	β	t	Sig.
(Constant)	3.760	.110		34.107	.000
Ownership	.319	.215	.137	1.487	.141
Party	-.319	.073	-.451	-4.343	.000
Ownership* Party	-.072	.180	-.041	-.400	.690

$R^2=.263$, $F(3,84)=9.625$, $p<.001$

Dependent Variable: Immigration

Results of the interaction analysis failed to reach significance for all three forms of national identification, however, the trend did appear to be in the same direction as study 3 with high ownership individuals differentially supporting tough immigration policy based on their political preference.

Figure 2. Ownership and Political Party Interaction Study 4



Voter Likelihood

Felt ownership over the national identity did predict likelihood to vote in the upcoming election significantly, $\beta = .81$, $t(84) = 2.66$, $p < .01$. Ownership was the only predictor in this study that produced significant results. Both patriotism, $\beta = -.03$, $t(85) = -.167$, $p = .87$, and nationalism, $\beta = .08$, $t(85) = .491$, $p = .63$ were not predictive of voter likelihood. In this way ownership shows itself to be a better potential predictor of intended participation with the national identity than does previous national identity constructs. Voter likelihood becomes an important variable to ownership over the national identity because not only does it provide a tangible behavioral

intent, but it also measures a level of engagement with the national identity that may in turn to more feelings of ownership and participation

Discussion

The study produced significant results when it came to measuring participant likelihood to vote in the upcoming election. In this case perceived national ownership proved to be a strong predictor of vote likelihood, with those feeling ownership more likely to cast a ballot. Neither patriotism nor nationalism proved to be significant predictors when it came to vote likelihood. This provided some evidence for the divergence of ownership from the previous forms of national identification on a particularly relevant behavioral intent measure. Vote likelihood is a relevant measure because the act of voting itself may in turn boost feelings of ownership because it induces more feelings of engagement, control, and even to some extent knowledge.

Other evidence of the existence of an ownership construct came from comparing it to other forms of national identity when it came to predicting support for strict immigration policy. All three national identity scales were predictive of support for tough immigration support with nationalism and patriotism appearing to be stronger predictor than ownership. The forms of identification appear to differ once political preference is taken into account. A similar pattern to that from study three emerged where Republicans and independents who are high in national ownership acted similar to those high in patriotism and nationalism, but Democrats high in ownership diverged from the other two forms of national identity and were less supportive of tough immigration. While the results were not significant in the way the study 3's were, the pattern of results again suggested felt national ownership allows for individuals to feel a high level of national sentiment while incorporating differing ideological content in ways that previous national identification does not. It is possible that more significant results might have

been found with a larger number of participants, as this study was limited to only 86 participants creating some small cells in the analysis. As discussed previously, the population under study was students which might not be as experienced as the general populace with their relation to the nation, potentially making measurement difficult.

The main manipulation of perceived national ownership failed to produce the desired results. There was a manipulation effect for the control subscale of ownership which was one of the routes toward feelings of ownership targeted by the manipulation; however the effect appeared to be in the wrong direction and just reached the level of significance. No effect was seen for the knowledge subscale, which was the other route targeted. This general failure could speak to a design failure in the attempted manipulation. Perhaps the feedback was not enough to truly move participant feelings of ownership. Being a student sample, it is possible that participants have not yet clearly developed a sense of national identity making them less prone to the manipulation. Also of note, the manipulation had no effect on either of the other forms of national identification, providing further evidence that student sample may not have developed as much of a sense of national identity or of the failure to design a robust enough manipulation. In any case further development of an effective manipulation would help differentiate national ownership from other forms of national identification.

General Discussion

This paper lays a theoretical groundwork for studying identity ownership and adding to the current understanding of national group identification. The possibility that individuals can come to feel ownership over the group to which they belong is an area that has received little theoretical or empirical attention within the group identification literature. This proposition

extends current theorizing on group identification, as well as addressing some potential problems in the application of current theories.

Group ownership is a new and conceptually distinct level of group identification. Ownership has its roots in literature concerning organizations and their employees and this paper extended those theories to realms outside organizational research. The idea that individuals can come to feel ownership over an organization for which they are a member suggests that individuals can also develop feelings of ownership toward other groups to which they belong be it their national identity or some smaller group identity.

