

**University of Porto**

**Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences**

**WILL LEADERS BRING US TOGETHER?  
THE IMPACT OF DEVIANT STATUS AND (IN)EFFECTIVE SOCIAL  
CONTROL ON GROUP COHESIVENESS**

**Catarina Tavares de Castro Morais**

June, 2014

Dissertation presented for the Integrated Master's in Psychology, Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences of University of Porto, supervised by Professor *Isabel Rocha Pinto* (F.P.C.E.U.P.)

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*I remember you and I remember me*

*[...]*

*One day they were cutting flowers for something to do  
on the bank of the road beneath the cottonwoods  
He turned to her to ask if she'd marry him  
when a runaway truck hit him where he stood*

*So I remember you and I remember me  
a black hawk nailed to the sky  
and the tape hiss from the trees*

*Everybody said she needed to move on  
that he was all but lost so deep was his coma  
When he finally came to, the girl he loved was long gone  
She had married a banker and gone to Oklahoma  
He bought a little ;and with the money from the settlement  
and even bought the truck that had hit him that day  
He touched the part where the metal was bent*

*And if you were there you would hear him say  
I remember her and I remember him  
I remember them and I remember then  
I'm just remembering...*

(Joel Santiago, 2006)

**To Sofia,  
For teaching me the hardest lesson of all.**

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## Resumo

De que forma a coesão grupal é influenciada pelo estatuto do desviante e pela reação do grupo a esse desvio (controle social)? Os participantes foram informados do caso de um membro do endogrupo que desrespeitou o seu treinador, bem como se esse desviante era um líder (capitão de equipa) ou um membro regular. Foram ainda informados se o grupo reagiu ou não ao desvio (controle social eficaz ou ineficaz). Os resultados mostram que os participantes que se sentiram mais ameaçados pelo desvio revelaram níveis mais elevados de *valued roles* (uma dimensão da coesão). O estatuto do desviante teve impacto na coesão do grupo apenas quando o desvio causou menor ameaça à identidade social dos participantes. Foram ainda encontradas evidências de que o estatuto do membro desviante está relacionado com a vontade dos participantes de derogarem esses membros, sobretudo se o grupo não lidou com o desvio.

*Palavras-chave:* dinâmica de grupos subjetiva, coesão grupal, liderança, reação ao desvio

## **Abstract**

How is group cohesiveness influenced by deviant status and group reaction to deviance (social control)? Participants were presented with a case of an ingroup member that disrespected their coach. They were also informed that the deviant member was either a leader (team captain) or a regular member and that the group reacted or not to such deviance (effective or ineffective social control). Results showed that participants who felt more threatened revealed higher scores of valued roles (one dimension of group cohesiveness). The deviant status only had impact on group cohesiveness when the deviance caused a lower threat to participant's social identity. We also found evidence that the status of deviant members is related with individuals' agreement to punish these deviant members: participants agreed more with punishment reactions directed to leaders than to regular members, especially if the group did not deal with such deviance.

*Keywords:* subjective group dynamics, group cohesiveness, leadership, reaction to deviance

## **Introduction**

Groups, as non-professional sports' teams, for example, often face hard moments such as successive failures. Even then, often the players (members) keep believing in the team and their teammates, in their dynamics and insist on remaining in the group. Their commitment to the group appears to be unshakable. However, in case of misbehaving by an athlete, the other teammates protect this member, or, on the contrary, react against in strong negative way. Take as an example, the case of Ricardo Carvalho in the Portuguese National Football Team. This football player, in spite of being a good representative of Portugal, was excluded from the National Team when he reacted against the coach decisions. Did this exclusion impact on the team climate and cohesiveness? In our work, we propose to explore the effect of how group reacts to deviance in group members' commitment to the group.

### **1. The protection of individual's positive social identity**

According to the social identity theory (e.g. Tajfel, 1978), individuals are motivated to achieve or maintain a positive social identity. Therefore, individuals desire to maximize and maintain a positive intergroup differentiation (McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 2002; Tajfel, 1978) and, simultaneously, validate the normative standards of the ingroup (Abrams, Randsley de Moura, Hutchinson & Tendayi Viki, 2005). However, the presence of deviance within the group may threaten the subjective validation of such normative standards, and thus, jeopardize individuals' positive social identity. Group members, in such situations, may engage in simultaneous intergroup and intragroup differentiation (between normative and deviant members) (Marques, Abrams, Páez & Martinez-Taboada, 1998a).

#### **1.1. The importance of validating the ingroup normative standards**

Individuals search for meanings in order to reduce their uncertainty about the world. The ingroups are particularly strong references to reduce such uncertainty (Abrams, 1990, 1992, Abrams & Hogg, 1988, 2001, cit in Abrams et al, 2005; Hogg, 2001; Marques & Paéz, 1994). Indeed, certainty is reinforced by the knowledge that the self and the ingroup share the same norms and values (Abrams et al, 2005). In this sense, norms

reinforce intragroup uniformity since they define how group members should behave, feel and think which, consequently, provides group members with a sense of validation (see also Festinger, 1950), and reduces their uncertainty (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

Norms generally have several functions in groups: they describe and prescribe behavior; that is, they define the characteristics that best define the group namely by differentiating from other groups (descriptive norms) and/ or inform the group members the correct behavior they should adopt (inspired in Reno, Cialdini & Kallgren, 1993; Marques, Abrams, Páez & Hogg, 2001). Thus, descriptive norms define someone's group membership and prescriptive norms refer to those normative standards that need group's social validity and consensus, both allowing group members to achieve a positive ingroup identity (Abrams et al, 2005).

By violating prescriptive norms, a deviant member threatens the validity of such norms, and consequently, not only contribute to a higher level of uncertainty (by negatively impacting on the intragroup consensus), but also jeopardize the image that the group is correct, and thus, better than relevant outgroups (Abrams et al, 2005; Marques, Abrams, Páez & Hogg, 2001b; Marques, Abrams & Serôdio, 2001). Subjective group dynamics has been proposing that ingroup deviants are especially derogated when they violate a relevant prescriptive norm (Abrams et al, 2013; Marques & Páez, 1994; Marques, Páez & Abrams, 1998b) or when deviants have a central status within the group (Pinto, Marques, Levine & Abrams, 2010). Thus, reaction to deviance involves the perception of the extent of such deviance has a strong threatening potential to affect the subjective validity of ingroup norms (Marques et al, 2001b).

