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Emerging adults’ friendships and group identification: Differential associations with well-being.

Ethan Wolf

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Happiness is a universally desirable state that humans inherently strive to achieve. Researchers have come up with different ways of operationalizing this universal construct, but have generally agreed that happiness can be considered as the frequent presence of positive affect (Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005). There is a reason we love being happy, and the associations between happiness and success in numerous life domains have been long documented. However, research shows that happiness is more than just a byproduct of successful outcomes and in fact contributes to life success. Positive affect and emotions lead to feelings of confidence, self-efficacy, optimism, sociability, pro-social behavior, and physical well-being (Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005). In addition, positive affect causes people to think, feel, and act in a way that leads to resource building and goal involvement (Elliot & Thrash, 2002; Lyubomirsky, 2001). Fredrickson (2001) pithily summarizes the effect of happiness as putting us in a place to “broaden and build”, meaning people who are happy are in position to thrive. Although no definitive causal claims can be made, a meta-analysis consisting of 225 cross-sectional, longitudinal, and experimental studies pertaining to happiness and future outcomes supports this line of thinking and provides a convincing case that happiness not only is highly correlated with success, but in fact engenders life success in regards to work outcomes, relationships, and health (Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005). As a result of its broad impact, happiness is extremely important during the period of emerging adulthood.

Emerging adulthood is defined as the developmental period from the late teens to the mid twenties (Arnett, 2000). This period, often described as ages 18-25, is characterized by identity exploration and increases in independence, uncertainty, and possibility (Arnett 2000). Changes in industrialized societies have significantly delayed the
age of marriage, parenthood, and complete financial independence (Arnett, 2000). As a result, people 18-25 often do not characterize themselves as adults, and while they have surpassed the developmental stage of adolescence, they have not quite assumed the responsibility of adulthood (Arnett, 2000). Researchers thus need to make the distinction between adults and people in this transitional stage. Despite the whirlwind of changes and decisions that impact the daily lives of these individuals, the literature shows that happiness is a huge indicator of future outcomes of emerging adulthoods.

First, happiness during emerging adulthood is a predictor of future job success. In a longitudinal study by Roberts, Caspi, and Moffitt (2003), researchers collected happiness measures of 18 year olds and subsequent job outcomes 8 years later. High positive affect at the beginning of emerging adulthood was a predictor of financial independence, occupational attainment, and work autonomy. Furthermore, people who were recorded as having high levels of happiness before interviewing for a job were three times as likely to get a callback for a second interview than people with low levels of happiness (Burger & Caldwell, 2000). There is strong evidence to suggest that high levels of positive affect contribute to financial success as well. Diener, Nickerson, Lucas, and Sandvik (2002) measured the happiness of college students during their first year and their income over ten years later. Even after controlling for numerous factors, the researchers found that students who were happier during their first year of college earned significantly more in their 30’s. Marks and Flemming (1999) obtained support for these results: they found that young adults who reported being happy during one period were significantly more likely to experience a raise during the subsequent period. In addition to financial success, happiness appears to influence various aspects of psychosocial adjustment.
Happiness during emerging adulthood impacts future social relationships. A 15 year longitudinal study of young adults showed that participants who were two standard deviations above the mean in regards to happiness were twice as likely to get married later on (Marks and Fleming, 1999). Other longitudinal studies show that happier young adults go on to have longer and more satisfying marriages than do less happy young adults (Headey & Veenhoven, 1989). The underlying mechanism behind these findings is that happy feelings have a positive effect on interpersonal behaviors, leading to an increase in both the quality and quantity of social relationships (Isen, 1999). Experimental research further demonstrates the implications of happiness on social relationships. Participants who were induced to feel happy are more likely to express fondness of others, express liking for a stranger, and have more fond memories of people and interactions (Baron, 1987; Griffitt, 1970). All of the aforementioned studies can be taken together as saying that happiness is extremely important during emerging adulthood and has life long implications for numerous domains of life. Consequently, it is imperative to ascertain causes and hindrances to happiness during emerging adulthood.

