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**SIMILARITY AND DISSIMILARITY IN IMMIGRATION CONTEXTS:
DIFFERENT DIMENSIONS, DIFFERENT PROCESSES**

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Abstract

This work analyses the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes within the context of the relationship between Portuguese (majority) and immigrant groups. Literature shows that the relation between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes is far from straightforward. One perspective emerging from the *Goal Interdependence Approach* (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood & Sherif, 1961) hypothesizes that this relationship is moderated by the perception of goal interdependence (Brown & Abrams, 1986). A different perspective emerges from the *Social Identity Approach* (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987) and proposes that ingroup identification takes on that moderating role (Jetten, Spears & Postmes, 2004). This work attempts to conciliate the two perspectives, considering the domain of applicability of each moderator and hypothesising that this applicability depends on the dimension (symbolic vs. instrumental) to which the perception of similarity/dissimilarity refers to. Thus, we propose that when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to an instrumental dimension (i.e. aspects that influence the ability to achieve material resources), the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes is moderated by the perception of goal interdependence (competition vs. cooperation) and when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along a symbolic dimension (i.e. aspects irrelevant to the ability of achieving material resources), the relationship will be moderated by the individual's level of ingroup identification. We present empirical evidence providing general support for these hypotheses in six experimental studies that analyse the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity (between Portuguese and immigrants) on the attitudes that Portuguese express towards the depicted immigrant group.

Key-words: intergroup similarity; goal interdependence; ingroup identification; symbolic; instrumental.

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Resumo

Este trabalho analisa os efeitos da semelhança/diferença intergrupais nas atitudes intergrupais no contexto das relações entre Portugueses (maioria) e grupos imigrantes. A literatura revela que a relação entre semelhança/diferença intergrupais e atitudes intergrupais está longe de ser directa. Uma perspectiva derivada da *Abordagem da Interdependência de Objectivos* (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood & Sherif, 1961) hipotetiza que esta relação é moderada pela percepção de interdependência de objectivos (Brown & Abrams, 1986). Uma perspectiva diferente emerge da *Abordagem da Identidade Social* (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987) propondo que a identificação endogrupal toma esse papel moderador (Jetten, Spears & Postmes, 2004). Este trabalho procura conciliar estas duas perspectivas, considerando o domínio de aplicação de cada moderador e hipotetizando que esta aplicabilidade depende da dimensão (simbólica vs. instrumental) a que a percepção de semelhança/diferença se refere. Assim, propomos que quando a semelhança/diferença intergrupais se refere a uma dimensão instrumental (i.e. aspectos que influenciam a capacidade de adquirir recursos materiais), a relação entre semelhança/diferença intergrupais e atitudes intergrupais é moderada pela percepção de interdependência de objectivos (competição vs. cooperação), e quando a semelhança/diferença intergrupais é definida segundo uma dimensão simbólica (i.e. segundo aspectos irrelevantes para a capacidade de adquirir recursos materiais), então a relação será moderada pelo nível de identificação endogrupal do indivíduo. Apresentamos argumentos empíricos que oferecem apoio geral para as hipóteses em seis estudos experimentais que analisam os efeitos da semelhança/diferença intergrupais (entre Portugueses e imigrantes) nas atitudes que os Portugueses expressam face ao grupo imigrante retratado.

Palavras-chave: semelhança intergrupais; interdependência de objectivos; identificação endogrupal; simbólica; instrumental.

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“Le peu que je sais, c’est à mon ignorance que je le dois”

Sacha Guitry

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INTRODUCTION

The interest driving this work emerged from a general focus on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration in Portugal. In fact, this focus gained pertinence as Portugal started to become a country of immigration, after a long tradition of emigration¹. Portugal's historical background was different from other countries accustomed to receive immigrants, like France or Germany (Baganha, 1997).

Data from survey studies shows the existence of negative attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. These same surveys caught our attention with some results that presented intriguing patterns. These results had to do with the dynamics of intergroup similarity and dissimilarity. On the one hand, results showed that ethnic minorities that assimilate (i.e. that nullify the dissimilarity) are targeted with less prejudiced attitudes (e.g. Van Oudenhoven & Eisses, 1998) but, on the other hand, that the majority, frequently, prefers the minorities to remain dissimilar (e.g. Thalmammer and colleagues, 2000). Also, work from Vala and colleagues (Vala, Brito & Lopes, 1999; Lima & Vala, 2002) yielded what seemed to be contradicting results. In fact, Vala's work showed, on the one hand, a negative correlation between the perception of minorities' cultural differences and attitudes (Vala and colleagues, 1999), and on the other hand that the adaptation of a minority to the majority's culture was also evaluated negatively.

These intriguing results motivated us to focus on the mechanisms of perceived intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and their effects on attitudes towards other groups. It also led us to ponder on the existence of processes, dynamics and factors that were not being taken into account in the understanding of these effects. Some aspects needed to be articulated in order to further understand the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes.

Initially, we thought that one of the factors that could shed some light on these paradoxical results was the distinction between the dimensions to which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to. In fact, considering that issues related with immigrants and immigration are often structured along two dimensions – one dimension pertaining to the cultural relations and other symbolic aspects and the other related to the economic consequences of immigration -, we pondered on the potential importance of articulating this consideration in the study of the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes. Therefore, the goal of this work was to analyse the effects of

¹ A tradition that, nevertheless, still persists nowadays (Vieira, 1999)

intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on attitudes towards outgroups, and empirically analyse this phenomenon within the relationship between Portuguese and immigrants.

We started by considering how this distinction between dimensions could be articulated with the classical approaches from which predictions on the referred relationship could be derived. The literature on this topic revealed the existence of two fundamental predictions emerging from two fundamental approaches in the social psychology literature of intergroup relations: the Goal Interdependence Approach (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood & Sherif, 1961/1988) and the Social Identity Approach (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987).

Studies loosely based on the Goal Interdependence Approach (Brown, 1984; Brown & Abrams, 1986) proposed that the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes were moderated by the perception of goal interdependence, i.e. whether the groups coexist (or perceive to coexist) in a climate of negative interdependence (competition) or positive interdependence (cooperation). On the other hand, studies emerging from the Social Identity Approach (e.g. Jetten, Spears & Postmes, 2004) showed that the same relationship is moderated by the individual's level of ingroup identification.