## **1.2. Norms as social control mechanisms**

Descriptive and prescriptive norms by guiding individuals' behavior, are important social control mechanisms and determine individuals' judgments about other group members (Marques et al, 2001b): members that conform to the group norms are perceived as positive contributors to individuals' social identity, and consequently receive approval from the group; members that diverge from those norms are perceived to contribute negatively to individuals' social identity and trigger negative reactions from the group (Abrams et al, 2005; Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

### **1.3. Reaction to deviance: The protection of ingroup normative standards**

In order to preserve intragroup consensus, individuals make an extra effort trying to change the opinions of deviant members (Kerr & Levine, 2008, Schachter, 1951, cit in Abrams, Randsley de Moura & Travaglino, 2013; Marques, Abrams & Serôdio, 2001a). If persuasion is not enough, group members tend to show some hostility and, ultimately, they derogate or reject the deviant or redefine the group's limits through this member exclusion (Marques et al, 2001b).

According to the SGD assumptions, strong negative reaction towards deviant ingroup members are a statement of group members that they are committed to the violated norms, and thus, to the ingroup. Therefore, reaction to deviance not only serve as a means to reinstate intragroup uniformity through pressure strategies directed to the deviant member, but also as a mechanisms to restore the positive value of the threatened normative standards (Marques et al, 1998a).

We conclude by adding that, simultaneously to the restoring process of the violated norm, extreme reaction to deviance should also lead to a demonstration of strong commitment to the group. Indeed, the legitimization of a threatened positive social identity should not only restore the norm that was damaged by the presence of deviant member, but also should lead to a higher level of group cohesiveness. In our experiment, we intend to determine the impact of the threatening potential of a deviant member and of group reaction to deviance on group cohesiveness.

## **2. Do deviant leaders have special treatment?**

Interestingly though, reactions to deviance have variations according to the role that the deviant member assumes within the group. According to social identity theory of leadership (Hogg, 2001), the central process of leadership refers do the ability of the leader to embody the group prototype (Abrams, Randsley de Moura, Marques & Hutchison, 2008; Abrams et al, 2013; Hogg, 2001), that is, the best exemplar of the category/group and, consequently, the more representative member of the group (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). In this sense, the more prototypical is the leader the better (s)he represents the group identity (Haslam, 2001, Reicher, Haslam & Hopkins, 2005, Turner, 1991, van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005, cit in Abrams et al, 2013).

## **2.1. Leaders and prototypicality**

Prototypicality is determinant to understand group cohesiveness based on social attraction, on the attraction towards the group itself or group members depending on their prototypicality (McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 2002). For some researchers, like Hogg (2001), the influence process is often based on social attraction. Indeed, because prototypical members are supposed to be normative, are loyal and behave in a way that benefits the group, they become role and behavior models for other group members, enhancing social attraction towards them (Hains, Hodd & Duck, 1997; Hogg, 2001). So, a member that is perceived to be prototypical is more capable of capturing social attraction and of ensuring conformity, and guide others' attitudes and behavior (Hogg, 2001).

Also, it is important to note that in a situation in which group membership is salient, individuals are more sensitive to prototypicality and pay more attention to the differentiation among their members (Abrams et al, 2013; Hogg, 2001). Specifically, leaders receive more attention from other members and assume central role in intergroup differentiation and ingroup distinctiveness processes (Fielding & Hogg, 1997; cit in Abrams et al, 2008). Such favorable treatment directed to the leaders is also shown when they deviate from the group standards.

## **2.2. Leaders: Credit to deviate**

Indeed, based on the previous section's described reasoning, an ingroup leader's violation of a prescriptive norm should constitute a higher threat to the group, because of the central and prototypical role that he/ she endorses in the group, thus, being expected more negative reactions when compared to a regular member (Abrams et al, 2008; Marques et al, 2001a). Nevertheless, previous research has focused on leader's "permission" to deviate. Hollander (1958) stated that leaders gain their followers' trust and accumulate idiosyncratic credits because of their positive contributions to the group over time. This author argues that leader's loyalty to the group allows him/her to accumulate credits that he/she might introduce changes and innovation in the group (Abrams et al, 2013; Hollander, 1961; Shapiro, Boss, Salas, Tangirala & Von Glinow, 2011).

Shapiro and colleagues (2011) also verified that, in an organizational context, leaders' transgressions are less negatively evaluated when the other members perceive such leaders as having positive leadership attributes as well as when they are perceived as having high levels of LMX (leader-member exchange). Such conclusions go beyond the

idiosyncratic credit perspective because it demonstrates that leaders are positively evaluated and have “permission” even when they transgress (Shapiro et al, 2011).

In the same line of reasoning, Transgressive Credit model (Abrams et al, 2013) states that there are two different criteria by which people can evaluate a deviant leader: accrual and conferral. Framed on this idea that leaders are conferred with more status, prestige and trust and, for that, are allowed to deviate from the group norms (Hogg, 2001; Hollander, 1958), Abrams and colleagues (2013) developed the transgression credit hypothesis stating that such credit only arises when the deviant is an ingroup leader. These authors showed that despite the outrage they cause to the group and the remaining group members, leaders can be less immediately and severely punished or even immune from criticism when compared to other regular members that commit the same transgression or to outgroup members in general. These authors propose that group members use a double standard in judging deviant ingroup leaders. On one hand, transgressive behavior by ingroup leaders is perceived as highly threatening to the ingroup because of their high status role. However, on the other hand, because of their prototypicality, these members are perceived as good representatives of the ingroup. Thus, a negative reaction towards these members might be perceived as a negative reaction towards the ingroup itself. Consequently, despite the threatening potential of these members, individuals react more leniently towards them. Nevertheless, the double standard only appears in those situations in which the motivation to transgress is perceived as beneficial for the group and not for the leader personal interests (Abrams et al, 2013).

In sum, the perception that the leader is standing for the group’s interests and that he/she is acting in behalf of the group (even if he/she is not doing it “normatively”) makes him/her capable of exert higher influence on other members and trigger less negative reactions (Abrams et al, 2013). Therefore, in this particular situation we should expect these members to create more uncertainty regarding the ingroup norms, and thus, less movement from the group to restore the violated norm.

### **3. Group Cohesiveness: Commitment to the group**

Festinger, Schachter and Back (1950, cit in Hogg, 1992) were responsible for the theory of group cohesiveness, focusing their work on the study of how informal social groups pressure their members in order to adhere to group norms (Hogg, 1992; Thye, Yoon

& Lawler, 2002). Festinger and colleagues (1950, cit in Hogg, 1992) stated that informal social groups were more or less cohesive depending on the pattern of relationships they developed among their members. These authors defined cohesiveness as the result of a total field of forces that act on members in order to make them remain in the group (Hogg, 1992), including not only the attractiveness of the group, but also list social status, prestige, warmth and pleasure of close emotional ties, friendships, companionships and group goals as factors (Hogg, 1992).

