Representing or Defecting?

The Pursuit of Individual Upward Mobility

in Low Status Groups

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Contents

Chapter 1

Pursuing individual upward mobility in low status groups: Negotiating concerns of the ingroup and the outgroup

Numerous members of low status groups, such as members of ethnic minority groups and women, run the risk of facing a dilemma that can substantially impact the course of their life. Their stigmatized low status identity can lead high status outgroup members, such as ethnic majorities and men, to oppose their attempts to improve their social standing. Distancing from the stigmatized identity, on the other hand, can lower support from fellow ingroup members. The central questions in this dissertation focus on furthering our understanding of how this dilemma affects individual upward mobility in low status groups.

During the period in which this dissertation was written the world witnessed an historic event. For the first time in history a non-white candidate - Barack Obama - was elected the president of the United States of America. A renowned Dutch journalist wrote a column on Obama just before he was elected to the presidency (Groenhuijsen, 2008). The central question in the column was whether the African American Obama was too "Black" to beat his Euro-American opponent in the race for presidency. The thrust of the argument was clear. The extent to which Obama was perceived as typically "Black" would significantly affect the support of the White majority voters. That is, in order to be voted into the presidency Obama had to make sure that he was not perceived as overly identified with his African American background. Obama was already fully familiar with this "Blackness" issue. A few years earlier, Obama ran a campaign for a somewhat less prestigious political position against a fellow African American politician. Obama lost this campaign, allegedly because the African American voters thought Obama was *not* Black enough. By the time Obama ran for president, his fellow African Americans were again not immediately convinced of his Blackness. A round table conference was organized, attended by a powerful lobby of hundreds of African American journalists, during which Obama had to convince fellow group members of his sufficient identification with his African American background (Het belang van Limburg, 2007; Monroe, 2007). While climbing the ranks to the political top Obama thus apparently had to ensure that he was simultaneously strongly and weakly attached to his African American identity in order to receive full support. Failure to meet up to Black and White expectations about identification and identity expression was a serious threat to the success of his upward mobility attempts. Obama's predicament of navigating between quite diverging, sometimes even conflicting, group related expectations does not stand on its own. Rather, many upwardly mobile members of low status groups have to cope with this dilemma daily.

Individual upward mobility in low status groups

Individual upward mobility refers to individual status improvement in a social hierarchy by increased performance and positive outcomes in status defining domains such as academic achievement and career success (Ellemers, Wilke, & van Knippenberg, 1993; Ellemers & Van Laar, in press, Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Entering university and realizing promotion to higher management in a company are examples of such individual status improvement. In terms of outcomes, individual upward mobility holds the potential to change key elements of an individual's life through higher pay, improved housing conditions, access to more powerful social networks, and better health care opportunities (Hossler & Coopersmith, 1989; Marmot, 2004; Putnam, 2000). Western societies tend to stress the opportunities that individuals have to cross status boundaries in the social hierarchy, irrespective of their social background ("the individual mobility ideology"; see Ellemers & Van Laar, in press). Indeed, individual upward mobility has yielded success for many individuals, including members of low status groups. Nowadays, it is much more common, for example, to find ethnic minorities and women in higher professional positions than for instance in the 1950's or the 1960's.

However, despite these positive changes, the individual upward mobility of members of low status groups still advances with difficulty. Statistics reveal that outcomes in Western societies are still ordered according to group membership. In the Netherlands, for example, whereas the proportion of ethnic minority group members among public servants roughly equals the proportion of ethnic minority group members in Dutch society (10%), less than half a percent of the senior officials in Dutch federal government institutions belong to an ethnic minority group (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). A comparable situation can be observed among women in science in the Netherlands. Whereas roughly half the students in universities are female, women make up only 30% of the assistant professors and only a dramatic 11% of the full professors (VSNU, 2008). These figures run counter to the goal of a properly functioning "diverse" workforce in which individuals with different backgrounds can reach their full potential (Wentling & Palma-Rivas, 1997). In order to reach this goal it is crucial to gain a better understanding of the conditions under which the pursuit of upward mobility is likely to be (un)successful.

This dissertation contributes to the identification of factors that are conducive to individual upward mobility of members of low status groups. We propose that a strict individual focus on upward mobility falls short of recognizing the complicated group-level challenges that face upwardly mobile members of low status groups. Their stigmatized

identity heightens the risk of their upward mobility attempts being rejected by the high status *outgroup*. We address this issue and hypothesize that support from the low status *ingroup* can help to respond effectively to this predicament. That is, we argue that support from other low status ingroup members makes individuals more resilient and helps them maintain their upward mobility attempts in the face of resistance from the high status group. Obtaining such ingroup support for individual upward mobility however is not easy, as the mobility attempt may be seen as expressing disdain for the low status ingroup and what it stands for. Furthermore, we hypothesize that association with the ingroup is an important determinant of receiving such ingroup support. Hence, whereas such ingroup association has been shown to increase the risk of outgroup opposition (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009), upwardly mobile individuals can benefit in other ways by ensuring support from the ingroup. These issues outlined above are investigated in eleven empirical studies conducted with experimental groups in the laboratory as well as with members of low status groups in the field.

Ingroup association and low status group membership

Social categories such as ethnicity, gender or socio-economic status, are an important means to order and classify the social environment. Individuals can use their category memberships as cognitive tools to determine their social identity and to make comparisons with individuals who belong to other social categories (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Social categories thus present individuals with a sense of "who they are". However, when individuals acknowledge that they belong to a social category, such as their ethnic, gender or socio-economic group, they do not necessarily identify with that particular category membership. One's place in society is not simply determined by making an "objective" inventory of one's category memberships. Instead, one's perceived place in society is predominantly determined by the group memberships that one identifies with: those group memberships to which value and emotional significance are attached (Tajfel, 1981). For example, an African-American woman can feel strongly affected by her being a female while being indifferent to her ethnic background. Her being categorizable as an African-American woman does not necessarily imply that she feels psychologically connected to the African-American identity.

According to Social Identity Theory (SIT), individuals' group identifications are also affected by the status of those groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Low group status is an impetus for disidentifying from a group. SIT states that, in addition to a positive personal

identity, individuals also strive for a positive social identity. Both identities are related to an individual's self-image. The positivity of personal identity is determined by interpersonal comparisons, whereas a positive social identity is contingent upon intergroup comparisons, comparisons of ingroups with relevant outgroups. Fulfillment of the need for a positive social identity can be hindered by identifying with a low status group. After all, comparisons of the low status ingroup with higher status groups on status relevant dimensions (such as career success) have negative outcomes: the ingroup is inferior to the other group. A possible response to this situation is to disassociate from the group. Even when born and raised in line with certain category memberships individuals can disassociate from these groups, disconnecting their self-image from the particular group membership. The African-American woman of the previous example may for instance be indifferent to her African-American category membership because she has disassociated from this group in response to its lower status.

The issue of disassociation from a group is particularly relevant for low status group members who pursue individual upward mobility. Those who pursue individual upward mobility tend to loosen the psychological ties with their low status category membership (Ellemers & Van Laar, in press; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Obviously, low status group members who pursue individual upward mobility perceive intergroup boundaries to be permeable, at least to some degree. On the one extreme, individuals can believe that intergroup boundaries are impermeable in that their gender or ethnic group memberships make individual upward mobility impossible. On the other extreme, individuals can believe that intergroup boundaries are completely permeable, and that their gender or ethnic group membership will not prevent them in any way from pursuing upward mobility. When group boundaries are perceived as at least partially permeable, upward mobility offers the opportunity to stress individual merit and to disassociate the self from the disadvantaged ingroup. Demonstrating how one differs from an average member of the low status ingroup can become a part of the upward mobility strategy. The African-American woman of the previous example may, for instance, set her self apart from other African-Americans by demonstrating how she differs from the ingroup prototype in terms of education or work related accomplishments.

Ingroup support as a resource

As described above, the pursuit of individual upward mobility encourages members of low status groups to disassociate from their ingroup. In this regard, most research has

focused on individual upward mobility as a means to "escape" from the low status group (e.g. Wright, 2001). In this view, individual upward mobility stimulates disassociation from the ingroup, helping to avoid a negative group based self-image. This view disregards the need to belong, however. In addition to the need for a positive self-image, people feel the need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Although disassociating from a devalued ingroup can help to feel good about the self, having a sense of relatedness is also of major importance. Group memberships provide such a sense of belonging. More often than not, people have been socialized by ingroup members with whom longer lasting and positive relationships are maintained. The significance of this ingroup belonging is illustrated by people's reluctance to losing or breaking such social bonds, even when pragmatic or material reasons for maintaining these relationships are absent (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Ethier & Deaux, 1994). Continued identification with the ingroup may thus be desired even when the ingroup has low social status.

We argue that the relationship with the ingroup is also particularly important for low status group members who pursue upward mobility. Individual upward mobility generally takes place in "outgroup contexts" in which members of low status groups are outnumbered by members of the high status group (Ben-Zeev et al. 2005, Derks, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2006; Inzlicht & Good 2004; Sekaquaptewa & Thompson 2003). In these contexts members of low status groups face the risk of opposition to their upward mobility attempts as the high status group doubts, or challenges, their claims to acceptance to a higher status position. This predicament may sensitize low status group members to upward mobility support from ingroup members. For example, upwardly mobile individuals may ask, hope, or imagine that the ingroup takes pride in fellow group members attempts to pursue upward mobility and show their worth in other group contexts. Ingroup support for individual mobility can signal that the pursuit of upward mobility is accepted and considered appropriate behavior to cope with low status, which may impact positively on the willingness to, or persistence in, pursuing upward mobility in the face of outgroup opposition. As such, we propose that ingroup support is an important social resource for low status group members especially when they pursue individual upward mobility.

In the last decade, research attention for intragroup dynamics in low status groups has increased (e.g. Branscombe, Schmitt, Ellemers, & Doosje, 2002; Jetten, Schmitt, Branscombe and McKimmie, 2005). The results of this work are in line with the idea that devalued groups can be an important resource for their members, for instance to combat the negative consequences of outgroup rejection. An example is work from the perspective of the rejection-identification model as proposed by Branscombe and colleagues (Branscombe,

Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). They hypothesized that devalued group members' awareness of group-based discrimination as a cause of prejudice may strengthen, rather than diminish, the identification with their group as it provides a sense of support and shared fate. Evidence for this prediction was found in a sample of African-Americans. Participants' tendency to attribute negative life-events to prejudice increased their levels of ingroup identification which in turn enhanced well-being. Believing that one is discriminated against due to one's group membership thus strengthened the identification with the devalued ingroup and helped people cope with their predicament (also see Armenta & Hunt, 2009). The feeling that appreciation from the outgroup is insecure, increases the need to feel related to the ingroup. Similar results have been found in a study in which future expectations of discrimination were manipulated among members of a socially devalued group (individuals with body piercings; Jetten, Branscombe, Spears, & Schmitt, 2001). The more likely discriminatory treatment by the mainstream population was perceived to be, the stronger the identification with the devalued group.

The need to feel related to the ingroup seems to play a role not only in the case of (alleged) discriminatory treatment. The findings of a study by Jetten et al. (Jetten, Schmitt, Branscombe, & McKimmie, 2005) suggest that this need also increases in the face of ingroup devaluation by an outgroup. Participants were told that others were generally negative or positive about inhabitants of their residential region. Participants who received negative feedback, implying a threat to the value of their ingroup, were more likely to focus on the relationship with their ingroup than participants who received positive feedback about their ingroup. Specifically, value threat encouraged them to emphasize the respect they received from fellow inhabitants of their residential region. Again, the need to feel related to the ingroup appeared to be intensified by low appreciation of the ingroup on the part of an outgroup, instead of weakened as is often assumed. Our research builds on the general notion that group members continue to value the relationship with the ingroup in the face of rejection or devaluation by an outgroup. In an outgroup context in which upwardly mobile individuals can be rejected on grounds of their stigmatized social identity, we propose the relationship with the ingroup to be a resource that helps individuals cope with this predicament. Ingroup support can signal that the ingroup relationship will not be negatively affected by the pursuit of upward mobility. By contrast, the pursuit of upward mobility under opposition from the ingroup (when the ingroup perceives the upward mobility as an attempt to disassociate or even reject or deny group membership, as in the Obama example), triggers the concern that the relationship with the ingroup will be impaired.

Behavioral identity expression and affective ingroup identification

Given the aim to demonstrate that ingroup support is an important resource for upwardly mobile low status group members the next issue to consider is how upward mobility support in low status groups can be assured. We argue that upward mobility support in low status groups is raised when the upwardly mobile individual continues to associate with the ingroup. A relevant concern however is that ingroup association is also likely to elicit opposition to upward mobility from the outgroup. For example, in a series of experiments Kaiser and Pratt-Hyatt (2009) showed that Euro-Americans' attitudes toward Black and Latino minority targets were more negative the more the minority target identified with the low status ethnic group. We examine how this apparent tension between ingroup and outgroup expectations and responses can be relieved by differentiating between different types of associations with the low status group: behavioral identity expression and affective ingroup identification. This distinction is further explained below.

Behaving in line with the typical characteristics of an ingroup is what we refer to as *behavioral identity expression.* To some extent, upwardly mobile individuals will be less likely to engage in behavioral identity expression. A Muslim woman can, for instance, attempt to disassociate the self from the Muslim ingroup in the context of her successful individual mobility. For instance, she may decide not to wear a veil, to downplay the contextual relevance of her Muslim identity. Importantly, however, such behavioral conformity is affected by the fact that upward mobility generally takes place in outgroup contexts in which the high status outgroup determines the norms for appropriate behavior. Theory and research on strategic behavior suggests that when individuals publicly adapt to the expectations of an outgroup this does not necessarily reflect their *affective ingroup identification*: their emotional ties with the ingroup (Barreto & Ellemers, 2000; Barreto, Ellemers, & Banal, 2006; Ellemers, Van Dyck, Hinkle, & Jacobs, 2000; Reicher, Spears, & Postmes, 1995; Reicher & Levine, 1994a, 1994b). Thus, behavioral adaptation to the expectations of an outgroup audience may be strategic as it helps to avoid outgroup opposition, lowering the risk of behaving in a way considered inappropriate by the outgroup. However, this does not necessarily imply that these behavioral guidelines are internalized or that such behavior is also displayed in other contexts. Muslim women who usually wear a veil can, for instance, decide not to wear the veil in vocational settings as they perceive the mainstream population to consider the veil an inappropriate identification feature, but may continue wearing the veil when among family or friends (e.g., Kamerman & Walters, 2009). Thus, individuals who pursue upward mobility may refrain from signs of behavioral ingroup

association with the aim to distract attention from the stigmatized identity (see also Ellemers & Van Laar, in press).

Conversely, affective disassociation from the ingroup does not necessarily imply that characteristic ingroup behaviors are abandoned. The reason for this is that behavioral ingroup association is also affected by socialization processes. Behavior in line with a social identity can be a remnant of socialization processes even when affective identification with the ingroup has weakened. Therefore, behavior in line with a social identity does not necessarily reflect strong psychological ties with the ingroup. For example, individuals can have foreign accents that correspond with their ethnic or geographical heritage while they have affectively disassociated themselves from the corresponding social identity. An accent can be hard to control, as a result of which this behavioral characteristic remains salient. Individuals may also continue to participate in certain group traditions out of respect for the group, their families and friends, even though they have long since psychologically detached themselves personally from the identity. Thus, although behavioral identity expression and affective ingroup identification tend to covary, these identification features are distinguishable. Behavioral disassociation from the disadvantaged group is not always a reflection of affective disassociation from the group. In turn, affective dissociation can be related to differential levels of behavioral identity expression. Therefore, we distinguish between behavioral identity expression and affective ingroup identification and examine their respective effects.

We propose that distinguishing between affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression provides further insight into how the low status ingroup and the high status outgroup respond to the individual upward mobility of members of low status groups. We argue that this may even resolve the tension for upwardly mobile individuals between ingroup versus outgroup expectations and demands. We examine whether the responses of low status groups are primarily determined by the affective association with the low status group, while the high status group is more strongly affected by the behavioral aspects of associating with the low status group. Now that the main issues examined in this dissertation have been outlined, we will summarize how the empirical work to test these predictions was set up.

Overview of empirical testing of predictions

The first empirical chapter examines how outgroup opposition and ingroup support impact on the individual upward mobility of low status group members. Thus, this chapter

explores how members of low status groups, such as females, experience upward mobility in the face of outgroup opposition. Outgroup opposition may emerge, for example, when women are evaluated negatively in vocational settings. If this is the case, does it matter then whether they perceive that support from other women is available? We examine how outgroup opposition affects feelings and perceptions with regard to upward mobility, and test the prediction that ingroup support has opposite, more positive effects on the same feelings and perceptions.

Chapter 3 focuses on ingroup association as a determinant of such ingroup support. This chapter addresses the distinction between affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression and examines their effects on the likelihood of obtaining ingroup versus outgroup support for upward mobility attempts. Thus this chapter examines, for example, whether support from fellow Dutch-Moroccans is contingent upon the emotional involvement of the upwardly mobile Dutch-Moroccan individual with his or her ethnic group? Or does it depend on the extent to which he or she behaves in ways that are seen to be consistent with Moroccan cultural identity? And how do ethnic majority members respond to Dutch-Moroccans' affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression? These are the type of questions examined in Chapter 3.

The research questions are examined in a range of intergroup contexts and with different methodologies. In Study 2.1 to 2.4, 3.1 and 3.2 participants are members of experimental minimal groups with low status. We developed a research paradigm to conduct such experimental studies among undergraduate students. In order to ensure the ecological validity of the research findings we tested whether the results generalized to natural groups in the field. In Study 2.5 (women) and 3.3 (ethnic minorities in the Netherlands) participants are members of natural groups with low status in a vocational intergroup context. The responses of high status group members are also investigated in an experimental minimal group (Study 3.4) as well as in natural groups (ethnic majorities in the Netherlands in Study 3.5 and 3.6). Furthermore, several research methodologies are combined to investigate the research questions. The methods employed are minimal group experiments (Study 2.1 to 2.4, 3.1, 3.2 and 3.4), field experiments (Study 3.3 and 3.5), and correlational field studies (Study 2.5 and 3.6).

Summary and conclusion of the findings in this dissertation

Whereas past theory and research suggests that low status group members tend to attempt individual upward mobility as a primary strategy of status improvement (e.g. Taylor

& McKirnan, 1984; Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990), this thesis looks into the further implications of this type of identity management strategy and the conditions under which it is most likely to be successful. Specifically, this thesis focuses on how this upward mobility is experienced in a context of support and opposition from the low status ingroup and the high status outgroup.

Recent research suggests that the motivation to exhibit goal oriented behavior, such as the pursuit of upward mobility, depends on the experience of negative affect and the perceived feasibility of a particular outcome. Negative affect associated with a particular goal has been shown to decrease the tendency to approach the goal (Aarts, Custers, & Veltkamp, 2008). In addition, the perceived feasibility of a goal impacts on the likelihood that effort is asserted to reach an outcome (Bandura, 1997; Eccles & Wigfield, 2002). The motivation to pursue a goal is a decisive factor since motivated individuals are more likely to persevere in the face of setbacks. As ingroup support impacts on the experience of depressed affect and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility, the results in this dissertation attest to the importance of ingroup support for the upward mobility of low status group members.

Together the findings point to ingroup support as a resource that enables members of low status groups to persevere in the pursuit of upward mobility, even in the face of outgroup opposition. Specifically, several studies in this thesis show that ingroup support for upward mobility helps upwardly mobile low status group members to feel and think more positively about their upward mobility in the face of outgroup opposition. Results from Study 2.1, 2.2 and 2.5 show that outgroup opposition raises threat and depressed emotions like discouragement, while it lowers the perceived feasibility of upward mobility. Results from Study 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5 show that ingroup opposition aggravates the negativity related to upward mobility by raising depressed affect and decreasing the perceived feasibility of upward mobility. Study 2.4 demonstrates that these negative effects of ingroup opposition are explained by the fear that the ingroup fails to continue to perceive the individual as a "good" ingroup member. Conversely, Study 2.3 to 2.5 reveal that support from the ingroup relieves the concern of such anticipated ingroup rejection. Via perceived ingroup acceptance, ingroup support leads to lowered depressed affect and increases the perceived feasibility of upward mobility. Ingroup support has these positive effects on the way upward mobility is experienced while leaving perceived threat unaffected, as is demonstrated by Study 2.3 to 2.5. Thus, by intensifying depressed affect and decreasing the perceived feasibility of upward mobility, outgroup opposition lowers the motivation to pursue upward mobility. Conversely, ingroup support lowers the susceptibility to such motivation losses. Viewed from a stress and coping framework, ingroup support has these positive effects not by taking away the threat

that is perceived but by equipping low status group members with the means to cope with threat. A situation in which demands outweigh resources is transformed into a situation in which more resources are available (e.g. Blascovich & Tomaka, 1996; Lazarus & Folkman, 1991). In short, the results reported in this thesis indicate that ingroup support raises low status group members' perseverance in the pursuit of upward mobility, particularly when confronted with opposition from the outgroup.

In addition to showing that ingroup support is an important resource, our studies demonstrate how upwardly mobile individuals can elicit such support from the low status ingroup. Specifically, Study 3.1 to 3.3 show that ingroup support for upward mobility in low status groups can be raised through affective ingroup identification, confirming that one has strong emotional ties with the ingroup. Moreover, Study 3.2 and 3.3 also reveal *why* affective ingroup identification raises ingroup support for upward mobility. First, these studies indicate that affective ingroup identification leads members of low status groups to perceive the upward mobility of ingroup members as progress for the entire group. Second, Study 3.2 and 3.3 show that upwardly mobile individuals are continued to be perceived as ingroup members as a result of their affective ingroup identification.

The results thus show that individual upward mobility triggers several concerns in low status groups. On the one hand, individual upward mobility is an opportunity for group-based progress that enhances the positivity of the social identity. Successful ingroup members can for instance improve the image of the entire group. On the other hand, individual upward mobility poses a potential threat to the social identity of the group, namely when ingroup members are perceived to distance from the group, appearing to affirm the inferior position of the group (Ellemers, van den Heuvel, de Gilder, Maass, & Bonvini, 2004). Affective ingroup identification positively affects both concerns, leading to support for upward mobility in low status groups. First, low status group members' perception of the effect of the upward mobility of fellow group members is influenced by affective ingroup identification. Relative to weak affective identifiers, strong affective identifiers are perceived to contribute positively to the image of the entire group instead of just improving their individual status position. As such, these upwardly mobile individuals may help to relieve the shared predicament of low status group members. Furthermore, upwardly mobile individuals who retain strong emotional ties with their low status ingroup are perceived to forgo the opportunity to distance themselves from their ingroup. As a result, the low status group continues to accept these upwardly mobile individuals as "good" members of the group. The effect of affective ingroup identification on both the perceived contribution to the position of the low status group and the maintained acceptance of

upwardly mobile ingroup members lead to stronger support for upward mobility in members of low status groups.

Moreover, affective ingroup identification appeared to be a feasible way of maintaining ingroup identification under upward mobility attempts as the high status group hardly opposes to this identity feature of upwardly mobile individuals. Instead, high status groups mainly object to behavioral identity expression among upwardly mobile members of low status group because behavioral identity expression raises perceptions of threat in high status group members.

In conclusion, this dissertation demonstrates that ingroup support is a key resource for upwardly mobile low status group members and that communicating about strong emotional ties with the ingroup can help to obtain such support from fellow low status group members. In the pursuit of upward mobility, members of low status groups can rely more strongly on their ingroup for support the more secure their affective identification with the low status group is seen to be. For example, reassurance of continued affective identification leads fellow group members to take more pride in the upward mobility of other individuals and to approach them more positively with respect to their upward mobility. The ingroup support that is provided then helps low status group members to persevere in their individual upward mobility when they have to overcome outgroup opposition to their upward mobility. Moreover, affective identification with the low status group was found not only to be a beneficial type of ingroup identification, but also a feasible way of maintaining one's ties with the ingroup while pursuing upward mobility. Thus, affective ingroup identification is an identification feature that effectively raises support in low status groups, while the high status group does not seem to mind this type of ingroup identification in upwardly mobile low status group members. Lastly, the results in this dissertation counter the possibility that behavioral deviance is a primary reason for ingroup opposition to upward mobility in low status groups. Although behavioral cues of group membership are likely to attract attention from fellow low status group members (as these are visible cues) they seem to be less important for upward mobility support in low status groups than affective ingroup identification. Low status groups tend to tolerate the behavioral deviance of upwardly mobile ingroup members, enabling them to meet behavioral demands of the high status outgroup when necessary, as long as it is made clear that affective identification with the low status group is maintained.

General contributions and implications of the dissertation

Low status group members pursuing upward mobility:
Ingroup representatives or defectors?

In this dissertation we have demonstrated the complications associated with the pursuit of individual upward mobility for members of low status groups. From the perspective of the low status group the behavior of individual ingroup members can affect the image and interests of the group more broadly. The results of the different studies suggest that this concern causes members of low status groups to expect upwardly mobile individuals to fulfill a role that is probably best described as being an 'ingroup representative'. Ingroup representatives are expected to not only be concerned with their own individual status improvement but also with promoting and protecting the interests of the low status group. They are expected to behave in ways that contribute to the status position of the entire group and to communicate that the group is worthwhile to stand for. Insufficient ingroup identification leads upwardly mobile individuals to be perceived as failing to fulfill the role of ingroup representative. Failure to fulfill this role to a satisfactorily degree leads upwardly mobile individuals to run the risk of being perceived as 'defecting'. Defectors are perceived as contributing little to the welfare of the group with their upward mobility. The different studies clearly show that low status groups tend to support individuals who are seen as representatives while they are less likely to support upwardly mobile individuals who are perceived as defectors.

Upwardly mobile low status group members are sensitive to being perceived as defecting because this induces the fear that the ingroup will reject them or at least relegate them to the periphery of the group. This sensitivity of upwardly mobile low status group members to their ability to fulfill their role of ingroup representative prompts us to view individual upward mobility in low status group somewhat differently than former research has done. The predominant view on individual upward mobility is that of low status group members who distance from the lower status group in order to enter a higher status group. In this literature, that is strongly inspired by social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), successful individual upward mobility is viewed as exchanging the low status group membership for the membership in a more prestigious group (e.g. Wright et al., 1990). However, the present work shows that low status group members pursuing upward mobility may suffer when being perceived as defectors. To the extent that they can maintain perceived acceptance into the ingroup from their fellow ingroup members they may receive support

from the ingroup that helps them in their upward mobility attempts. This finding thus complements previous work that demonstrated that members of low status groups may psychologically distance the self from the group when they pursue upward mobility. It shows that although individual upward mobility is an individual level strategy for members of low status groups to enhance their social identity, this does not necessarily imply that they become indifferent to the low status group membership.

Perhaps the extent to which low status group members remain psychologically involved in the low status group depends on how assured they feel about acceptance in the high status group. Even when early upward mobility attempts appear promising, the possibility remains that the high status group will eventually reject the upwardly mobile individual. As long as acceptance by the high status group is insecure, continued identification with the low status ingroup can be particularly desirable. As acceptance by the high status group becomes more secured, upwardly mobile individuals may show increased indifference to the low status ingroup and its support. Also, presumably, low status group members who have completed the transition, and have been accepted into the high status group, become less anxious of being perceived as a defector by fellow low status group members.

Individual upward mobility and group-level concerns

This dissertation also offers more insight into the specific group concerns that are affected by the upward mobility of low status group members. Individual upward mobility can be perceived as improving the status of the entire group and the accompanying stigmatized identity. However, upwardly mobile ingroup members who disassociate from their ingroup can also be perceived as confirming the inferior status of the group.

First, upwardly mobile ingroup members who are perceived to act as group representatives offer hope to fellow group members of providing relief for their joint predicament by looking after the interests of the group. Low status groups are particularly in need of an improved position in the social hierarchy and generally prefer to get rid of the stigma of their low status position. Group members who act as representatives may be willing to emphasize and celebrate their ingroup identification (e.g., "This is what Moroccans are capable of!"), to share attained resources, and to help and inform fellow group members. In contrast, ingroup members who are seen as "defectors" are likely to be perceived as predominantly looking after their own individual interests, offering little hope of combating the stigma and the inferior position of the low status group as a whole. Thus,

despite the common sense notion that low status groups consider successful individual upward mobility by ingroup members as a contribution to the societal position of the group, the findings in this dissertation demonstrate that this is not necessarily the case. Upwardly mobile individuals who are perceived as ingroup representatives indeed are perceived as contributing to the societal position of the group. However, when upwardly mobile ingroup members are perceived as defecting they are perceived as contributing little to the position of the group or even as confirming its inferiority.

Furthermore, the notion that individual upward mobility can be perceived as group-based progress is an important contribution to the literature on the responses of low status groups to their disadvantaged societal position. Moreover, the findings presented in this dissertation offer insight into the circumstances under which this is likely to be the case. Wright (2001) argued that individual upward mobility in low status groups discourages these groups to collectively resist their societal position. The reason for this, according to Wright, is that individual upward mobility encourages intragroup interpersonal social comparisons that distract from group-based disadvantages. An alternative mechanism is proposed by the findings in this dissertation. Under specific conditions individual upward mobility can in itself be perceived as offering group-based progress, lowering a sense of collective deprivation in low status groups. When upwardly mobile individuals communicate a continued emotional involvement in the low status ingroup, their status improvement is perceived to generalize to the group as a whole by fellow group members. Thus, in addition to encouraging intragroup interpersonal comparisons upward mobility can also be perceived as contributing to the societal position of the low status group.

Ingroup identification and individual upward mobility

So far we have discussed that individual upward mobility is complicated because low status groups want their members to act as representatives while trying to escape negative judgments associated with their ingroup. Representatives maintain ingroup identification while pursuing upward mobility, which is not an easy feat as individual interests need to be reconciled with group-level interests. Signs of ingroup identification may raise opposition in high status outgroup members. The present research shows that the distinction between behavioral identity expression and affective ingroup identification aids members of low status groups in pursuing upward mobility while identifying with their ingroup. High status groups are predominantly interested in behavioral identity expression while low status groups are particularly interested in affective ingroup identification. The expectations of the

high status outgroup and the low status ingroup are thus not necessarily contradictory. This means that upwardly mobile individuals can fulfill the role of ingroup representative and get ahead in an outgroup context by communicating their affective bond with the low status group while behaving in line with the behaviors of the high status group.

Representatives are thus not per se those low status group members who behave fully in line with ingroup practices. Rather, it is important that these representatives maintain an affective bond with the group. Previous research presented mixed results on the alleged tension between ingroup and outgroup support for upwardly mobile low status group members (Contrada et al., 2001; Cook & Ludwig, 1997; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Some upwardly mobile individuals report that they raise ingroup opposition with their non-prototypical behavior whereas others feel ingroup support despite their non-prototypicality in terms of behavior. The research presented in this dissertation suggests a possible explanation for these inconsistencies. When low status group members are perceived as having weak emotional ties with the ingroup their fellow group members probably see their disassociated behavior as symptomatic for their weak affective ingroup identification. Since behavior is more salient this is what fellow group members jeer at. By contrast, behavioral deviation can be tolerated to a stronger degree in upwardly mobile individuals who are perceived to maintain strong emotional ties with the ingroup.

Intrapersonal effects of adapting behavioral identity expression

Apparently straightforward advice from this dissertation for upwardly mobile members of low status groups would be to affectively identify with their group while minimizing behavioral expressions of the low status identity. This identification pattern could positively secure the continued support from the low as well as the high status group. However, the effects shown here regarding behavioral identity expression in low status groups should be considered carefully. The studies in this dissertation focused on the interplay between upwardly mobile low status group members and the immediate social context. We were interested in how others in the social context respond to behavioral association with the low status group.

One should keep in mind however that intrapersonal effects of suppressed behavioral identity expression also play a role. Some members of low status groups may feel fine behaving in line with the norms of the high status group. Others may feel that they are untrue to the self when adapting strongly to the behavioral norms of the high status group. Stated differently, low status group members who suppress behavioral expressions of their

identity in order to meet the behavioral demands of the high status outgroup can feel that they engage in self-discrepant behaviors. Following self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987), such self-discrepant behaviors can be harmful to personal well-being. Inauthentic behaviors may give rise to self-directed negative emotions like shame and guilt (Barreto, Ellemers, & Banal, 2006), particularly when individuals distance from strongly self-defining identities such as race or gender. Furthermore, individuals are likely to experience stress when engaging in self-discrepant behaviors (Kernis & Goldman, 2006). Inauthentic behaviors may even have negative health effects (Cole, Kemeny, Taylor, Visscher, & Fahey, 1996; Pennebaker & Traue, 1993; Traue & Pennebaker, 1993). Future research should thus establish to what degree affective ingroup identification offsets the possible negative effects of suppressed behavioral identity expression for the personal well-being of upwardly mobile low status group members.

Practical implications

The results of this dissertation clearly show the importance of ingroup support in upward mobility of members of low status groups. In practice, support from fellow group members can come in various forms, such as personal relationships with fellow group members. Support can also come from formal or informal social identity related networks, such as professional female networks or ethnicity related networks. In vocational and academic settings ethnic minority group members and women can organize in these networks to offer ingroup support. The findings in this dissertation also offer scope to develop recommendations for the agenda of such identity related networks. To successfully affect upward mobility it will be important for these networks to pay attention to the difficult task of fulfilling the role of ingroup representative. Social networks can for example focus on finding practical ways to affectively identify with the low status group. They can think of innovative ways to anticipate the demands of the high status group while also looking after the concerns of the low status group. Some evidence of the beneficial effects of social identity related networks already exists. Two studies show, for example, that African American students on campuses dominated by Euro-American students profit from African American support networks (Davis, 1991; Levin, Van Laar & Foot, 2006). Participation in these networks was associated with higher academic commitment, higher motivation in college and higher occupational aspirations.

Identity related networks can thus play a significant role in organizing ingroup support in low status groups. Such ingroup focused initiatives are probably good supplements

of outgroup focused initiatives such as affirmative action measures. The basic goal of outgroup focused initiatives is to (temporarily) remove stigma related obstacles for upwardly mobile members of low status groups. Following the results in this dissertation, the aim of identity related networks is not to remove stigma related obstacles per se. Rather, identity related networks have the potential to help low status group members to better cope with the threat of pursuing upward mobility in outgroup contexts. An advantage of social identity related networks is that the organization of these networks is likely to meet fewer objections than outgroup focused initiatives. For instance, affirmative action policies may need far-reaching legal interventions and tend to stir turmoil and resistance in high status groups. Members of high status groups can and often do oppose the alleged "preferential treatment" of women and ethnic minorities in vocational settings. Identity related networks can be considered as less "radical" initiatives that do not interfere with common procedures. In this way these networks can be an important and effective resource for upwardly mobile members of low status groups.

Strengths, limitations and future research

A strong feature of the studies presented in this dissertation is the variation in research methods and research samples. Experiments were conducted among natural groups and among students who were allocated to minimal groups. Furthermore, correlational studies were conducted to test whether the experimental findings would hold in settings which were less controlled. Importantly, converging evidence was found with these procedures.

Nevertheless, a limitation of the current work is that all studies presented in this dissertation rely on cross-sectional designs which make it difficult to draw firm conclusions about longer term effects. It can, for example, not be ruled out that upwardly mobile individuals' reliance on ingroup support is strong only in the short term. Perhaps upwardly mobile individuals become increasingly indifferent to the relationship with the low status group over time, especially when upward mobility progresses well. Longitudinal research will help to further investigate the longer term processes involved in the upward mobility of low status group members. Such research could for instance be conducted among women or ethnic minorities who are initiating a career after graduating from college. Such longitudinal studies could for instance focus on the longer term relationship between perceived support from fellow group members and subsequent outcome variables such as work performance, turnover, and goal-setting behavior in vocational settings.

CHAPTER 1

Conclusion

In this dissertation we have investigated the conditions under which the individual upward mobility of low status group members is likely to succeed, even when confronted with opposition from the high status outgroup. In addition, we have examined how upwardly mobile individuals can create such beneficial conditions. The findings show that ingroup support and affective identification with the low status group have a profound effect on upwardly mobile individuals. The research presented in this dissertation advances previous work on individual upward mobility in low status groups through its focus on the role of the ingroup in upward mobility. Insight into group-level concerns offers a better understanding of the complex processes involved in the pursuit of upward mobility by members of low status groups.
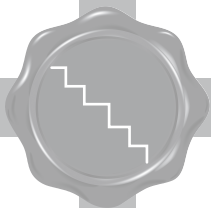
Chapter 2

Ingroup Support as a Significant Resource for the Upward Mobility of Members of Low Status Groups

It has been approximately two decades since John Ogbu documented the use of the term "acting White" by African American students in inner city schools. According to Fordham and Ogbu (e.g. 1986), the term "acting White" was used by African American students to refer to fellow African American students who - in their view - distanced themselves from the ingroup through behaviors that they saw as typically European-American. The students ostracized and ridiculed fellow ethnic group members who allegedly "acted White". Labels such as "oreo", "bounty", or "incognegroe" have been used in various cultures to discourage this type of distancing from the ingroup (see also Steele, 1992). Upwardly mobile members of low status or stigmatized groups face a dilemma. Intergroup status relations often imply that upward mobility can only be pursued in environments dominated by the high status group. In these environments the high status outgroup commonly holds the low status identity in low regard, preferring low status group members to adapt and conform to the behavioral norms of the high status group. At the same time, the low status ingroup expects them to be sufficiently loyal to their low status group identity. Members of low status groups who strive for upward mobility thus encounter diverging demands. Our goal with the present research was to examine how the affect and perceptions of upwardly mobile individuals with regard to upward mobility are shaped by the support and opposition they receive from the high status outgroup and the low status ingroup.

Members of Low Status Groups and Upward Mobility

Members of groups with low social status, such as ethnic minorities, or individuals with low socioeconomic background, can improve their individual standing in a social hierarchy by elevating their performance and personal outcomes in important status-defining domains such as academic achievement and career success. Improving one's individual position in this fashion is what is commonly referred to as individual upward mobility (Ellemers, Wilke, & Van Knippenberg, 1993; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Upward mobility appears to be an attractive way to improve one's status, as illustrated by frequent portrayals in the popular media showing individuals who have "made it" from the dreadful "rags" to the desirable "riches", promoted as ideal in the American Dream. In this way, individual upward mobility is perceived as an attractive strategy to improve one's individual status. Indeed, theory and research have emphasized the pursuit of individual upward mobility as a strategy of choice among members of low status groups. Even when chances of success are extremely limited, members of low status groups tend to pursue individual

upward mobility instead of resigning themselves to their fate or trying other (more group-level) strategies for status improvement (see Ellemers et al., 1993; Ellemers & Van Laar, in press; Taylor & McKirnan, 1984; Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990).

Notably, little research has addressed how members of low status groups experience these upward mobility attempts. Relevant research shows that in many contexts members of low status and negatively stereotyped social groups have to cope with opposition, facing negative evaluation and judgment based on their stigmatized social identity, even in education or employment contexts in which they might expect to be judged on their individual merit (Braddock & McPartland, 1987; Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Heatherton, Kleck, Hebl, & Hull, 2000; Levin & Van Laar, 2006; Swim & Stangor, 1998). A pragmatic response from upwardly mobile members of low status groups therefore is to try to avoid negative group-based evaluations and judgments by adapting their behavior to the norms of the high status outgroup (Barreto, Ellemers, & Banal, 2006; Derks, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2006; Ellemers, Van Dyck, Hinkle, & Jacobs, 2000; Reicher, Spears, & Postmes, 1995). At the same time, however, this strategy leads these individuals to deviate from the ingroup prototype, thereby heightening the risk of a rejection response by their ingroup (Jetten, Summerville, Hornsey, Mewse, 2005; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998; Marques & Paez, 1994; Postmes & Branscombe, 2002). Stated differently, striving for upward mobility may entail that members of low status groups behave in ways that can be seen as disloyal to their own group identity. Lack of ingroup support is thus likely to be a concern for upwardly mobile members of low status groups, especially when they have to overcome outgroup opposition. The current research investigates the responses of upwardly mobile members of low status groups to outgroup opposition and ingroup support. Whereas outgroup opposition is expected to negatively affect mobility related emotions and perceptions, ingroup support is expected to have opposite, more positive, effects on these same feelings and perceptions.

Consequences of Outgroup Opposition and Ingroup Support for Upwardly Mobile Members of Low Status Groups

We expect that outgroup opposition will have several negative effects on upwardly mobile members of low status groups. When considering the pursuit of upward mobility, members of low status groups assess how likely it is that they can achieve the desired outcome. As in other situations, their assessment is determined by their perception of their own abilities and the perceived difficulty of the stated goal (Kernan & Lord, 1990; Van Eerde & Thierry, 1996; Vroom, 1964). Regardless of one's actual ability, faced with external

difficulties beyond one's control (Emmons & King, 1988) such as resistance from the outgroup, we predict that upwardly mobile members of low status groups will experience threat, increased depressed affect and will perceive upward mobility as less feasible. Moreover, we expect increases in threat as a result of outgroup opposition to explain the negative effects on depressed affect and on the feasibility of upward mobility.

In the face of outgroup opposition, we argue that ingroup support will have positive effects on how members of low status groups feel about pursuing upward mobility and on their perceptions of the feasibility of upward mobility. A variety of previous empirical and theoretical work suggests that the groups individuals identify with can be an important source of support. Ingroups function as a point of reference to inform individuals about proper behavior and the meaning of ambiguous life-events (e.g. Festinger, 1954; Turner et al., 1987), are likely to provide important material resources (Neuberg & Cottrell, 2002; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961), and impact on individuals' self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In fact, in demanding situations social support is particularly beneficial when it is perceived as stemming from ingroup members (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999a; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999b; Corell & Park, 2005; Haslam, Jetten, O'Brien, & Jacobs, 2004; Haslam, O'Brien, Jetten, Vormedal, & Penna, 2005). We expect that ingroup support will both have positive effects on how members of low status groups feel about pursuing upward mobility and on their perceptions of the feasibility of upward mobility. Since ingroup support does not impact on how the low status social identity is evaluated by outgroup members, nor lowers the outgroup related barriers faced by members of low status groups, we consider it unlikely that ingroup support reduces the perception of threat per se. Nevertheless, we expect ingroup support to alleviate the consequences of such threat, in that it positively affects how members of low status groups feel and think about upward mobility.

We hypothesize that ingroup support will affect the extent to which individual group members think they are seen as "good" group members by their ingroup when pursuing upward mobility in outgroup environments. Ingroup support can be expected to be especially important when the behavior in need of support goes against group norms (see Ellemers, Doosje, & Spears, 2004), such as when upwardly mobile members of low status groups deviate from ingroup norms by behaving in line with the norms of the high status outgroup. It is this kind of non-prototypical behavior that is likely to induce fear in members of low status groups that the ingroup may fail to continue considering them "good" ingroup members (Branscombe et al., 1999a). Perceiving that one is accepted and included has been shown to be important for satisfying the need to belong (Baumeister &

Leary, 1995), and the ingroup is likely to be particularly important in satisfying this need (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002). Research has indeed shown that members of low status groups feel better about themselves and are more satisfied with life in general the higher the perceived level of ingroup acceptance and inclusion (Postmes & Branscombe, 2002). Relative to ingroup opposition then, ingroup support can relieve the concern over one's status as a "good" ingroup member, leading to lower depressed affect and the perception of individual upward mobility as more feasible. We thus examine whether upwardly mobile members of low status groups who receive ingroup support perceive higher levels of ingroup acceptance and inclusion, experience lower depressed affect and perceive upward mobility as more feasible, examining perceived ingroup acceptance and inclusion as the mediating mechanisms.

Hypotheses

In five studies we examine the effects of outgroup opposition (versus support) and ingroup support (versus opposition) on the feelings and perceptions of members of low status groups pursuing upward mobility. The following hypotheses are tested: Among upwardly mobile members of low status groups outgroup opposition is expected to increase the perception of threat and depressed affect, and to lower the perceived feasibility of upward mobility (Hypothesis 2.1). The effects of outgroup opposition on depressed affect and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility are expected to be mediated by increased perceived threat (Hypothesis 2.2). In the face of outgroup opposition, we expect ingroup support to be an important resource. Ingroup support is expected to positively affect perceived ingroup acceptance and inclusion, to lower depressed affect, and to increase the perceived feasibility of upward mobility (Hypothesis 2.3a), despite leaving perceived threat unaffected (Hypothesis 2.3b). Also, we expect that the perception of oneself as a "good" group member (perceived ingroup acceptance and inclusion) will explain the effects of ingroup support on depressed affect and the feasibility of upward mobility (Hypothesis 2.4). Studies 2.1 to 2.4 are minimal-group experiments, Study 2.5 is a field study. Studies 2.1 and 2.2 examine the impact of outgroup opposition, while Studies 2.3 and 2.4 examine the impact of ingroup support under conditions of outgroup opposition. Study 2.5 examines the impact of both perceived outgroup opposition and perceived ingroup support in a field study among female students.

Study 2.1

Study 2.1 provided a first test of the negative effects of outgroup opposition versus support, examining whether outgroup opposition (relative to support) increased perceptions of threat and depressed affect in upwardly mobile members of low status groups (Hypothesis 2.1). The effect of outgroup opposition/support on depressed affect was expected to be mediated by perceived threat (Hypothesis 2.2). Outgroup opposition versus support was manipulated in a within-participants minimal-group design.

Method

Participants

Thirty-one undergraduates, 28 female and 3 male, at Leiden University participated in Study 2.1. All participants received partial course credit for participation.

Procedure

Upon arrival, each participant was seated in a separate cubicle and presented the experimental materials on paper. Participants were asked to imagine that they had just enrolled in a rowing club made up of several divisions differing in status and that they needed to decide which division to join. The participants' task was to consider how it would be to attempt to join the so-called 'Blue Division'. They were told that, traditionally, their family members joined the 'Green Division', a lower status division in terms of achievement in comparison to the most prestigious Blue Division. They were also told that the Blue Division consisted predominantly of upper-class/aristocratic individuals and was characterized by norms and standards differing considerably from the norms and standards of the Green Division. The Blue Division was described as an especially attractive division, as it had greater resources, better training conditions, and more influence in the rowing club. Following the manipulations, participant's responses were then assessed.

Manipulation of outgroup opposition/support. The participant was told either that the members of the Blue Division supported him/her joining the Blue Division ("If you prefer to row with the Blues we will support you") or that they were opposed to this ("Someone of Green descent does not belong with the Blues"). Outgroup opposition or support was manipulated within-participants and was counterbalanced for order. That is, for half the participants we first induced the outgroup opposition condition and assessed their responses to this manipulation before examining the effects of outgroup support. The other half first

received the outgroup support condition to assess their responses before they were exposed to outgroup opposition.

Measures. The manipulation check and dependent measures in each condition were presented directly following the manipulation of outgroup opposition or support. A *manipulation check* assessed perceived outgroup opposition/support: "I think the Blues want the best for me", with 1 = 'strongly disagree' and 9 = 'strongly agree'. *Perceived threat* was measured "After this statement [of the members of the Blue Division with regard to possible upward mobility] I feel 1 = 'not threatened' to 9 = 'threatened'", as was the level of *depressed affect* "After this statement I feel 1 = not sad to 9 = sad'".

Results

Before assessing the effects of opposition and support on the dependent variables we checked for effects of the order of presentation of the conditions. No order effects were found on any of the measures.

Manipulation check of outgroup opposition/support

The results for the manipulation check indicated that the manipulations were perceived as intended. Participants in the opposition condition believed that the outgroup was less supportive of upward mobility ($M = 2.42$, $SD = 1.82$) than participants in the support condition ($M = 5.16$, $SD = 2.38$), $F(1, 29) = 24.82$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .46$.

Perceived threat and depressed affect

As expected, when the outgroup opposed upward mobility the participants perceived higher levels of threat ($M = 6.19$, $SD = 2.27$) than when the outgroup supported upward mobility ($M = 1.94$, $SD = 1.41$), $F(1, 29) = 107.42$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .79$. The effect of outgroup opposition on depressed affect was also significant, and indicated that outgroup opposition led to higher levels of depressed affect ($M = 4.84$, $SD = 2.40$) than outgroup support ($M = 2.00$, $SD = 1.44$), $F(1, 29) = 33.49$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .54$.

Mediation

Additional analyses showed that perceived threat mediated the effect of outgroup opposition/support on depressed affect. For testing mediation in a within-subjects design the procedure recommended by Judd and colleagues were followed (Judd, Kenny, & McClelland, 2001). First it was established that outgroup opposition/support significantly

affected levels of perceived threat and depressed affect, as described earlier. Difference scores were then calculated for perceived threat and depressed affect for each participant. These difference scores were calculated by subtracting the perceived threat scores in the outgroup opposition condition from the scores in the outgroup support condition. Similar calculations were conducted on the depressed affect scores. Then, the difference scores for depressed affect were regressed on the difference scores for perceived threat to test whether perceived threat mediated the effect of outgroup opposition/support on depressed affect. The results showed differences in perceived threat between conditions to be predictive of differences in depressed affect, indicating mediation of the effect of outgroup opposition/support on depressed affect through perceived threat ($B = .68$, $SE = .17$, $p < .001$). Following the procedure suggested by Judd and colleagues (2001), the non-significant intercept can be interpreted as indicating full mediation of the effect of outgroup opposition/support on depressed affect by perceived threat, $B = -.07$, $SE = .83$, $p = .93$.[1]

Study 2.2

Study 2.1 provided a first test of the negative effects of outgroup opposition (versus support). As hypothesized, the results showed that outgroup opposition versus support induced depressed affect in members of low status groups pursuing upward mobility and that this was brought about by increased perceived threat (Hypothesis 2.1 and 2.2). However, a weakness in the experiment was that - because of the within-participants design - all participants were exposed to the outgroup opposition as well as the outgroup support condition. This means that the responses to these conditions could have been affected by the perceived contrast between outgroup opposition and outgroup support. Furthermore, the manipulation of outgroup opposition versus support was relatively blatant, and we focused only on affective responses (threat and depressed affect). Study 2.2 thus replicated and extended the results of Study 2.1, this time using a between-participants design, manipulations that were less blatant, and moving on to examine not only affective responses but also the perceived feasibility of upward mobility. We again performed mediation analyses to test our predictions that the effects of outgroup opposition vs. support on these outcomes are explained by increases in perceived threat.

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[1] We also examined the reverse causal relationship by conducting corresponding mediational analyses. Although depressed affect was partially predictive of perceived threat ($B = .50$, $SE = .13$, $p < .001$), the effect of outgroup opposition/support on perceived threat persisted irrespective of variations in depressed affect ($B = 2.82$, $SE = .49$, $p < .001$).

Method

Participants

One-hundred and fifty-eight undergraduates, 106 female and 52 male, at Leiden University participated in Study 2.2. Participants received partial course credit or payment (3 euros) for participation.

Procedure

As in Study 2.1, participants were asked to imagine that they had just enrolled in a rowing club made up of several divisions differing in status and that they needed to decide which division to join. The participants' task was to consider how it would be to attempt to join the high status Blue Division as a person of Green descent.

Manipulation of outgroup opposition/support. In Study 2.1 we used a strong manipulation to communicate outgroup opposition. In Study 2.2 we used a more subtle manipulation by focusing the manipulation on the outgroup's preference for high status 'Blue' customs over low status 'Green' customs. The participant was informed either that the Blues supported him/her joining the Blue Division ("Our customs and behaviors are very different [...from the customs and behaviors of the Green division]. If that is what you want you will have our support") or that the Blues opposed this ("Our customs and behaviors are very different [...from the customs and behaviors of the Green division]. You must behave in accordance with how we Blue's act and we will not allow you to behave like a Green").

Measures. The manipulation check and the dependent measures directly followed the manipulation of outgroup opposition/support. Nine-point scales were used with end-points ranging from 1 = 'strongly disagree' to 9 = 'strongly agree' unless otherwise indicated. Two items were included as a *manipulation check* of outgroup opposition/support: e.g., "I think that the Blues believe that I should join the Greens" ($r = .33$). Participants indicated the *perceived feasibility of upward mobility* ("I think that it is possible for a Green to join the Blues"). A scale was included to measure *perceived threat* (three items, e.g., "Considering an attempt to enter the Blues makes me feel 1 = 'not threatened' to 9 = 'threatened'"; $\alpha = .72$). Lastly, we assessed the level of *depressed affect* (two items, e.g., "Considering an attempt to enter the Blues makes me feel 1 = 'not sad' to 9 = 'sad'; $r = .36$).

Results

Manipulation check of outgroup opposition/support

The manipulation was successful. Participants in the outgroup opposition condition perceived more opposition from the outgroup ($M = 5.22$, $SD = 1.80$) than participants in the outgroup support condition ($M = 4.37$, $SD = 1.39$), $F(1, 154) = 10.99$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .07$.

Perceived threat, depressed affect and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility

The effects of outgroup opposition/support on perceived threat, depressed affect and on the perceived feasibility of upward mobility were as predicted. A significant effect of outgroup opposition/support on perceived threat indicated that participants in the outgroup opposition condition perceived higher levels of threat ($M = 5.46$, $SD = 1.44$) than participants in the outgroup support condition ($M = 4.86$, $SD = 1.64$), $F(1, 154) = 5.93$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .04$. Also, participants in the outgroup opposition condition experienced more depressed affect ($M = 4.51$, $SD = 1.60$) than participants in the outgroup support condition ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.72$), $F(1, 154) = 4.81$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .03$. A significant effect of outgroup opposition/support on the perceived feasibility of upward mobility indicated that opposition from the outgroup led participants in the outgroup opposition condition to believe that upward mobility was less feasible ($M = 5.83$, $SD = 2.25$) than participants in the outgroup support condition ($M = 6.85$, $SD = 2.00$), $F(1, 154) = 8.83$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = .05$.

Mediation

In order to test whether perceived threat mediated the effects of outgroup opposition/ support on depressed affect and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility we performed Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) with EQS 6.1 software (Bentler & Wu, 2004). SEM is an appropriate technique for analyzing mediational models with more than one dependent variable. As fit indices the chi-square (χ^2), the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), the Non-Normed Fit Index (NNFI), and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) are reported. Good fit in structural analysis is indicated when the values of CFI and NNFI are between 0.90 and 1, and when RMSEA is less than 0.10 (Diamantopoulos & Siguaw, 2000; Schumacker & Lomax, 2004).

First, we tested the model in which perceived threat mediated the effects of outgroup opposition/support on depressed affect and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility,

with depressed affect and perceived feasibility as unrelated variables. This model resulted in insufficient fit, χ^2 (3, N = 158) = 9.50, p = .02, CFI = 0.94, NNFI = 0.88, RMSEA = 0.12. We then tested a model in which the effect of outgroup opposition/support on depressed affect was mediated by perceived threat, with depressed affect in turn predicting the perceived feasibility of upward mobility (see Figure 2.1). This model resulted in acceptable fit, χ^2 (3, N = 158) = 8.17, p = .04, CFI = 0.95, NNFI = .91, RMSEA = 0.10. Also, this model could be further improved by adding a direct path from outgroup opposition/support to the perceived feasibility of upward mobility as indicated by the chi-square difference test (χ^2 (1, N = 158) = 5.92, p < .05) and a χ^2 / df ratio lower than 3 (2.71; see Kline, 2005; other fit indices, χ^2 (2, N = 158) = 2.25, p = .32, CFI = 0.998, NNFI = .99, RMSEA = 0.03). The SEM analyses thus showed a direct mediating role of perceived threat in explaining the relationship between outgroup opposition/support and depressed affect. In turn, depressed affect lowered the perceived feasibility of upward mobility. The additional direct path from ingroup support/opposition to the perceived feasibility of upward mobility indicates that there is partial mediation by perceived threat and depressed affect.[2]

Figure 2.1. The effects of outgroup opposition/support on depressed affect and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility via perceived threat (Study 2.2)
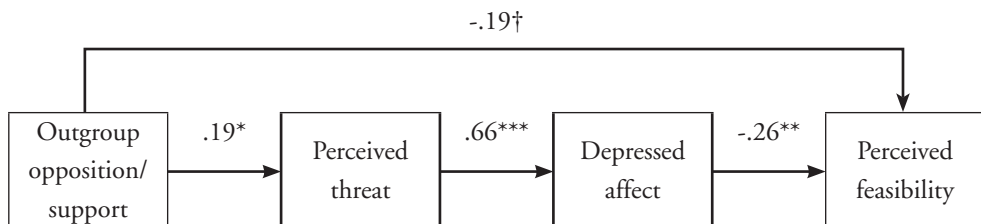
* † p < .10 , * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p <.001

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[2] A Lagrange Multiplier test indicated that the fit of the initial model with depressed affect and perceived feasibility as unrelated variables could also be improved by adding the path from outgroup opposition/support to perceived feasibility. However, this model had poorer fit than the model shown in Figure 2.1, as indicated by comparing the Aiken information criterion (AIC) for the two models (AIC for initial model = -0.23; AIC for model shown in Figure 1 = -1.75). The AIC statistic allows for a comparison between non-nested models derived from the same sample, with a lower AIC statistic indicating a better model fit (Kline, 2005). To be certain we also tested an alternative model in which perceived feasibility preceded depressed affect. Thus, this model tested whether the effect of outgroup opposition/support was mediated by perceived threat, with perceived feasibility in turn predicting depressed affect. The fit indices indicated that this model had poor fit, χ^2 (3, N = 158) = 82.68, p < .00001, CFI = 0.27, NNFI = -.47, RMSEA = 0.41. Allowing a direct relationship between outgroup opposition/support and depressed affect did not result in a model with acceptable fit, χ^2 (2, N = 158) = 80.65, p < .00001, CFI = 0.28, NNFI = - 1.17, RMSEA = 0.50.

Discussion

Study 2.2 replicated and extended the results of Study 2.1, this time employing a more subtle manipulation of outgroup opposition/support and examining its effects in a between-participants design with expanded measures. As in Study 2.1, outgroup opposition heightened perceived threat and depressed affect. In addition, outgroup opposition (vs. support) lowered the perceived feasibility of upward mobility (Hypothesis 2.1). The effects of outgroup opposition vs. support on depressed affect and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility were explained by increases in perceived threat, as predicted. Perceived threat then increased depressed affect leading to decreased perceptions of the feasibility of upward mobility (Hypothesis 2.2).

Study 2.3

Study 2.1 and 2.2 showed that outgroup opposition negatively affected members of low status groups who were pursuing upward mobility. Outgroup opposition led to increases in perceptions of threat. In turn, higher threat led to more depressed affect and a reduction in the perceived feasibility of upward mobility. The aim of Study 2.3 and 2.4 was to examine whether ingroup support (versus opposition) has positive consequences for members of low status groups who pursue upward mobility in the face of opposition from the outgroup. Study 2.3 presents a first test of these predictions. We expected that, under the condition of outgroup opposition, ingroup support versus opposition would lead to an increase in perceived ingroup acceptance and anticipated ingroup inclusion (Hypothesis 2.3a), even when leaving the level of perceived threat from the outgroup unaffected (Hypothesis 2.3b). Further, we explored whether perceived ingroup acceptance or inclusion appeared as the mediator in the effects of ingroup support (vs. opposition; Hypothesis 2.4). We held outgroup opposition constant to examine the effects of ingroup support versus opposition under threatening outgroup conditions.

Method

Participants

Fifty-nine undergraduates, 46 female and 13 male, from Leiden University participated in Study 2.3. Participants received partial course credit or payment (3 euros) for participation.

Procedure and Materials

As in the previous experiments, participants were asked to imagine that they had just enrolled in a rowing club made up of several divisions differing in status and that they needed to decide which division to join. Outgroup opposition was held constant. All participants were told that the outgroup was opposed to him/her joining the Blue Division. Specifically they were told that the members of the Blue Division were very concerned that members behave like a true 'Blue' and that they would not approve of a group member acting like a Green.

Manipulation of ingroup support/opposition. The participants were told either that the ingroup supported him/her joining the Blue Division ("So you are considering possibly joining the Blue Division. If needed, we are here to support you") or that the ingroup was opposed to this ("So you are considering possibly joining the Blue Division. It is important to us that our people behave like a true Green and we will not approve a person of Green descent acting like a Blue").

Measures. Again, nine-point scales were used ranging from 1 = 'strongly disagree' to 9 = 'strongly agree' unless indicated otherwise. Two items were included as a *manipulation check* of perceived ingroup support/opposition: e.g., "The Greens believe I should not join the Blue Division" (reverse scored) ($r = .47$). To assess *perceived ingroup acceptance* four items were used (e.g., "I will still be accepted as a Green by the other Greens after an attempt to join the Blue Division"; $\alpha = .95$). *Anticipated ingroup inclusion* was assessed with a graphic representation measure (Sleebos, 2005, see also Tropp & Wright, 2001, and Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992, for comparable graphic representation measures). Participants were asked to indicate their expected future position with respect to other members of the ingroup following an upward mobility attempt. Four diagrams represented the participants' position in relation to the ingroup, with the distance between the participant (indicated by the personal pronoun "me") and the ingroup differing in the four diagrams. In the first figure (1) the participant was a peripheral group member, in the second (2) he/she was a little less peripheral, in the third diagram (3) he/she was a standard group member and in the last diagram (4) he/she was a central group member. The scale for measuring *perceived threat* was the same as in Study 2.2; $\alpha = .64$ (e.g. "Considering an attempt to enter the Blues makes me feel 1 = 'not threatened' to 9 = 'threatened').

Results

Manipulation checks of ingroup support/opposition

The manipulation was successful. Participants in the ingroup support condition perceived the ingroup as more supportive of an upward mobility attempt (M = 6.72, SD = 1.19) than participants in the ingroup opposition condition (M = 4.05, SD = 2.16), F (1, 57) = 34.80, p < .001, η^2= .38.

Perceived ingroup acceptance and anticipated ingroup inclusion

The analysis on ingroup acceptance yielded a significant effect of ingroup support/ opposition. Participants in the ingroup support condition (M = 5.79, SD = 1.75) felt that the ingroup was more accepting of them as an ingroup member than participants in the ingroup opposition condition (M = 2.84, SD = 1.33), F (1, 57) = 52.72, p < .001, η^2= .48. Also, ingroup support/opposition significantly affected anticipated ingroup inclusion. Participants in the ingroup support condition expected the self to be more centrally included (less peripheral) in the ingroup following an upward mobility attempt than participants in the ingroup opposition condition, F (1, 57) = 13.04, p = .001, η^2= .19). We also performed a cross classification analysis in which we crossed ingroup support/opposition with anticipated ingroup inclusion.[3] The results confirmed our expectation that it would be less common in the ingroup support condition to expect to become a peripheral group member after an upward mobility attempt than in the ingroup opposition condition ($\chi^2_{(1)}$ = 10.84, p = .004; see Figure 2.2 for the distributional differences). Specifically, analyses by cell showed that diagram 3 (standard group member) was chosen three times more often in the ingroup support condition than in the ingroup opposition condition, while diagram 1 and diagram 2 (peripheral and somewhat peripheral group member) were each chosen more often in the ingroup opposition condition than in the ingroup support condition.

Perceived threat

As anticipated, the perceived level of threat in the ingroup support condition (M = 5.22, SD = 1.14) did not differ from the perceived threat in the ingroup opposition condition (M = 5.41, SD = 1.40), F (1, 57) = 0.34, p = .57, η^2= .006, indicating that

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[3] Only one participant in the experiment chose "diagram 4" (indicating he/she felt a central group member). This participant was in the ingroup support condition. For the cross-classification analyses we classified this participant as a diagram 3 "standard group member" so that we were able to meet the condition of the chi-square test that all cell frequencies are at least 1.

ingroup support did not affect the level of threat perceived even while having positive effects on ingroup acceptance and anticipated ingroup inclusion.

Mediation

Exploratory SEM showed that perceived ingroup acceptance mediated the effect of ingroup support/opposition on anticipated ingroup inclusion, χ^2 (1, N = 59) = .38, p = .54, CFI = 1.00, NNFI = 1.03, RMSEA< 0.01. The model in which the causal order of ingroup inclusion and ingroup acceptance was reversed did not fit the data, χ^2 (1, N = 59) = 16.30, p = .00005, CFI = .75, NNFI = .26, RMSEA= .51. We thus found evidence for a mediating role of ingroup acceptance in the effect of ingroup support/opposition on anticipated ingroup inclusion.

Figure 2.2. Perceived ingroup inclusion within the ingroup support and ingroup opposition conditions (Distributional scores) in Study 2.3. Entries indicate % who chose a particular figure within the ingroup support condition (N = 30) and the ingroup opposition condition (N = 29).
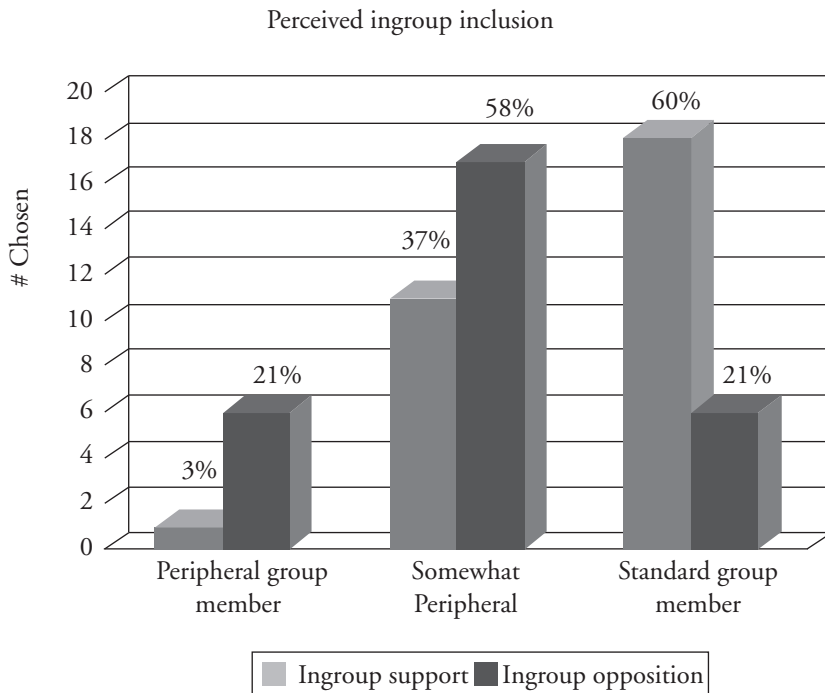
Discussion

The results of Study 2.3 showed that relative to ingroup opposition, ingroup support for upward mobility protects upwardly mobile members of low status groups from anticipated lower ingroup acceptance and inclusion (Hypothesis 2.3a). Also, ingroup support did not affect the threat that is perceived (Hypothesis 2.3b), indicating that ingroup support and outgroup opposition are related to different concerns: While Study 2.1 and 2.2 showed that outgroup opposition increased threat, Study 2.3 shows that ingroup support affects ingroup concerns such as the anticipation of being marginalized by the ingroup. As such, Study 2.3 offers the first indications of the importance of ingroup support for protecting low status group members from these ingroup concerns. Mediation analyses showed that it is ingroup acceptance rather than ingroup inclusion that explains the positive effects of ingroup support. We thus concentrated on ingroup acceptance as the mediating mechanism in Study 2.4. Study 2.4 moves on to consider effects of ingroup support on affect and the feasibility of upward mobility.

Study 2.4

Study 2.3 showed that relative to ingroup opposition, ingroup support for upward mobility relieved the concern of anticipated ingroup marginalization by increasing perceived ingroup acceptance, while leaving perceived threat unaffected. Study 2.4 examined whether ingroup support/opposition lowers depressed affect and increases the perceived feasibility of upward mobility (Hypothesis 2.3a), while leaving perceived threat unaffected (Hypothesis 2.3b). Following Study 2.3, we also examined perceived ingroup acceptance as a mediator in the expected positive effects of ingroup support (vs. opposition; Hypothesis 2.4).

Method

Participants

Ninety-nine undergraduates, 55 female and 44 male, at Leiden University participated in Study 2.4. Participants received either partial course credit or payment (3 euros) for participation.

Procedure and Materials

Participants were told that they are an upwardly mobile member of Green origin. They were informed that they are already rowing in the Blue Division and are considering

whether to try to obtain higher status within the Blue Division. In addition, participants were told that upward mobility within the Blue Division usually meant stronger involvement in the activities organized by the Blue Division and the expectation of stronger conformity to the Blue behaviors. As in Study 2.3, outgroup opposition was held constant, such that all participants met outgroup opposition. The support versus opposition of the Green ingroup was again manipulated. In comparison to Study 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 the upward mobility considered by participants was different in that participants were not considering trying to join the Blue Division, but instead had to consider status enhancement within the Blue Division. Thus, the step to upward mobility was smaller in Study 2.4 than in de foregoing experiments, allowing us to examine a slightly different form of upward mobility, providing further evidence for the validity of the proposed processes.

Manipulation of ingroup support/opposition. The participants were informed either that the ingroup supported them moving up in the Blue division ("So you are considering an attempt to reach a higher level within the Blues division. If that is what you want we will be there to support you, and we will be there for you if you are not happy or want to talk things over in difficult times") or that the ingroup was opposed to it ("So you are considering an attempt to reach a higher level within the Blues division. In difficult times we will then not be there for you if you are not happy or want to talk things over").

Measures. Again nine-point scales were used ranging from 1 = 'strongly disagree' to 9 = 'strongly agree', unless indicated otherwise. As a *manipulation check* of ingroup support/opposition two items were used: "The Greens believe I should not move up […in the Blue division]" (reverse scored) (r = .49). To assess *perceived ingroup acceptance* four items were used (e.g. "[if I attempt to move up…] I will become less accepted in the Green community" (recoded; α = .78). Three items tapping discouragement, sadness and unhappiness were used to measure *depressed affect* (e.g. "Thinking about this situation makes me feel… 1 = 'not sad at all' to 9 = 'sad'" (α = .80). Also, the *perceived feasibility of upward mobility* was assessed: "I think it is possible for a Green to reach the higher levels of the Blues division". *Perceived threat* was measured with a three item scale, similar to that used in the previous studies (e.g. "Thinking about this situation makes me feel 1 = not threatened to 9 = threatened"; α = .72).

Results

Manipulation check ingroup opposition/support

Analyses of the manipulation check confirmed that participants in the ingroup support condition believed that the ingroup was more supportive of an upward mobility

attempt in the Blues division (M = 6.67, SD = 1.48) than participants in the ingroup opposition condition (M = 4.45, SD = 1.84), F (1, 97) = 43.32, p < .001, η^2= .31.
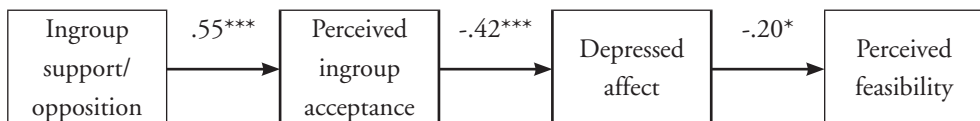
Perceived ingroup acceptance, depressed affect, perceived feasibility of upward mobility, and perceived threat

Participants in the ingroup support condition (M = 3.46, SD = .98) believed the ingroup would be more accepting of them as part of the ingroup following an upward mobility attempt than participants in the ingroup opposition condition (M = 2.20, SD = .94), F (1, 97) = 43.02, p < .001, η^2= .31. Also, depressed affect was lower following ingroup support (M = 4.92, SD = 1.56) than following ingroup opposition (M = 5.76, SD = 1.48), F (1, 97) = 7.74, p = .006, η^2= .07. Further, participants in the ingroup support condition perceived upward mobility to be more feasible (M = 5.52, SD = 2.28) than participants in the ingroup opposition condition (M = 4.61, SD = 2.42), F (1, 97) = 3.73, p = .056, η^2 = .04. Again, as expected, the threat in the ingroup support condition (M = 5.98, SD = 1.46) was not significantly lower than the perceived threat in the ingroup opposition condition (M = 6.37, SD = 1.32), F (1, 97) = 1.91, p = .17, η^2= .02.

Mediation

Further analyses confirmed that perceived ingroup acceptance mediated the effects of ingroup support/opposition on depressed affect and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility. We tested the SEM model in which the effect of ingroup support/opposition on depressed affect was mediated by perceived ingroup acceptance, with depressed affect in turn predicting the perceived feasibility of upward mobility (see Figure 2.3). The fit indices indicated that the model had good fit, χ^2 (3, N = 99) = 2.96, p = .40, NNFI = 1.002, CFI = 1.000, RMSEA< .001. Allowing a direct relationship between ingroup support/opposition and perceived feasibility did not improve model fit (χ^2 (3, N = 99) = 1.10, p = .58, NNFI = 1.05, CFI = 1.000, RMSEA< .001) as shown by the chi square difference test, χ^2 = (1, N = 99) = 1.86, p > .10.

Figure 2.3. The effects of ingroup support/opposition on depressed affect and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility via perceived ingroup acceptance (Study 2.4).

* p< .05, *** p <.001.

As in Study 2.2 we also tested the model in which we reversed the causal order of depressed affect and perceived feasibility. Thus, in this alternative model perceived ingroup acceptance mediated the effect of ingroup support/opposition on perceived feasibility and in turn perceived feasibility affected depressed affect. This model had poor fit, χ^2 (3, N = 99) = 16.95, p = .0007, NNFI = .52, CFI = .76, RMSEA= .22. Allowing an additional direct relationship between ingroup support and depressed affect did not result in a model with sufficient fit, χ^2 (2, N = 99) = 11.26, p = .004, NNFI = .52, CFI = .84, RMSEA= .22. Thus, no evidence was found for the models in which perceived ingroup acceptance and perceived feasibility fully or partially mediate the effect of ingroup support/opposition on depressed affect. The data thus are consistent with the model in which perceived ingroup acceptance and depressed affect fully mediate the effect of ingroup support/opposition on perceived feasibility. In this model ingroup support (vs. opposition) increases perceived ingroup acceptance. In turn, ingroup acceptance decreases depressed affect, leading to a higher perceived feasibility of upward mobility.