To that end four studies were conducted to demonstrate that identity ownership is a measureable construct. Using previous national identification constructs and theoretical work concerning the development of ownership, an ownership scale was constructed. This scale consisted of three subscales of items tapping into factors theorized to bolster the development of ownership: control, engagement, and knowledge. The overall scale proved to be highly reliable as well as the three subscales contained within. Correlations between the subscales seemed to indicate that the three factors were in fact integral to the development of the ownership construct. Previously used constructs of national identification were also examined and as expected correlated relatively highly with national ownership.

Evidence for national ownership's distinctiveness came from examining individual support for strict immigration and voter likelihood. While all three forms of identification were predictive of support for strict immigration, a special relationship emerged for individuals high in feelings of national ownership. For individuals who felt high levels of national ownership it was important to differentiate by their political preference.

In study 3 self-identified Republicans were supportive of strict immigration, but for Democrats, as felt ownership increased, support for strict immigration decreased. This nuance was not observed for either patriotism or nationalism, where high levels of national sentiment were indicative of support for strict immigration regardless of political preference. This interaction effect was not found in study 4 but the trend was in the same direction. This suggests that the ownership construct was capturing a nuanced form of national identification, one where the content of the individual or group's belief about the nation was important to the feeling of high national sentiment. This is an important distinction in that the previously constructed scales may not capture all the ways in which citizens feel zeal for their country and might erroneously classify individuals as low in national identity.

Another implication of the strict immigration findings comes when considering the defense of ownership. Republicans as opposed to Democrats tend to view immigration as a threat to their national ownership and are prone to support stricter immigration policy. One of the potential negative impacts of feeling ownership over the national identity discussed earlier was the potential for individuals to defend or attack those perceived to be changing the identity. While support for strict immigration policy may not best be construed as an attack against individuals seen as changing the national character, much of the rhetoric concerning immigrant groups certainly raises questions about the true intentions of those who purport to protect our borders.

On a more positive note, feelings of ownership did prove to be predictive of individual's intent to vote in the upcoming election. This supports the notion that high feelings of ownership are positively related to commitment and engagement in group activities, indicating ownership

may have some positive benefits. This relationship was not seen for nationalism or patriotism again pointing to a difference between the different constructs of national identification.

The shortcomings of this paper should be addressed in future research further exploring the concept of ownership. This research may not go far enough to separate national ownership from previous forms of identification in a definitive manner. However, the research did provide initial evidence that such a construct exists. The measure developed proved to be reliable but produced only a modest model fit suggesting that further refinement would be helpful.

A potential way to bolster the distinctiveness of ownership from previous forms of national identification would be to tie experimental manipulation more closely to the proposed routes of ownership development: control, engagement, and knowledge. Since ownership is a conceptual metaphor used by individuals to understand their relationship to the nation, one approach for manipulating ownership might be to use an embodied manipulation approach which has been used by researchers studying the use of metaphors to concretize abstract concepts (Landau, Meier, & Keefer, 2010). Similar to the Williams and Bargh (2008) study of interpersonal warmth, inducing participants to physically engage or control an object like an American flag by gripping it tightly might prime the participants to feel more control and thus ownership over the American identity. Participants also might be induced to learn United States history facts to bolster their sense of knowledge concerning the country. These participants could then be compared to others how learn facts on other topics for their felt control over the national identity; this study might also provide a way to observe whether glorifying knowledge is better able to produce control than critical knowledge or whether any knowledge can lead to ownership.

The work of this paper should be extended to investigate more outcome variables. This would aid in assessing both the potential positive and negative impacts for feeling a high level of ownership. Expanding the work to more populations would be advantageous as the current work remains demographically limited and contains few minority group members. It would be interesting to see what differences might exist in levels of felt national ownership between different majority and minority groups. White Americans made up the vast majority of the participants in this research project and there is reason to believe that their historically advantaged position in the United States would afford them more ability or reason to feel ownership over the U.S. national identity, but examining other groups would allow for greater insight into both majority and minority group feelings of ownership over either ethnic or national identities. One group of particular interest might be African-Americans who typically score low on measures of national identification. Ownership might provide insight onto this process as African-Americans and potentially Native Americans have a distinct history in which control was systematically taken from them. This lack of control and its weight in the cultural history of the United States might lead to these groups experiencing much less ownership over the national identity and might help explain why they tend not to develop the same levels of national identification as do other groups.