However, such definition could be interpreted as reductive since it reduces the group cohesion to a phenomenon based on person-to-person relations (McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 2002). Social identity theorists, in turn, focused their research in social cohesion on the study of social attraction depending, among other factors, on the degree of perceived prototypicality of specific members of their category (Hogg, 1992; McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 2002). Hogg and colleagues shifted from a focus on interactive to cognitive (intrapyschich) processes through which individuals think about their groups. This change allowed research to expand their view from small and face-to-face groups (in which Festinger and colleagues focused) to involve any group or collectivity that an individual believe to belong (McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 2002), including large categories (e.g. nationalities) and small groups (e.g. sport's team). According to Hogg (1992), intragroup attraction among members is generated by the process of categorization. Group cohesiveness arises under conditions that accentuate the salience of a shared group membership among individuals, conceptualizing a cohesive group as one that includes strongly identified members (Hogg, 1992). Attraction towards the group implies higher attraction towards prototypical members and lower attraction towards atypical members.

However, this definition lacks the differentiation between task-related and social-related processes within the group (Yukelson, Weinberg & Jackson, 1984). Donnelly, Carron and Chelladurai (1978, cit in Hogg, 1992) in turn, defended the existence of a normative force compelling individuals to remain in the group, that is reflected on individuals' commitment to group (Mudrack, 1989, cit in Hogg, 1992). In the same vein, Piper, Marrache, LaCroix, Richardsen and Jones (1983, cit in Hogg, 1992) argued that what bonds the groups together is commitment and not attraction, adding that group cohesiveness implies three types of commitment: 1) member-member, 2) member-leader, and 3) member-group. The difference between the first two types refers to status relations (equal vs unequal) and reflects commitment in an interindividual level, resulting in loyalty, trust and attraction between group members (Hogg, 1992). The third type implies

commitment to an abstract concept which is the idea of commitment to ingroup normative standards, in particular, and to social identity, in general (Hogg, 1992).

Yukelson and colleagues (1984) proposed that group cohesiveness is a four-dimension concept, composed by attraction-to-group (related to the individuals' satisfaction of membership and the attraction to the group itself), unity of purpose (regarding the individual's commitment to the norms, strategies, operating procedures and goals of the group), quality of teamwork (regarding to individuals' *sense of how teammates work together within their roles in order to achieve successful team performance*, p.111) and valued roles (related to the sense of identification with the group and the *assessment of the degree to which an individual feels his/her role or contribution to the team is valued*, p.111). In our point of view, this is the most profitable model to take into account for our work because it not only is directed towards any type of group, but also because it encompasses a multidimensional perspective of this concept.

We believe that strength of group cohesiveness, as well as reinforcement of the norm, should be simultaneous processes occurring in the restoring process of the validity of a positive social identity. Such process should be perceived as needed when deviance is perceived to threaten the normative standards of the group, and should be a consequence of a punitive strategy directed towards the deviant member. We also posit that a deviant leader should be perceived as being more threatening than a regular deviant member.

## Empirical Study

### 1. Overview and Hypothesis

Based on SGDT assumptions, deviance within the group threatens group members' social identity. Therefore, group's derogatory reactions toward deviants are crucial for group members to maintain their positive social identity. However, depending on deviant's status, a group may also address more lenient reactions towards some deviant members (leaders or high contributors), especially when those members contribute to the group's success (Abrams et al, 2013; Leite, 2013). In this investigation, we aim to test the idea that a deviant ingroup leader should be perceived as more threatening to the group than regular members. Nevertheless, in case of absence of punishment towards the former member, individuals should engage in more lenient reactions, and not show high level of commitment to the group. However, when individuals perceive that this member is punished by the group, they will enroll in the restoring process predicted by SGDT; that is, they will engage in derogatory reactions, value the violated norm and show higher commitment to the group.

Participants (athletes) were presented with the case of an ingroup team member that disrespected one of their coach's decisions. In one condition, the deviant member was described as being a captain of the team (Leader Condition), whereas in the other condition, no information was given about the deviant status (we assumed individuals would perceive this member as a Regular Member). Moreover, participants were informed that the group reacted (Punishment Condition) or not (Absence of Punishment Condition) towards such deviant member.

Accordingly with transgression credit, leaders should be less derogated than regular members. However, we believe that such behavior toward the deviant does not nullify the threat that the deviance causes to the ingroup. In this sense, we predict that (1) leaders cause a higher perceived threat to group member's social identity as compared to regular members, due to the representative role they play in the group.

Based on the assumption that leaders cause a higher threat, we predicted that (2) in the leader condition participants would show more agreement with hiding the deviance, comparatively with the regular member condition. In this sense, we also expected that (3) in the leader condition participants would better evaluate the group than in the regular

member condition, as an expression of ingroup bias, in order to protect a positive social identity.

Norms describe the normative and expected behavior of an ingroup member and, simultaneously, allow the differentiation among members (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). In this sense, and regarding Group Reaction to deviants, we predicted that (4) the perception of an effective social control (Punishment Condition) should impact positively on participants' agreement to the norm, irrespectively of the deviant's status..

Moreover, and because we perceive a strength in group cohesiveness as a possible outcome of the restoring process of a positive social identity facing a deviant member, we also expect that participants would perceive the group to be more cohesive and show more commitment to the group (5) when they perceived an effective social control (Punishment Condition) and when the deviant was a leader (compared to the regular member).

## 2. Method

### 2.1. Participants and Design

Twenty-two female and fifty-two male athletes ( $N = 74^1$ ) of several sports (basketball, volley, hockey, handball and indoor soccer) from two different clubs, Sporting Clube de Braga (SCB;  $N = 45$ ) and Futebol Clube do Porto (FCP;  $N = 29$ ), accepted to participate in this experiment. Their ages ranged from 15 to 38 years-old ( $M = 22.15$ ,  $SD = 5.41$ ). There were no significant differences in participant's club membership ( $\chi^2 = 3.95$ ,  $ns$ ), sex ( $\chi^2 = 0.53$ ,  $ns$ ) or age ( $F_{19,59} < 1$ ) across experimental conditions.