We hypothesized that each approach could be considered suitable to understand the phenomenon depending on the situation, and what determined this suitability was the dimension to which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to. Hence, we specifically hypothesized that when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along an instrumental dimension (that includes aspects that are related to the achieving of material resources), the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes is moderated by the perception of goal interdependence; when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along a symbolic dimension (aspects like cultural features, values, and way of life that are not related with the achieving of material resources), then that relationship is moderated by ingroup identification. Thus, the dimension to which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to constitutes a meta-moderator that determines which moderator comes into play and also when each prediction is more suitable. To design, test and reflect on these hypotheses, we organize this work in three parts.

Part 1 presents the topic of attitudes towards immigrants as a social problem and a theoretical issue. Three chapters are included in this first part.

Chapter 1 provides a succinct description of the historical background of Portugal's immigration context and briefly describes how Portugal and the Portuguese are reacting to this phenomenon in the present days. The unflattering scenario presented in the final part of this chapter justifies the pertinence of addressing this issue on our work.

Chapter 2 presents two classical social psychology approaches that have been developed within the field of intergroup relations to uncover the basic processes that underlie and determine the attitudes towards other groups (such as immigrant groups). We review these two fundamental approaches in detail, as they constitute the main theoretical background of our work: *Goal Interdependence Approach* and *Social Identity Approach*. Within these approaches we give salience to the influence of *goal interdependence* and *ingroup identification* and ponder on their potential moderating role in intergroup relations.

The final chapter of this first part (*Chapter 3*) concerns the two fundamental dimensions that characterize social judgment in general. We discuss how these two dimensions (that we categorize as *instrumental vs. symbolic*) mirror the two main topics along which the discourse on immigrants and immigration is organized. We conclude arguing on the importance of considering this distinction when developing theoretical and empirical work in the field of intergroup relations, namely on the topic of attitudes towards immigrants.

The second part of this thesis (*Part 2*) focuses in the specific mechanism addressed by this work: the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes. This part starts with a thorough review of the literature on that relationship (*Chapter 4*). In this chapter, we show how the understanding of this relationship requires an articulation of all the aspects that have been discussed in the first part. The chapter ends with a description of the main ideas of this work that are then presented in the form of detailed hypotheses in the following chapter (*Chapter 5*).

The third part of this work (*Part 3*) is constituted by five chapters that describe the six experimental studies in which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and the dimension to which that refers to were manipulated and the moderators (ingroup identification and goal interdependence) were either measured or manipulated.

Study 1 (Chapter 6) is conducted to clarify if any symbolic aspect serving as the manipulation of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity can elicit the interaction with ingroup identification, or if those aspects have to be considered relevant in the context of the

comparison between Portuguese and immigrants. After specifying the scope of the hypotheses for the symbolic dimension, we conduct the second study to test the global model.

Study 2 (Chapter 7) intends to test that ingroup identification moderates the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes when that similarity/dissimilarity is defined along a symbolic dimension, and goal interdependence plays that moderating role on the relationship when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along an instrumental dimension. To test these, in this second study, we manipulate the perceptions of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity (between Portuguese and Eastern immigrants), the dimension to which similarity/dissimilarity refers to, and the perception of goal interdependence. Ingroup identification is measured. The rest of the studies deal with issues that emerge from this second study.

Studies 3a and 3b (Chapter 8) seek to test the same general hypotheses than Study 2 with two changes: a new manipulation of similarity/dissimilarity is used in order to provide a neutral (non asymmetrical) manipulation of dissimilarity, and only one moderator is considered in each study in order to simplify the experimental designs. In Study 3a ingroup identification is measured. In Study 3b, perception of goal interdependence is manipulated.

Study 4 (Chapter 9) deals with an unexpected result of Study 2. In Study 2, the expected interaction between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and ingroup identification (in the symbolic dimension) only emerged in a condition of cooperation. Study 4 uses a new manipulation of competition in order to test again the expected interaction also in this condition.

The final study (*Study 5/ Chapter 10*) deals with the other unexpected result of Study 2. In that second study, the expected interaction between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and goal interdependence only appeared for highly identified individuals. Study 5 uses a closer operationalization of instrumental concerns (using a different manipulation of instrumental similarity/dissimilarity and a different population) in order to verify the existence of the interaction for both low and high identifiers.

The main idea supported by these studies is that different dimensions (of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity) do indeed lead to different processes. Studies 2, 3a and 3b show that the mechanism elicited by the perception of intergroup

similarity/dissimilarity is different depending on whether that similarity/dissimilarity refers to aspects that have the potential to influence the capacity of the group to achieve material resources or to aspects like values, customs and way of life that are irrelevant at that level.

When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to a symbolic dimension, the effects of this variable on intergroup attitudes are moderated by ingroup identification - assuming these are relevant aspects (Study 1) – in such a way that individuals that are highly identified with the country express more positive attitudes towards an immigrant group depicted as dissimilar than toward a group presented as similar and individuals who possess low levels of identification with the country express the opposite pattern (Studies 2, 3a and Study 4). We show that this interaction holds regardless of the individual's perception of goal interdependence, since the interaction appears both in a condition of cooperation (Study 2) and in a condition of competition (Study4).

When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along an instrumental dimension, our studies show that the effects of this variable on intergroup attitudes are moderated by the perception of goal interdependence. This interaction reveals that in a condition of competition, a similar outgroup is targeted with more negative attitudes than a dissimilar and inferior outgroup (Studies 2 and 5) but targeted with less negative attitudes than a dissimilar and superior outgroup (Study 5); in a condition of cooperation, the results are the exact reverse: a similar outgroup receives more positive attitudes than a dissimilar and inferior outgroup (Studies 2 and 5) but is targeted with less positive attitudes than a dissimilar and superior outgroup (Study 5). These patterns emerge somewhat independently of the individual's level of identification since they appear to be true for both highly identified individuals (Studies 2 and 5) and low identified individuals (Study 5).

The thesis ends with a *General Discussion* where we present some considerations on the issues that emerge from a thorough reflection of this work. These considerations contain simple remarks that conclude our understanding of the issue or lead to some questions on the caveats and limitations of certain aspects of this work. Deriving from these limitations we also reflect upon potential future directions of this work.