While this paper may not have definitively shown the existence of national ownership as separate and new construct of national identification, it did provide compelling evidence that such a construct exists. Evidence from both theoretical work on ownership and empirical work in this paper show that feelings of ownership develop from three factors: control, engagement, and knowledge. The paper also provided evidence that ownership can provide a more nuanced view of national identification, one which allows high levels of sentiment in the form of ownership but

allows for differing content of beliefs concerning the nation without downgrading level of identification.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Study 1 national identity measures

Questionnaire

Please carefully read the statements below and circle the answer that best represents your level of agreement

I love my country

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

I am proud to be an American

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

In a sense, I am emotionally attached to my country and emotionally affected by its decisions

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

Although at times I may not agree with the government, my commitment to the U.S. always remains strong

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

I feel great pride in the land that is America

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

It is not important for me to serve my country

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

When I see the American flag flying I feel great pride

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

The fact that I am an American is an important part of my identity

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

It is not constructive for one to develop an emotional attachment to his/her country

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

In general, I have very little respect for the American people

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

It bothers me to see children made to pledge allegiance to the flag or sing the national anthem or otherwise induced to adopt such strong patriotic attitudes

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

The U.S. is really just an institution, big and powerful yes, but just an institution

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

In view of America's moral and material superiority, it is only right that we should have the biggest say in deciding United Nations policy

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

The first duty of every young American is to honor the national America history and heritage

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

The important thing for the U.S. foreign aid program is to see that the U.S. gains a political advantage

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

Other countries should try to make their government as much like ours as possible

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

Generally, the more influence America has on other nations, the better off they are

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

Foreign nations have done some very fine things but it takes America to do things in a big way

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

It is important that the U.S. win in international sporting competition like the Olympics

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

It is not really important that the U.S. be number one in whatever it does

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

The U.S. should not dominate other countries

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

The U.S. is truly my country

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

Changes in the country make me feel as if I have lost something I once had

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

I feel I should have some level of control over what it means to be an American

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

When I talk about Americans I usually say “we” rather than “they”

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

It is important that everyone sees me as American

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

In a sense, some U.S. citizens are more American than others

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

I personally feel more American than some of my countrymen

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

Appendix B: Study 2 University Identification measures and ownership manipulation

Questionnaire

In the space below please briefly describe (1-2 paragraphs) how you represent the following statement:

The University of Kansas is my school

Or

I am part of the University of Kansas

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

Please carefully read the statements below and circle the answer that best represents your level of agreement

I love my university

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I am proud to be a Jayhawk

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

In a sense, I am emotionally attached to my university and its reputation

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I feel great pride in the University of Kansas

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

It is not important for me to serve my university

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

When I see the KU flag I feel great pride

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The fact that I am a Jayhawk is an important part of my identity

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

It is not constructive for one to develop an emotional attachment to his/her university

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

In general, I have very little respect for University of Kansas students

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

It bothers me to see students degrade our rivals or other team's fan or otherwise adopt such strong patriotic attitudes

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The University of Kansas is really just an institution, big and powerful yes, but just an institution

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

In view of the University of Kansas's moral and material superiority, it is only right that we should have the biggest say in deciding Kansas Board of Regents policy

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The first duty of every Kansas student is to honor the university's history and heritage

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The important thing for the university administration is to ensure the university retains a positive image

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Other universities would benefit from trying to make their schools as much like ours as possible

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Generally, the more influence the University of Kansas has on the state, the better off it is

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Other Midwestern universities have done some nice things but the University of Kansas is really the best university in the region

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

It is important that the Kansas to win in intercollegiate sporting competition like the NCAA tournament

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

It is not really important that KU be number one in whatever it does

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The University of Kansas should not dominate other state schools

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The University of Kansas is truly my school

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

If the university were to make significant changes make me feel as if I have lost something

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I feel I should have some level of control over what it means to be a Jayhawk

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

When I talk about the University of Kansas I usually say “we” rather than “they”

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

It is important that everyone sees me as a Jayhawk

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

In a sense, some KU students are better Jayhawks than others

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I personally feel like more of a Jayhawk than some of my fellow students

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Demographic Information

Age: _____ years old
U.S. citizen

Gender: Male / Female

Citizenship: U.S. citizen / Non-

Political Identification: Republican 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Democrat

Political Orientation: Liberal 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Conservative

How many semesters have you spent at the University of Kansas (1yr = 2 semesters)? _____
Semesters

Appendix C: Study 3 patriotism, nationalism measures and proposed ownership and immigration scales

Questionnaire

Please carefully read the statements below and circle the answer that best represents you level of agreement

(Patriotism scale)

I find the sight of the American flag very moving

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Every time I hear the national anthem, I feel strongly moved

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The symbols of the United States (e.g. the flag, Washington monument) do not move me in one way or the other

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I have great love for my country