The relationship between friendship and happiness has been observed countless times in the literature. Friendship can be defined many ways, but Hays (1988) defines friendship as a “voluntary interdependence between two persons over time, that is intended to facilitate socio-emotional goals of the participants, and may involve varying types and degrees of companionship, intimacy, affection and mutual assistance”. Although far from the sole predictor of happiness, friendship is one of the most robust and frequent correlates with happiness across cultures, ages, and study design (Demir, 2004). Countless studies have found that the number of friends one reports having and the number of social
interactions one experiences are strongly related to happiness (Berry and Hansen, 1996). That being said, research shows that not all friendships are made equal, and friendship is best understood as a qualitative measure. Friendship quality encompasses several different features such as companionship, help, intimacy, reliable alliance, self-validation, and emotional security (Demir, 2010). Friendship quality, rather than friendship quantity, is the biggest predictor of whether friendship leads to happiness, particularly in emerging adults (Demir et al. 2007). However, while this relationship is well documented, less is known about the pathway from friendship to happiness.

Researchers have recently begun to discover factors that mediate the relationship between friendship quality and happiness. Baumeister and Leary (1995) provide the framework for a model suggesting that friendship quality contributes to happiness largely because it fulfills a basic human need to belong and interact. The meta-analysis conducted by Baumeister and Leary (1995) demonstrates that the need to belong dramatically shapes our emotions and cognitions, and that feeling like we belong contributes to an abundance of other positive feelings and behaviors. Baumeister and Leary (1995) were able to conclude that humans possess a fundamental need to belong and interact. Therefore, it’s possible that quality friendship leads to having our basic need to belong being met, which in turn leads to happiness. Demir (2010) supports this model with two studies that show how having basic psychological needs like autonomy, competence, and relatedness met was a mediator between friendship quality and happiness. If feelings of belongingness are in fact the catalysts for happiness, it makes theoretical sense that groups can be just as important as friendship for emerging adults.
Research has demonstrated that group membership, but more importantly, feelings of identification with a group, leads to psychological well-being because it satisfies our need to belong. Group identification has been described as one's psychological connection to a group, meaning the extent to which one views the group as an extension of one's self (Wann et al, 2001). The relationship between group identification and psychological well-being is found for people in a variety of different group such as highly stigmatized groups like the physically disabled or mentally ill (Crocker & Major, 1989), high school peer groups (Brown & Lohr, 1987), universities (Cameron, 1999), the deaf community (Bat-Chava, 1993), religious organizations (Diener & Clifton, 2002), sports teams (Marsh & Kleitman, 2003), and leisure activity groups (Argyle, 1999). High levels of group identification produce high levels of psychological benefits simply through association with the group, even when individuals are not interacting with other people (Wann, 2006). Research shows that people with a high level of group identification with professional sports teams receive the same psychological benefits as people who identify with groups they actively participate in due to feelings of social connectedness (Wann, 2006). The body of literature suggests that simply identifying and feeling connected to a group appears to satisfy the same basic need to belong that friendship in emerging adulthood does. This could have huge implications for students on a college campus, and creates a need for further research in the area of friendship, group identification, and happiness in emerging adulthood.

This study attempts to fill the gap on the associations between friendship, group identification, and happiness in emerging adults on a college campus. First, the study will investigate the pathways from both friendship quality to happiness and group identification to happiness on a college campus, assessing the hypothesis that feelings of
belongingness act as a mediator to both relationships. The pressure to join Greek organizations is often high on a college campus, but research is absent on whether identifying with a fraternity or sorority is a greater predictor of friendship quality and happiness than identifying with other types of groups. An additional aim of this study is to investigate potential differences in both friendship quality and happiness amongst students in different types of groups. In other words, I will investigate whether members of certain types of groups engender stronger friendships and more feelings of happiness. I hypothesize that the type of group will have no impact on a student’s friendship quality or happiness, and that the mere identification with a group will be sufficient in producing comparable psychological benefits. Since close friends on a college campus tend to have shared experiences, it is of interest to examine correspondence between indices of friends’ psychosocial adjustment. It is expected that friends will score similar on levels of psychosocial adjustment, including group identification, belongingness, and happiness.

**Method**

**Participants**

Participants were 282 college students (62 male dyads and 79 female dyads) from two small liberal arts universities on the east coast. Members of a dyad knew each other for at least 4 months, and both attended the same university. The students ranged in age from 18-23, and the mean age of the participants was 19.94 (SD = 1.31). The ethnic distribution of the sample was as follows: 76.2% Caucasian (n =215), 10.6% Asian or Pacific Islander (n =30), 5.7% African American (n =16), 3.2% Hispanic/Latino (x = 9) and 4.3% Other/Multi-ethnic (n =12).
Procedures

Participants were recruited through campus-wide announcements such as flyers, emails, and electronic bulletins, as well as through Introduction to Psychology classes. Participants were scheduled to come into the lab at the same time as their close same-sex friend who they knew for at least 4 months. Participants were provided with informed consent and instructed to complete a 45 minute online survey. Each member of the dyad was brought to a separate room in order to complete the survey. Upon completion of the survey, participants were compensated with either $10 or class credit and provided with a list of on and off campus resources should any part of the survey cause any distress.