**PART 1 – Attitudes towards Immigrants as a Social
Problem and Theoretical Issue**

Chapter 1 - Immigrants in Portugal: An Historical Background and Current Reactions

This chapter intends to provide some information on the historical background of Portugal's immigration context and briefly describe how Portugal and the Portuguese are reacting to this phenomenon in the present days. The chapter starts with a short description of key historical events that determined large movements of people in the European continent and depicts the fundamental trends in immigration in the twentieth century in Europe. We then focus on the more recent immigration flows to Southern Europe and portray Portugal within this context, followed by the highlighting of some specific events in Portugal's history that determined the current state of affairs in terms of immigration in this country. Upon describing the phenomenon, we focus on the reactions towards it making use of survey data that provide a general picture of the way Portuguese react to immigrants and immigration. The chapter ends with the conclusion that the unflattering scenario concerning this aspect points to the necessity of studying and understanding the factors underlying Portuguese attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

1 - Immigration in Europe: key events

To understand the current situation of immigration in Europe, it is pertinent to consider key historical events involving large movements of people in the European continent. First of all, it could be said that much of the migration flows that exist nowadays are due, at least to some extent, to the relationships established between colonizer and colonized countries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Baganha, 1997; Castles & Miller, 2003). In fact, Portugal constitutes a clear example of this dynamic, since most of the immigrant groups present in Portugal nowadays came from Portugal's former colonies, namely those coming from African countries and from Brazil (Pires, 1993, 2003; Baganha, 1997; Vala, 1999; Vala, Lopes & Lima, 2008).

In the twentieth century, migration flows in Europe have been essentially determined by the occurrence of wars. With the end of World War I, migration flows followed the creation of new states, the new establishment of borders and the political refugees exiling. However, the real large movements came with the Russian Revolution,

when one and a half million people migrated between 1917 and 1922 (Wenden, 1999). Similarly, World War II also brought changes to migration patterns. New kinds of migrants emerged after this war, involving not only the return of those who were away from their country of origin and the movement of refugees, but also those movements derived from several decolonization processes that followed the end of this war (Wenden, 1999). The period after World War II was also characterized by migration flows originating from Mediterranean countries, such as Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Spain, Portugal and Italy. Immigrants from the former three countries headed mostly to Germany. Portuguese and Spanish headed both for Germany and France. And Italians made their way to France. Also, Great Britain and the Netherlands received large flows of immigrants from the former colonies like India, Pakistan, Indonesia and the Antilles (Cohen, 2006).

After this period, migration started occurring due to labor motives, especially originating from southern to northern countries. However, with the 1973 oil crisis, the countries that were receiving most of the immigrants were highly affected by this event and altered their immigration policies, which built up to a discontinuation of policies encouraging temporary labor migration (Zlotnik, 1995).

In the following decades (1980's, 1990's), several political and economical transformations occurred such as the increase of globalization of goods, services and capitals which marked the beginning of new trends of immigration flows in Europe (see Barreto, 2005). Globalization phenomenon paralleled certain events in Eastern Europe countries where the fall of the Berlin Wall had created new points of origin of immigration.

2 - Immigration to Southern Europe

These transformations led to an increase of the migration flows to Southern Europe countries like Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece, countries known for their traditions of emigration (Baganha, 1997). Together with the changes described above, other changes were responsible for the increase of the number of immigrants in these countries. Within these changes, one can mention the economic development derived from these countries' admission to the *European Union* (at the time, named *European Economic Community*) – Greece in 1981 and Portugal and Spain in 1986 – and the job opportunities that this situation created, but also (associated with this development) the

increase of the education levels that led to a larger rejection of certain (under-qualified) jobs by the autochthonous citizens (King, 2000).

King (2000) argues for the existence of a model accounting for immigration in Southern Europe, granting this phenomenon with some specific characteristics. Thus, immigration in South Europe is characterized by a multiplicity of nationalities and immigrant types and by a gender asymmetry. The immigration to these countries is not composed by only two or three nationalities, the *invited worker* is not the predominant type of immigrants (existing a larger variety of immigrants both from rural and urban origins), and while male immigrants are more associated with construction work and industry jobs, the female immigrants are more associated with housing services. This type of immigration is also strongly characterized by illegal parameters. Even though immigrations have always been, to a certain extent, characterized by illegalities, this type of immigration seems to be more seriously marked by this, not only in terms of the dramatic conditions of entrance in the country, but also in terms of the job *contracts* immigrants get (King & Ribas-Mateos, 2005).

3 - Immigration in Portugal

Portugal's immigration presents the characteristics of a southern Europe country, but is also characterized by some specificities derived from Portugal's history and national-specific context. In the "sixties" and beginning of "seventies", Portugal was mostly characterized by emigration flows of Portuguese citizens heading to countries like France, Germany, Luxembourg, the USA and Canada (Pires, 2003). Though this tradition of emigration came from long ago, it was during the sixties that it reached the highest point with about 1.3 million Portuguese (15% of the population) leaving the country (Vieira, 1999). The motives for these flows were mainly related with labor and economic aspects. However, one phenomenon that also marked the departure of a large number of Portuguese in the sixties was the Colonial War that started in 1961. Though this tendency still persists until present days, Portugal started, from this moment, to receive a large number of immigrants from the former Portuguese colonies in Africa. But it was with the *Carnation Revolution*² in 1974 and the subsequent decolonization

² The *Carnation Revolution* was a military *coup d'état* that started in April 25, 1974, that changed the Portuguese regime from an authoritarian dictatorship to a democracy. A direct consequence of this

process that the number of immigrants increased in a truly steep pattern – almost half of the foreign population in Portugal in 1981 was from African origin (Baganha & Marques, 2001).

During the “eighties”, following a similar trend in Mediterranean Europe (Werth and colleagues, 1991, cit. by Pires, 2003), the general migration flows to Portugal were quite intense (Pires, 2003), due to some of the aspects referred to the Southern Europe countries in general, namely the admission to the European Union, and internal factors like the political stability achieved years after the *Revolution*. In this decade, the number of immigrants of African origin coming to Portugal decreased but, on the contrary, the country witnessed a significant increase of Brazilian immigrants (+165%; Pires, 2003).

During the “nineties”, the number of immigrants in Portugal kept increasing, and in ten years, the number of *legal* immigrants practically doubled (from 100.000 in 1989 to more than 190.000 in 1999). A large part of these immigrants came to work in several construction projects that emerged from a heavy public investment by the Portuguese government and private companies during this decade (namely the preparation for the World exposition in Lisbon in 1998).

Circa 2000, immigration in Portugal went through some changes. One of the fundamental changes occurring in this period had to do with the level of instruction and professional experience of the immigrants (Oliveira, 2005). Until that moment, most of the immigrants (of African origin) possessed low instruction and experience solely on low-qualified professions. Even the Brazilian immigrants who, in the beginning, were engaging in specific highly qualified jobs (e.g. dentists), as the years passed, started occupying mostly low-qualified jobs. However, with the coming of Eastern Europe immigrants, different situations emerged, with these immigrants presenting higher instruction levels. Nonetheless, the job market for these immigrants was still more linked to low-qualified positions. This trend of Eastern Europe migration has posed a new challenge to national immigration policies, and in recent years, the country has witnessed a beginning of the acknowledgment of the competences and qualifications of these immigrants, and the types of jobs that these immigrants now start to target are quite distinct from the low-qualified positions usually associated with immigrant populations (Baganha & Fonseca, 2004).

revolution was the sudden withdrawal of Portuguese administrative and military personnel from Portugal’s overseas colonies.

The latest statistics (from 2007) reveal that there are approximately 435.000 legal immigrants in Portugal (8% of the economically active population in Portugal). Table 1.1 shows that, currently, the three largest immigrant groups in Portugal are the Brazilian, the Cape-Verdeans and the Ukrainians.

Table 1.1. Number of legal immigrants in Portugal by nationality in 2007

<i>Nationalities</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
From non-EU countries		
<i>Brazilian</i>	66,354	15.2
<i>Cape-Verdean</i>	63,925	14.7
<i>Ukrainian</i>	39,480	9.1
<i>Angolans</i>	32,728	7.5
<i>Guinees</i>	23,733	5.4
<i>Sao Toméan</i>	10,627	2.4
<i>Other non-EU countries</i>	83,333	19.1
From EU countries		
<i>British</i>	23,608	5.4
<i>Romanians</i>	19,155	4.4
<i>Spanish</i>	18,030	4.1
<i>Germans</i>	15,498	3.6
<i>Italians</i>	5,985	1.4
<i>Other EU countries</i>	33,280	7.6
Total	435,736	100

Source: SEF (*Foreign and Borders Services, 2007*)

To sum up, what this brief description of immigration flows in Europe and Portugal intended to show is that, in Portugal, as in other southern Europe countries, the number of immigrants has been increasing abruptly - the number of legal immigrants in Portugal went from a little over 50.000 in 1981 to almost half-a-million in 2007, and some estimate the existence of almost 100.000 illegal immigrants – and, furthermore, this increase has happened in a country with a much older tradition of *emigration*. The question that emerges from this awareness concerns the way the Portuguese react to these immigrants and these immigration flows.

4 - Portuguese's attitudes towards immigrants and immigration

As shown above, the number of immigrants in Europe, namely in Southern Europe, and more specifically in Portugal has increased steeply. In general, the European Commission considers that there has been an increase in the hostile reactions from host communities to immigrants (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, 2007). Accordingly, a recent report based on data from Eurobarometer (2007) shows that almost half of the Europeans (46%) express feelings of threat derived from the presence of members from other “ethnic” groups in their countries, and that less than one-third believes that the immigrants may contribute to solve the problems of ageing in European populations. Similarly, official data report an increase in the support of discriminatory policies against immigrants, such as the support of anti-political parties with anti-immigration agendas (European Commission, 2003). This tendency has affected both countries with a tradition of immigration (e.g. Netherlands, France, Germany or UK) independently from their different immigration policies traditions and countries that only became destinations of large immigration flows in recent decades (e.g., Portugal, Spain and Italy).

In Portugal, data from surveys consistently present the Portuguese as having low levels of tolerance, who carry a negative image of immigrants, and who associate them to criminality and to cultural impoverishment (Vala, Lopes, Lima & Brito, 2002; Lages & Policarpo, 2003; Vala, 2006; Vala, Pereira & Ramos, 2006a). Also, most of the times, attitudes towards immigrants are worse in Portugal than in Europe, and the levels of opposition to immigration are larger in Portugal than in the rest of the EU countries (Vala, Pereira & Ramos, 2006a, 2006b).

Data from the Portuguese sample of the *International Social Survey Programme*³(2003) show that, when asked if “immigrants increase crime rates” and “take away jobs from people who were born in Portugal”, more than half of the Portuguese “agree” or “agree strongly” with both statements. It also shows that almost one third of the Portuguese “agrees” or “agrees strongly” when asked if “the government spends too much money assisting immigrants” (see Table 1.2).

³ The ISSP is a continuing annual programme of cross-national collaboration on surveys covering several social topics.

Table 1.2. Percentage of people with negative images of immigrants in Portugal and in the European Union

	Portugal	European Union
“Immigrants increase crime rates”	59,5%*	54,4%
“Immigrants take away jobs from people born in [respondent’s country]”	55,4%	39%
“Government spends too much money assisting immigrants”	31%	51,1%

Source: *International Social Survey Programme* (2003)

*Percentage of respondents who “agree” or “agree strongly”

The same survey also shows that more than half (57%) of the Portuguese considers that the number of immigrants coming to Portugal should be “reduced” or “reduced a lot” and almost two-thirds (64%) of the Portuguese citizens consider that the country “should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants”.

Data from the *European Social Survey*⁴ (ESS) provides a similar picture. Data from the first round (2002/2003) show that there is a significant larger perception in Portugal than in the rest of the EU countries, that the immigrants are prejudicial to economy ($F(1, 39794) = 40.464, p < .001$), impoverish the country’s cultural life ($F(1, 39814) = 222.796; p < .001$) and make the country a worse place to live by coming here ($F(1, 39686) = 322.798; p < .001$).

Data from the third (and most recent) round (2007) of the ESS show that the level of opposition to immigration is higher in Portugal than in EU, whether the immigrants are of the same “race / ethnic group” ($F(1, 28764) = 359.460; p < .001$), of different “race / ethnic group”, ($F(1, 28721) = 158.286; p < .001$) or from poorer countries outside of Europe ($F(1, 28679) = 98.840; p < .001$).

A recent survey on migrants’ experiences of racism and discrimination in Portugal (Santos, Oliveira, Rosário, Kumar & Brigadeiro, 2005) grants even more support to the idea that Portuguese possess negative images and express negative attitudes towards immigrants. The report of the survey illustrates the existence of immigrants’ discrimination episodes across several situations including harassment and insults - 48% of respondents of African origin claimed to have been subjected to threats, insults or

⁴ The European Social Survey (the ESS) is a biennial multi-country survey covering over 30 nations. Each round contains a “core” module constant from round to round, plus two or more “rotating” modules.

other forms of harassment -, being denied the opportunity to buy or rent an apartment or house, institutional discrimination – being badly treated in contacts with public services. This same report also shows that the immigrant groups' economic insertion is, unequivocally, in low status occupations. Another survey focusing the black youths in Lisbon provides a similar depiction (Vala, 2006).

This brief description of the Portuguese's reaction to the phenomenon described in the first part of this section provides an unflattering picture of the situation. This has led to the emergence of several approaches in social psychology to analyse and understand this phenomenon. In Portugal, there have been many approaches to this issue (e.g. Vala, 1999; Alexandre & Waldzus, 2006, Pereira, Vala & Leyens, 2008; Monteiro, Guerra & Rebelo, in press; Monteiro, França & Rodrigues, in press).