Discussion

Study 2.4 replicated the effects of ingroup support (vs. opposition) on perceived ingroup acceptance and perceived threat. It also extended the results to depressed affect and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility. Ingroup support increased perceived ingroup acceptance, lowered depressed affect and led members of low status groups to perceive upward mobility as more feasible (Hypothesis 2.3a), while not affecting perceptions of threat (Hypothesis 2.3b). SEM analyses indicated that perceived ingroup acceptance mediated the effect of ingroup support on depressed affect and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility. Ingroup support raised perceived ingroup acceptance, and in turn ingroup acceptance lowered depressed affect and heightened the perceived feasibility of upward mobility (Hypothesis 2.4). The results show that the effects of ingroup support on depressed affect and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility are opposite to the effects of outgroup opposition on these variables. While not alleviating the threat that is perceived in an opposing outgroup environment, ingroup support proved to be a significant resource for upwardly mobile members of low status groups to cope with the effects of this threat, assuring them of continued ingroup acceptance which in turn lowered depressed affect and elevated the perceived feasibility of upward mobility. In the absence of ingroup support, members of low status groups felt not only the threat from outgroup opposition, but felt more depressed and perceived upward mobility as less feasible due to anticipated lowered ingroup acceptance.

Study 2.5

The previous four studies were experiments with minimal groups. In Study 2.5 we wanted to extend the results to members of natural low status groups, to establish that they also show evidence for the hypothesized relationships of outgroup opposition and ingroup support in majority contexts. Specifically, Study 2.5 consisted of a correlational study among female students who were about to enter the labor market. We assessed their perceptions of ingroup support, outgroup opposition, and upward mobility. First, we examined the hypothesized relationships of perceived outgroup opposition with perceived threat, depressed affect and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility (Hypothesis 2.1 and 2.2). Second, we examined the hypothesized relationships of ingroup support with these variables. We tested whether perceived ingroup support was unrelated to perceived threat, and was associated with lower depressed affect and with perceiving upward mobility as more feasible (Hypothesis 2.3).

Method

Participants, Procedure and Materials

Seventy-nine female undergraduate students at Leiden University who were about to enter the labor market participated in Study 2.5. Participants received partial course credit for participation. Participants were told that the study concerned their vocational life and career, and focused on their current and future work positions.

Measures. Seven-point scales were used ranging from 1 = 'strongly disagree' to 7 = 'strongly agree', unless indicated otherwise. *Perceived ingroup support* was measured with six items (e.g. "When I have problems at work I will receive support from women around me"; α = .72). *Perceived outgroup opposition* was assessed with four items (e.g. "In my work situation being a woman is evaluated negatively"; α = .66). *Depressed affect* was assessed with four items tapping feelings of discouragement, frustration, happiness (recoded) and inspiration (recoded) related to the consideration of upward mobility ("When I think of trying to move up in my work I feel… 1 = not discouraged to 7 = discouraged; α = .83). The *perceived feasibility of upward mobility* was measured with three items ("I think that a woman needs to try harder than a man to move up at work"; α = .66). The scale that measured *perceived threat* was similar to the scale used in Study 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4 containing three items (e.g. "When I think of trying to move up in my work I feel… 1 = not threatened to 7 = threatened; α = .58).

Results

Effects of perceived outgroup opposition

We tested the relationships between perceived outgroup opposition and perceived threat, depressed affect and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility with regression analyses. The results confirmed the hypotheses. Upward mobility was perceived as more threatening the more women perceived outgroup opposition ($B = .30$, $SE = .10$, t (77) = 3.01, $p = .004$). Also, more depressed affect was experienced as more outgroup opposition was perceived ($B = .27$, $SE = .11$, t (77) = 2.39, $p = .02$). Finally, upward mobility was perceived as less feasible the more outgroup opposition was perceived ($B = -.31$, $SE = .13$, t (77) = -2.41, $p = .02$). Consistent with the results of Study 2.2, which showed perceived feasibility of upward mobility to follow depressed affect, we tested the model in which perceived threat mediated the relationship between outgroup opposition and depressed affect, with depressed affect lowering the perceived feasibility of upward mobility (see Figure 2.4). Also, a direct path was allowed between outgroup opposition and perceived feasibility. The model resulted in good fit, (χ^2 (2, N = 79) = 1.42, $p = .49$, CFI = 1.00, NNFI = 1.02, RMSEA < 0.01. The model thus shows perceived threat and depressed affect partially mediating the effect of perceived outgroup opposition on the perceived feasibility of upward mobility.

Figure 2.4. The effects of perceived outgroup opposition on depressed affect and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility mediated by perceived threat (Study 2.5).
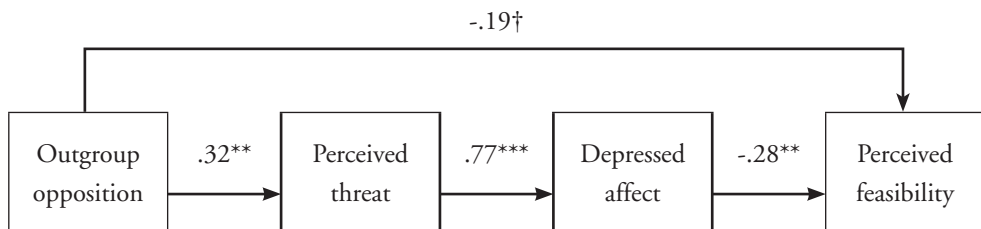
$\dagger p = .09$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$.

Consistent with Study 2.2 we tested an alternative model in which perceived threat mediated the relationship between perceived outgroup opposition and perceived feasibility, with depressed affect following perceived feasibility. This model resulted in insufficient fit (χ^2 (3, N = 79) = 63.51, $p < .000001$, CFI = .29, NNFI = -.42, RMSEA = 0.51. Allowing a

direct relationship between perceived outgroup opposition and depressed affect in this model also did not result in a model with acceptable fit (χ^2 (2, N = 79) = 60.55, $p <$ .000001, CFI = .32, NNFI = - 1.06, RMSEA = 0.61. The data thus are consistent with a model in which the perception of outgroup opposition led females to perceive upward mobility as more threatening. In turn, perceptions of threat resulted in depressed emotions and the perception of upward mobility as less feasible.

Effects of ingroup support

We examined the relationships of perceived ingroup support with perceived threat, depressed affect and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility, under conditions of high opposition. Using the procedures advised by Aiken and West (1991) we examined all relationships with perceived outgroup opposition at one standard deviation above the mean. Tested was whether the simple slope of perceived ingroup support (under conditions of high perceived outgroup opposition) was negatively related to depressed affect, positively related to the perceived feasibility of upward mobility, and unrelated to perceived threat. As hypothesized, the results showed that under conditions of high perceived outgroup opposition the ingroup support perceived by the women was associated with less depressed affect (B = -.42, SE = .17, p = .02), with increased perceived feasibility of upward mobility (B = .51, SE = 19, p = .01), and was unrelated to perceived threat (B = -.03, SE = 16, p = .84)[4]. As expected and in line with Studies 2.3 and 2.4, while leaving the perception of threat unaffected, perceived ingroup support was thus associated with lower depressed affect and increased perceived feasibility of upward mobility.

Discussion

Study 2.5 showed that female students about to enter the labor market showed similar negative relationships between outgroup opposition and upward mobility perceptions, and similar positive relationships between ingroup support and upward mobility perceptions as were found in the experimental studies. As expected, in the context

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[4] The interactions of perceived ingroup support and perceived outgroup opposition on depressed affect and perceived feasibility were both significant (depressed affect, B = -.25, SE = 12, p = .04; perceived feasibility of upward mobility, B = .44, SE = .14, p = .002). Also, simple slope analyses showed that under conditions of low perceived outgroup opposition perceived ingroup support showed no relationship with depressed affect. Also, the relationship between perceived ingroup support and the perceived feasibility of upward mobility was different under conditions of low perceived outgroup opposition than under conditions of high perceived outgroup opposition, with perceived ingroup support and perceived feasibility being negatively related under low perceived outgroup opposition, B = -.38, SE = .18, p = .04. As expected, an interaction of perceived ingroup support and perceived outgroup opposition on perceived threat was not found (B = -.08, SE = .11, p = .49).

of outgroup opposition the perceived support of their ingroup was associated with lower depressed affect and the increased perceived feasibility of upward mobility, even while leaving the degree of perceived threat unaffected. The women in this field study thus responded in a similar fashion as the participants in the experiments who were categorized into an experimental low status group: both showed positive feelings and perceptions with regard to upward mobility in threatening majority contexts as more ingroup support was available. These results thus also provide support for the ecological validity of the effects of ingroup support for upwardly mobile members of low status groups. That is, the effects of ingroup support are not limited to experimental settings with artificial groups but generalize to a natural group of upwardly mobile female students. The potential weaknesses of each study are thus compensated by the strengths of other studies. While Study 2.5's correlational nature means that it cannot provide certainty regarding the causality of the found relationships, the results of Study 2.5 converge with the results of the experimental studies.

General Discussion

In the pursuit of upward mobility members of low status groups can encounter diverging demands concerning their social identity. In contexts in which members of low status groups pursue upward mobility, behavior in line with the norms of the high status group tends to be expected. At the same time, the low status ingroup expects loyalty to its social identity from its upwardly mobile group members. Taken together, the results of the five studies reported here confirm that outgroup opposition (versus support) induces negative feelings and perceptions with regard to upward mobility, while ingroup support (versus opposition) has opposite, more positive, effects on these same feelings and perceptions.

In addition, the results suggest that outgroup opposition and ingroup support impact these feelings and perceptions along different pathways. As expected, the results showed that outgroup opposition increased perceived threat and depressed affect and lowered the perceived feasibility of upward mobility (Hypothesis 2.1: Studies 2.1, 2.2 and 2.5). Also, the results showed that it was the increase in perceived threat that explained the negative affective and perceptual effects of outgroup opposition (Hypothesis 2.2: Studies 2.1, 2.2 and 2.5). Studies 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5 demonstrated that under outgroup opposition, ingroup support increased the degree to which individuals felt accepted and included by their low status group, lowered depressed affect, and increased the perceived feasibility of upward mobility (Hypothesis 2.3a). The results of Studies 2.3 and 4 showed that it was the increase in the extent to which individuals felt accepted by their ingroup that explained the positive

effects of ingroup support on perceived ingroup inclusion, depressed affect and perceived feasibility (Hypothesis 2.4). Study 2.5 showed that the effects of ingroup support also held outside the laboratory, demonstrating that the affective and perceptual responses of female students to the consideration of upward mobility are more positive the more they experience support from other females in threatening outgroup contexts. Studies 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5 showed that ingroup support had these positive affective and perceptual effects despite leaving perceived threat unaffected when considering upward mobility (Hypothesis 2.3b).

Theoretical contributions

The findings shed light on the effects of outgroup opposition on how members of low status groups experience individual upward mobility. Previous literature on individual upward mobility in low status groups revealed that members of low status groups continue to see individual upward mobility (as opposed to collective behaviors) as the primary strategy for status improvement even when opportunities for upward mobility are to a large degree blocked by the outgroup (e.g. Ellemers et al., 1993; Taylor & McKirnan, 1984; Wright et al., 1990). The current work suggests that outgroup opposition may influence the tenacity upwardly mobile members of low status groups are likely to show in pursuing this primary strategy for status improvement. When the outgroup shows opposition, members of low status groups experience more threat, more depressed affect and perceive upward mobility as less feasible. Recent research suggests that the motivation to pursue a particular goal is contingent on both the perceived feasibility of success (Bandura, 1997; Eccles & Wigfield, 2002) and the affective state associated with potential goal pursuit (Aarts, Custers, & Veltkamp, 2008). As such, the affective and perceptual consequences of outgroup opposition are likely to negatively impact goal pursuit, perhaps manifesting themselves in relatively low perseverance in the face of obstacles. Thus, while individual upward mobility is often viewed as the only available strategy, outgroup opposition can effectively reduce the likelihood that this only available strategy proves effective for members of low status groups pursuing status improvement.

In the context of this outgroup opposition, the current results show ingroup support to be an important and effective resource for members of low status groups pursuing individual upward mobility. While not lowering the threat perceived, ingroup support effectively lowered depressed affect and increased the perceived feasibility of upward mobility. First, these findings extend the literature on the significant role of the ingroup for members of low status groups in intergroup contexts (e.g., Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999b; Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001; Levin, Van Laar & Foote, 2006; Postmes & Branscombe, 2002). The finding that ingroup support had positive effects while

threat remained unaffected suggests that ingroup support acts as a resource, modifying a situation in which demands outweigh resources into one in which more resources are available to cope with the threat (e.g. Blascovich & Tomaka, 1996; Lazarus & Folkman, 1991). Ingroup support thus allows upwardly mobile members of low status groups to respond more positively to the challenges they face in threatening outgroup environments. While ingroup support does not take away the uncertainty of potential outgroup rejection or devaluation on grounds of one's group membership, it appears to equip "good" members of low status groups with the confidence that such stigma related obstacles can be surmounted. As such, the ingroup presents an important and effective force in the lives of members of low status groups pursuing upward mobility. Importantly, this work also presents somewhat of a redefinition of upward mobility. Individual upward mobility is often discussed as a defection from the low status ingroup to a higher status group, with upwardly mobile members of low status groups psychologically abandoning the lower status group. The results of the present studies refute the notion that members of low status groups who pursue upward mobility are no longer affected by their membership of the low status group or identity. Although gaining admission into a higher status group is instrumental in enhancing social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the low status group and the low status group identity continue to affect upwardly mobile members of low status groups.

One of the important contributions of this paper is in making salient the pivotal role of the ingroup. In this sense then the results show how the burdens of stigma are confined not only to the negative expectancies, prejudice and discrimination that may come from the high status group, but that members of low status groups have an impact too. Their responses, through ingroup opposition or ingroup support, can hurt and aid members of low status groups who attempt to pursue upward mobility. While much research in the stigma field has highlighted how the targets of prejudice are affected by the outgroup, very little research has concentrated on the impact of the low status ingroup (see Schmader & Lickel, 2006 for an exception). The results of the present studies show that the challenges provided by stigma are not confined to those presented by the high status outgroup but also come from within the low status group itself. Members of low status group worry that they may be perceived as disloyal, losing the acceptance and inclusion of their ingroup. In turn, this makes them feel more depressed and lowers how feasible they believe it is to move up in the status hierarchy.

Societal and practical implications

Our results emphasize the potential dangers of disregarding the significance of social identities in upward mobility. The more it is demanded of members of low status groups

that they conform, the more upward mobility becomes a one-way movement in which members of low status groups need to gain acceptance from the high status group while distancing themselves from the stigmatized ingroup. As such, upward mobility places ingroup connections at risk. In contrast, our research shows that for members of low status groups, ingroup support is actually a significant resource that signals essential ingroup acceptance and inclusion, contributing positively to how upward mobility is experienced (see also Postmes & Branscombe, 2002). The results suggests that societies and organizations that stimulate members of low status groups to pursue individual upward mobility while putting low value on supporting social identities may actually maintain social inequality by limiting the capacity of low status group members to successfully cope with the demands of upward mobility in outgroup environments. In contrast, the current results suggest that societies and organizations that allow room for important social identities, such as found in dual identity models (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007) or integration models of acculturation (Berry, 1997) are likely to be more helpful in stimulating successful individual upward mobility in low status groups. As such, sustained ingroup support in the pursuit of upward mobility presents a vehicle to address the dilemma facing upwardly mobile members of low status groups.
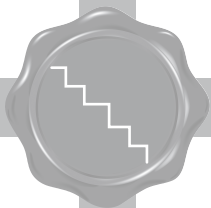
Limitations and Future research

Although the current studies contribute to the understanding of how low status group members are affected by the ingroup and outgroup in the pursuit of upward mobility, they are not without limitation. First, the studies reported here focused on affective and perceptual responses to outgroup opposition and ingroup support. These measures proved to be helpful in revealing responses to outgroup and ingroup opposition and support. Nevertheless, future research is needed to get more insight into how outgroup opposition and ingroup support impact on actual upward mobility behavior in the long-term. Outcomes such as performance, turnover, and goal-setting in important status-defining domains, such as education and career success, are examples of interesting avenues to pursue. Longitudinal research is particularly suited to identify the effects of ingroup and outgroup support and opposition on these outcomes in upwardly mobile members of low status groups. Recent work of Jetten, Iyer, Tsivrikos and Young (2008) can be considered an example of such research. Their work convincingly showed the importance of social identity in that they found that upwardly mobile members of low status (SES) groups were willing to forego economic gains in order to restore or maintain smooth intragroup relations. In a similar vein, longitudinal research could assess the effects of perceived ingroup support on

performance and turnover behaviors among low status group members in educational and work settings.

A second limitation of the current research is that the question remains as to what factors affect the degree of outgroup opposition and ingroup support that is received by upwardly mobile members of low status groups. In the studies presented here, outgroup opposition and ingroup support were manipulated and measured as independent variables without being concerned about the way outgroup opposition and ingroup support come about. In making sure that members of low status groups maintain ingroup support (and avoid outgroup opposition) it is important to know what behaviors on the part of members of low status groups ensure that they maintain ingroup support and avoid outgroup opposition. This is no easy feat. Any expression of ingroup identity may increase outgroup opposition. One possibility is in terms of the form identity expression might take. Members of low status groups may express identification both through internal emotional identification and through more external behavioral markers. Chapter 3 of this dissertation shows that it is the emotional identification with the ingroup that most concerns the low status group, while the high status group cares more about behavioral (overt) expressions of identification (see also Bleeker, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2009). This work suggests that members of low status groups are least likely to meet opposition if they clearly communicate their emotional identification with the ingroup while (temporarily) conforming to the behavioral limitations provided by the outgroup environment. So women pursuing upward mobility in traditionally male dominated environments may meet least resistance from both sides if they conform to the norms of the male dominated environment while continuing to connect and communicate with other women that they value and care about the status and welfare of women. Similarly, upwardly mobile ethnic or religious minorities may clearly express their strong ties to their ingroup while accepting certain outgroup traditions that do not conflict with their identity. The results of this other line of work suggest that this assures low status groups that the ingroup identity continues to matter to the upwardly mobile ingroup member, while high status groups are less inclined to oppose such identification with the low status group as it does not necessarily challenge their identity. Nevertheless, there is of course a danger that such adjustments become unbalanced and result in over-assimilation to the outgroup identity and loss of the ingroup identity. How upwardly mobile members of low status groups negotiate this balance is a feat all in itself. Through this and other investigations of these processes we hope to gain more insight into the way members of low status groups may shape a social context in which they can pursue upward mobility while retaining a stable positive relationship with the low status ingroup.

CHAPTER 2

Chapter 3

Ingroup and Outgroup Support for Upward Mobility:
Divergent Responses to Ingroup Identification in Low Status Groups

Members of groups with low societal status, such as ethnic minorities, can improve their individual standing in a social hierarchy by elevating their performance and personal outcomes in status-defining domains such as career success and academic achievement. Improving one's individual position in this way is what is commonly referred to as individual upward mobility (Ellemers, Wilke, & Van Knippenberg, 1993; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Taylor & McKirnan, 1984; Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990). The aim of the current investigation is to examine how the immediate social context responds to the way upwardly mobile members of low status groups associate with their ingroup and the accompanying social identity. Central in our approach is the distinction between two identity features that reflect the association with the low status group: affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression. Affective ingroup identification reflects the emotional attachment to the low status group, while behavioral identity expression refers to the expression of behaviors and practices which are typical for the low status identity. First, we consider the distinct ways in which the low status ingroup and the high status outgroup respond to these identity features of upwardly mobile members of low status groups. Second, we examine the underlying mechanisms that explain the differential responses to these identity features. Together, six studies suggest that low status groups are mainly concerned about affective ingroup identification whereas high status groups respond predominantly to behavioral identity expression. Further, the studies offer support for the reasoning that these opposite response patterns are the result of differential motivations among low and high status groups, prompted by their respective positions in the social hierarchy.

The Social Context of Upwardly Mobile Members of Low Status Groups

Upwardly mobile members of low status groups can be confronted with a dilemma. Association with the low status group heightens the risk of outgroup rejection, while disassociation from the low status identity raises the likelihood of ingroup rejection. Members of low status groups face the ongoing threat of rejection on grounds of their social identity (Crocker & Major, 1989; Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998), particularly in contexts in which members of the low status group are outnumbered by members of the high status outgroup (Derks, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2006). Often finding themselves in such outgroup contexts, upwardly mobile members of low status groups who disassociate from their ingroup-- e.g. by decreasing their affective ingroup identification or refraining from the display of behaviors that are prototypical for the ingroup -- are the ones most likely to avoid

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outgroup opposition or rejection (see Ellemers & Van Laar, 2008). In line with this reasoning there is evidence that outgroup prejudice is less likely to affect members of minority groups who identify weakly with their disadvantaged ingroup than their high identifying counterparts (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2008).

However, while it lowers outgroup opposition against individual upward mobility, decreasing the association with the negatively valued identity can also elicit adverse responses from the ingroup. Upwardly mobile members of low status groups can be accused of a lack of ingroup loyalty. The ingroup - a primary source of support - then becomes a source of opposition under these circumstances (e.g., Contrada et al., 2001; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). The United States Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, can serve as an example in this respect. She has repeatedly been the target of ingroup opposition, despite her successful career, as a result of the perceived distance between her and the African American community, even prompting some fellow African-Americans to nominate her a "lost Black soul" (The Black Commentator, 2004). Another example is Achmed Aboutaleb, a renowned Dutch politician of Moroccan background. Aboutaleb often finds himself under fire, not only from the native Dutch who question his allegiance, but also from his Dutch-Moroccan counterparts who claim that he has to stick up more for Dutch-Moroccans in affairs concerning the group. Such lack of support from the ingroup can be burdensome, because ingroup support is an important resource that protects members of disadvantaged groups from adverse reactions to severe setbacks, like outgroup rejection (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999b; Correll & Park, 2005; Haslam, Jetten, O'Brien, & Jacobs, 2004; Haslam, O'Brien, Jetten, Vormedal, & Penna, 2005; Postmes & Branscombe, 2002). In fact, empirical evidence suggests that ingroup support is key in sustaining upwardly mobile behavior in members of low status groups (Bleeker, Van Laar & Ellemers, 2009; Levin, Van Laar & Foote, 2006). In short, the high status outgroup and the low status ingroup seem to create a "Catch-22" for upwardly mobile members of low status group: Strong association with the low status ingroup raises outgroup opposition against upward mobility, while disassociation lowers ingroup support for upward mobility. Here, we argue that the association demanded by low and high status groups are not fully contradictory. Specifically, we maintain that differentiating between dissociation by lowering affective ingroup identification and disassociation by lowering behavioral identity expression helps to resolve the tension between demands from high and low status groups, and that low and high status groups show opposite preferential responses to these identity features.

Behavioral Identity Expression versus Affective Ingroup Identification

Behavioral identity expression is behavior in line with typical group practices that help to confirm a sense of group identity (Leonardelli & Brewer, 2001; Scheepers, Spears, Doosje, & Manstead, 2006; Spears, Jetten, & Scheepers, 2002; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Cultural traditions, religious rituals and dress customs are instances of behavioral expressions that can effectively communicate membership of a certain group or category. The other identity feature central to the current research is affective ingroup identification. Affective ingroup identification goes beyond mere categorizability as a group member in the sense that it indicates the degree to which the individual is emotionally invested in the group, in addition to meeting objective criteria for being a group member (Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999; Tajfel, 1978). As such, affective ingroup identification is a feature of identification that reflects the extent to which individuals feel psychologically connected to fellow group members and the group's fate.

Empirically, behavioral identity expression and affective ingroup identification tend to covary. For example, strong affective ingroup involvement can lead people to display prototypical ingroup behaviors (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, behavioral identity expression does not necessarily imply that a social identity is experienced as emotionally significant, nor does affective ingroup identification necessarily lead to behavioral practices in line with a social identity. Behavioral identity expression and affective ingroup identification are multi-determined identity features. For example, behavior in line with a social identity can be a remnant of socialization processes even when emotional investment in the ingroup has seriously weakened. For example, individuals can behave in line with traditions or have foreign accents that correspond with their ethnic or geographical heritage while they have affectively distanced themselves from the corresponding social identity. Furthermore, individuals can fail to behaviorally express a social identity for strategic reasons. That is, people are commonly aware that some contexts have a higher potential for opposition to behavioral identity expression than others and can respond to these contexts by adapting their behavior to avoid outgroup opposition (Barreto & Ellemers, 2000; Barreto, Ellemers, & Banal, 2006; Ellemers, Van Dyck, Hinkle, & Jacobs, 2000; Reicher & Levine, 1994a, 1994b; Reicher, Levine, & Gordijn, 1998; Reicher, Spears, & Postmes, 1995; Spears, Lea, Corneliussen, Postmes, & Ter Haar, 2002). Thus, despite the empirical relationship between behavioral identity expression and affective ingroup identification there are good conceptual reasons to differentiate between these identity features. Below we explain why we expect low and high status groups to show opposite preferential responses to these identity features of upwardly mobile members of low status groups.

Responses in Low Status Groups to Upward Mobility

We expect upward mobility support in low status groups to depend more strongly on affective ingroup identification than on behavioral identity expression. The first reason to expect a positive effect of affective ingroup identification on upward mobility support in low status groups is that it impacts on the extent to which the upward mobility of ingroup members is perceived as progress for the low status group. As a result of their inferior position in the social hierarchy low status groups are particularly in need of group-based progress (Bobo, 1999; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and the upward mobility of ingroup members can be perceived as a boost for the position of the group as a whole. However, whether upward mobility successes are actually seen as group-based progress is likely to depend on the affective ingroup identification of upwardly mobile ingroup members. Individuals for whom a group membership is emotionally significant tend to be loyal group members. They pursue group goals, sometimes even at the expense of individual interests, and favor the ingroup with their personal attainments (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Jetten, Branscombe, Spears, & McKimmie, 2003; Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Upwardly mobile ingroup members can favor the group, for instance, by categorizing the self as an ingroup member in relation to their own upward mobility success (e.g. "This is what Latino's are capable of!"), by the sharing of attained resources, or by helping and informing fellow group members (e.g. Dovidio et al., 1997; Levine, Prosser, Evans, & Reicher, 2005).

A second reason for affective ingroup identification to positively affect upward mobility support in low status groups is that emotional ingroup investment raises the likelihood that upwardly mobile ingroup members continue to be considered part of the ingroup. Decreased affective ingroup identification increases the psychological distance to the ingroup, and can convey the impression that the ingroup is considered inferior by ingroup members who pursue or succeed in reaching individual success. A common response to ingroup members who seem to question the ingroup's worth is to reject them to the periphery of the group, an effective way to demarcate the boundaries of the group and to maintain a positive view of the ingroup (Jetten, Summerville, Hornsey, & Mewse, 2005; Marques, Abrams, Paez, Martinez-Taboada, 1998). Such rejection is reflected in insulting labels such as "Lost Black Soul" or "Acting White" among African-Americans (e.g. Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Comparable insulting labels are used in various cultures to label alleged ingroup disloyalty of upwardly mobile individuals (see also Steele, 1992).

In comparison with affective ingroup identification, behavioral identity expression impacts less strongly on upward mobility support in low status groups. As mentioned,

individuals can strategically adapt their behaviors to a context in which they fear outgroup rejection, and this is commonly acknowledged. Accordingly, behavioral identity expression can vary irrespective of the emotional investment of the self in the ingroup. Hence, upwardly mobile ingroup member's (refrainment from) behavioral identity expression has less significance for low status groups in assessing the ingroup loyalty of these ingroup members and in assessing the extent to which the ingroup is deemed worthy by them. Accordingly, behavioral identity expression should impact less strongly in low status groups on the perception of group-based progress and be less likely than affective ingroup identification to affect the rejection by the low status group of upwardly mobile ingroup members. Therefore, we expect upward mobility support in low status groups to depend more strongly on affective ingroup identification than on behavioral identity expression.

High Status Group Responses to Upwardly Mobile Members of Low Status Groups

High status groups can also respond negatively to the upward mobility of members of low status groups. We posit that this is more likely to be a consequence of behavioral identity expression than of affective ingroup identification.

In many contexts numerically dominant and high powered high status groups strongly influence the prevailing behavioral norms and procedures that are related to their high status social identity (see Derks, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2006). The superordinate American identity, for example, corresponds more strongly to the high status Euro-American identity than to the lower status African-American identity (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997; Wenzel, Mummendey, Waldzus, 2007). The correspondence between superordinate and ingroup norms commonly motivates high status groups to expect compliance and adaptation to ingroup norms from (low status) outgroup members included in the same higher order category (Berry, 1997). High status groups are likely to consider behavioral identity expression in line with the high status group an indication of acceptance of their behavioral norms. Failure to do so will then be perceived as a threat to the dominance of the high status social identity and its underlying values. By contrast, affective ingroup identification does not necessarily challenge the dominance of the high status identity. As long as the emotional investment in the low status group membership is "kept private" by upwardly mobile members of low status groups --- by not displaying behavior that is considered prototypical for the low status identity--- it appears that the more "objective" importance of the high status identity is accepted by them. (In a similar vein Fiske (1993) has shown that individuals high in power tend to be relatively uninterested in the psychology of low power individuals).

Therefore, irrespective of the emotional significance of the stigmatized identity to upwardly mobile members of low status groups, it is behavioral identity expression in line with the low status group that is particularly perceived as a challenge to the dominance of the high status identity. When feeling threatened in this way, members of high status groups may raise extra barriers for individuals who are seen to challenge the current status arrangements (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2008; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 2000). We expect behavioral identity expression to raise stronger opposition to the upward mobility of members of low status groups than affective ingroup identification.

The Current Investigation

Six studies examined our main hypothesis that low and high status groups show opposite preferential responses to the affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression of upwardly mobile members of low status groups. Based on our theoretical framework we formulated six hypotheses. Study 3.1 to 3.3 tested the responses to the affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression of upwardly mobile ingroup members in low status groups. We hypothesized affective ingroup identification to have a positive effect on upward mobility support (Hypothesis 3.1a) and perceived group-based progress (Hypothesis 3.1b), and to diminish the rejection of upwardly mobile ingroup members as ingroup members (Hypothesis 3.1c). These effects of affective ingroup identification on upward mobility support, perceived group-based progress and rejection were expected to be stronger than the effects of behavioral identity expression (Hypotheses 3.2 a, 3.2b and 3.2c). Furthermore, we expected the positive effect of affective ingroup identification on upward mobility support to be mediated by an increase in perceived group-based progress and a decrease in the rejection of upwardly mobile ingroup members as ingroup members (Hypothesis 3.3). Studies 3.4 to 3.6 tested the responses in high status groups to the affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression of upwardly mobile members of low status groups. Behavioral identity expression as a member of the low status group was hypothesized to raise opposition to the upward mobility of members of low status groups (Hypothesis 3.4a) and to increase the perception of threat among members of the high status group (Hypothesis 3.4b). These effects of behavioral identity expression on opposition and perceived threat were expected to be stronger than the effects of affective ingroup identification (Hypotheses 3.5a and 3.5b). Finally, the effect of behavioral identity expression on opposition to upward mobility was expected to be mediated by perceptions of threat (Hypothesis 3.6). The hypotheses

were tested in minimal groups (Study 3.1, 3.2 and 3.4) and among natural groups (ethnic minorities in Study 3.3, ethnic majorities in Study 3.5 and 3.6).

Study 3.1

Study 3.1 addressed Hypothesis 1a and Hypothesis 3.2a. In a minimal group experiment we tested whether affective ingroup identification by upwardly mobile members of low status groups led to stronger support for upward mobility in low status groups (Hypothesis 3.1a). Further, we tested whether this effect of affective ingroup identification was stronger than the effect of behavioral identity expression on upward mobility support (Hypothesis 3.2a).

Method

Participants and Research Design

Seventy-six undergraduates, (*M* age = 19.22 years, *SD* = 1.90 years, 55 women and 21 men) indicated whether they wanted to receive partial course credit or payment (3 euros) for participation. Participants were randomly allocated to a 2 (affective identification: high vs. low) X 2 (behavioral identity expression: high vs. low) between-participants design.

Procedure and Independent Variables

Upon arrival, each participant was seated in a separate cubicle. After signing an informed consent form, participants were presented the experimental materials on paper. Participants were asked to imagine that they were member of a rowing club made up of several divisions differing in status. Participants were told that they are a member of the so-called 'Green division' - a lower status division in terms of achievement in comparison to the most prestigious 'Blue Division'. They were informed that the Blue Division consisted predominantly of upper-class/aristocratic individuals ('Blues') and was characterized by traditions and social activities differing considerably from the traditions and social activities of the Green Division. Both divisions were rather traditional in that family members tended to join the 'family' division when they became members of the rowing club. Yet, the boundaries of the divisions were permeable in that very good members with a 'Green' background could change to the Blue Division to realize their rowing ambitions. The participant's task was to respond to the upward mobility of a rower of Green descent ("X") who has joined the Blue Division. Subsequently, participants were shown statements of this

upwardly mobile Green X containing the manipulations of affective identification and behavioral identity expression.

Manipulation of behavioral identity expression and affective identification. The participants were informed either that X gave strong behavioral expression to the Green identity or gave little behavioral expression to the Green identity (High behavioral identity expression: "I will behave in line with the Green practices, even if it goes at the expense of behaving in line with the Blue practices"; Low behavioral identity expression: "I will behave in line with the Blue practices, even if it goes at the expense of behaving in line with the Green practices"). Subsequently X gave information about the strength of his affective identification (High affective identification: "I care much for the Green practices. I am greatly concerned about them and I have them very much at heart"; Low affective identification: "I do not care much for the Green practices. I am not greatly concerned about them and I do not have them very much at heart."

Measures. Manipulation checks and the dependent measure directly followed the manipulations. Nine-point scales were used with end-points ranging from 1 = 'strongly disagree' to 9 = 'strongly agree'. *Manipulation checks* were included to check the manipulations of affective identification ("X cares much for the Green practices") and behavioral identity expression ("X clearly behaves like a Green"). *Upward mobility support* was measured with two items: "When X meets adversity in the Blue Division I will be available to support X," "I am unwilling to support X when X runs into problems in the Blue Division." (recoded); $r = .91$.

Results

The results were analyzed using 2 (affective identification: high vs. low) X 2 (behavioral identity expression: high vs. low) analyses of variance (ANOVAs).

Manipulation Checks

The manipulations were successful. Stronger affective identification of X was perceived in the high affective identification condition ($M = 7.24$, $SD = 1.85$) than in the low affective identification condition ($M = 2.24$, $SD = 1.17$), $F(1, 72) = 197.15$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .73$. Furthermore, X's behavioral expression of the Green identity was perceived to be stronger in the high identity expression condition ($M = 5.40$, $SD = 1.81$) than in the low identity expression condition ($M = 3.92$, $SD = 1.88$), $F(1, 72) = 41.26$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .21$. There were no reliable interaction effects on the manipulation checks (both Fs < 1).

Upward Mobility Support

As hypothesized (Hypothesis 3.1), participants offered stronger upward mobility support when upwardly mobile ingroup member X presented high affective identification ($M = 6.21$, $SD = 1.62$) than when X presented low affective identification ($M = 4.88$, $SD = 2.17$), $F (1, 72) = 8.93$, $p = .004$, partial $\eta^2 = .11$. Upward mobility was supported to the same extent when X gave high expression to the Green's identity ($M = 5.61$, $SD = 1.99$) as when X gave low expression to the Green's identity ($M = 5.49$, $SD = 2.07$), $F (1, 72) < 1$. In line with Hypothesis 3.2a there was no reliable interaction between affective identification and identity expression on upward mobility support, $F < 1$.

Discussion and Introduction to Study 3.2

Study 3.1 offered support for Hypothesis 3.1a and Hypothesis 3.2a. Upward mobility support in low status groups depended on affective ingroup identification. Also, upward mobility support depended more strongly on the affective ingroup identification than on the behavioral identity expression of upwardly mobile ingroup members. In fact, upward mobility support was even unaffected by behavioral identity expression. A weakness of Study 3.1, however, was that both manipulations involved information about typical group practices. The manipulation of affective ingroup identification involved the emotional significance of typical group practices, while the manipulation of behavioral identity expression reflected the expression of typical group practices. Study 3.2 addressed this weakness, this time using manipulations intended to better distinguish between affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression. Furthermore, Study 3.2 included additional measures of perceived group-based progress and rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member as an ingroup member. We tested whether upward mobility support, perceived group-based progress and rejection of upwardly mobile ingroup members as ingroup members depended on affective ingroup identification (Hypothesis 3.1) and whether the influence of affective ingroup identification was stronger than the influence of behavioral identity expression (Hypothesis 3.2). Mediation analyses were performed to test the prediction that the effect of affective ingroup identification on upward mobility support depended on both perceived group-based progress and the rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member as an ingroup member (Hypothesis 3.3).

Participants and Research Design

Ninety-one undergraduates, (M age = 20.34 years, SD = 2.82 years, 66 women and 25 men) indicated whether they wanted to receive partial course credit or payment (3 euros) for participation. Participants were randomly allocated to a 2 (affective identification: high vs. low) X 2 (behavioral identity expression: high vs. low) between-participants design.

Procedure and Independent Variables

As in Study 3.1, participants were asked to imagine that they were member of a rowing club made up of several divisions differing in status and that they were a member of the low status Green division. The participant's task was to respond to the upward mobility of a fellow Green who has joined the higher status Blue Division.

Manipulation of behavioral identity expression and affective identification. Similar to Study 3.1, participants were shown statements of the upwardly mobile Green containing the manipulations of affective identification and behavioral identity expression. The manipulation of behavioral identity expression was identical to the manipulation of behavioral identity expression in Study 3.1. The manipulation of affective identification resembled the manipulation of affective identification in Study 3.1. This time, however, the manipulation of affective identification concerned the extent to which the upwardly mobile Green feels connected to the *Greens*, rather than to the *Green's practices.*

Measures. Manipulation checks and the dependent measures directly followed the manipulations. Nine-point scales were used with end-points ranging from 1 = 'strongly disagree' to 9 = 'strongly agree', unless otherwise indicated. *Manipulation checks* were included to check the manipulations of affective identification ("X cares much for the Greens") and behavioral identity expression ("X clearly behaves like a Green"). *Upward mobility support* was measured with three items. One item was added to the upward mobility support scale of Study 3.1 ("When X is in need of support I will not be the one to call on," (recoded); α = .94. *Perceived group-based progress* was measured with three items (e.g. "I think the Greens will win prestige thanks to X's transition to the Blue Division; α = .73). *Rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member as an ingroup member* was measured with three items (e.g. "I consider X to be a Green to a lesser extent", "I still accept X as a true Green" (recoded); α = .86).

Results

The results were analyzed using 2 (affective identification: high vs. low) X 2 (behavioral identity expression: high vs. low) analyses of variance (ANOVAs).

Manipulation Checks

The analyses revealed that the manipulations were successful. X was perceived to affectively identify with the Green's identity to a stronger extent in the high affective identification condition (M = 7.15, SD = 1.87) than in the low affective identification condition (M = 3.36, SD = 1.93), F (1, 87) = 100.97, $p < .001$, partial η^2 = .54. Stronger behavioral identity expression of X was perceived in the high behavioral identity expression condition (M = 5.67, SD = 2.04) than in the low behavioral identity expression condition (M = 3.60, SD = 1.66), F (1, 87) = 36.26, $p < .001$, partial η^2 = .29. There were no interactions of affective identification and behavioral identity expression on the manipulation checks (both Fs < 1).

Upward Mobility Support

As expected, upward mobility was more strongly supported when upwardly mobile X presented high affective identification (M = 6.91, SD = 1.65) than when X presented low affective identification (M = 5.01, SD = 2.17), F (1, 87) = 22.78, $p < .001$, partial η^2 = .21 (Hypothesis 3.1a). When X gave high behavioral expression to the Green's identity (M = 6.25, SD = 2.20) upward mobility was supported to the same extent as when X gave low behavioral expression to the Green's identity (M = 5.67, SD = 2.06), F (1, 87) = 2.23, p = .14, partial η^2 = .03. The interaction between X's affective identification and behavioral identity expression did not affect upward mobility support, F (1, 87) = 2.35, p = .13, partial η^2 = .03. In line with Hypothesis 3.2a, upward mobility support was a function of affective identification rather than behavioral identity expression.

Perceived Group-based Progress

As expected, X's upward mobility was perceived as group progress for the Greens to a stronger extent when X manifested high affective identification (M = 5.08, SD = 1.41) than when X manifested low affective identification (M = 4.04, SD = 1.47), F (1, 87) = 11.57, $p <$ .001, partial η^2 = .12 (Hypothesis 3.1b). The same level of progress for the Greens was perceived regardless of whether X gave high behavioral expression to the Green's identity (M = 4.64, SD = 1.59) or low behavioral expression to the Green's identity (M = 4.49, SD =

1.47), $F < 1$. There was no reliable interaction of X's affective identification and behavioral identity expression on perceived group-based progress, $F(1, 87) = 1.10$, $p = .30$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. Thus, in line with Hypothesis 3.2b, perceived group-based progress depended on affective identification rather than behavioral identity expression.

Rejection of the Upwardly Mobile Ingroup Member as an Ingroup Member

As anticipated, X was rejected as a group member to a lesser extent when showing high affective identification ($M = 4.25$, $SD = 1.88$) than when showing low affective identification ($M = 6.26$, $SD = 1.74$), $F(1, 87) = 33.21$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .28$ (Hypothesis 3.1c). Even though this effect was less pronounced we found that rejection of upwardly mobile X also depended on X's behavioral identity expression. Higher behavioral identity expression of X led to less rejection ($M = 4.57$, $SD = 1.97$) than low behavioral identity expression ($M = 5.93$, $SD = 1.95$), $F(1, 87) = 15.58$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .15$. The amount of variance accounted for by affective identification ($\eta^2 = .28$) is almost twice as much as the amount of variance accounted for by behavioral identity expression ($\eta^2 = .15$). Thus, affective identification more strongly affected rejection of X than behavioral identity expression (Hypothesis 3.2c). There was no significant interaction between affective identification and behavioral identity expression on rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member as an ingroup member, $F(1, 87) = 1.57$, $p = .21$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$.

Mediation Analyses

With regression analyses we tested whether perceived group-based progress and rejection of X as an ingroup member mediated the effect of X's affective identification (dummy coded: high = 1, low = 0) on upward mobility support. To test for mediation we followed the four-step procedure suggested by Baron and Kenny (1986). As already detailed above, the first two conditions for establishing mediation were satisfied: Affective identification predicted upward mobility support ($\beta = .45$, $t(89) = 4.71$, $p < .001$, Step 1), as well as perceived group-based progress and rejection as an ingroup member [$\beta = .34$, $t(89) = 3.42$, $p = .001$ and $\beta = -.49$, $t(89) = -5.30$, $p < .001$ respectively (Step 2)]. In Step 3 perceived group-based progress and rejection were regressed on upward mobility support. The results showed that perceived group-based progress ($\beta = .20$, $t(88) = 2.16$, $p = .03$) and rejection ($\beta = -.60$, $t(88) = -6.44$, $p < .001$) both affected upward mobility support. In Step 4 we found that affective identification became an unreliable predictor of upward mobility support when including perceived group-based progress and rejection in the regression analysis ($\beta = .11$, $t(87) = 1.36$, $p = .18$), while perceived group-based

progress and rejection remained significantly related to upward mobility support (β = .20, t (87) = 2.13, p = .04, Sobel's z = 1.80, p = .07 and β = -.55, t (87) = -5.49, p < .001, Sobel's z = 3.81, p < .001 respectively). In sum, the mediation analysis revealed that stronger support for X's upward mobility was offered when X presented higher affective identification because the upward mobility was perceived as progress for the low status ingroup to a higher extent and because X was considered an ingroup member to a stronger degree (Hypothesis 3.3).

Discussion

Study 3.2 replicated and extended the results of Study 3.1. As expected, the extent to which upward mobility was supported, the extent to which upward mobility was perceived as progress for the low status ingroup, and the extent to which the upwardly mobile ingroup member was considered an ingroup member all depended on the affective identification of the ingroup member (Hypothesis 3.1). In addition, the extent to which upward mobility was supported, the extent to which upward mobility was perceived as progress for the low status ingroup, and the extent to which the upwardly mobile ingroup member was considered an ingroup member depended more strongly on the presentation of affective identification than on the behavioral expression of the low status identity (Hypothesis 3.2). As expected, behavioral identity expression did not affect upward mobility support and perceived group-based progress. However, behavioral identity expression did affect the extent to which the ingroup member was considered an ingroup member. This unexpected effect is in line with self-categorization theory that describes the importance of the representativeness of ingroup members (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). The more ingroup members differ behaviorally from other ingroup members, and the less they differ from outgroup members in a particular context, the less representative they are perceived by the ingroup. This is a cognitive process that does not necessarily coincide with perceived threat to the positivity of the ingroup. Thus, although refrainment from behavioral expression of the ingroup identity is likely to be less meaningful than weak affective ingroup identification in assessing the extent to which the ingroup member deems the ingroup valuable, refrainment from behavioral identity expression can still elicit a rejection response via perceptions of representativeness. This process may (co-)explain the negative effect of behavioral identity expression on the extent to which the upwardly mobile ingroup member was perceived as an ingroup member. Nevertheless, as hypothesized, the effect of behavioral identity expression on the extent to which the upwardly mobile ingroup member was considered an ingroup

member was significantly weaker than the effect of affective ingroup identification.

Importantly, we replicated the central effects of affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression on upward mobility support from Study 3.1 with an improved manipulation of affective ingroup identification that was more clearly distinct from behavioral identity expression. In line with Hypothesis 3.3 we found evidence for mediation. When affective ingroup identification was high, the upward mobility of the ingroup member was perceived as higher group-based progress and the upwardly mobile ingroup member was more strongly perceived as an ingroup member, leading members of the low status group to more strongly support the pursuit of upward mobility.

Study 3.3

Study 3.1 and 3.2 revealed the important role of affective ingroup identification in eliciting support for upward mobility in low status groups and the underlying mechanisms for this effect. Study 3.3 examined these predictions in a more natural group context. Also, Study 3.3 focused more closely on the effect of affective ingroup identification on upward mobility support by examining whether it is low or high affective ingroup identification (or both) that drives the effect on (lack of) ingroup support for upward mobility by comparing these experimental conditions with a control condition. Does an individual who displays low affective ingroup identification elicit the wrath of the ingroup or does an individual with high affective ingroup identification raise increased support? We thus tested whether upward mobility support, perceived group-based progress and rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member as an ingroup member depended on affective ingroup identification, and whether this effect was driven more strongly by affective disassociation than by strong affective association (Hypothesis 3.1). Also, we tested whether perceived group-based progress and rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member as an ingroup member mediated the effects of affective ingroup identification on upward mobility support (Hypothesis 3.3).

The hypotheses were tested among Dutch ethnic minorities. Conducting the experiment among natural groups with a low status in career contexts allowed us to examine the ecological validity of the effects of affective ingroup identification obtained in Study 3.1 and 3.2. Behavioral identity expression was kept constant in this experiment: Given that individual upward mobility often requires behavioral disloyalty in everyday life (i.e. ethnic minorities often feel the necessity to behaviorally dissociate from their low status group identity) we focused in this study on the effects of low versus high affective ingroup identification under conditions of low behavioral identity expression.

Method

Participants and Research Design

A request to take part in an online study was distributed via an e-mail with a hyperlink to the online study. The e-mail was distributed via various institutions aimed at ethnic minorities, selected work organizations, and the Leiden University e-mail distribution system that contains addresses of all students and university staff. Participants were asked to take part in an online study on 'ethnic minorities and pursuing a career in the Netherlands'. One-hundred and eighty-six participants took part in the study. Twelve could not be used because the participants were not ethnic minorities. Thus included in the analyses were 174 (*M* age = 26.32 years, *SD* = 9.53 years, 127 women and 47 men) ethnic minority members. Seventy percent of the participants were from Moroccan (22%), Surinamese (22%), Turkish (15%), and Antillean (11%) descent. The other participants had origins in other African, South-American or Asian countries. Since people of Moroccan, Surinamese, Turkish and Antillean descent make up approximately 66% of the Dutch ethnic minorities this sample was a proper reflection of the Dutch distribution of ethnic minorities living in the Netherlands (Loozen & Van Duin, 2007). Participants were randomly allocated to a one factor (affective identification: high vs. low vs. control) between-participants design.

Procedure and Independent Variables

Participants read a short passage from an interview that had allegedly been published in a Dutch magazine. Participants were told that the interviewee (named "X") was an ethnic ingroup member. The article described X as having a successful career. In all three conditions X explained that he gives weak behavioral expression to the ethnic identity: "When I do things that are relevant for my job I behave in line with the typical Dutch practices. Behaving in line with the typical practices of my ethnic group does not really match with my job." Subsequently, X talks about his emotional attachment to the ethnic ingroup, the section containing the manipulation of affective identification.

Manipulation of affective identification. Participants were informed that X either feels strongly emotionally attached to the ethnic ingroup (high affective identification: "Yet, emotionally I feel strongly connected to my ethnic group. I have my ethnic identity very much at heart.") or that X feels weakly emotionally attached to the ethnic ingroup (low affective identification: "Also, emotionally I feel weakly connected to my ethnic group. I do not have my ethnic identity very much at heart."). In the control condition X does not make any explicit statements about his emotional attachment to the ethnic ingroup.

Measures. The dependent variables directly followed the manipulation. The check of the manipulation of affective identification was included at the end of the study. Consequently, participants in the control condition were not confronted with questions about affective identification until their responses to the depended variables were recorded. Seven-point scales were used with end-points ranging from 1 = 'strongly agree' to 7 = 'strongly disagree', unless indicated otherwise. The *manipulation check* assessed perceived affective identification "How do you assess X's emotional bond with your ethnic group?" (1 = 'very weak' to 7 = 'very strong'). *Perceived behavioral identity expression* was assessed "To what extent does X behave in line with the traditions and customs of your ethnic group?" (1 = 'hardly' to 7 = 'entirely'). *Perceived group-based progress* was measured with four items comparable to those in Study 3.2 , and adapted to ethnic minority groups [e.g. "My ethnic group will be respected more by other people thanks to X" "X hardly contributes to the progress of my ethnic group" (recoded); α = .72]. *Rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member as an ingroup member* was measured with four items comparable to the items employed in Study 3.2 (e.g. "I do not accept X to be a true member of my ethnic group," α = .77).