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The American flag should not be treated as a sacred object

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I am proud to be an American

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I don't feel much affection for the United States

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

There is nothing particularly wonderful about American culture

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

(Nationalism scale)

To maintain our country's superiority, war is sometimes necessary

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

To maintain our country's economic superiority, aggressive economic policies are sometimes necessary

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The USA should not dominate other countries

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The more the US actively influences other countries, the better off these countries will be

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

For the most part, America is no more superior than other any other industrialized country in the world
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

(Ownership scale)

Control items

Change in America can occur through the voting booth
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I believe my vote counts
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

In the United States the power is in the hands of the people
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

In a sense, I have a say about what happens in the United States
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

My vote has an impact of what happens in this country
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Engagement items

I stand and participate in the national anthem
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I vote in all major elections
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I work hard to be a good American
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I participate in observing the American national holidays (e.g. 4th of July, Thanksgiving)
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

If called upon I would gladly serve my country
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

It is important to pass on knowledge about our country to the next generation
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Knowing about what is happening in the country is important
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Volunteering is an important part of being and American
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Knowledge items

I know my U.S. history

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I know what it means to be an American

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I read news about what is going on in the country

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I watch national news broadcasts

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

It is important to know your nation's history

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

(Strict immigration support scale)

States should have the right to question people about their immigration status if they suspect they are in the United States illegally

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

States should have the right to question and detain anyone without proper identification who is suspected of being in the US illegally

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

US citizenship should be denied to children of illegal aliens, even if they are born in the US

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Immigrants should be eligible for the same health benefits as Americans

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Immigrants should leave the U.S.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Businesses that knowingly recruit illegal immigrants should be penalized and/or jailed

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Appendix D: Study 4 Ownership manipulation false feedback script and graph

Script to be read before participant is given informed consent

Hello, my name is _____ and I am conducting today's study. Shortly, I will ask you to fill out a questionnaire on what it means to be American. This study is part of a large on going line of research to determine what America's believe it means to be American. There are many potential answers to this question and what the research is attempting to do is determine what answers to this question the majority of Americans hold. After completing the questions I will take your scores and compare them to a database of scores that have already been compiled from across the nation. I will then go over the score with you and let you know where you fit in with regards to the average American sample we have already collected. In a second part of the study I will ask you to fill out another questionnaire which is not included in the national study but seeks to further my research on personal feelings of identification. Thank you for coming in today. I will now present to you a copy of the informed consent, please read it carefully before deciding whether or not you would like to participate.

False feedback manipulation after opening questionnaire

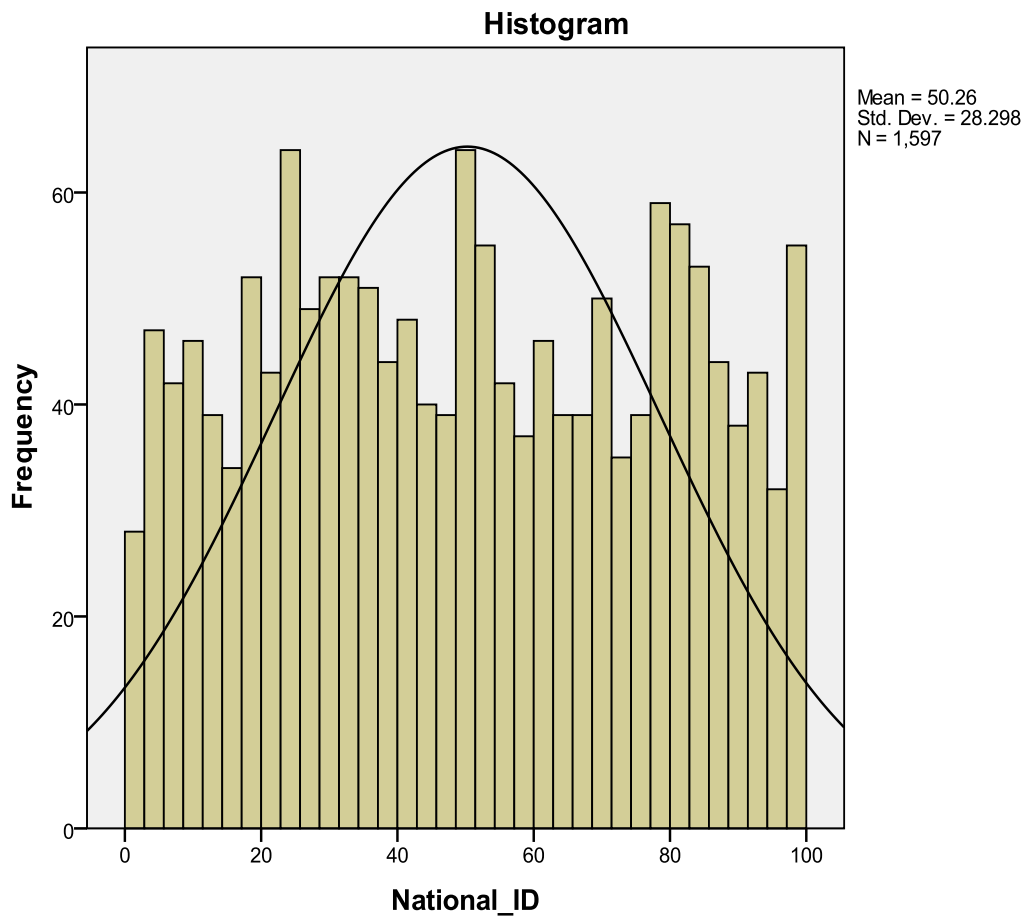
Based on a comparison between your scores and our database of national respondents you scored in the 89th percentile group (participant shown graphical representation). This level is what we would term as high level of agreement. This means that your responses on average agreed substantially with our nationally representative population group. There were no right or wrong answers to the questions you answered your score simple means that you answered in a way that is consistent with the majority of Americans.