Measures

Four different measures were included in the study. The Belongingness in College Students scale by Asher, Weeks, & McDonald (2010) was used to measure participant’s feelings of belongingness. Participants were asked to answer six items about how much they felt they belonged at their university, with 1 being “strongly disagree” and 5 being “strongly agree”. Sample questions include “I feel like I belong at this school”.

The Network of Relationships Inventory by Buhrmester and Furman (2008) was used to measure participants’ friendship quality. Participants answered 30 items assessing various aspects of their friendships, with 1 being “little or none” and 5 being “the most”. Sample items include “how much does your friend really care about you?”.

The Positive and Negative Affect Scale by Watson et al. (1988) was used to measure the presence of positive and negative affect in the participants’ daily lives. Participants were asked to report the extent to which they experience 20 emotions such as excited, guilty, afraid, and attentive, with 1 being “very slightly” and 5 being “extremely”.
The Group Identification Scale was created for the purpose of the study. The measure views group identification as a continuum and is designed to assess participants’ feelings of identification towards the campus organization or group they feel they most belong to. Participants answered 12 items indicating how much they agreed with statements pertaining to their group identification with a campus organization. Sample items include “I feel a strong attachment towards the group”.

**Results**

**Descriptives**

Descriptive statistics were conducted to determine means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations for friendship quality, belongingness, group identification, and positive affect. Participants recorded moderate to high levels of friendship quality, belongingness, group identification, and positive affect. Correlations between variables were generally small, positive, and significant, with the lone non-significant correlation being between friendship quality and group identification. See table 1 for exact means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations.

**Aim 1**

A series of regression analyses were first run to determine whether friendship quality and group identification were predictors of positive affect. Friendship quality and group identification were significantly related to positive affect, providing evidence that there is a statistically significant relationship between the IV's and the DV (total effect). See figure 1 for exact estimates and standard errors. After establishing the first criterion for mediation, a series of regression analyses was run to test whether feelings of belongingness mediated the relationship between friendship quality and positive affect, and group
identification and positive affect. There were statistically significant effects of both friendship quality and group identification on belongingness. The relation of the belongingness mediator on positive affect was statistically significant. The direct effect of friendship quality on positive affect when controlling for feelings of belongingness was weakened, providing evidence for significant mediation. The direct effect of group identification on positive affect when controlling for belongingness was partially weakened, providing evidence for partial mediation. See figure 2 for exact estimates and standard errors. To provide additional evidence for the mediated effect, a confidence interval method was used. The upper confidence interval and lower confidence interval for the mediated effect for friendship quality were .002 and .047 respectively. Since 0 does not fall within this range, it provides further evidence for mediation. The upper confidence interval and lower confidence interval for the mediated effect for group identification were .010 and .086 respectively. Since 0 does not fall within this range, it provides further evidence for mediation.

Aim 2

Two, one-way ANOVA were conducted to test whether group types differed in member positive affect and friendship quality. Group types did not differ significantly in positive affect, F (6, 281)= .78, p=.58, while group types did significantly differ in friendship quality, F (6, 281)= 3.85, p <.01. Post hoc analysis showed that members of Greek organizations had significantly higher friendship quality than people with no group affiliation, p<.01. See table 2 for group means.

Aim 3
Descriptive statistics were conducted to test for correspondence in dyad members’ adjustments. Close friends did not correspond on group identification or belongingness. Close friends reports of friendship quality and positive affect were significantly correlated. See table 3 for exact correlations between dyad members’ adjustment measures.

**Discussion**

The current study provides evidence to support prior research that both friendship quality and group identification were predictors of happiness. In addition, both friendship quality and group identification were predictors of belongingness, and belongingness in turn predicted happiness. When belongingness was controlled for, the relationship between friendship quality and positive affect was significantly weakened and the relationship between group identification and positive affect was partially weakened. Evidence was therefore provided to support the current hypotheses that belongingness mediates the relationships between both friendship quality and happiness and group identification and happiness.