The measure of *upward mobility support* consisted of two descriptions of concrete situations, each followed by two items that assessed the extent to which participants would support X in that particular situation. In Situation 1 participants learned that they meet X for the first time at an informal work-related meeting. X sits down next to the participant and talks about the way he is pursuing a career. In Situation 2 participants learn that X is to be a new manager at work. After a relatively successful period X becomes unpopular among many of the employees of the organization leading the employees to complain about X. One day the participant coincidentally runs into X and during the conversation X asks the participant for moral support because of the problems he is experiencing. Following each situation two items tapped into the extent to which participants supported X in these situations. The two items following Situation 1 were "I would remark that I am proud of X" and "I would ignore X as much as possible" (recoded). The two items following Situation 2 were "I would try to find solutions for X's problems," and "I would support X." The responses to the four items (α = .58) were measured with scales with end-points ranging from 1 = 'I would definitely not do that' to 7 = 'I would definitely do that'.

*** Results ***

To analyze the data, one-way (affective identification: high vs. low vs. control) analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were used.

Manipulation Check

The manipulation of affective identification was successful, $F(2, 171) = 61.76$, $p <$ .001, partial $\eta^2 = .42$. Tukey post-hoc tests revealed that participants perceived ethnic ingroup member X to present stronger affective identification in the high affective identification condition ($M = 6.00$, $SD = 1.66$) than in the control condition ($M = 4.07$, $SD = 1.63$; $p < .001$), in which a higher affective identification of X with the ethnic ingroup was perceived than in the low affective identification condition ($M = 2.47$, $SD = 1.88$; $p < .001$). Furthermore, as intended participants perceived X to behaviorally express equal levels of the ethnic identity in the three experimental conditions regardless of whether X displayed high affective identification ($M = 2.80$, $SD = 2.06$), low affective identification ($M = 2.30$, $SD = 1.60$) or if no information on affective identification was given ($M = 2.82$, $SD = 2.16$), $F(2, 171) = 1.32$, $p = .27$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$. Furthermore, in all three conditions the mean score on perceived behavioral identity expression was significantly below the midpoint of the scale ($t = -2.65$, $p = .01$; $t = -5.66$, $p < .001$; $t = -2.35$, $p = .02$ respectively), indicating that X's behavioral identity expression was indeed perceived to be low.

Upward Mobility Support, Perceived Group-based Progress and Rejection of the Upwardly Mobile Ingroup Member as an Ingroup Member

Affective identification influenced upward mobility support ($F(2, 171) = 3.94$, $p = .02$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$), perceived group-based progress ($F(2, 171) = 11.24$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .12$) and rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member as an ingroup member ($F(2, 171) = 10.77$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .11$; see Table 3.1 for the means and standard deviations). With Tukey post-hoc tests we tested whether the differences between the conditions were as hypothesized. Participants supported X's upward mobility to a lesser extent in the low affective identification condition than participants in the control condition ($p = .045$) and in the high affective identification condition ($p = .03$). X was supported to the same extent in the high affective identification and the control condition ($p = .99$). Support for upward mobility thus decreased as a result of upwardly mobile X displaying low affective identification, while the display of high affective identification did not increase upward mobility support in comparison to the control condition (Hypothesis 3.1a).

Table 3.1

Effects of affective ingroup identification on upward mobility support, perceived group-based progress and rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member as an ingroup member (Study 3.3)

| | Response to affective ingroup identification | | | | | |
| | Support | | Perc. Progress | | Rejection | |
Affective ingroup identification	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
High	5.46a	0.95	5.58a	1.17	1.97a	1.08
Control	5.44a	0.95	5.38a	1.06	2.46a	1.28
Low	5.00b	1.03	4.57b	1.40	3.00b	1.25

Note. Across columns, means with different subscripts differ significantly according to Tukey post-hoc tests ($p < .05$).

Also, the upward mobility of ethnic ingroup member X was perceived as progress for the ethnic ingroup to a lesser extent in the low affective identification condition than in the control condition ($p = .002$) or the high affective identification condition ($p < .001$). No significant difference in upward mobility support was found between the high affective identification condition and the control condition ($p = .64$). Thus, X's lack of affective identification led to a lowered perception of progress for the ethnic ingroup while high affective identification did not increase perceived progress for the ethnic ingroup as compared to the control condition (Hypothesis 3.1b).

Upwardly mobile X was rejected as an ethnic ingroup member to a stronger extent in the low affective identification condition than in the control condition ($p = .047$) and the high affective identification condition ($p < .001$). The rejection of X in the high affective identification condition did not differ significantly from the rejection of X in the control condition ($p = .08$). We thus found that the rejection of the upwardly mobile ethnic ingroup member decreased due to low affective identification and was not significantly increased by high affective identification (Hypothesis 3.1c).

Mediation Analyses

In comparison to participants in the high affective identification and control condition, participants in the low affective identification condition thus offered less support for X's upward mobility, perceived upward mobility as less group-based progress, and rejected the upwardly mobile ingroup member to a stronger extent. No differences in support, perceived group-based progress and rejection were found for participants in the high affective identification condition vs. the control condition. The same pattern was thus

observed for all dependent variables: the responses in the low affective identification condition differed from the responses in the high affective identification and the control condition on all dependent variables. Therefore we performed mediation analyses on this pattern: the low affective identification condition was contrasted with the two other conditions (low = -2, high = 1, control = 1). The mediation analyses (Baron & Kenny, 1986) revealed that the effect of low affective identification (as compared to the high affective identification condition and the control condition) on upward mobility support was mediated by perceived group-based progress and by rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member as an ingroup member (see Figure 3.1).

Low affective identification (versus high affective identification and the control group) predicted lower upward mobility support (β = .22, t (172) = 2.88, p = .004), the perception of lower group-based progress (β = .34, t (172) = 4.66, p < .001) and stronger rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member as an ingroup member (β = -.30, t (172) = -4.05, p < .001), which was evidence for Step 1 and 2. In Step 3, perceived group-based progress and rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member were regressed on upward mobility support. The results revealed that upward mobility support was predicted by both perceived group-based progress and rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member, β = .28, t (171) = 3.55, p = .001 and β = .27, t (171) = 3.45, p = .001 respectively. In Step 4, perceived group-based progress and rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member remained significant predictors of upward mobility support (β = .264, t (170) = 3.30, p = .001, Sobel's z = 2.69, p = .007 and β = -.261, t (170) = 3.30, p = .001, Sobel's z = 2.54, p = .01 respectively), while the effect of affective identification became non-significant (β = .05, t (170) = .68, p = .50).

Figure 3.1. The response to upwardly mobile ingroup members in low status groups. The effects of affective ingroup identification on upward mobility support mediated by perceived group-based progress and rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member as an ingroup member (Study 3.3).
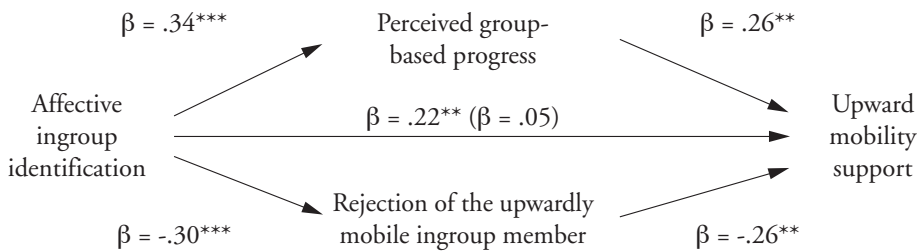
** p<.01, *** p<.001.

Discussion

Study 3.3 replicated the results of Study 3.1 and 3.2 among members of real ethnic groups showing that affective ingroup identification positively affects upward mobility support (Hypothesis 3.1a), and that this effect is explained by increases in perceived group-based progress and lower rejection of the upwardly mobile individual as an ingroup member (Hypotheses 3.1b, 3.1c and Hypothesis 3.3). This time the effects were shown among members of real ethnic minority groups, under conditions of low behavioral identity expression by the upwardly mobile ingroup member. Because a control condition was included in Study 3.3, we could also establish that the effect of affective ingroup identification on upward mobility support, perceived group-based progress and rejection were primarily driven by the condition in which weak affective ingroup identification was displayed. High affective ingroup identification did not further increase upward mobility support, perceived group-based progress and rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member as an ingroup member relative to the control condition in which no information was provided about affective identification. We thus show that it is low affective ingroup identification that is perceived as harmful, rather than high affective ingroup identification that is perceived as beneficial.

Study 3.4

Our main hypothesis is that low and high status groups show opposite preferential responses to the affective identification and behavioral identity expression of upwardly mobile members of low status groups. Studies 3.1 to 3.3 examined the responses of members of the low status group. As expected, these studies showed that upward mobility support in low status groups depended more strongly on affective identification than on behavioral identity expression. Studies 4 to 6 examine whether high status groups show an opposite preferential response to these identity features of upwardly mobile members of low status groups. Specifically, we examine whether opposition to upward mobility and perceived threat is raised by behavioral identity expression (Hypothesis 3.4a and 3.4b) and whether the effects of behavioral identity expression are stronger than the effects of affective identification (Hypothesis 3.5a and 3.5b). In addition, we test whether the effect of behavioral identity expression on opposition to upward mobility is mediated by perceptions of threat (Hypothesis 3.6). Experimental and correlational methodologies and natural and minimal groups are employed in Studies 3.4 to 3.6 to test these hypotheses. The first study,

Study 3.4, consists of a minimal group experiment in which we examined responses of members of the high status outgroup to affective identification and behavioral identity expression, testing Hypotheses 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6.

Participants and Research Design

Seventy-four undergraduates (*M* age = 20.62 years, *SD* = 3.80 years, 59 women and 14 men) indicated whether they wanted to perceive course credit or money (3 euros) for participation. Participants were randomly allocated to a 2 (affective identification: high vs. low) X 2 (behavioral identity expression: high vs. low) between-participants design.

Procedure and Independent Variables

As in Study 3.1 and 3.2, we employed the rowing paradigm to test the hypotheses. Participants were asked to imagine that they were member of a rowing club made up of several divisions differing in status and that they were a member of the high status Blue Division. The participants' task was to respond to the upward mobility of a rower of Green descent who has joined the Blue Division.

Manipulation of behavioral identity expression and affective identification. The manipulations of affective identification and behavioral identity expression were modeled on those in Study 3.2. Thus, participants were informed that the upwardly mobile ingroup member feels emotionally strongly (high affective identification) or weakly (low affective identification) identified with the Greens. Also, participants learned either that the upwardly mobile ingroup member gave strong expression (high behavioral identity expression) or little expression (low behavioral identity expression) to the Green identity.

Measures. All responses were recorded on seven-point Likert scales, unless indicated otherwise. We included *manipulation checks* measuring the effects of the manipulations of affective identification ("X cares much for the Greens") and behavioral identity expression ("X clearly behaves like a Green"). Five items were used to measure *perceived threat.* Participants were asked to indicate how they felt when thinking about X as a member of their Blue division (1 = 'not threatened' to 7 = 'threatened'; 1 = 'not uncomfortable' to 7 = 'uncomfortable'; 1 = 'not stressed' to 7 = 'stressed'; 1 = 'not happy' to 7 = 'happy' (recoded); 1 = 'not pleasant' to 7 = 'pleasant' (recoded); α = .81). The measure of *opposition to upward mobility* was comparable to the measure of support for upward mobility used in Study 3.3. It consisted of two descriptions of concrete situations in which X and the participant are involved, each followed by items that measured opposition to upward mobility. In Situation 1 participants learned that a number of Blue Division members want to exclude X from the

current rowing team, completing the rowing season without X as a rower. X is unaware of these plans. This situation was followed by three items. Participants indicated the extent to which they opposed X staying on as a rower (e.g. "Would you plead for or against X?" (1 = 'Absolutely against X' 7 = 'absolutely for X' (recoded)), "How strongly would you plead against X?" (1 = 'Not at all' 7 = 'very strongly'). In Situation 2, participants are told that the President of the Blue Division has decided that all team members are eligible for the position as team leader of the rowing team. This implies that X is also eligible for the team leadership position. This situation is followed by two items. The responses to these items were recorded on seven-point scales (1 = 'Absolutely' 7 = 'Absolutely not'. Participants indicated the extent to which they opposed X as a team leader ("If the President asks for my opinion I would indicate that I consider it a bad idea for X to become the team leader," "If the President asks for my opinion I would indicate that I would be glad for X to become the team leader" (recoded)). Together, the five items following the two situations form the measure of opposition to upward mobility (α = .82).

Results

To analyze the data 2 (affective identification: high vs. low) X 2 (behavioral identity expression: high vs. low) analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were used.

Manipulation Checks

The manipulation of affective identification was successful. The upwardly mobile Green X was perceived as presenting higher affective identification in the high affective identification condition (M = 6.05, SD = 1.16) than in the low affective identification condition (M = 3.68, SD = 1.16), $F(1, 73)$ = 86.04, $p < .001$, partial η^2 = .55. Participants perceived X's identity expression as higher in the high behavioral identity expression condition (M = 5.23, SD = 1.72) than in the low behavioral identity expression condition (M = 3.15, SD = 1.42), $F(1, 70)$ = 42.38, $p < .001$, partial η^2 = .38. No significant effects of the interaction between X's affective identification and behavioral identity expression were found on perceived identity expression ($F(1, 70)$ = 2.64, p = .11, partial η^2 = .04) or perceived affective identification ($F(1, 70)$ = 3.23, p = .08, partial η^2 = .04).

Opposition to Upward Mobility

As expected, participants opposed upward mobility more strongly when X behaviorally expressed the Green's identity to a high extent (M = 3.79, SD = 1.14) than

when X's behavioral identity expression was low (M = 3.24, SD = 1.05), F (1, 70) = 4.55, p = .04, partial η^2 = .06 (Hypothesis 3.4a). X's affective identification with the Greens did not affect opposition to X's upward mobility (high: M = 3.49, SD = 1.19; low: M = 3.51, SD = 1.06); F < 1). The interaction between X's affective identification and behavioral identity expression was also unrelated to opposition to upward mobility, F < 1. This indicated that, as expected, opposition to X's upward mobility was a function of X's behavioral identity expression rather than X's affective identification with the Greens (Hypothesis 3.5a).

Perceived Threat

As anticipated, participants perceived more threat when X gave high behavioral expression to the Green's identity (M = 3.67, SD = 1.00) than when X gave low behavioral expression to the Green's identity (M = 2.94, SD = 1.03), F (1, 70) = 9.16, p = .003, partial η^2 = .12 (Hypothesis 3.4b). Upwardly mobile X's affective ingroup identification was unrelated to perceived threat [high: (M = 3.24, SD = 1.16; low: (M = 3.33, SD = 0.99); F < 1]. The interaction of X's affective identification and X's behavioral expression of the Green's identity did not affect opposition to X's upward mobility (F < 1). These results confirm that the perception of threat depended on X's behavioral expression of the Green's identity rather than X's affective identification with the Green's identity, which is evidence for Hypothesis 3.5b.

Mediation

Mediation tests. Mediation analyses (Baron & Kenny 1986) were performed using regression to test whether perceived threat mediated the effect of behavioral expression of the Green's identity on opposition to X's upward mobility. As shown above, behavioral identity expression raised opposition to upward mobility (β = .25, t (72) = 2.15, p = .04; Step 1) and perceived threat (β = .34, t (72) = 3.09, p = .003; Step 2). Perceived threat was a significant predictor of opposition to upward mobility (β = .61, t (71) = 6.44, p < .001; Step 3). In Step 4, opposition to upward mobility was regressed on behavioral identity expression and perceived threat. While perceived threat was a significant predictor of opposition to upward mobility in this regression model (β = .59, t (70) = 5.87, p < .001, Sobel's z = 2.74, p < .001), behavioral identity expression became an unreliable predictor (t < 1). The analyses thus revealed that X's behavioral identity expression raised perceived threat leading to stronger opposition to upward mobility, confirming Hypothesis 3.6.

Discussion

Study 3.4 supported our hypotheses. In members of high status groups opposition to upward mobility and perceived threat were raised by behavioral expression of the low status identity by the upwardly mobile low status group member (Hypothesis 3.4), and more so than by the affective ingroup identification of the upwardly mobile low status group member (Hypothesis 3.5). Also, as expected, the effect of behavioral identity expression on opposition to upward mobility was mediated by perceived threat (Hypothesis 3.6). The experiment mirrored the methodology used in Studies 3.1 and 3.2, changing only the perspective of participants: from fellow low status ingroup member to high status outgroup member. When considering upward mobility from the perspective of a member of the low status group, participants responded to the affective ingroup identification displayed by upwardly mobile ingroup members, while the behavioral identity expression of the upwardly mobile ingroup member was relatively unimportant. Affective identification led to stronger upward mobility support in low status groups because upward mobility was perceived as group-based progress and because the upwardly mobile ingroup member was more strongly perceived as an ingroup member. In contrast, Study 3.4 revealed that from the perspective of a high status outgroup member behavioral identity expression is considered more important than affective identification. Behavioral expression of the low status identity raised perceptions of threat in the high status group, leading to stronger opposition to the upward mobility of a member of a low status group. In other words, a reversed response to the identity features of upwardly mobile low status group members was found when the perspective of the perceiver changed from fellow low status group member to high status outgroup member.

Study 3.5

Study 3.4 offered evidence for our hypotheses regarding the response of high status groups to the upward mobility of members of low status groups. One of the central findings in Study 3.4 was that participants' opposition to the upward mobility of a low status group member depended on behavioral identity expression rather than affective identification. This was in line with our expectations. We contended that when the personal significance of the low status group membership is kept private (affective ingroup identification) by upwardly mobile members of low status groups, this signals to high status groups that the importance of the high status identity is accepted. Study 3.5 examined whether the results also hold

among members of natural groups. Specifically, Study 3.5 consisted of a field experiment among White ethnic majorities (Dutch individuals of whom both parents are native Dutch) in which the affective identification and behavioral identity expression of upwardly mobile ethnic minorities were manipulated. As identification with a minimal group created in the lab differs from the real world identification of members of real groups it is not self-evident that the results of Study 3.4 will hold in an interethnic context. When responding to the identity features of ethnic minorities, ethnic majorities can draw from day-to-day experiences and interactions with ethnic minorities. As a result of these intergroup contacts, identity features such as behavioral identity expression and affective ingroup identification can become empirically associated with other variables. The effects on perceived threat and opposition to upward mobility that were found in Study 3.4 could therefore differ in an interethnic group context. As before, we expected that ethnic majorities would respond with opposition to the behavioral identity expressions of upwardly mobile ethnic minorities, because behavioral identity expression is a better indicator of the extent to which the importance of the high status social identity is challenged than affective ingroup identification.

Participants, Sample and Research Design

Data for the study were obtained from 164 junior and senior high school students. Sixteen responses from participants lacking work experience were excluded from the analyses. Students were members of the White Dutch majority (M age = 16.83 years, SD = 0.79 years, 81 women and 67 men). The students were offered the opportunity to participate voluntarily. None of the teachers and students refused voluntary participation. Participants were randomly allocated to a 2 (affective identification: high vs. low) X 2 (behavioral identity expression: high vs. low) between-participants design.

Procedure and Independent Variables

Participants were asked to imagine working with an ethnic minority colleague ("X") who has been employed for a trial period. X and the participant are team members. During the trial period X indicates that he would like to prolong his position and that he has the ambition to move up within the work organization. An extension of contract would thus be an important upward mobility step for X. The trial period is coming to an end and the manager of the work team has to make a decision on extending X's contract. The participant's task was to respond to the extension of X's contract and to X's ambition to move up within the organization.

Manipulation of behavioral identity expression and affective identification. After the introductory information participants were informed of X's affective identification and behavioral identity expression. Participants were informed that X feels either emotionally strongly or weakly attached to his/her ethnic group (high affective identification: "I feel strongly connected to my ethnic group. I am greatly concerned about the relationship with my ethnic group and I have this relationship very much at heart"; low affective identification: "I feel weakly connected to my ethnic group. I am not that concerned about the relationship with my ethnic group and I do not have this relationship at heart." To manipulate behavioral identity expression, participants learned either that X gave strong expression to the typical practices of his ethnic group or gave little expression to the typical practices of his ethnic group (high behavioral identity expression: "I behave fully in line with the typical practices of my ethnic group, even if these practices conflict with the typical Dutch practices"; low behavioral identity expression: "I behave fully in line with the typical Dutch practices, even if these practices conflict with the typical practices of my ethnic group"). X also indicates (in all conditions) that his current behavioral identity expression will continue into the future.

Measures. Manipulation checks and the dependent measures directly followed the manipulations. *Manipulation checks* were included to check the manipulations of affective identification ("X cares much for his/her ethnic group") and behavioral identity expression ("X behaves fully in line with the typical practices of his/her ethnic group"). Responses were recorded on seven-point scales (1 = 'strongly disagree' to 7 = 'strongly agree'). *Perceived threat* was measured with the same five items used in Study 3.4. Participants were asked to indicate how they felt when thinking about the extension of X's contract (e.g. 1 = 'not stressed 7 = 'stressed; α = .82). *Opposition to upward mobility of X* was measured with items assessing the participants' attitude toward an extension of X's contract and his movement up in the work organization (e.g. "My opinion is that there is no future for X in the work organization," "My opinion is that X is merely suited for the lower level jobs in the organization," "If the manager asks for my opinion I would point out that I would be happy with a prolonged stay of X in the work team" (recoded); α = .83).

Results

To analyze the data 2 (affective identification: high vs. low) X 2 (behavioral identity expression: high vs. low) analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were used.

Manipulation Checks

The manipulation of affective identification was successful. Upwardly mobile X was perceived as showing stronger affective identification in the high affective identification condition (M = 6.32, SD = 1.39) than in the low affective identification condition (M = 2.79, SD = 1.72), F (1, 144) = 192.76, p < .001, partial η^2 = .57. Stronger behavioral identity expression by X was perceived in the high behavioral identity expression condition (M = 5.85, SD = 1.48) than in the low behavioral identity expression condition (M = 2.95, SD = 1.58), F (1, 144) = 140.61, p < .001, partial η^2 = .49.[5]

Opposition to Upward Mobility

As expected, stronger opposition to X's upward mobility was reported when X gave high behavioral expression to the ethnic identity (M = 2.84, SD = 1.09) than when X gave low behavioral expression to the ethnic identity (M = 2.02, SD = .68), F (1, 144) = 29.77, p < .001, partial η^2 = .17 (Hypothesis 3.4a). The extent to which opposition was offered to X's upward mobility when X manifested high affective identification (M = 2.52, SD = .95) was equal to the level of opposition to X's upward mobility when X manifested low affective identification with the ethnic minority group (M = 2.35, SD = 1.04), F (1, 144) = 1.57, p = .21, partial η^2 = .01. The level of opposition to upward mobility by X was not affected by the interaction between X's affective identification and X's identity expression, F (1, 144) = 1.81, p = .18, partial η^2 = .01. The results indicate that also in this ethnic context opposition to upward mobility depended on the behavioral identity expression of the low status social identity rather than the affective identification with the low status social identity (Hypothesis 3.4b).

Perceived Threat

Participants perceived more threat when upwardly mobile X gave high behavioral expression to the ethnic identity (M = 3.04, SD = .97) than when X gave low behavioral expression to the ethnic identity (M = 2.20, SD = .77), F (1, 144) = 34.40, p < .001, partial

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[5] There was no reliable two-way interaction effect of affective identification and behavioral identity expression on the perception of affective identification (F (1, 144) = 3.35, p = .07, partial η^2 = .02). However, the two-way interaction did affect the perception of behavioral identity expression, F (1, 144) = 4.22, p = .04, partial η^2 = .03. Importantly, this interaction only occurred on the manipulation check of behavioral identity expression and did not affect any of the dependent variables. Additional analyses revealed that the effects of the manipulation of behavioral identity expression were significant and strong under conditions of both high and low affective identification. Specifically, the effect of high vs. low behavioral identity expression on perceived behavioral identity expression was stronger under conditions of low affective identification (M = 5.92 vs. M = 2.47; F (1, 69) = 146.51, p < .001, partial η^2 = .68) than under conditions of high affective identification (M = 5.79 vs. M = 3.36; F (1, 75) = 37.52, p < .001, partial η^2 = .33).

η^2 = .19. This effect was as anticipated (Hypothesis 3.5a). More threat was also perceived when X presented high affective identification (M = 2.76, SD = .98) than when X presented low affective identification (M = 2.48, SD = .94), F (1, 144) = 4.20, p = .04, partial η^2 = .03. Yet, as expected, affective identification with the ethnic minority group affected perceived threat to a lesser extent than X's identity expression did, as was reflected by the variance accounted for by these effects (η^2 = .19 vs. η^2 = .03; Hypothesis 3.5b). Perceived threat was not affected by the two-way interaction of affective identification and identity expression, F < 1.