The next step we are going to conduct will be for you to fill out another questionnaire. This one will not be included in the national database and is meant only for the researchers to gain insight on how you personally feel about America and being American. Again, please answer each question carefully and remember that these questions are in reference to your personal beliefs regarding America. Thank you

Or

Based on a comparison between your scores and our database of national respondents you scored in the 29th percentile group (participant shown graphical representation). This level is what we would term as very low level of agreement. This means that your responses on average differed from our nationally representative population group. There were no right or wrong answers to the questions you answered your score simple means that you answered in a way that is different from the majority of Americans.

The next step we are going to conduct will be for you to fill out another questionnaire. This one will not be included in the national database and is meant only for the researchers to gain insight on how you personally feel about America and being American. Again, please answer each question carefully and remember that these questions are in reference to your personal beliefs regarding America. Thank you



Output:

Percentage Agree: 89.67%

Level: High agreement

Responses indicate a high level of agreement with population group

Questionnaire

Please carefully read the statements below and circle the answer that best represents your level of agreement

(National identification scales: Patriotism, nationalism, & ownership)

I find the sight of the American flag very moving

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Every time I hear the national anthem, I feel strongly moved

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The symbols of the United States (e.g. the flag, Washington monument) do not move me in one way or the other

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I have great love for my country

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The American flag should not be treated as a sacred object

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I am proud to be an American

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I don't feel much affection for the United States

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

There is nothing particularly wonderful about American culture

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

To maintain our country's superiority, war is sometimes necessary

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

To maintain our country's economic superiority, aggressive economic policies are sometimes necessary

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The USA should not dominate other countries

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The more the US actively influences other countries, the better off these countries will be

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

For the most part, America is no more superior than other any other industrialized country in the world

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Change in America can occur through the voting booth

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I believe my vote counts

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

In the United States the power is in the hands of the people

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

In a sense, I have a say about what happens in the United States

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

My vote has an impact of what happens in this country

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I stand and participate in the national anthem

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I vote in all major elections

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I work hard to be a good American

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I participate in observing the American national holidays (e.g. 4th of July, Thanksgiving)

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

If called upon I would gladly serve my country

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

It is important to pass on knowledge about our country to the next generation

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Knowing about what is happening in the country is important

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Volunteering is an important part of being an American

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I know my U.S. history

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I know what it means to be an American

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I read news about what is going on in the country

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I watch national news broadcasts

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

It is important to know your nation's history

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

(Strict immigration support scale)

States should have the right to question people about their immigration status if they suspect they are in the United States illegally

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

States should have the right to question and detain anyone without proper identification who is suspected of being in the US illegally

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

US citizenship should be denied to children of illegal aliens, even if they are born in the US

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Immigrants should be eligible for the same health benefits as Americans

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Immigrants should leave the U.S.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Businesses that knowingly recruit illegal immigrants should be penalized and/or jailed

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

(Trust in other Americans scale)

I am different from the average American

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I am similar to the average American

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Most Americans don't know what it truly means to be an American

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

In general, most Americans are good Americans

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I trust the opinion of most other Americans

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree