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Representing or defecting ? : the pursuit of individual upward mobility in low status groups

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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

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 F s < 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 $\eta^2 = .54$. 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 $\eta^2 = .29$. There were no interactions of affective identification and behavioral identity expression on the manipulation checks (both F 's < 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 $\eta^2 = .21$ (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 $\eta^2 = .03$. 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 $\eta^2 = .03$. 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 $\eta^2 = .12$ (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 ($\beta = .20$, $t(87) = 2.13$, $p = .04$, Sobel's $z = 1.80$, $p = .07$ and $\beta = -.55$, $t(87) = -5.49$, $p < .001$, 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 Duijn, 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); $\alpha = .72$]. *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,” $\alpha = .77$).

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 ($\alpha = .58$) 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).

REPRESENTING OR DEFECTING?

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)

Affective ingroup identification	Response to affective ingroup identification					
	Support		Perc. Progress		Rejection	
	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).

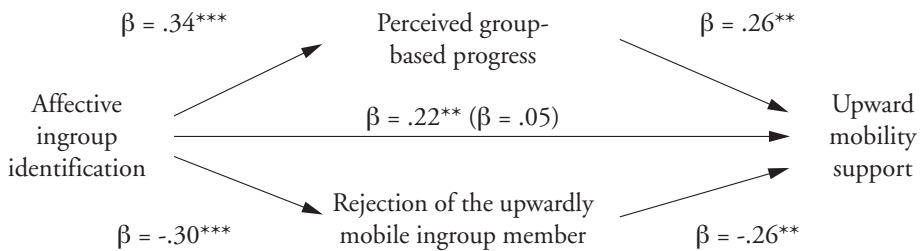
Mediation Analyses

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 ($\beta = .22$, $t(172) = 2.88$, $p = .004$), the perception of lower group-based progress ($\beta = .34$, $t(172) = 4.66$, $p < .001$) and stronger rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member as an ingroup member ($\beta = -.30$, $t(172) = -4.05$, $p < .001$), 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, $\beta = .28$, $t(171) = 3.55$, $p = .001$ and $\beta = .27$, $t(171) = 3.45$, $p = .001$ respectively. In Step 4, perceived group-based progress and rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member remained significant predictors of upward mobility support ($\beta = .264$, $t(170) = 3.30$, $p = .001$, Sobel's $z = 2.69$, $p = .007$ and $\beta = -.261$, $t(170) = 3.30$, $p = .001$, Sobel's $z = 2.54$, $p = .01$ respectively), while the effect of affective identification became non-significant ($\beta = .05$, $t(170) = .68$, $p = .50$).

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 ($\alpha = .82$).

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 $\eta^2 = .55$. 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 $\eta^2 = .38$. 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 $\eta^2 = .04$) or perceived affective identification ($F(1, 70) = 3.23$, $p = .08$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$).

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 $\eta^2 = .06$ (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 $\eta^2 = .12$ (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 ($\beta = .25$, $t(72) = 2.15$, $p = .04$; Step 1) and perceived threat ($\beta = .34$, $t(72) = 3.09$, $p = .003$; Step 2). Perceived threat was a significant predictor of opposition to upward mobility ($\beta = .61$, $t(71) = 6.44$, $p < .001$; 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 ($\beta = .59$, $t(70) = 5.87$, $p < .001$, 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'; $\alpha = .82$). *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); $\alpha = .83$).

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 $\eta^2 = .57$. 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 $\eta^2 = .49$.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 $\eta^2 = .17$ (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 $\eta^2 = .01$. 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 $\eta^2 = .01$. 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

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 $\eta^2 = .02$). However, the two-way interaction did affect the perception of behavioral identity expression, $F(1, 144) = 4.22$, $p = .04$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$. 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 $\eta^2 = .68$) than under conditions of high affective identification ($M = 5.79$ vs. $M = 3.36$; $F(1, 75) = 37.52$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .33$).

$\eta^2 = .19$. 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 $\eta^2 = .03$. 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 ($\eta^2 = .19$ vs. $\eta^2 = .03$; 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 ($\beta = .41$, $t(146) = 5.46$, $p < .001$; Step 1) and perceived threat ($\beta = .43$, $t(146) = 5.79$, $p < .001$; Step 2). Perceived threat was a significant predictor of opposition to upward mobility ($\beta = .73$, $t(146) = 12.95$, $p < .001$; Step 3). While X's behavioral expression of the ethnic identity became a less strong predictor of opposition to X's upward mobility ($\beta = .12$, $t(145) = 1.89$, $p = .06$), the effect of perceived threat on opposition to upward mobility remained significant ($\beta = .68$, $t(145) = 10.96$, $p < .001$, 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

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); $\alpha = .74$). 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); $\alpha = .88$). 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’; $\alpha = .89$). *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); $\alpha = .91$). 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

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 $\eta^2 = .19$) and perceived affective identification ($F(3, 170) = 11.33$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .17$). 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 $\eta^2 = .15$. 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 $\eta^2 = .06$. 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 & Sigua, 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, $\chi^2(98) = 256.53$, $p < .00001$). 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, $\chi^2(101) = 373.65$, $p < .00001$). 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, $\chi^2(101) = 356.37$, $p < .00001$). Chi-square differences tests showed that the four factor model fitted the data significantly better than each of the three factor models ($\chi^2(3) = 117.12$, $p < .005$ and $\chi^2(3) = 99.84$, $p < .005$ 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, $B = .14, SE = .07, t(168) = 1.99, p = .048, \Delta R^2 = .012$. 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 ($B = -.08, SE = .06, t(167) = -1.27, p = .21, \Delta R^2 = .005$) and the two-way interaction ($B = -.07, SE = .04, t(166) = -1.68, p = .09, \Delta R^2 = .008$) were non-significant predictors of perceived threat in Step 3 and 4.⁹ Thus, as expected, perceived behavioral expression of the ethnic identity by

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, $B = .003, SE = .07, t(168) = .04, p = .97, \Delta R^2 < .001$, while in Step 3, behavioral identity expression was a significant predictor of opposition to leadership of X, $B = .16, SE = .08, t(167) = 2.11, p = .037, \Delta R^2 = .013$.

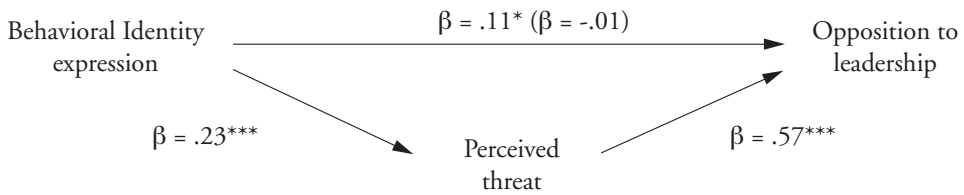
⁹ Also, the results remain the same when we enter the variables in reversed order. When first perceived affective identification was entered in Step 2, followed by perceived behavioral identity expression in Step 3, Step 2 showed that affective identification was not a predictor of perceived threat beyond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

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

Mediation 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).



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

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'

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 setting 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

REPRESENTING OR DEFECTING?