These examples show that it is possible to distinguish between approaches that are more directly focused in the specific phenomenon, trying to address it directly and specifically, and other approaches that increase the level of abstraction, looking at the phenomenon through general models of analyses, studying the basic processes organizing intergroup relations. These latter approaches look at this phenomenon of Portuguese's attitudes towards immigrants as an example of the general phenomenon of intergroup attitudes and intergroup relations. Considering our own work as closer to these approaches, the next section of the thesis looks at two fundamental approaches conceived within social psychology to address this topic that constitute the theoretical background of this work.

Chapter 2 - Classic Approaches to Intergroup Behavior

In the previous chapter, we mentioned that some of the approaches to the study of attitudes toward other groups tried to increase the level of abstraction, by looking at the basic processes that underlie intergroup relations. In this chapter, we will focus on two fundamental approaches to intergroup behaviour of this type: *Goal Interdependence Approach* and *Social Identity Approach*. These two approaches will be described in detail because they constitute the fundamental theoretical background of our work and also because these are the approaches that have elicited the most significant amount of empirical research and theoretical reflection within this topic. Moreover, we consider that to fully understand the background of this work, we need to confront the classical works in social psychology and deeply analyse the core of each approach.

In order to contextualize these classic approaches, we start with succinct references to some of the theories that anticipated them. Thus, we will start this chapter referring the psychoanalytical approaches that first characterized the study of negative attitudes towards outgroups. Then, we present the first (sociological) approach that responded to the critics to these psychoanalytical approaches (Blumer, 1958). Then we present a thorough analysis of the approach that emerged from the work of Muzafer Sherif that we identify here as the *Goal Interdependence Approach*. Within this analysis, we discuss the role of goal interdependence as an element triggering intergroup attitudes, but also how this factor may serve as a moderator. The chapter then turns to the *Social Identity Approach* and explains how this approach emerged somewhat as a response to the previous approach. Within this approach, we start by describing the importance of the process of categorization and in this domain we refer to the work of Gordon Allport. We then describe the several pieces of work that culminated in the formulation of *Social Identity Theory* (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and *Self-Categorization Theory* (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). We describe these two theories and then ponder on the moderating role of ingroup identification in intergroup relations.

The approaches mentioned in this chapter are generally included in the field of intergroup relations. Though it is considered a recent field even within a young discipline like social psychology (Brewer & Brown, 1998), intergroup relations is,

nevertheless, one of the most developed fields in the this area. Within intergroup relations, one of the most developed topics concerns the attitudes (judgments, emotions, evaluations and behaviors) displayed towards other groups. Even if we focus only on this topic, the work to review is extremely rich and vast. Considering this, an exhaustive analysis of all the approaches developed within this topic would not be interesting nor feasible in the context of this work. Thus, we decided to give a thorough attention only to two of the major approaches in social psychology: Goal Interdependence Approach (generally known as Realistic Conflict Theory) and the Social Identity Approach. The choice was obviously based on the importance that these two approaches have as the theoretical background of the work described in this thesis. Before dwelling into these two fundamental approaches, we briefly describe the work developed in the time before as a way of contextualizing the former.

1 - From psycho-analytical approaches to goal interdependence approach

The analysis of negative attitudes toward outgroups within social psychology was, in the beginning, quite limited to extrapolations from psychological mechanisms to intergroup relations (Amâncio, 2000). In fact, from late 1930's through World War II and beyond, theories of Freudian inspiration dominated social-scientific thought about intergroup hostility. Two of the approaches influenced by Freudian concepts were *Frustration-Agression Theory* (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, & Sears, 1939) and the *Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson & Sanford, 1950/1993).

Dollard and colleagues (1939) developed frustration-aggression theory to explain both aggression between individuals and aggression between groups. According to this theory, aggression is caused by any interference with the satisfaction of some basic need, i.e. the occurrence of *frustration*. Frustration elicits an instigation to aggress. However, this aggression is often not directed to the source of frustration - usually more powerful than the individual - and is thus *displaced* to those seen as weaker or less able to retaliate. One classical study (Hovland & Sears, 1940) supporting this hypothesis showed the negative correlation between the price of cotton (that mirrored economic depression) and the number of lynchings of black people (an index of racial aggression) in the southern states of the USA between 1882 and 1930. As economy declined, the number of lynchings increased. Black people served as the *scapegoat* in this situation.

Also accordingly with a Freudian influence, Adorno and colleagues (1950/1993) argued on the influence of the *authoritarian personality* on the emergence of negative attitudes towards other groups. Even though Adorno was a sociologist from the *Frankfurt School*, his sociological tradition only transpired in the choice of the problem (prejudice) and not in the way in which he approached it. In the explanation of the origins of the authoritarian personality, the authors placed a great emphasis on punitive early socialization, inner conflict and defense. The theory predicted prejudice to be derived from the child's repression of anger towards punitive parental authority, identification with this authority and a consequent displacement of this hostility to other groups. The authors developed a scale (the *F Scale*) to measure individual differences in terms of authoritarian personality. High correlations were found between this scale's scores and the support for discriminatory policies. However, this scale gathered great criticism for being a psychometrically weak measure due to its uniformly positive formulation of its items, which lessened the support found for this approach (but see Altemeyer, 1998).

The idea that negative attitudes towards other groups are simply the aggregation of individual emotional states (frustration) or traits (personality) is problematic (Pettigrew, 1958; Brown, 1995), namely because these approaches have great difficulty in accounting for the widespread uniformity of behavior which is so typical of situations where groups are psychologically salient (Tajfel, 1978). This uniformity would call for explanations looking for elements in the situation, in the context. But that was not the case in social psychology.

In fact, initially, sociology (and also anthropology) would look at the more structural and societal variables while social psychology would focus more on psychological aspects. Hence, the idea that attitudes towards other groups should be explained using societal aspects instead of simply looking inside the individual was first advanced by a sociologist – Herbert Blumer.