Members of different group types did not differ on levels of positive affect, and thus group type did not have an effect on happiness. Members of different groups did differ on friendship quality however, with members of Greek life having significantly higher friendship qualities than students who have no group affiliation. Finally, evidence was provided to support the claim that close friends correspond on certain aspects of adjustment, with close friends corresponding on friendship quality and positive affect.

**Aim 1**

The present study investigated whether friendship quality and group identification were predictors of happiness among emerging adults on a college campus and whether
belongingness mediated the two relationships. A significant relationship was found between friendship quality and positive affect, supporting past research by Demir et al. (2007) that friendship quality is a predictor of happiness. However, friendship quality was found to be a predictor of belongingness as well. This is not surprising given prior research in the area. High quality friendship, meaning friendship that entails a deep emotional connection, has been shown to make us feel unique, competent, and wanted (Demir, 2010). These feelings are the basis of belongingness, and it makes theoretical sense that friendship quality would make a student feel like he or she belongs in his or her environment. A significant relationship was found between group identification and positive affect as well, supporting past research that group identification is a predictor of happiness (Crocker & Major, 1989; Brown & Lohr, 1987; Cameron, 1999; Bat-Chava, 1993; Diener & Clifton, 2002; Marsh & Kleitman, 2003; Argyle, 1999). Comparable to friendship quality, group identification was also a predictor of belongingness. Evolutionary psychology posits that people in the same group feel as if their interests and goals are aligned, in turn creating a sense of connectedness for the individual (Wann, 2006). The current findings suggest that identifying strongly with a campus group will lead the individual to feel connected to the people in the group, and feeling connected to a group of people at the university will foster feelings of belongingness to the university as a whole.

The study found evidence that belongingness was a predictor of happiness on a college campus. Baumesiter and Leary (1985) revealed that humans have an intrinsic desire to feel like we are wanted and valuable. Belongingness leads to the aforementioned feelings, and thus feeling like we belong in our environment is intrinsically valuable and a basic psychological need (Baumeister & Leary, 1985. The study's findings suggest that
feeling like one belongs to his or her university will make one feel connected to the environment as a whole, valuable and competent, which in turn contributes to feelings of happiness. Taken together, the findings of the study lend support to the theoretical argument that friendship quality and group identification contributes to happiness on a college campus partially because they make us feel like we belong to the university as whole, ultimately satisfying a basic psychological need.

**Aim 2 and 3**

The present study had some additional exploratory aims due to a lack of prior research on emerging adulthood group identification and friendship quality. Specifically, the study explored potential differences in adjustment for members of different types of groups. It was speculated that different groups would provide different psychological benefits to college students due to the nature of the group. For example, sports clubs and performing groups could provide a boost to its members’ psychological well-being due to feelings of success and accomplishment, while service organizations could give its members a sense of purpose that could increase their happiness. While it was unclear going into the study which group type would produce the happiest members, it was hypothesized that there would be differences between group type in measures of adjustment. However, the study found that group type did not have an effect on positive affect, and members of Greek life, sports clubs, religious organizations, performing arts groups, and miscellaneous campus groups showed equally high levels of happiness. In other words, it didn’t matter what type of group one was involved with and simply identifying with a group led to comparable psychological benefits. These findings support past research by Wann (2006) that the degree of involvement, interactions, and
accomplishments with a group is not relevant when predicting whether group identification will predict happiness. Wann (2006) found that identifying as a member of a professional sports team’s fan base produced comparable levels of happiness to members of highly involved group due to feelings of social connectedness, and simply identifying with a group satisfies the basic psychological need that leads to happiness. Applying this model to the context of a college campus, there is evidence to support the theoretical model suggested by Baumeister and Leary (1995) that identifying with a campus group leads to psychological benefits not because of the specific activities of the group, but rather because it satisfies our basic psychological need to belong.

Group type did however predict differences in friendship quality. Specifically, members of Greek organizations had significantly higher friendship qualities than people who did not identify with a group. There are a few different theoretical possibilities that can be used explain this finding. Greek organizations are highly social environments, and it could be that people with the most social skills that contribute to high friendship quality are the students who join Greek life. It could also be that the social nature of Greek organizations teaches the skills associated with friendship quality and thus fosters high quality friendships. Further research is needed to understand the underlying mechanisms behind the associations between Greek life and friendship quality.