Mediation Analyses

Mediation analyses were performed with a four-step regression procedure as suggested by Baron and Kenny (1986), revealing evidence for the effect of X's behavioral identity expression on increased opposition to upward mobility to be mediated by the perception of threat (Hypothesis 3.6). As shown above, behavioral expression of the ethnic identity led to higher opposition to upward mobility (β = .41, t (146) = 5.46, p < .001; Step 1) and perceived threat (β = .43, t (146) = 5.79, p < .001; Step 2). Perceived threat was a significant predictor of opposition to upward mobility (β = .73, t (146) = 12.95, p < .001; Step 3). While X's behavioral expression of the ethnic identity became a less strong predictor of opposition to X's upward mobility (β = .12, t (145) = 1.89, p =.06), the effect of perceived threat on opposition to upward mobility remained significant (β = .68, t (145) = 10.96, p <.001, Sobel's z = 5.12, p < .00001).

Discussion

Study 3.5 consisted of a field experiment among White ethnic majorities intended to replicate the effects of Study 3.4 of behavioral identity expression and affective ingroup identification on opposition to upward mobility. As expected, among members of the majority group, higher behavioral identity expression of the upwardly mobile low status group member increased opposition to upward mobility and increased perceived threat (Hypothesis 3.4). Moreover, as expected, opposition to upward mobility and perceived threat depended more strongly on behavioral identity expression than on affective ingroup identification (Hypothesis 3.5). Consistent with Hypothesis 3.6 we found that behavioral expression of the low status identity by upwardly mobile ethnic minorities raised threat in ethnic majorities leading them to oppose to the upward mobility of ethnic minority group members. The observation that affective ingroup identification raised perceived threat was not predicted and not consistent with the non-significant effect of affective ingroup

identification on perceived threat in Study 3.4. Probably, these divergent effects are due to the different experimental contexts. While affective identification was manipulated in a minimal group context in Study 3.4, affective identification was manipulated in an interethnic context in Study 3.5, in which White ethnic majorities responded to the affective ingroup identification of upwardly mobile ethnic minorities. It is likely that high affective identification with an ethnic minority group communicated more strongly a rejection of the "objective" importance of the high status majority identity than high affective identification with a minimal low status group (as in Study 3.4), leading to the perception of threat in ethnic majorities. The underlying reason for this effect may be the association that ethnic majorities perceive between affective involvement by ethnic minority group members and ethnic minorities' perceived questioning of the importance of the majority identity. This perceived association may be the result of repeated exposure--- for instance in newspapers and on TV--- to high affectively identified ethnic minority group members who question the societal status quo, including the dominant position of the majority identity. In this way, ethnic majorities may come to believe that affectively identified ethnic minority group members tend to reject the dominance of the majority identity (see also Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2008). In line with this reasoning, upwardly mobile ethnic minority group members' affective ingroup identification could have raised threat in the ethnic majorities in Study 3.5. Still, the results were in line with our hypotheses: behavioral expression of the low status ethnic identity had a much stronger effect on perceived threat than affective ingroup identification. Moreover, whereas perceived threat following behavioral identity expression led to opposition to upward mobility, the effect of affective ingroup identification on perceived threat did not make itself felt in the opposition to upward mobility.

Study 3.6

The results of Study 3.1 to 3.5 were consistent with the main hypothesis that low and high status groups show opposite preferential responses to the affective identification and behavioral identity expression of upwardly mobile members of low status groups. Whereas upward mobility support in low status groups mainly depended on affective identification, high status groups opposed upward mobility mainly as a result of behavioral identity expression. These results were obtained in experimental studies. Study 3.6 consisted of a correlational field study among ethnic majority group members in which we measured their perceptions of the affective identification and behavioral identity expression of their ethnic minority colleagues at the workplace, and examined responses to these identity

features of their ethnic minority colleagues. This method enabled us to examine whether the results found in the experimental studies hold up for affective identification and behavioral identity expression in real-life situations. Also, this enabled us to test whether affective identification and behavioral identity expression could be successfully distinguished in a real-life situation. Third, Study 3.6 allowed us to test the practical importance of the findings on real-life opposition to upward mobility, examining whether behavioral identity expression (and/or affective identification) continue to affect opposition to upward mobility even when controlling for other relevant variables.

Participants and Procedure

Randomly selected work organizations were sent ten to thirty surveys depending on the size of the organization. After distribution of the surveys these organizations were contacted by phone two times in order to remind them to distribute the survey among employees. In an accompanying letter participants were asked to complete a questionnaire on the topic of 'colleagues and cooperation' within organizations. Participants returned the survey in a return envelope. Two-hundred and thirty-two questionnaires (29%) were returned. Fifty-eight questionnaires could not be used in the analyses since these questionnaires were incomplete or were completed by ethnic minorities. Also, some participants chose a target not belonging to an ethnic minority group. After removal of the unusable questionnaires, the participants included in the analyses were 174 ethnic majority individuals (*M* age = 38.55 years, *SD* = 13.87 years, 112 women, 62 men) employed at various types of work organizations (30% business, 28% public service, 23% semi state-controlled).

Measures. Participants were asked to think of a maximum of five ethnic minority colleagues in their work organization and to write down their initials. Subsequently, participants were instructed to select one person from the list of (one to five) ethnic minority colleagues. Note that to create some variability in who was selected four types of surveys were distributed differing merely in the selection instruction. Specifically, participants were asked to select the ethnic minority colleague (denoted as "X" from now on) from the list who according to the participant (a) had the strongest tendency to behave in line with practices typical for his/her ethnic group, or (b) had the weakest tendency to behave in line with practices typical for his/her ethnic group, or (c) had the strongest emotional attachment to his/her ethnic group, or (d) had the weakest emotional attachment to his/her ethnic group. Prior to the instruction it was explained to participants that ethnic minorities can differ in the extent to which they behave in line with ethnic practices and emotional

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attachment to the ethnic minority group.[6] *Perceived behavioral identity expression* was measured with three items (e.g. "X predominantly behaves in accordance with practices typical for his/her ethnic group", "X's behaviors deviate from the typical Dutch practices" (recoded); α = .74). Three items measured *perceived affective identification* (e.g. "I think X has a strong emotional bond with his/her ethnic group" "I think X hardly feels emotionally attached to his/her ethnic group" (recoded); α = .88). Responses to the items of behavioral identity expression and affective identification were recorded on seven-point scales (1 = 'strongly disagree' to 7 = 'strongly agree'). Following the measures of perceived affective identification and perceived behavioral identity expression participants were asked to imagine that they were about to form a work team with other employees from within their work organization, including X. The manager responsible for the formation appoints X as the leader of the work team. The remaining questions on the questionnaire then focused on the participant's responses to the leadership of X (and measured a number of control variables).

To measure *perceived threat* the same five items were used as in Study 3.5 (e.g. 1 = 'not threatened' to 7 = 'threatened'; α = .89). *Opposition to the leadership of X* was measured with five items (e.g. "I would oppose the leadership of X in the work team" "If the manager does not ask for my opinion I would still protest against the leadership of X in the work team" "If the manager does not ask for my opinion I would still point out that I would be happy with the leadership of X in the work team" (recoded); α = .91). Responses were recorded on seven-point scales (1 = 'I would definitely not do that' to 7 = 'I would definitely do that').

To allow us to control for other variables that might explain (apparent) associations between identity features and opposition we assessed the *perception of X's current work performance* ("How do you evaluate X's current work performance?", 1 = 'Very poor' 7 = 'Very good'), *professional friendship with X* ("To what extent do you maintain friendly relations with X at the workplace?", 1 = 'not at all' to 7 = 'to a very strong degree'), the *gender of the participant*, and the *hierarchical difference* between X and the participant in the organization ('In comparison to X's position, my position at the work organization is…'; 1 = 'much lower than X's position, 2 = 'somewhat lower than X's position', 3 = 'approximately equal to X's position, 4 = 'somewhat higher than X's position, 5 = 'much higher than X's position).[7]

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[6] By letting participants select one target from a list of five ethnic minority colleagues and varying the instructions we sought to lessen the likelihood that participants would choose what they perceived as the most prototypical ethnic minority group member, such as colleagues who behave most in line with typical ethnic practices.

[7] We also tested whether the degree of participants' private friendship with X, X's gender or X's (estimated) age had to be included as control variables. However, these variables did not account for associations between identification features and opposition beyond the control variables that we already included in the reported analyses.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

The sample of selected ethnic minority colleagues (women = 100, men = 71, unknown = 3) was a good reflection of the distribution of ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands. Seventy-one percent of the selected ethnic minority colleagues were from Moroccan (22%), Surinamese (29%), Turkish (15%), or Antillean (5%) descent (according to the participants' assessment). The other selected colleagues were assessed as having origins in other African, South-American or Asian countries. Based on participants' estimations we also found a good spread in age of the selected colleagues (16-25 = 29%, 26-35 = 30%, 36-45 = 22%, 46-55 = 17%).

Identity features of the selected colleagues. Overall, a paired samples t-test revealed that the mean level of perceived behavioral identity expression (M = 3.13, SD = 1.43) was significantly lower than the mean level of perceived affective identification of the selected ethnic minority colleagues (M = 5.06, SD = 1.40), t (173) = -16.54, p < .001. A four-way univariate factor analysis of variance (UNIANOVA) revealed that the selection instruction was successful in generating variance on the measures of perceived behavioral identity expression (F (3, 170) = 12.90, p < .001, partial η^2 = .19) and perceived affective identification (F (3, 170) = 11.33, p < .001, partial η^2 = .17). Tukey post-hoc tests revealed that compared to the low affective identification instruction the instruction for high affective identification led to the selection of target X's (ethnic minority colleagues) with significantly higher affective identification (M = 5.83, SD = 1.06 vs. M = 4.40, SD = 1.48; $Mdif$ = 1.43, SE = 0.277, p < .001). Similarly, compared to the low behavioral identity expression instruction, the high behavioral identity expression instructions led to the selection of targets with significantly higher levels of identity expression (M = 3.63, SD = 1.70 vs. M = 2.63, SD = 1.03; $Mdif$ = 1.00, SE = 0.280, p = .002). Importantly, the effect of the affective identification instruction on perceptions of affective identification still emerges when controlling for perceived behavioral identity expression, F (1, 84) = 14.49, p < .001, partial η^2 = .15. Also, the effect of behavioral identity expression on perceived behavioral identity expression emerges controlling for affective identification, F (1, 84) = 5.53, p = .02, partial η^2 =.06. The effects of the instructions were thus as intended and were not attributable to perceptions of just one dominant identity feature.

Confirmatory Factor Analyses

To check that the four scales (perceived behavioral identity expression, perceived affective identification, perceived threat and opposition to leadership) could indeed be

distinguished, we conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA; Bentler & Wu, 2004). As fit indices we report the Non-Normed Fit Index (NNFI), the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) and the chi-square (χ^2). These indices indicate fit when NNFI and CFI are between 0.90 and 1, and when RMSEA is 0.10 or less (Diamantopoulos & Siguaw, 2000; Schumacker & Lomax, 2004).

The results provided support for the validity of the constructs in this study, showing that participants differentiated between behavioral identity expression and affective identification, as well as between perceived threat and opposition to the leadership of X. First, we tested the four-factor solution-- with perceived behavioral identity expression, affective identification, perceived threat and opposition to leadership as separate constructs-- which showed acceptable fit (NNFI = .90, CFI = .92, RMSEA = .10, χ^2(98) = 256.53, $p <$ .00001). Subsequently, a three-factor model was tested in which perceived behavioral identity expression and perceived affective identification were merged into one aggregate factor, examining whether these identity features merely reflected a global measure of ingroup identification. This model showed low fit (NNFI = .83, CFI = .86, RMSEA = .13, χ^2(101) = 373.65, $p <$ .00001). Finally, we tested a three-factor model with perceived threat and opposition to leadership merged as one aggregate factor, examining whether the negative responses to the leadership of X merely reflected a global sense of negativity toward X's leadership. This model also showed low fit with the data (NNFI = .84, CFI = .87, RMSEA = .12, χ^2(101) = 356.37, $p <$ .00001). Chi-square differences tests showed that the four factor model fitted the data significantly better than each of the three factor models (χ^2(3) = 117.12, $p <$ .005 and χ^2(3) = 99.84, $p <$ .005 respectively).

The Impact of Perceived Identity Features on Opposition to Leadership and Perceived Threat

Hierarchical regression analyses were performed to test the effects of perceived behavioral expression of the ethnic identity and perceived affective identification with the ethnic minority group on perceived threat and on opposition to the leadership of the ethnic minority colleague. All variables were centered (Aiken & West, 1991), except for gender of the participant which was effect coded (woman = 1, man = -1). The control variables were entered in Step 1. Perceived behavioral identity expression was entered in Step 2 and perceived affective identification in Step 3. The perceived behavioral identity expression by perceived affective identification interaction was entered in Step 4.

First, we tested the relationships of perceived behavioral identity expression and affective identification with opposition to the leadership of X, while controlling for other

relevant variables. Step 1 (F (4, 169) = 40.70, $p < .001$, R^2 = .49) revealed that higher opposition to the leadership of X was perceived as a result of the perception of poorer work performance of X (B = -.64, SE = .07, t (169) = -8.67, $p < .001$), the participant having a higher position in the organizational hierarchy in comparison to X (B = .36, SE = .09, t (169) = 4.17, $p < .001$) and less friendly relations with X at the workplace (B = -.14, SE = .06, t (169) = -2.45, p = .02). Furthermore, men more strongly opposed the leadership of X than women (B = -.28, SE = .10, t (169) = -2.86, p = .005). Step 2 showed that beyond these control variables, perceived behavioral identity expression was a significant additional predictor of opposition to the leadership of X, B = .14, SE = .07, t (168) = 1.99, p = .048, $\triangle R^2$ = .012. Step 3 (enter: perceived affective identification) and Step 4 (enter: the two-way interaction) were non-significant (both $t < 1$).[8] Thus, as expected, the results showed that the perception of an ethnic minority colleagues' behavioral identity expression was a predictor of ethnic majorities' opposition to the leadership of the ethnic minority colleague (Hypothesis 3.4a). Also, as expected perceived behavioral identity expression was a better predictor of opposition to the leadership of the ethnic minority colleague than the perception of affective identification with the ethnic minority group (Hypothesis 3.5a).

Second, we tested the relationships of perceived behavioral identity expression and perceived affective identification with perceived threat. Step 1 (F (4, 169) = 36.60, $p < .001$, R^2 = .46) revealed that higher threat was perceived as a result of the perception of poorer work performance of X (B = -.55, SE = .06, t (169) = -8.69, $p < .001$), having a higher position in the organizational hierarchy in comparison to X (B = .21, SE = .07, t (169) = 2.77, p = .006), and less friendly relations with X at the workplace (B = -.15, SE = .05, t (169) = -2.93, p = .004). Although the relationship was not significant, men tended to perceive somewhat more threat than women (B = -.13, SE = .09, t (169) = -1.50, p = .14). Step 2 revealed that perceived behavioral identity expression predicted perceived threat (B = .23, SE = .06, t (168) = 3.84, $p < .001$, R^2 = .043. Perceived affective identification (B = -.08, SE = .06, t (167) = -1.27, p = .21, $\triangle R^2$ = .005) and the two-way interaction (B = -.07, SE = .04, t (166) = -1.68, p = .09, $\triangle R^2$ = .008) were non-significant predictors of perceived threat in Step 3 and 4.[9] Thus, as expected, perceived behavioral expression of the ethnic identity by

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[8] Also, the results remain the same when we enter the variables in reversed order. When first perceived affective identification was entered in Step 2, followed by perceived behavioral identity expression in Step 3, Step 2 showed that affective identification was not a predictor of opposition to leadership of X beyond the control variables, B = .003, SE = .07, t (168) = .04, p = .97, $\triangle R^2 < .001$, while in Step 3, behavioral identity expression was a significant predictor of opposition to leadership of X, B = .16, SE = .08, t (167) = 2.11, p = .037, $\triangle R^2$ = .013.

[9] Also, the results remain the same when we enter the variables in reversed order. When first perceived affective identification was entered in Step 2, followed by perceived behavioral identity expression in Step 3, Step 2 showed that affective identification was not a predictor of perceived threat beyond the control variables, B = .01, SE = .06, t (168) = .17, p = .86, $\triangle R^2 < .001$, while in Step 3, behavioral identity expression was a significant predictor of perceived threat, B = .26, SE = .06, t (167) = 4.05, $p < .001$, $\triangle R^2$ = .05.

the ethnic minority colleague was associated with a raise in perceived threat in ethnic majorities (Hypothesis 3.4b) and perceived behavioral identity expression was a better predictor of perceived threat than the perception of affective ingroup identification of the ethnic minority colleague (Hypothesis 3.5b).

Mediation Analyses

Mediational analyses using the Baron and Kenny (1986) procedure confirmed that the increase in opposition to the leadership of the ethnic minority colleague following perceived behavioral identity expression was mediated by an increase in perceived threat in ethnic majorities (see Figure 3.2). Specifically, opposition to the leadership of X and perceived threat were regressed on perceived behavioral identity expression in Step 1 and Step 2 respectively, showing that perceived behavioral identity expression heightened opposition to the leadership of X ($\beta = .11$, $t(168) = 1.99$, $p = .048$) and increased perceived threat ($\beta = .23$, $t(168) = 3.84$, $p < .001$). Step 3 showed perceived threat to be a significant predictor of opposition to the leadership of X, $\beta = .56$, $t(168) = 9.19$, $p < .001$. In Step 4, opposition to the leadership of X was regressed on perceived threat and perceived behavioral identity expression. Whereas perceived threat and opposition to the leadership of X were significantly related ($\beta = .57$, $t(167) = 8.84$, $p < .001$), perceived behavioral identity expression became an unreliable predictor of opposition to the leadership of X, $t < 1$ (Sobel's $z = 3.54$, $p < .001$).

Figure 3.2. The response of members of high status groups to upwardly mobile low status group members. The effect of behavioral identity expression on opposition to leadership mediated by perceived threat (Study 3.6).

Behavioral Identity expression → $\beta = .11^* (\beta = -.01)$ → Opposition to leadership

$\beta = .23^{***}$ → Perceived threat → $\beta = .57^{***}$
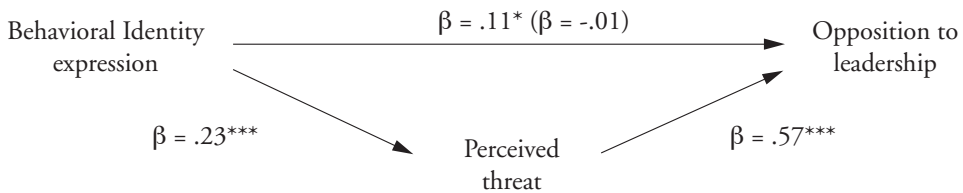
$^*p < .05$, *** p<.001.

Discussion

The results of Study 3.6 offer support for Hypothesis 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6. As expected, perceived behavioral identity expression increased perceived threat and heightened

opposition to the leadership of X (Hypothesis 3.4). Also, as expected, opposition to a leadership position of an ethnic minority colleague and the perception of threat were a function of behavioral identity expression rather than affective identification (Hypothesis 3.5). Lastly, consistent with Hypothesis 3.6, the effect of behavioral identity expression on increased opposition to the leadership position of the ethnic minority colleague was explained by higher perceived threat. In addition, the results of the confirmatory factor analysis established that members of the high status majority group distinguished between behavioral identity expression and affective identification in ethnic minorities. Although, overall participants perceived relatively low levels of behavioral identity expression in ethnic minority colleagues, it was this identity feature that robustly raised opposition to the leadership of ethnic minority colleagues. These results were found in actual work settings, indicating high ecological validity of our findings. Moreover, the relationships of behavioral identity expression with opposition and perceived threat were rather robust: we controlled for various influences such as the perceived work performance of the ethnic minority colleague, the extent to which participants maintained friendly relations with the ethnic minority colleague, and the hierarchical position of X in the organization. Even controlling for these factors the relationships of behavioral identity expression with opposition and perceived threat remained.

General Discussion

Members of low status groups who pursue upward mobility can associate with their low status identity by displaying their psychological connection with the low status group and/or by behaving in line with typical ingroup practices. Perceivers' responses to these identity features of upwardly mobile low status group members, which we labeled *affective ingroup identification* and *behavioral identity expression* respectively, was the central issue in the present paper. Six studies provided evidence for the main hypothesis that low and high status groups exhibit opposite preferential responses to the affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression of upwardly mobile members of low status groups. In Study 3.1 and 3.2 upward mobility support in low status groups depended on affective ingroup identification (Hypothesis 3.1), more than on behavioral identity expression (Hypothesis 3.2). By comparing the display of low and high affective ingroup identification with a control condition, Study 3.3 showed that upward mobility support is not particularly affected by high levels of affective identification. Rather, upward mobility support decreases as a result of low affective ingroup identification. Affective ingroup identification positively

affected support in low status groups because upward mobility was perceived more strongly as a contribution to group-based progress and because the upwardly mobile ingroup member continued to be perceived as part of the ingroup (Hypothesis 3.3).

When examining the responses of members of high status groups, another positive aspect of affective identification with the low status group was revealed. The results showed that affective identification hardly raised opposition in high status groups compared to behavioral identity expression. Thus, affective ingroup identification proved to be an identity feature that raised upward mobility support in low status groups and encountered little opposition from the group that has the power to frustrate upward mobility attempts. In fact, Study 3.4 to 3.6 revealed that the responses of members of high status groups were opposite to the responses of members of low status groups: Members of high status groups opposed behavioral identity expression (Hypothesis 3.4) more than affective ingroup identification (Hypothesis 3.5). Also, the results showed that in the high status group, the effect of behavioral identity expression on opposition to upward mobility was mediated by increases in perceived threat (Hypothesis 3.6).

A strength of the current research is that the hypotheses were supported in various types of intergroup contexts and with different methodologies. The effects of the identity features under investigation were found in minimal group contexts and generalized to more natural intergroup contexts with ethnic minority and majority groups, indicating satisfactory ecological validity. Furthermore, we combined correlational field work (Study 3.6) with various experimental designs (Study 3.1 to 3.5). This approach provided converging evidence in support of the hypotheses across a range of methods and different samples. In accordance with the experimental studies, the results of the correlational field study were consistent with the predictions, thereby providing additional support for the meaningfulness of the findings. First, the correlational field study in Dutch work organizations (Study 3.6) established that ethnic majorities were indeed able to distinguish between affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression in ethnic minority colleagues, as shown by the results of a confirmatory factor analysis. Furthermore, Study 3.6 demonstrated that the effects of affective identification and behavioral identity expression were rather robust, such that their effects hold when controlling for a range of other highly relevant variables. The experimental studies further convincingly showed the opposite responses of high and low status groups to the investigated identity features of upwardly mobile low status group members. In this regard, the experimental design of Study 3.4 mirrored the experimental design of Study 3.1 and 3.2, only changing the perspective of the participant from low status group member to high status group member. The mere change of the participants'

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perspective was sufficient to reverse the relative perceived importance of behavioral identity expression versus affective ingroup identification. In addition, we were able to demonstrate the predicted reversal of effects (the relative impact of affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression) using identical research methods (e.g. Study 3.2 vs. Study 3.4). This illustrates that the opposite effects were not attributable to the use of different research methods.

Another strong feature of the studies is that (hypothetical) real-life situations were used to measure upward mobility support. Participants for instance indicated how they would act in situations in which their upwardly mobile ethnic minority colleague wanted to become a full member of a team, or was appointed as leader of a team. An advantage of such behavioroid measures is that they lie closer to actual support behavior than more global attitudinal support measures. In fact, it has been argued that such behavioroid measures lie closest to observations of actual behaviors when actual observations are impractical or too obtrusive (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977). Moreover, outcomes such as being chosen as leader of a work team or being given an extended contract after a trial period are examples of real-life upward mobility transitions that are decisive for actual career progress.

Contributions and Limitations

We believe that our findings offer several contributions to existing literature. First, our research shows that the distinction between affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression is useful in finding ways for members of low status groups to pursue upward mobility while maintaining ingroup identification. Previous research has shown that signs of ingroup identification can raise opposition in high status groups (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2008), and that giving in to these outgroup objections is problematic as well, since lack of ingroup association can raise ingroup opposition (e.g., Contrada et al., 2001; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Postmes & Branscombe, 2002). The findings emphasize the important role of affective ingroup identification in overcoming this dilemma. Even when conforming to the behavioral norms of the high status group, the display of affective ingroup identification helps to acquire or retain ingroup support for upward mobility. At the same time, affective identification hardly evokes outgroup opposition, indicating that the identification demands of the low and high status group are not fully contradictory. That affective ingroup identification positively affects upward mobility support in low status groups and receives little opposition from high status groups has various consequences. For example, empirical investigation points out that ingroup support is a key resource in sustaining upward mobility behavior in members of low status groups, even under the threat

of outgroup opposition (Bleeker et al., 2009; Levin et al., 2006). Moreover, sustained ingroup identification can have positive effects that go beyond the upward mobility domain: ingroup identification can protect disadvantaged group members' self-esteem and well-being when confronted with identity related rejection, such as discrimination and prejudice (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002; Levin et al., 2006).