Blumer (1958) was more interested in structural variables and proposed a sociological approach to race relations within his *Group Position Theory*, even though he kept a close tie with concepts like attitude, stereotypes, group identity, etc., very familiar to social psychology (Bobo, 1999). Blumer criticized theories of prejudice that focused narrowly on individual aspects and argued initially that prejudice “depends on a positional arrangement of social groups” (Blumer, 1958, p.4). So, the author claimed that collective processes should not be neglected if one wants to fully understand

negative attitudes toward other groups. Blumer stated that groups occupy unequal positions in a social order and that both groups have interests. When groups perceive the other groups as a threat to their interests, this perception results in struggle over access to resources (Bobo, 1999). However, the most cogent and systematic support to the idea that conflict over resources is at the origin of prejudice emerged within social psychology with the work of Muzafer Sherif and colleagues.⁵

2 - Goal interdependence approach to Intergroup Behavior

In fact, Sherif's work constituted one of the first approaches to cleverly articulate social psychology with other human and social sciences (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood & Sherif, 1961/1988, Sherif, 1967).⁶ Sherif believed that "we are all much more ethnocentric than we realize, including liberal, well-intentioned social scientists" (Campbell, 1988, p. 8). This meant that Sherif found it more useful to view negative intergroup attitudes as the "normal" response of ordinary people to the intergroup situation confronting them. With this in mind, Sherif argued that negative intergroup attitudes are products of social structure and not simply of intra-individual processes.

To Sherif and colleagues (1961) intergroup attitudes are a consequence of the functional relations that exist between groups. As such, according to these authors, these functional relations should constitute the central problem of intergroup relations, and not the "deviate individual" (Sherif and colleagues, 1961/1988, p.26; see also Sherif & Sherif, 1953). Another innovative aspect of Sherif's work was that he was the first to undertake experimental research in this domain. The most famous of these experiments became known as the "Robber's Cave Experiment".

2.1 - Robber's Cave Experiment

⁵ The hypothesis that attitudes towards other groups depend on the relationships that are established between the groups to achieve their goals was named Realistic Group Conflict Theory by Campbell (1965).

⁶ One should mention here the work of Kurt Lewin. Though it is not correct to argue that Lewin developed a theoretical model of intergroup relations, he did, however, develop some essential concepts within his Field Theory (Lewin, 1952) – concepts like tension systems, driving and restrained forces, valences, power fields, interdependence, and so on – that were crucial to the analysis of intergroup relations and devised assumptions that underlie some of the *a posteriori* more systematic theoretical formulations such as Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Similarly, and faithfully to his image, Allport (1954) had already suggested that concerns for group status produces competition for material resources and that competition exacerbates prejudice.

The study intended to analyse, over a period of time, the formation and functioning of negative and positive intergroup attitudes, as a consequence of experimentally induced situations. It was conducted in the summer of 1954 in three successive stages. The first stage involved the formation and consolidation of groups. The second stage consisted of bringing together the two experimentally formed groups together in functional relations in competitive situations with incompatible goals. Stage 3 comprised the introduction of clear superordinate goals whose attainment depended on the resources and efforts of both groups working together.

Twenty two eleven-year-old boys from established middle-class protestant families participated in the experiment. All the boys were well adjusted both in school and at home. The experimental site gathered a few characteristics essential to the development of the experiment, namely it had to provide isolation from the outside world and separate facilities for the two groups to be kept apart during the first stage of the experiment (group formation). The characteristics of the site were also important to ensure that the true nature of conflict and prejudice could be studied. The site chosen was the Robber's Cave State Park in Oklahoma, hence the name of the experiment. Below we describe, in more detailed way, each stage of the experiment.

2.1.1 - Stage 1 – Experimental ingroup formation

The main goal of the first stage was to create ingroups by means of manipulations of the conditions in which the interaction would occur. In this phase, the participants were separated in two groups and were kept apart with separate activities. In fact, one group came on the site on June, 19 and the other group only arrived the next day. During this stage, to incite ingroup formation (with hierarchies in terms of statuses and roles), the experimenters gave the participants common and interdependent activities that derived from the needs of actual situations. Some of the activities, for example, had to do with preparing a meal, pitching a tent, using rope to make a bridge, etc. To attain these and other goals, the participants had to necessarily cooperate.

After a few days, both groups adopted a name. One of the groups was named the “Rattlers” and the other group was called the “Eagles”. As expected as a result of those repeated interactions, clear cut ingroup structures and norms emerged. This first phase was simply a preparation to the following two stages of the experiment. In fact, toward the end of Stage 1, and to prepare to the following stage, participants had the

opportunity to find out about the existence of the other group, and once they did find out about the other group, they were eager to engage with them in team games.

2.1.2 - Stage 2 – Creating intergroup friction: Rattlers vs. Eagles

This second stage was the first one trying to induce the emergence of intergroup relations (in this case, this meant the interactions between the two experimentally produced groups). The main goal of this stage was to cause friction between the groups in order to observe the emergence of negative intergroup attitudes. This stage had to occur in order to proceed to the main phase of this study, which was the attempt to reduce the friction.

In order to create friction, the two groups were put together in “competitive activities in the form of a tournament of events yielding cumulative scores, with a reward for each member of the winning team” (p.41). Thus, though the rewards were given individually, the participants could only get it if his group won, and therefore, each member had to contribute with their individual performance for the group victory. Additionally, a second set of conditions was introduced in the situations. The idea was to create a sense of frustration originating from the other group. To do so, the situation embodied goals that could only be achieved by one of the groups. In order for one group to do better, the other group would have to do worse. Thus, the other group was seen as an obstacle. The contests that went on during this phase included sports competitions (baseball, football, tug-of-war), treasure hunts, etc. The participants were informed that the members of the group who made the highest cumulative scores in the series of contests would receive prizes.

Along this second stage, intergroup friction did emerge. As a consequence of engaging in competitive situations, negative attitudes towards the outgroup emerged in many forms, such as “name calling, derogation of the outgroup, and the explicit desire to avoid association with the outgroup” (Sherif and colleagues, 1961/1988, p.148). In fact, hostility between the groups escalated to the point where the study team concluded the friction-producing activities could not continue safely (the hostility included burning the other group’s flag or invading the other group’s cabin). The second stage was terminated and the third stage commenced.

2.1.3 - Stage 3 – Reducing friction – Introducing superordinate goals

The question of departure of the third and final stage of the experiment was whether or not alterations in the functional relations that existed between the groups could lead to a reduction of intergroup friction – the main goal of the whole experiment. Controlling the conditions of formation of the groups and the events of intergroup interaction, the experimenters were quite confident that the state of friction found in the previous stage was not due to pre-existing feelings of the participants, nor to extraordinary personal frustration. Instead, the experimenters believed that the state of friction derived directly from the conditions of rivalry and frustration created by the experimenters as if they were coming from the other group. Therefore, experimenters believed that by changing these conditions and those functional relationships, friction could be dissipated.