A 2 (Deviant's Status: Leader *vs* Regular Member) x 2 (Group Reaction: Punishment *vs* Absence of Punishment) experimental design was used. Both are between-participants factors.

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<sup>1</sup> 84 athletes were inquired. However, eleven were eliminated from our sample: two of them due to the high number of missing values and nine because they failed the manipulation checks.

## 2.2. Procedure<sup>2</sup>

Participants were asked to fulfil a questionnaire (cf. Appendix A) about their perceptions about their sports club. Then, participants were presented to a supposed piece of news published in the sports section of a national journal. This piece reported a case of an athlete of participants' ingroup club that had violated a norm. Participants read that the target had been in the bench for five consecutive matches and that had stated to the press that he did not accept his coach's decision, and was considering to leave the sports club and to be transferred to another one in which his *talent would be recognised*. He also said that if he had played in those matches, the sports club would obtain better results.

***Deviant's Status manipulation.*** The deviant athlete was presented either as being a captain of a team (Leader condition) or participants did not receive any information about the deviant status (Regular Member condition).

***Social Control manipulation.*** We also manipulated group's reaction to the deviant member. In the Punishment condition, participants were told that the group forced the deviant member to publically apologize to the team's coach and colleagues. In the Absence of Punishment condition, participants were informed that the [ingroup] club did not react to the deviant behavior.

## 2.3 Dependent Measures

***Initial Identification.*** Before experimental manipulations, participants showed their agreement to the following four statements in 7-point scales ( $1 = I$  totally disagree;  $7 = I$  totally agree): "I like to play in FCP [SCB]", "I am proud of being a FCP [SCB] player", "I am willing to sacrifice my own glory for the benefit of the club" and "It is important for me to belong to FCP [SCB]". We constructed an Initial Identification score based on the average of those items (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .82$ ).

***Threat to Social Identity.*** After the Deviant Status' manipulation, participants were asked to show their agreement in a 7-point scales with the following items ( $1 = I$  totally disagree;  $7 = I$  totally agree): "This behavior jeopardizes the image of the athletes of FCP [SCB]", "This behavior jeopardizes the image of the club", "This behavior damages the

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<sup>2</sup> A pilot study was conducted aiming to fulfill three goals: to test the relevance of the selected norm to the participants ( $M = 6.49$ ,  $SD = 0.64$ ), to verify the correlation between group cohesiveness and social identity and to test group cohesiveness and social identity scales (allowing us to select the items with the strongest internal validity). In study 1 we aimed to test if social identity was restored accordingly with an effective social control. In order to define both social identity scales, we used the pilot study to split the original 13 items in two highly correlated scales ( $r = .85$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

prestige of the club”, “I feel embarrassed by this behavior, as a FCP [SCB] athlete”, “This behavior diminishes the confidence that others may have in the greatness of the club”. We constructed a Threat to Social Identity score corresponding to the average of these items (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .908$ )

*Hiding the Deviant’s Behavior.* Participants’ agreement to hide the deviant’s behavior was measured through 7-point scales ( $1 = I$  totally disagree;  $7 = I$  totally agree) with following statements: “This is not an expected behavior from an athlete of FCP [SCB]”, “This kind of behaviors should be solved internally” and “This kind of behavior should not become public”. We computed a score based on the average of these items (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .734$ ).

*Group Evaluation.* Participants indicated their agreement with the following statements ( $1 = I$  totally disagree;  $7 = I$  totally agree): “FCP [SCB] has good athletes” and “FCP [SCB] forms good athletes”. We averaged these items into a Group Evaluation score (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .493$ ).

*Relevance of the Norm.* Participants were asked to indicate their agreement with the violated norm ( $1 = I$  totally disagree;  $7 = I$  totally agree) and also in what extent such norm “Is important for me” and “For my teammates” ( $1 = Not$  important;  $7 = Very$  important) (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .91$ ).

*Group Cohesiveness.* We used the *Sport Cohesion Instrument* (Yukelson et al, 1984) to measure group cohesiveness (we slightly adjusted the scale). Based on the authors’ findings, and because we did not have the qualities required for a sample to test the validity of this instrument, we computed the same four factors (Quality of Teamwork, Attraction to the Group, Unity of Purpose and Valued Roles) that they suggested in their work. Participants should give their agreement with the fifteen statements of this scale ( $1 = I$  totally disagree;  $7 = I$  totally agree). Quality of Teamwork included five items: “In general, athletes are willing to sacrifice their own glory for the benefit of the club”, “There is a lot of support and mutual respect among players”, “I perceive FCP [SCB] to be closely knit”, “The conflicts within the club are always solved” and “I feel the club stands together when things are not going well” (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .90$ ). Attraction to the Group was formed by the following four items: “I like to play in this club”, “I am an accepted member of the club”, “I want to continue to belong to this club” and “I am happy about the friendships I developed within the club” (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .935$ ). Unity of Purpose was composed by these items: “It is important for me that all club members are in harmony in order to achieve a successful performance”, “I am committed to the operational procedures

established by the coach to the team” and “The club works hard in order to achieve its goals” (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .723$ ). Finally, Valued Roles factor included the following items: “My teammates value my role in the club”, “I am loyal to the club” and “I am committed with my role within the club” (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .793$ ).

*Agreement with Punishment.* In order to assess participants’ agreement with punitive reactions regarding the deviant member, they indicated their opinion with seven statements ( $1 = I$  totally disagree;  $7 = I$  totally agree). A Principal Components Factorial Analysis with Varimax Rotation showed that the six items saturated in 3 main factors (cf. Table1): (1) “Intensive Punishment” (“The deviant should do extra physical work as punishment”, “The deviant should not be convened for the next match” and “The deviant should be placed at team B for a few days”, Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .770$ ) that explains 33.76% of variance; (2) “Soft Punishment” (“The deviant should be reprehended” and “The deviant should remain as a substitute player”, Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .608$ ) that explains 25.96% of variance; and (3) “Psychological Exclusion” (“The behavior of the deviant should be ignored”), explaining 18.96% of variance of the results.

### 3.3 Results

#### 3.1. Controlling Measures

We will present, briefly, the results regarding controlling measures; that is, measures that we used to assure equivalence in social identity across experimental conditions and manipulation checks.

*Initial Identification.* A Deviant’s Status x Social Control ANOVA on the Initial Identification allowed us to conclude that participants were highly identified with their ingroup ( $M = 6.45$ ,  $SD = 0.75$ ) and equally across experimental conditions  $F(3,70) = 2.26$ , *ns*.

*Deviant’s Status manipulation.* A Deviant’s Status ANOVA showed that participants perceived the deviance as a more negative behavior and more reprehensible when committed by a leader ( $M = 6.17$ ,  $SD = 1.16$ ), comparatively with a regular member ( $M = 5.31$ ,  $SD = 1.16$ ),  $F(1,72) = 7.84$ ,  $p = .007$ . Thus, deviant’s status manipulation was effective.

*Social Control manipulation.* A Social Control ANOVA showed that participants considered that the group was evaluated as having more adequate reaction to the deviant’s

behavior in the “Punishment” condition ( $M = 5.51$ ,  $SD = 1.34$ ), than in the “Absence of Punishment” condition ( $M = 3.00$ ,  $SD = 1.7$ ),  $F(1,72) = 48.05$ ,  $p < .001$ . Thus, the social control manipulation was effective.

### 3.2. Dependent Measures

*Threat to Social Identity.* We expected that deviant leaders would be perceived as more threatening to participants’ social identity than regular members. In order to test this idea, we conducted a Deviant’s Status ANOVA on Threat to Social Identity. The results revealed that the deviant status had no impact on perceived threat to social identity ( $F(1,72) = 2.07$ , *ns*), rejecting our hypothesis. Thus, deviants with higher status were not perceived as being more threatening than regular members.

In order to test our hypothesis regarding the impact of perceived threat to social identity on the other consequent measures, we divided our sample in “high” and “low” *perceived threat* accordingly the median split of this measure ( $Mdn = 4.8$ ).

*Hiding the Deviant’s Behavior.* In order to test the idea that because leaders cause a higher threat to member’s social identity, in Leader Condition participants would express a higher desire to occult such behavior, a Deviant’s Status x Perceived Threat (through median split) x Social Control ANOVA on participant’s agreement to hide the deviant’s behavior was conducted. As expected, we found a significant effect of Perceived Threat ( $F(1,66) = 16.17$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .197$ ). Participants that felt more threatened by the deviant behavior were more willing to hide such deviance than those who perceived deviance as being less threatening ( $M = 6.72$ ,  $SD = 0.43$ ;  $M = 5.84$ ,  $SD = 1.1$ , respectively).

There was also found a Deviant’s Status x Perceived Threat x Social Control interaction ( $F(1,66) = 4.37$ ,  $p = .04$ ,  $\eta^2 = .067$ ). By decomposing this interaction by Deviant’s Status, such effect was significant only when the deviant was a leader and not when the deviant was a regular member ( $F(1,31) = 6.39$ ,  $p = .017$ ,  $\eta^2 = .171$ ;  $F(1,35) = .49$ , *ns*, respectively). When we decomposed this interaction by Social Control, we found that the effect was significant only when participants perceived an ineffective social control ( $F(1,16) = 9.25$ ,  $p = .008$ ,  $\eta^2 = .699$ ) and not when an effective control was perceived ( $F(1,15) = 0.001$ , *ns*). All in all, results showed that when the deviant was a leader and participants were informed that the group did not react to such deviance, participants that perceived more threat agreed more with hiding such behavior than participants who perceived lower threat from this member ( $M = 6.87$ ,  $SD = 0.32$ ;  $M = 5.58$ ,  $SD = 1.29$ , respectively) (cf. Figure1).

*Group Evaluation.* We predicted that, because they cause a higher threat to individual's social identity, participants would evaluate their group more positively in Leader Condition. In this sense, a Deviant's Status x Perceived Threat x Social Control ANOVA was conducted. Results showed a significant effect of Perceived Threat ( $F_{1,66} = 6.61, p = .012, \eta^2 = .091$ ). Participants that felt their social identity more threatened evaluated the group more positively than those who perceived lower threat from the presence of the deviant member ( $M = 6.34, SD = 0.68; M = 5.79, SD = 1.02$ , respectively). In this sense, the hypothesis was only partially confirmed. We did not obtain any other significant effect or interaction (all  $F_{s1,66} \leq 1.94, ns$ ).

*Relevance of the Norm.* A Deviant's Status x Perceived Threat x Social Control ANOVA on the Relevance of the Norm was conducted, intending to assess if the perception of an effective social control has a positive impact on participant's agreement to the norm. The results indicated that only Deviant's Status ( $F_{1,59} = 4.21, p = .045, \eta^2 = .067$ ) and Perceived Threat ( $F_{1,59} = 7.15, p = .01, \eta^2 = .108$ ) impacted significantly on Relevance of the Norm. Participants tended to agree more with the norm when the deviance was caused by a leader than a regular member ( $M = 6.35, SD = .9; M = 5.53, SD = 1.47$ , respectively) and when they perceived a higher (as compared to a lower) threat to their social's identity ( $M = 6.43, SD = .73; M = 5.49, SD = 1.51$ , respectively).

More interestingly, we also found a Deviant's Status x Perceived Threat interaction ( $F_{1,59} = 6.44, p = .014, \eta^2 = .098$ ). By decomposing the interaction by Perceived Threat, results were only significant when lower levels of threat were perceived ( $F_{1,34} = 6.99, p = .012, \eta^2 = .170$ ); when facing higher levels of threat, participants did not differentiate the deviant's status ( $F_{1,29} = .18, ns$ ). When lower levels of threat were perceived, participants agreed significantly more with the norm and considered it more important when they the deviant was a leader ( $M = 6.31, SD = 1.07$ ) opposing to when he was a regular member ( $M = 5.03, SD = 1.54$ ) (cf. Figure2).

*Group Cohesiveness.* We expected that participants would reveal better perceptions of group cohesiveness when they perceived an effective social control (Punishment Condition). A Social Control ANOVA on group cohesiveness was conducted. There was not found a significant effect of social control on group cohesiveness, rejecting our hypothesis ( $F_{1,66} = .280, ns$ ).

We also predicted that when the deviant was a leader, participants would present better perceptions of group cohesiveness, because they would feel more threatened. In

order to test this idea, a Deviant's Status x Perceived Threat x Social Control MANOVA regarding the four group cohesiveness' factors was conducted.

Regarding Quality of Teamwork, Attraction to Group and Unity of Purpose, we did not obtain any other significant effect or interaction (all  $F_{s1,66} \leq 2.92$ , *ns*).

Regarding Valued Roles, the results showed a significant effect of Perceived Threat ( $F_{1,66} = 5.31$ ,  $p = .024$ ,  $\eta^2 = .074$ ). Those who felt more threatened by the presence of the deviant member also indicated higher levels of valued roles when compared to those participants who perceived lower threat ( $M = 5.49$ ,  $SD = 1.51$ ;  $M = 6.43$ ,  $SD = 0.73$ ). This result partially confirms our hypothesis, as this result was only significant in one of the group cohesiveness' factors. Concerning the Valued Roles factor, we did not obtain any other significant effect or interaction (all  $F_{s1,66} \leq 1.90$ , *ns*).

A significant Deviant's Status x Perceived Threat interaction regarding this factor was also found ( $F_{1,66} = 4.49$ ,  $p = .038$ ,  $\eta^2 = .064$ ). By decomposing this interaction by Perceived Threat, results were only significant when participants perceived a lower threat to their social identity,  $F(1,38) = 4.51$ ,  $p = .04$ ,  $\eta^2 = .106$ ; the results were not significant when higher levels of threat were perceived ( $F_{1,32} = 0.36$ , *ns*). This means that when the deviance caused a lower threat to participant's social identity, they felt that their contribution to the group is more valued when the deviant was a leader ( $M = 6.47$ ,  $SD = 0.50$ ) than a regular member ( $M = 5.81$ ,  $SD = 1.12$ ) (cf. Figure 3).

*Agreement with Punishment.* A Deviant's Status x Perceived Threat x Social Control ANOVA on Soft Punishment, Intensive Punishment and Psychological Exclusion was conducted.

Results showed that only Deviant's Status impacted on participants' agreement to Soft Punishment ( $F_{1,66} = 5.07$ ,  $p = .028$ ,  $\eta^2 = .071$ ). In this sense, participants preferred a soft punishment when the deviant was a leader ( $M = 5.14$ ,  $SD = 1.3$ ) than when he is a regular member ( $M = 4.08$ ,  $SD = 1.61$ ). There was not found any other effect or interaction regarding this factor (all  $F_{s1,66} \leq 3.69$ , *ns*).

Regarding Intensive Punishment, we did not obtain any effect or significant interaction (all  $F_{s1,66} \leq 3.02$ , *ns*).

Regarding Psychological Exclusion, a significant Deviant Status x Social Control interaction was found ( $F_{1,66} = 4.15$ ,  $p = .046$ ,  $\eta^2 = .059$ ). On one hand, when participants perceived an effective social control (Punishment Condition) they were more willing to ignore the deviant behavior when he was a regular member ( $M = 3.22$ ,  $SD = 2.05$ ) than when he was a leader ( $M = 2.12$ ,  $SD = 1.73$ ). On the other hand, when participants

perceived an ineffective social control (Absence of Punishment Condition), they agreed more with ignoring the deviant behavior when he was a leader ( $M = 2.67, SD = 1.58$ ) than when he was a regular member ( $M = 2.19, SD = 1.17$ ) (cf. Figure4). There were not found any other significant effect or interaction (all  $F$ 's  $1.66 \leq 2.68, ns$ ).

*The association between Perceived Threat and Agreement with Punishment.* Pearson's correlation test showed that the more participant's that perceived higher levels of threat tended to agree more with Soft and Intensive Punishment ( $r = .395, p < .001$ ;  $r = .263, p = .024$ , respectively) (cf. Table2). These results may suggest that the levels of perceived threat may predict participant's punishment strategies.

*The association between Group Evaluation and Group Cohesiveness.* Pearson's correlation test revealed that higher levels of Group Evaluation were related with higher levels of Unity of Purpose ( $r = .238, p = .041$ ) and Valued Roles' perceptions ( $r = .314, p = .006$ ) (cf. Table2).

#### **4.3 Discussion and Conclusions**

The present investigation was focused on group cohesiveness and, to the extent of our knowledge, it is the first work to relate this concept with reaction to deviance and intragroup deviant status.

In short, we predicted that participants that felt their social identity more threatened by the deviance (because it was caused by a leader) would present a greater urge to hide such behavior and a more positive group's evaluation. In fact, our results showed that those participants who perceived more threat from the presence of the deviant behavior revealed more agreement with hiding this deviance, especially when it came from a leader and they were informed that the group did not react. Moreover, participants who perceived a high level of threat also evaluated the group more positively as compared to "lower perceived threat" participants.

These results are consistent with SGD assumptions, according to which deviant ingroup members cause a threatening impact on individuals' positive social identity, and that these individuals attempt to restore the positive value of the group. A positive group evaluation seems to be a statement that these participants believe in the positive value of their group. Supporting this idea, we also found that participants tended to agree more with the norm when the deviance was caused by a leader than a regular member and when

they perceived a higher threat to their social's identity. More importantly to our hypothesis, these participants also indicated higher levels of Valued Roles (regarding group cohesiveness), which means that perceived threat reinforced participants' beliefs about their role in the group and their sense of belongingness. When participants perceived lower levels of threat, the deviant status was also important for these beliefs, which were reinforced when the deviant was a leader, comparatively to when he was a regular member. However, our main hypothesis that perceived threat would be a consequence of the deviant status was not confirmed.

We also found evidence that the status of deviant members is related with individuals' agreement to punish these deviant members: participants agreed more with punishment reactions directed to leaders than to regular members, especially if the group did not deal with such deviance. The results also suggested that perceived threat may predict ingroup member's punishment strategies. All of these results contradict the transgression credit model. Once deviant behavior did not benefit the group neither could be discarded, these results may be explained due to the deviance not addressing the group's interests. On the other hand, the team coach can represent even a higher status within the group. Furthermore, as predicted by Durkheim (1997), punishment appeared as an expression of unanimous aversion towards the deviance with the intent of reinforcing a collective mind and keeping social cohesion intact.

Based on the transgression credit, it would have been important to assess the target's evaluation, in order to verify if such derogation arises as a protection of the ingroup member's positive social identity or as if an expression of ingroup bias, by showing that the group is especially sensitive to deviants, without exceptions.

We also predicted but did not observe that group cohesiveness would be positively affected by the idea that the group would be able to deal with deviance (Punishment Condition). Although not conclusive, this investigation allowed us to make one step forward the group cohesiveness' phenomenon, especially under contexts of intragroup deviance. It can be concluded, in fact, that perceived threat to social identity has a positive impact on group cohesiveness, acting as a motivational force for individuals to restore their positive social identity. Notwithstanding, and opposing to our predictions, these results may suggest that deviant status appears to be a "secondary" effect on group cohesiveness. Nevertheless, when it comes to group consensus around the norm, deviant derogation and agreement with the norm, deviant status emerges as the main effect.