The study was additionally interested in exploring whether close friends corresponded on levels of adjustment. In other friends, the study investigated whether close friends on a college campus have a shared psychological experience. The study found that close friends did in fact report similar levels of friendship quality and positive affect. It makes theoretical sense, according to the robust research by developmental psychologist
Meliksa Demir, that close friends would have similar psychosocial adjustments. Close friends make each other feel unique, competent, wanted, and often have shared experiences (Demir & Urberg, 2004; Demir & Ozdemir, 2010; Demir, Ozdemir, & Weitekamp, 2007). As a result, close friends should provide the same psychological benefits to each other and correspond on levels of happiness. The current study provides preliminary evidence to support this model that close friends have similar psychosocial adjustments on a college campus.

**Implications, limitations, and further research**

The study's findings have huge implications for psychological interventions on a college campus. College kids are unhappy and seek psychological help for a variety reasons. The study provides preliminary evidence that belongingness is a huge contributor to happiness on a college campus, and thus interventions for unhappy college students should foster feelings of belongingness to the University as whole. This can be accomplished by advocating for the distressed student to become involved with a campus group of his or her interest, with the idea being that serious involvement with any kind of group will provide the psychological benefits that will lead the student to feel that he or she belongs at the university. The findings also have implications for the future of Greek life on college campuses. Many universities are attempting to do away with Greek life due to recent stories involving heavy alcohol consumption. However, the study provides preliminary evidence that Greek life is associated with increased friendship quality. Due to the importance of friendship quality for emerging adults, there is evidence to support the claim that Greek organizations are a positive environment for students’ adjustment. Universities should thus work towards reforming aspects of the Greek system, rather than eliminate it all together.
The study did have some limitations that created avenues for further research. Measures of friendship quality, group identification, happiness, and belongingness were all recorded at the same time for the participants, and thus one cannot infer directionality with much confidence. It could be that happiness leads to more pro social behaviors and less stress in one’s life that in turn creates higher friendship qualities and leads one to successfully join and remain active in groups. It is thus possible that happiness leads to feelings of belongingness, with friendship quality and group identification mediating the relationship. Longitudinal research is needed to fill this gap in the research. Psychosocial adjustment measures can be recorded prior to one coming to a college campus and then continuously recorded at different intervals during his or her college career. This will allow researchers to better understand the directionality of the relationship between group identification, friendship quality, belongingness, and happiness. In addition, further research can be done on analyzing the dyadic data obtained during this study. Dyadic analyses can be done to determine the impact that one’s adjustment has on his or her close friend’s adjustment and psychological well-being. The findings of the current study represent only preliminary findings in the field, and further research is needed to get a greater understanding of the impact that emerging adults’ friendships and group identification has on their well being. However, there is initial evidence to support the claim that belongingness partially mediates the relationship between friendship and happiness.

References


Table 1. Means, Standard Deviation, and Bivariate Correlations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Friendship Quality</th>
<th>Group Identification</th>
<th>Belongingness</th>
<th>Positive Affect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friendship Quality</td>
<td>3.43 (.76)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Identification</td>
<td>.02 n.s.</td>
<td>3.98 (.64)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belongingness</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>3.88 (.72)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Affect</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>3.40 (.63)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Means and standard deviations are presented along the diagonal. All correlations are significant at p < .05 unless noted otherwise.
Table 2. Mean Friendship Qualities and Positive Affect Amongst Different Group Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group Type</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Friendship Quality</th>
<th>Positive Affect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Group</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>3.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Life</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports Team</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>3.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Group</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Organization</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>3.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performing Arts Group</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>3.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>3.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>3.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3. Correlations Amongst Dyad Members’ Group Identification, Positive Affect, Belongingness, and Friendship Quality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A: Group Identification</th>
<th>A: Positive Affect</th>
<th>A: Belongingness</th>
<th>A: Friendship Quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P: Group identification</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P: Positive Affect</td>
<td></td>
<td>.13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P: Belongingness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P: Friendship Quality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1.
Total Effects of Friendship Quality/Group Identification on Positive Affect

Friendship Quality

Group Identification

Positive Affect

.132 (.054)

.281 (.064)
Figure 2.
Mediation Model

- Friendship Quality → Belongingness
  - .22 (.06)
- Group Identification → Belongingness
  - .20 (.07)
- Friendship Quality → .10 (.01)
- Group Identification → .25 (.06)
- Belongingness → .15 (.06)