Thus, in this final phase, the experimenters initially tried to promote contact between the groups. This occurred through a series of contact situations like attending a movie together or having meals in the same place at the same time. Results showed that mere intergroup contact (being present without contesting) would not be sufficient to reduce intergroup friction. In fact, these contact instances served as occasions for further conflict.

Therefore, the experimenters introduced *superordinate* goals in the intergroup interactions. These superordinate goals were common goals that carried positive consequences or responded to interests of both groups when attained, but the attainment was only possible if groups would cooperate and join efforts. One of the superordinate goals had to do with solving a water shortage problem. In this occasion, all participants were told that there was a problem with the water supply to the camp, probably due to vandals (creating the idea of an outside enemy). All boys were incited to look for available water across the camp. After the search, participants met up near a water tank that they realized was almost full but that the faucet wasn't working. Working together they found a sack stuffed in the water faucet. All the boys (from both groups) gathered around the faucet to clear it. Suggestions came from members of both groups and boys from both sides tried to implement the suggested solutions. The problem was solved by the cooperation of both parts. The joint attainment of this superordinate goal was not enough to reduce intergroup friction entirely, but the subsequent superordinate goals introduced along this phase (like the "broken down" camp truck that needed enough

"man" power to be pulled back to camp) caused hostile behavior to subside. By the end of the experiment, conflict had been so clearly dissolved, that the boys unanimously insisted they should all ride back home on the same bus.

The results of the experiment provided strong support to Sherif's ideas. The behavior and attitudes of those ordinary boys were shown to vary systematically with the changing intergroup relationships. Thus, one main finding of the Robber's Cave Experiment is that "the limiting condition determining friendly or hostile attitudes between groups is the nature of functional relations between them, as defined by analysis of their goals." (Sherif and colleagues, 1961, p.210). When the functional relationship between the groups is characterized by a negative interdependence (i.e. incompatible goals), negative attitudes towards the other groups will emerge and when the functional relationship between the groups is characterized by a positive interdependence (i.e. superordinate goals only attainable with the groups' cooperation), positive attitudes towards the other group will emerge⁷.

Subsequent research from other authors offered further support to this hypothesis, whether in other field experiments in Lebanon (Diab, 1970) or in the former Soviet Union (Ageev, cited by Platow & Hunter, 2001), in laboratory (e.g. Blake & Mouton, 1961), or even in organizational settings (e.g. Tjosvold, 1988). Blake and Mouton (1961)'s experiments, for example, showed that in a competitive context, members of one group find it difficult to accept solutions proposed by the other group. In one of the experiments, 48 groups (of managerial staff) were asked to solve an organizational problem and were arranged in competitive pairs. In these conditions, the groups consistently favoured the ingroup's solution (46 out of 48 possible times).

Based on Sherif and colleagues (1961)'s idea that intergroup attitudes would reflect either "real or *imagined*" (Sherif, 1966, p.15; our emphasis) interests of the group against other groups, some authors analysed the relationship between *perception* of competition and intergroup attitudes. Correlational studies have shown that perceptions of economic competition from immigrants predict prejudice against them (Quillian, 1995; Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1998) and experimental research demonstrated that perceived economic competition causes less favourable attitudes toward immigrants and

⁷ Though the literature supporting this hypothesis is mostly known as the Realistic Conflict Theory or Approach (Levine & Campbell, 1972), we decided to name it the Goal Interdependence Approach, because it is an expression that covers every type of functional relations predicted by this theory, and not just the negative ones (conflict). However, the expression should not be mistaken with the Interdependence Perspective (e.g. Rabbie, Schot & Visser, 1989) that deals with *intragroup* or *interpersonal* interdependence.

attenuates support for empowerment forms of helping the immigrants (Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998).

2.2 - Goal interdependence as a moderator of intergroup relations

One can also ponder on the moderating role of goal interdependence (competition vs. cooperation) if we consider that it is plausible to assume that the way we react to certain aspects of an intergroup situation depend upon our perception of the goal interdependence conditions that exist. In fact, some studies have shown that the effects of certain variables on a pre-disposition to engage in intergroup conflict and express negative intergroup attitudes depend on the individuals' perception of the situation (e.g. Quillian, 1995) and the cognitive schemas (more competitive or more cooperative) that are more accessible (Golec de Zavala, Federico, Cislak & Sigger, 2008).

Quillian (1995) demonstrated that some individual characteristics such as age and education are more strongly associated with anti-immigrant prejudice in settings where the outgroup is seen as posing a greater threat and where the idea of economic competition is more salient. Similarly, Esses and colleagues (1998, 2001) showed that the salience of a potentially competitive outgroup led to more negative attitudes towards that outgroup when a situation of *resource stress* was depicted. The authors understood resource stress in this context as the perception that access to resources is limited, making this concept very close to the concept of negative interdependence or competition.

Finally, even Sherif's approach seems to ironically provide some support to the idea of goal interdependence as a moderator. In fact, if we consider that the first phase of the Robber's Cave Experiment was a process that triggered categorization and that the second phase created the goal interdependence, one could reframe Sherif's model by stating that what he showed was that the relationship between categorization and prejudice is moderated by goal interdependence, in the sense that dividing the boys into two groups *apparently* only led to discrimination when a negative instance of goal interdependence was introduced.

In any case, the fundamental aspect about the goal interdependence approach is the idea that negative attitudes towards outgroups emerge because of the existence of a conflict of interests or a situation of negative interdependence. Though this approach

generated a long line of research, it also gathered some criticism. The fundamental critic came from authors who challenged the fact that the existence of a conflict of interests is a necessary condition to arouse negative intergroup attitudes. Once again, ironically, it was within Sherif's experiment that emerged the first hint of this idea. Close to the end of the first stage, when the boys found out about the existence of the other group, they were already eager to engage in competition with them and intergroup rivalry started right there.

Within the authors who challenged the idea that the existence of conflict of interests is a necessary condition for intergroup bias to emerge, we find Henri Tajfel and John Turner who considered Sherif's hypothesis "deceptively simple" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p.33). To Tajfel and Turner (1979), conflict between groups was often *sufficient* but not a *necessary* condition for intergroup negative attitudes to emerge. These authors developed concepts and empirical work that constituted what has become known as the social identity approach to intergroup behaviour.

3 - Social Identity Approach to intergroup behavior

"Did I not say that the word identity was a «false friend»? It starts by reflecting a perfectly permissible aspiration, and then before we know where we are it has become an instrument of war."

Amin Maalouf in *"In the name of identity"*

3.1 - The roots of Social Identity Approach

Most of the work underlying the social identity approach to intergroup relations was largely influenced by earlier work of Henri Tajfel (1957) on categorization. However, the idea that categorization played a role in intergroup relations had been proposed earlier.