It was also particularly interesting to assess that participants' concern to hide the ingroup deviance is higher when it can be perceived (by outsiders) that the group was not able to deal with the deviance (Absence of Punishment) or even when the deviant was a leader. (juntar a algo que ja está ditto ou retirar)

Although not conclusive, these results suggest that there is more "attraction to the group" on group's cohesiveness concept. Further investigations are crucial to provide a clear distinction between the constructs and also among Yukelson and colleagues' (1984) factors of group cohesiveness. The impact of (effective) social control on such phenomenon still needs to be clarified. The question of how context affects the group cohesiveness, namely the competition and the salience of the outgroup still remains unanswered.

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## Appendix

Appendix A. Presented questionnaire to participants, changed accordingly to conditions (see Method).

**Idade:** \_\_\_ anos      **Sexo:**  Masculino  Feminino      **Nacionalidade:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Há quanto tempo pertence ao FCP?** \_\_\_\_\_      **Modalidade:** \_\_\_\_\_      **Escalão:** \_\_\_\_\_

O presente questionário tem como objetivo conhecer as perceções dos atletas acerca do desporto em geral e do seu clube em particular. A sua resposta é totalmente **anónima e confidencial**, demorando apenas uns **breves minutos**. Integrado numa tese de Mestrado em Psicologia Social na Faculdade de Psicologia e de Ciências da Educação da Universidade do Porto, os resultados destinam-se apenas a **fins de investigação científica**, não existindo respostas certas ou erradas, pedindo-se, por isso, a maior sinceridade nas mesmas.

Indique por favor em que medida concorda com as seguintes afirmações (sabendo que **1=discordo totalmente, 7=concordo totalmente**):

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gosto de jogar pelo FCP							
Tenho orgulho em ser atleta do FCP							
Estou disposto a sacrificar a minha própria glória para o benefício do clube							
É importante para mim pertencer ao FCP							

De seguida, vamos apresentar-lhe uma notícia publicada na secção desportiva de um jornal nacional. Por motivos de confidencialidade, o nome do atleta em causa foi alterado para “Jogador J”, bem como a sua modalidade.

#### **“Polémica no FCP ”**

“[...] O jogador J., após 5 jogos consecutivos no banco de suplentes, e quando interrogado acerca desse facto, afirmou **não compreender nem aceitar** a opção do técnico portista, mostrando-se revoltado com o seu afastamento da titularidade. Quando questionado sobre se essa situação colocaria em causa a sua permanência no clube, o jogador J. respondeu que “*essa é sem dúvida uma opção a considerar*”, por ambicionar estar num clube onde o seu “*talento é reconhecido*”. Acrescentou ainda que se jogasse “*os resultados do clube seriam melhores*” [...]”.

**Tendo em conta a notícia apresentada**, indique em que medida concorda com as seguintes afirmações (sendo que **1= discordo totalmente, 7=concordo totalmente**):

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
O jogador J. não devia ter prestado aquelas declarações							
Este comportamento é reprovável							
Este comportamento prejudica a imagem de todos os atletas do FCP							
Este comportamento prejudica a imagem do clube							
Este comportamento desprestigia o clube							
Este comportamento envergonha-me enquanto atleta do FCP							
Este comportamento não vai de encontro ao que é esperado de um atleta do FCP							
Este comportamento diminui a confiança que os outros podem ter na grandeza/importância do clube							
Este tipo de comportamentos devia ser resolvido internamente							
Este tipo de comportamentos não devia ser tornado público							

Mesmo tendo conhecimento das declarações do Jogador J., o FCP não tomou quaisquer medidas. Indique, relativamente a cada uma das afirmações:

A reação do clube ao comportamento do jogador J. foi

Nada adequada     1     2     3     4     5     6     7    Muito adequada

O clube deveria ter punido mais severamente o jogador J.

Discordo Totalmente     1     2     3     4     5     6     7    Concordo Totalmente

O FCP tem bons atletas.

Discordo Totalmente     1     2     3     4     5     6     7    Concordo Totalmente

O FCP tem uma boa escola de formação.

Discordo Totalmente     1     2     3     4     5     6     7    Concordo Totalmente

Indique por favor em que medida concorda com as seguintes afirmações (sabendo que **1=discrepância totalmente, 7=concordo totalmente**):

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ser atleta do FCP é importante para definir quem sou							
Sinto uma forte ligação ao clube							
Sinto uma forte ligação aos meus colegas							
O FCP é melhor do que os outros clubes							
Identifico-me com os valores transmitidos por este clube							
Quando penso no meu comportamento, percebo que ele é semelhante ao dos outros atletas do FCP							

Tendo em conta a realidade do FCP, analise a afirmação “**As decisões do treinador devem ser sempre respeitadas, independentemente da situação**” e indique:

Discordo totalmente

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Concordo totalmente

Nada importante para mim

Muito importante para mim

Nada importante para os meus colegas

Muito importante para os meus colegas

Indique em que medida concorda com as seguintes afirmações (sabendo que **1= discrepância totalmente, 7=concordo totalmente**):

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
O meu papel no clube é valorizado pelos meus colegas							
Gosto de jogar neste clube							
De uma forma geral, os atletas estão dispostos a sacrificar a sua própria glória para o benefício do clube.							
Sou um membro aceite no clube							
É importante para mim que todos os membros do clube estejam em sintonia para alcançarem uma performance de sucesso							
Desejo continuar a pertencer a este clube							
Estou comprometido com os procedimentos operacionais que o treinador estabelece para a equipa							
Existe um elevado grau de apoio e respeito mútuo entre os jogadores							
Perceciono o FCP como sendo um clube unido							

**(1= discordo totalmente, 7=concordo totalmente)**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Estou satisfeito com as amizades que desenvolvi neste clube							
Sou leal ao clube							
Estou comprometido com o meu papel no clube							
Os conflitos dentro do clube são sempre resolvidos							
O clube trabalha intensivamente para alcançar os seus objetivos							
Sinto que o clube se mantém unido quando as coisas não correm bem							

Indique em que medida concorda com as seguintes afirmações (sabendo que **1= discordo totalmente, 7=concordo totalmente**):

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
O comportamento do jogador J. deveria ser ignorado							
O treinador devia repreender o jogador J.							
O jogador J. deveria continuar no banco							
O jogador J. deveria fazer trabalho físico extra nos treinos como castigo							
O jogador J. não deveria ser convocado para o próximo jogo							
O jogador J. deveria ser colocado a treinar com a equipa B durante uns dias							
O jogador J. deveria ser mandado embora							

Obrigada pela sua colaboração!