Second, our findings contribute to the literature on intragroup dynamics, by offering insight into how groups assess whether individual group members' actions are beneficial or harmful for the group. In Study 3.1 and 3.2 upward mobility support by members of low status groups was independent of ingroup members' deviation from behavioral ingroup norms. The reason for this is likely that the social context was perceived as putting constraints on the behavioral expression of the low status identity by the upwardly mobile group member (cf. Derks, Van Laar, Ellemers, 2006). Although, in general, groups tend to (psychologically) reject ingroup members who depart from typical ingroup practices (e.g. Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988), deviance can be tolerated in contexts in which group-based progress is perceived to be at stake (Morton, Postmes, & Jetten, 2007). Consistent with these previous findings, Study 3.2 and 3.3 showed that individual upward mobility was indeed perceived as potential progress for the low status group. An important contribution of the work presented here is the demonstration that in such situations groups can turn to another indicator than behavioral deviance to serve as a gauge for the group-level consequences of ingroup members' actions. Specifically, ingroup members' affective ingroup identification determined whether individual upward mobility was perceived as group-based progress or an impetus for rejection. Thus, when low status groups perceive little opportunity for behavioral identity expression, affective ingroup identification can become an important factor in determining whether the pursuit of individual upward mobility by group members is responded to as a threat or as beneficial for the group.

A third and related point is that this work contributes to the literature on rejection processes in ethnic minority groups. Mixed results have been reported on the occurrence and effects of rejection of upwardly mobile ethnic ingroup members on grounds of deviation from behavioral ingroup norms. Whereas some research has reported the occurrence and negative consequences of such intragroup pressures in low status ethnic groups (Contrada et al., 2001; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986), other investigations did not find convincing evidence for such processes (Cook & Ludwig, 1997). The results presented here suggest that such rejection dynamics do occur but depend more strongly on affective ingroup identification than on behavioral identity expression. These results seem to clarify why some successful low status group members are greatly appreciated despite their non-prototypical behavior, while

at other times non-prototypical behavior appears to be a reason to reject successful ingroup members. In low affectively identifying ingroup members who pursue upward mobility, low behavioral identity expression is likely assessed as symptomatic for their weak psychological connection to the group. Accordingly, their behavior is explicitly judged by the ingroup since behavior is more tangible and easier to address than affective identification, although a perceived lack of affective ingroup identification may drive such judgments. The result is that some ethnic minority members may perceive that they are rejected on the grounds of deviation from typical ingroup practices while others feel accepted despite the same level of deviation from ingroup practices.

Fourth, the results of the present study are in line with the notion that low and high status groups have different concerns that are prompted by their respective positions in the social hierarchy (e.g. Dovidio et al., 2007). Upward mobility support in low status groups depended particularly on affective ingroup identification because this identity feature was perceived to contribute to improvement of the position of the group in the social hierarchy. High status groups seemed to be more concerned with protecting the dominance of the high status social identity, feeling threatened by the behavioral identity expression of the low status identity. The relative unimportance of affective identification in the responses of members of high status groups to individual upward mobility in our studies suggests that high status groups were not very threatened by improvement in the social position of the low status group as long as the high status identity was accepted as dominant.

At this point it is important to address a limitation of the current research. The effects of affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression may be limited to social hierarchies in which status relations are perceived as relatively stable. In our studies participants had no reason to believe that the individual upward mobility they responded to would lead to major group-level changes in the status-quo. In fact, when actual changes in the status-quo are considered conceivable, high status groups can perceive strong threat (Ellemers & Bos, 1998; Scheepers & Ellemers, 2004) while low status groups can feel empowered to establish social change (Scheepers, 2009; Wright et al., 1990), likely leading to different responses to affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression. An example of such a period of group-level turmoil is the 1960's in which the social position of African-Americans in the United States improved significantly. In these situations affective identification could raise relatively strong levels of threat in high status groups because this identity feature may be perceived as a symbol for the instability of the social position of the high status group. In a similar vein, responses in low status groups could be less supportive toward behaviorally conforming upwardly mobile ingroup members because

the group may feel more efficacious in demanding opportunities for behavioral expression of the ingroup identity.

Implications and Future Directions

In the current investigation, affective ingroup identification appeared as a key variable that contributed positively to support of individual upward mobility in low groups. In order to interpret the practical implications of the findings presented here it is important to realize that affective ingroup identification depends to some degree on positive intragroup contacts and that behavioral conformity to the high status norms can interfere with the maintenance of such positive intragroup contacts. This can happen, for instance, when the behavioral conformity demands of the high status group transgress the boundaries of the immediate work or academic context. When upward mobility success depends, for example, on joining social clubs, living in residential areas and having hobbies that are considered 'appropriate' by the high status group, low status group members may be less able to combine upward mobility with maintaining emotionally significant intragroup relationships. What the work presented here shows is that members of low status groups can lose ingroup support in such situations. Not because they behave in line with the norms of the high status group, but because they fail to display affective identification with the ingroup. By contrast, behavioral conformity demands that are more closely tied to a more limited work or academic setting offer more opportunities for maintaining affective ingroup identification, even when the behavioral conformity demands in the work/academic stetting are stringent.

Finally, two remarks. First, the distinction between affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression is not as clear-cut in real life as it can be made to be in empirical investigations. Sometimes a single behavioral identity expression functions as a key symbol for affective ingroup identification. For example, Muslim women may feel that it is hard to display affective ingroup identification when not wearing the veil in a work or academic context. Enforcement of majority norms in such situations may then severely hinder the display of affective ingroup identification. Second, it is important to emphasize explicitly that we are not arguing in any way for an assimilationist societal model (see Berry, 1997) in which members of low status groups are expected to behaviorally adapt to the superordinate identity (which is largely determined by the high status group). Rather, we believe that such conformity strategies fall short of establishing real equality between groups. Group-level equality requires that low status groups have a fair share of expression in the superordinate identity such that the respect and tolerance of being able to sufficiently express ones identity is felt, also in work and academic settings.

Further understanding of these processes could benefit from an examination of the effects of affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression of upwardly mobile low status group members on fellow upwardly mobile group members. The findings in the work presented here have shown that the distinction between affective ingroup identification and behavioral identity expression helps to shed light on support for upward mobility in the low status group. Further research could examine the effects of these identity features on the choice of ingroup role models. Which combination of identity features is for example considered the most attractive when upwardly mobile members of low status groups choose ingroup role models? The results presented here show that behavioral identity expression is relatively unimportant for upward mobility support in low status group. However, it may be high behavioral identity expressing individuals that form the most inspiring role models for upwardly mobile members of low status groups, in that high affective ingroup identification is not sufficient for being an inspiring role model. However, as high behavioral identity expressing role models are less likely to be found in higher-level positions (where the high status group tends to be the majority group), this would lead low status group members to choose role models in lower status positions. This would imply that the features of a supported ingroup member are not necessarily the same as those of an inspiring ingroup member.

CHAPTER 3

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Summary in Dutch
(Nederlandse samenvatting)

Met goede kwalificaties en prestaties in statusdefiniërende domeinen als werk en opleiding kunnen leden van lage status groepen, zoals etnische minderheden en vrouwen, hun individuele positie in een statushiërarchie verbeteren. Op deze wijze positieverbetering bewerkstelligen staat in de literatuur bekend als individuele opwaartse mobiliteit (Ellemers, Wilke, & van Knippenberg, 1993; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Taylor & McKirnan, 1984; Wright et al., 1990). De geringe opwaartse mobiliteit van leden van lage status groepen is een maatschappelijk probleem. Etnische minderheden en vrouwen weten maar mondjesmaat door te dringen tot de hogere maatschappelijke posities (e.g. ("Arbeidsmarktanalyse", 2008 ; Nieuwenhuis, 2007; "She Figures, 2006"; Riach & Rich, 2002; VSNU, 2008), waaruit blijkt dat groepslidmaatschap nog altijd een voorspeller is van de maatschappelijke prestaties van individuen. Deze constatering is in strijd met de Westerse overtuiging dat individuele statusposities voornamelijk bepaald moeten worden door talent en inzet in plaats van groepslidmaatschap. In een reeks van elf studies draagt deze dissertatie bij aan een verklaring voor de moeizame opwaartse mobiliteit van leden van lage status groepen.

Leden van lage status groepen die maatschappelijk succes nastreven in de vorm van individuele opwaartse mobiliteit worden niet altijd geprezen door hun groepsgenoten. Sterker nog, het is een tamelijk universeel verschijnsel dat zij kunnen stuiten op regelrechte weerstand (Steele, 1992). Door gedragingen die als typisch worden gezien voor de maatschappelijke groep met de meeste status kan hun ambitieuze gedrag gezien worden als het in de steek laten van de groep. Afro-Amerikaanse scholieren lopen bijvoorbeeld het risico beschuldigd te worden van "Blank gedrag" als zij in de ogen van hun groepsgenoten overambitieus zijn, wat leidt tot buitensluiting en beledigingen (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Leden van lage status groepen staan voor een dilemma. De maatschappelijke verhoudingen liggen zo dat zij meestal opwaartse mobiliteit nastreven in omgevingen waar ze in ondertal zijn ten opzichte van hoge status groepsleden. In deze omgevingen geniet het lage status groepslidmaatschap doorgaans weinig aanzien. Er wordt van opwaarts mobiele lage status groepsleden doorgaans verwacht dat zij zich aanpassen aan de heersende normen. Tegelijkertijd verwachten hun lage status groepsgenoten echter dat zij loyaal zijn aan de groep, waardoor de eisen van de hoge status *outgroup* en de lage status *ingroup* ogenschijnlijk tegenstrijdig zijn.

Hoe dit dilemma de individuele opwaartse mobiliteit in lage status groepen beïnvloedt staat centraal in deze dissertatie. Ten eerste worden de effecten van outgroup weerstand en ingroup steun op het nastreven van opwaartse mobiliteit onderzocht. Hoe ervaren vrouwen bijvoorbeeld het nastreven van opwaartse mobiliteit als zij het idee hebben dat hun vrouw-zijn negatief wordt beoordeeld in een werkcontext? En maakt het iets uit of

zij het gevoel hebben in hun mobiliteitsstreven gesteund te worden door seksegenoten? De verwachting was dat niet alleen outgroup weerstand ertoe zou doen, maar dat ook ingroup steun belangrijk zou zijn, ook al neemt die steun niet perse de barrières weg die worden opgeworpen door outgroup weerstand. De ingroup functioneert namelijk als een belangrijke informatiebron voor geaccepteerd 'normaal' gedrag (e.g. Festinger, 1954; Turner et al., 1987), en speelt een belangrijke rol in het bevredigen van de fundamentele behoefte om geaccepteerd te worden en erbij te horen (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002).

Verder wordt onderzocht hoe ingroup steun voor opwaartse mobiliteit afhangt van de ingroup identificatie van opwaarts mobiele lage status groepsleden. Worden allochtone Nederlanders bijvoorbeeld sterker gesteund door hun groepsgenoten bij het nastreven van opwaartse mobiliteit naarmate zij een sterkere emotionele betrokkenheid hebben bij hun etnische groep? Of hangt ingroup steun juist af van gedragingen die typisch zijn voor de groep, zoals bijvoorbeeld het dragen van een hoofddoek door Moslima's? En bovendien, hoe reageert de hoge status groep, zoals de groep autochtone Nederlanders op emotionele betrokkenheid van het idnividu bij de lage status groep en hoe reageren autochtone Nederlanders op gedragingen die typisch zijn voor gestigmatiseerde lage status groepen? De verwachting was dat de ingroup vooral positief zou reageren op *emotionele betrokkenheid* omdat dit identificatiekenmerk kan duiden op loyaliteit naar de groep (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Jetten, Branscombe, Spears, & McKimmie, 2003; Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), en omdat het de indruk wegneemt dat er afstand wordt genomen van de groep (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Jetten, Branscombe, Spears, & McKimmie, 2003; Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Van de outgroup werd verwacht dat deze juist negatief zou reageren op *gedragingen* die typisch zijn voor de gestigmatiseerde groep omdat zulk gedrag als een aanval op de bestaande statusverhoudingen gezien kan worden (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Jetten, Branscombe, Spears, & McKimmie, 2003; Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). De achtergrond van deze vragen worden uitgediept in Hoofdstuk 1. In Hoofdstuk 1 worden ook de theoretische en praktische implicaties van de resultaten van het onderzoek beschreven.

Conclusies

Op basis van de elf studies in deze dissertatie kan geconcludeerd worden dat de ingroup een belangrijke bron van steun is voor leden van lage status groepen die opwaartse mobiliteit nastreven. Door het afnemen van deze steun ontstaat de angst dat men er minder bij hoort in de eigen lage status groep. Men lijkt liever als 'vertegenwoordiger' van de

gestigmatiseerde groep gezien te worden dan als een 'overloper'. De indruk dat men door lage status groepsgenoten gezien wordt als overloper leidt tot verlaagde volharding in het nastreven van opwaartse mobiliteit. Dit betekent dat lage status groepsleden niet alleen rekening houden met de hoge status groep, die de macht heeft om opwaartse mobiliteitspogingen te frustreren, maar ook met de gevolgen die opwaartse mobiliteit heeft voor de relatie met de eigen gestigmatiseerde groep. Deze bevinding werpt een nieuwe blik op opwaartse mobiliteit. Doorgaans wordt binnen de sociaal psychologische literatuur individuele opwaartse mobiliteit beschouwd als gedrag dat aanzet tot 'overlopen' naar de hoge status groep. De resultaten in deze dissertatie laten echter zien dat opwaarts mobiele individuen wel degelijk bij de lage status groep willen blijven horen, zeker ook zolang niet duidelijk is of de opwaartse mobiliteit zal slagen.

Verder kan geconcludeerd worden dat de steun voor opwaartse mobiliteit binnen lage status groepen afhangt van de wijze van identificeren met de ingroup. Gedragsmatige uitingen van de gestigmatiseerde identiteit lokken niet perse de gewenste ingroup steun uit voor opwaartse mobiliteit. Het is de emotionele betrokkenheid met de gestigmatiseerde groep die steun uitlokt, zonder veel effect te hebben op de reactie van de hoge status groep. Dit in tegenstelling tot gedragsmatige uitingen van de gestigmatiseerde identiteit, die juist weerstand bij de hoge status groep opwekken. Deze bevinding laat zien dat de reacties van hoge en lage status groepen op de ingroup identificatie van lage status groepsleden niet tegenstrijdig hoeven te zijn.

Samenvatting van de empirische bevindingen

In Hoofdstuk 2 wordt onderzocht hoe leden van lage status groepen het nastreven van opwaartse mobiliteit ervaren. In verscheidene contexten kunnen deze lage status groepsleden stuiten op weerstand als gevolg van hun gestigmatiseerde groepslidmaatschap, bijvoorbeeld door het opwekken van negatieve stereotypen en negatieve verwachtingen (Braddock & McPartland, 1987; Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Heatherton, Kleck, Hebl, & Hull, 2000; Levin & Van Laar, 2006; Swim & Stangor, 1998). Aanpassing aan de normen van de hoge status groep zou kunnen helpen om die outgroup weerstand zoveel mogelijk te ontlopen (Barreto, Ellemers, & Banal, 2006; Derks, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2006; Ellemers, Van Dyck, Hinkle, & Jacobs, 2000; Reicher, Spears, & Postmes, 1995). Dit zorgt er echter weer voor dat men afwijkt van het ingroup prototype, wat de ingroup vaak moeilijk kan accepteren (Jetten, Summerville, Hornsey, Mewse, 2005; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998; Marques & Paez, 1994; Postmes & Branscombe, 2002). Voorgaand onderzoek heeft zich nog niet gericht op de wijze waarop leden van lage status groepen zich bewegen

binnen dit krachtenveld van steun en weerstand bij het nastreven van opwaartse mobiliteit. Specifiek is de vraag hoe opwaarts mobiele leden van lage status groepen reageren op steun en weerstand van de hoge status outgroup en de lage status ingroup.

In Studie 2.1 en 2.2 werd de reactie op outgroup weerstand onderzocht door outgroup weerstand te manipuleren (outgroup weerstand tegenover outgroup steun) in minimale groepenstudies. Zoals verwacht werd outgroup weerstand (tegenover steun) als bedreigend ervaren. Als gevolg van deze bedreiging voelden proefpersonen zich neerslachtiger en werd opwaartse mobiliteit als minder haalbaar ervaren. In Studie 2.3 en 2.4 werd de reactie op ingroup steun onderzocht door ingroup steun te manipuleren (ingroup steun tegenover ingroup weerstand) in minimale groepenstudies. Outgroup weerstand werd constant gehouden: In beide studies hadden de proefpersonen dus te maken met weerstand van de hoge status outgroup. Studie 2.3 liet zien dat proefpersonen het risico om gemarginaliseerd te worden door hun ingroup als lager schatten als gevolg van ingroup steun (tegenover ingroup weerstand). Dit effect werd verklaard door de verwachting dat zij als volwaardiger leden van de groep gezien zouden blijven worden ondanks een poging tot opwaartse mobiliteit. Daarnaast bleek de ingroup echter niet de ervaring van bedreiging te verminderen. In Studie 2.4 werd wederom geen effect gevonden van ingroup steun op de ervaring van bedreiging. Desondanks nam neerslachtigheid af en werd opwaartse mobiliteit als haalbaarder ingeschat door de proefpersonen. Hetzelfde mechanisme als in Studie 2.3 lag hieraan ten grondslag. Proefpersonen hadden het idee dat acceptatie door de ingroup als volwaardig groepslid meer gewaarborgd was door ingroup steun. Studie 2.5 was een correlationele veldstudie onder vrouwelijke studenten. Zij kregen de opdracht om na te denken over het nastreven van opwaartse mobiliteit ("carrière maken"). Hun reactie op de opdracht om na te denken over carrière maken hing af van de mate waarin zij waarnamen dat het vrouw-zijn een bron van weerstand is bij het nastreven van een carrière. Deze perceptie hing namelijk positief samen met de ervaring van bedreiging en neerslachtigheid, en hing negatief samen met de waargenomen haalbaarheid van succes. SEM analyses boden ondersteuning voor de interpretatie dat waargenomen outgroup weerstand leidde tot neerslachtigheid en de waarneming van succes als minder haalbaar, en dat deze relaties kunnen worden verklaard door de ervaring van bedreiging. Steun van andere vrouwen leidde juist tot minder neerslachtigheid en een positievere kijk op de haalbaarheid van succes, ondanks dat ingroup steun de ervaring van bedreiging niet veranderde.

In Hoofdstuk 3 wordt onderzocht hoe opwaarts mobiele leden van lage status groepen met hun ingroup identificatie steun uitlokken van de hoge status outgroup en de lage status ingroup. Het conceptuele onderscheid tussen gedragsmatige ingroup identiteits-

expressie en affectieve ingroup identificatie staat centraal in dit hoofdstuk. Gedragsmatige ingroup identiteitsexpressie staat voor gedragingen volgens de typische gewoonten van de groep die een bestaande identiteit bevestigen (Leonardelli & Brewer, 2001; Scheepers, Spears, Doosje, & Manstead, 2006; Spears, Jetten, & Scheepers, 2002; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), zoals culturele tradities, religieuze rituelen en kledinggewoonten. Affectieve ingroup identificatie is het andere identificatiekenmerk dat centraal staat in dit hoofdstuk. Dit identificatiekenmerk staat voor de emotionele betekenis die het groepslidmaatschap heeft voor iemand. Affectieve ingroup identificatie houdt dus in dat personen niet alleen op basis van objectieve criteria zijn in te delen als lid van de groep maar dat zij zich ook daadwerkelijk psychologisch verbonden voelen met de groep (Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999; Tajfel, 1978). De vraag is nu hoe de hoge en lage status groep reageren op de gedragsmatige ingroup identiteitsexpressie en de affectieve ingroup identificatie van leden van lage status groepen.

In Studie 3.1 en 3.2 werd de reactie van de *lage status groep* op de gedragsmatige ingroup identiteitsexpressie en affectieve ingroup identificatie van opwaarts mobiele ingroup leden onderzocht door beide identificatiekenmerken te manipuleren (gedragsmatige ingroup identiteitsexpressie: hoog tegenover laag en affectieve ingroup identificatie: hoog tegenover laag) in minimale groepenstudies. Zoals verwacht hing de steun van de proefpersonen in Studie 3.1 meer af van affectieve ingroup identificatie dan van gedragsmatige ingroup identiteitsexpressie. Hoge affectieve ingroup identificatie leidde tot meer steun dan lage affectieve ingroup identificatie. Studie 3.2 repliceerde en verklaarde dit effect. Affectieve ingroup identificatie leidde tot meer steun in lage status groepen omdat opwaartse mobiliteit sterker werd gezien als een bijdrage aan de positie van de groep en omdat de opwaartse mobiele groepsgenoot meer als lid van de groep gezien bleef worden ondanks de opwaartse mobiliteit. Studie 3.3 ging dieper in op het effect van affectieve ingroup identificatie op steun voor opwaartse mobiliteit door het toevoegen van een controle conditie (affectieve ingroup identificatie: hoog tegenover laag tegenover controle). De studie werd uitgevoerd onder Nederlandse etnische minderheden, overwegend Marokkaanse, Turkse, Surinaamse en Antilliaanse Nederlanders. Affectieve ingroup identificatie leidde wederom tot meer steun voor opwaartse mobiliteit, volgens hetzelfde mechanisme als in Studie 3.2. De controleconditie maakte duidelijk dat de effecten werden gedreven door lage affectieve ingroup identificatie. Hoge affectieve identificatie veroorzaakte geen effecten ten opzichte van de controleconditie.

In Studie 3.4 en Studie 3.5 werd de reactie van de hoge status groep op de gedragsmatige ingroup identiteitsexpressie en affectieve ingroup identificatie van opwaarts mobiele lage status groepsleden onderzocht door beide identificatiekenmerken te manipuleren

(gedragsmatige ingroup identiteitsexpressie: hoog tegenover laag en affectieve ingroup identificatie: hoog tegenover laag). Studie 3.4 was een minimale groepenstudie en Studie 3.5 een veldexperiment onder autochtone Nederlandse VWO scholieren. Zoals verwacht hing in de weerstand tegen opwaartse mobiliteit in beide studies meer af van gedragsmatige identiteitsexpressie dan van affectieve identificatie met de lage status groep. In beide studies werd het effect van gedragsmatige identiteitsexpressie op weerstand tegen opwaartse mobiliteit verklaard door de ervaring van bedreiging. Studie 3.6 was een correlationele veldstudie onder autochtone Nederlanders. Respondenten beantwoordden vragen over een allochtone collega op hun werkplek. Eerst gaven zij de waargenomen mate van gedragsmatige ingroup identiteitsexpressie en affectieve ingroup identificatie aan van de allochtone collega. Vervolgens gaven zij aan hoe zij stonden tegenover hun allochtone collega als leider van een (fictieve) werkgroep waarvan zij zelf deel uitmaken. De respondenten rapporteerden meer weerstand tegen de allochtone collega als leider van de werkgroep naarmate zij waarnamen dat die collega zich meer gedroeg volgens de typische gewoonten van de etnische minderheidsgroep. Deze relatie werd verklaard door de ervaring van bedreiging. De waarneming van affectieve ingroup identificatie geen verband met de weerstand tegen het leiderschap van de allochtone collega. De resultaten in Studie 3.6 kwamen dus overeen met de resultaten in Studie 3.4. en 3.5.

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Curriculum Vitea
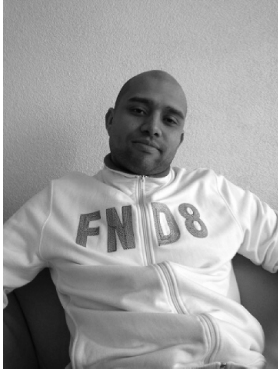
Dennis Bleeker was born on March 29th, 1977 in Den Haag. After graduating from the Interconfessioneel Makeblijde College in Rijswijk in 1995 he studied management and economics at the The Hague University. Subsequently he studied psychology at the University of Leiden and got his Masters degree in Social and Organizational Psychology in 2004. He received an NWO Mozaiek grant in collaboration with Dr. Colette van Laar, for whom he worked as a research assistant, and Professor Naomi Ellemers. Currently, he works as a researcher at EIM Business and Policy Research in Zoetermeer.

De Kurt Lewin Instituut Dissertatiereeks bestaat sinds 1997. Sinds 2008 zijn de volgende proefschriften verschenen/ The "Kurt Lewin Institute Dissertation Series" started in 1997. Since 2008 the following dissertations have been published (je kunt zelf kiezen of je de Nederlandse of de Engelse versie wilt gebruiken):

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