## **Tables**

Table1. Agreement with Punishment: item factor scores after varimax rotation.

Table 2. Pearson correlation's test for dependent measures

## **Figures**

Figure1. Participants' agreement with Hiding the Deviant Behavior according to Deviant Status, Perceived Threat to social identity and Social Control.

Figure2. Participants' agreement with the Relevance of the Norm according to Deviant Status and Perceived Threat to their social identity.

Figure3. Participants' perceptions about Valued Roles according to Deviant Status and Perceived Threat to their social identity.

Figure4. Participants' agreement with "Psychological Exclusion" according to Deviant Status and Social Control.

*Table 1.* Agreement with Punishment: item factor scores after varimax rotation.

	<i>Factor 1</i>	<i>Factor 2</i>	<i>Factor 3</i>
	<i>Intensive Punishment</i>	<i>Soft Punishment</i>	<i>Ignore Behavior</i>
(1) The deviant should be placed at team B for a few days	<b>0.833</b>	0.262	-0.157
(2) The deviant should do extra physical work as punishment	<b>0.888</b>	-0.077	0.11
(3) The deviant should not be convened for the next match	<b>0.683</b>	0.372	-0.226
(4) The deviant should remain as a substitute player	0.264	<b>0.756</b>	-0.309
(5) The deviant should be rephended	0.049	<b>0.879</b>	0.199
(6) The behavior of the deviant should be ignored	-0.066	0.003	<b>0.956</b>

Table2. Pearson correlation's test for dependent measures.

	Initial Identity	Threat to Social Identity	Hidding the Deviance	Group Evaluation	Unity of Purpose	Valued Roles	Soft Punishment	Intensive Punishment
Initial Identity	1							
Threat to Social Identity	.088	1						
Hidding the Deviance	<b>.263*</b>	<b>.538**</b>	1					
Group Evaluation	<b>.251*</b>	<b>.294*</b>	0,09	1				
Unity of Purpose	<b>.633**</b>	.14	<b>.457**</b>	<b>.238*</b>	1			
Valued Roles	<b>.557**</b>	<b>.290*</b>	<b>.431**</b>	<b>.314**</b>	<b>.612**</b>	1		
Soft Punishment	<b>.262*</b>	<b>.395**</b>	<b>.413**</b>	.014	<b>.259*</b>	<b>.350**</b>	1	
Intensive Punishment	0.107	<b>.263*</b>	<b>.297*</b>	.167	.031	.103	<b>.359**</b>	1

\*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Figure 1. Participants' agreement with Hiding the Deviant Behavior according to Deviant Status, Perceived Threat to social identity and Social Control.

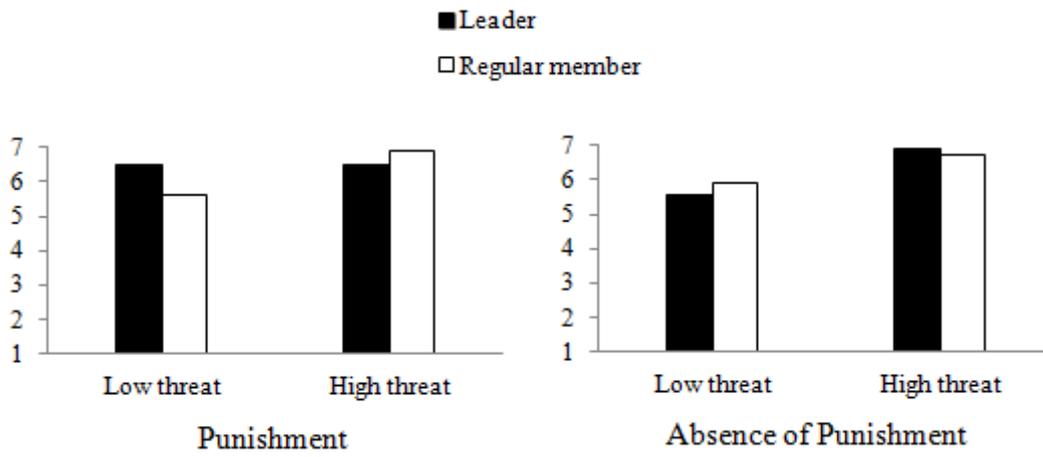


Figure 2. Participants' agreement with the Relevance of the Norm according to Deviant Status and Perceived Threat to their social identity.

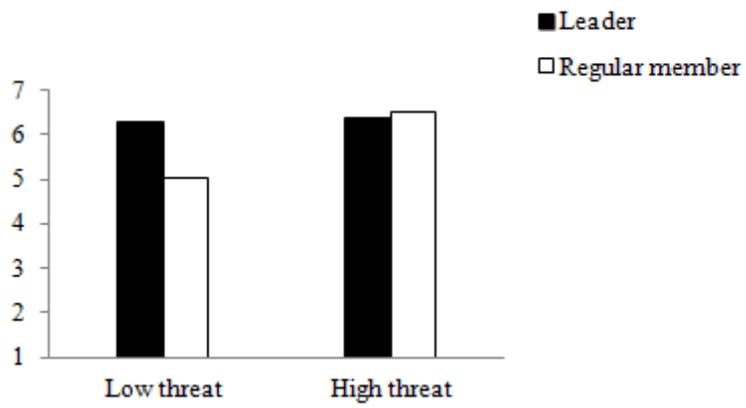


Figure 3. Participants' perceptions about Valued Roles according to Deviant Status and Perceived Threat to their social identity.

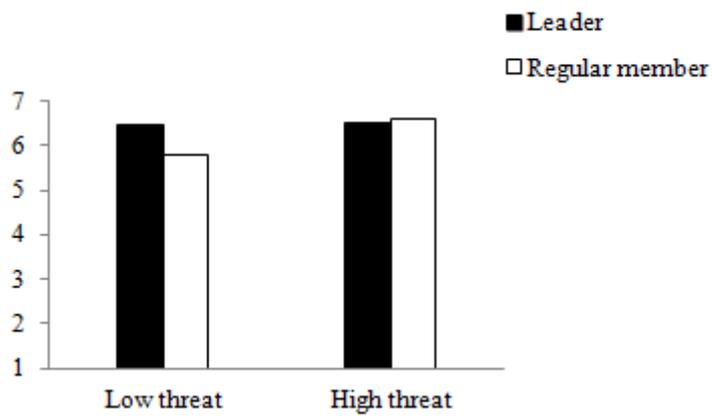


Figure 4. Participants' agreement with "Psychological Exclusion" to Deviant Status and Social Control.