In a landmark piece on the origins, expressions and development of prejudice, Gordon Allport (1954/1979) recognized the multiple causality of prejudice, but gave much salience to the categorization process. Though he considered motivational concerns to be associated with prejudice and acknowledged the importance of socio-cultural processes in the development of prejudice, to Allport (1954/1979) categorization played a *fundamental* role in the emergence of prejudice. To him, negative attitudes toward other groups derived from the fundamental process of

distinguishing between our own group (ingroup) and the other groups (outgroups). The idea that ingroup-outgroup distinctions could be a source of bias had already been introduced by Sumner (1906) - who was actually the one to introduce the terms of ingroup, outgroup, and also the term ethnocentrism. However, it was Allport who referred intensely to its inevitability and normality, considering that “orderly living” depended upon the process of categorization.

Nevertheless, the initial work of Tajfel was not directly based on these approaches, but instead on his collaboration in the fifties with Jerome Bruner – the same Bruner that argued for the pervasiveness of the phenomenon of categorization, a process that fulfils a basic need of perceiving clear and predictable environments (Bruner, 1957).

Influenced by Bruner’s critic to the mechanistic view of perception, Tajfel (1957) stated that perceptual judgments tend to accentuate the differences that are apparent in one dimension when this dimension is associated with an evaluative dimension. This tendency derives from a universal process of categorization and not from individual “deviations”. To test this hypothesis of accentuation of inter-categorical differences and intra-categorical similarities, Tajfel and Wilkes (1963) conducted an experiment where the participants were asked to judge the length of eight lines that were either unlabeled or labelled with the letters A and B. Results showed that when the labelling was systematically related to the length of the lines (for example, A was the label consistently used for shorter lines and B was the label consistently used for longer lines), participants would significantly overestimate the difference between the longest A line and the shortest B line. When the labelling was done randomly or simply wasn’t there, there would be no accentuation of differences.

Tajfel (1972) later described this phenomenon as the *deductive categorization error* that can be summed up as the tendency to judge a stimuli as more different when the person knows the stimuli belongs to different categories, than when the person does not know, working both for physical and social stimulate (Tajfel, Sheihk & Gardner, 1964), even though the involvement of self in social categorization grants it some distinct characteristics comparing to physical categorization (for a discussion, see Doise, Deschamps & Meyer, 1978).

These initial studies led Tajfel (1969) to propose categorization as a powerful process that allows the individual to organize and abridge social reality. Assuming that this basic cognitive/perceptual bias could explain the exaggeration of perceived

differences between members of different social groups, Tajfel (1978) wondered if mere categorization could be responsible for bias in the evaluation of groups (instead of assuming the necessity of the existence of a conflict of interests as Sherif did).

However, the first study providing a test of that hypothesis was in fact carried out by Rabbie and Horwitz (1969). Similarly to Tajfel (1978), Rabbie and Horwitz (1969) also considered the idea of competition being necessary to evoke intergroup antagonism *doubtful* and therefore conducted an experiment to seek the minimal conditions eliciting ingroup bias. The experiment involved the participation of 112 Dutch teenagers formed into pairs of groups, into what was introduced as a study on first impressions. The participants were randomly distributed in one of four conditions. In all conditions, participants were classified into two groups (green vs. blue). In three of the conditions (the experimental conditions), participants were told that there would be a reward for collaborating in the experiment, but that it would only be awarded to the members of one of the groups. What distinguished the experimental conditions was the criterion used to establish the attribution of rewards. Thus, there would be the *experimenter condition* (where the experimenter would decide), the *chance condition* (decided randomly) and the *group condition* (where one of the groups would decide). Therefore, groups in the three experimental conditions would be either compensated with or deprived of an award (because of their membership). In the control condition (the most important to our discussion), there was no mention of a reward and the participants were simply divided into two groups.

Results considering participants' ratings of own and other groups revealed the existence of significant bias in all experimental conditions, but not on the "control" condition of mere categorization. Based on these results, the authors concluded that the simple classification of subjects into two groups (categorization) did not elicit a differentiated evaluation of ingroups and outgroups.⁸

3.2 - Minimal Group Paradigm

Subsequently, Tajfel and colleagues (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy & Flament, 1971) developed their own line of studies with the same goal of identifying the minimal

⁸ It should be mentioned that Rabbie and colleagues' approach ended up being opposed to Tajfel's approach. Indeed, Rabbie and colleagues later advanced for a different explanation for the results of the Minimal Group Paradigm (see the next section) based on the idea of interdependence and reciprocity (see Correia & Vala, 1997).

conditions for the emergence of discrimination. Considering that Rabbie and Horwitz (1969)'s experimental setting did not provide the methodological criteria for an appropriate intergroup categorization in their control condition, the authors decided to conduct a different "mere categorization" condition (for further elaborations on this critic see Turner, 1975).

The authors developed this new manipulation within a paradigm that became known as the *Minimal Group Paradigm*. In this context, the new conception of "mere categorization" was based on six criteria: 1) No face-to-face interaction could occur between the participants; 2) Nobody could know which participant belonged to which group (except for their own membership); 3) The responses obtained from participants could not be related to the criteria used for intergroup categorization; 4) Responses given during the experiment could not be of any "utilitarian value" to the participant responsible for them; 5) A response mirroring ingroup bias would have to be obtained at the expense of opting for a maximum benefit for all. And there would have to be a type of response in which a participant could choose to attribute less to an ingroup but with a larger difference from the outgroup in opposition to a condition where that difference is smaller but the ingroup reward is larger; and 6) Responses should be seen as truly important to the participants involving the attribution of real rewards instead of a simple evaluation of others. These criteria were fulfilled in two experiments that distinguished from each other in terms of the criteria used for intergroup categorization and the specific type of possible responses the participants could give. In both experiments, intergroup categorization was made randomly. However, the participants believed they had been categorized based on their tendency to estimate the quantity of points (underestimators vs. overestimators; Experiment 1) or based on their aesthetic preferences (Klee vs. Kandinsky; Experiment 2).

The second part of the experiment served to assess the effects of this categorization on intergroup behaviour. Accordingly, after being categorized, participants were asked to participate in a subsequent study on decision making, where they would have give rewards and penalties in real money to others. Participants were placed in individual cubicles where they would find a booklet containing several decision matrices.

There were several types of matrices that varied slightly from one experiment to the other. In the first experiment, the top row of the matrices was representing, in one condition, the amounts that could be allocated to a member of the same group. In that

same condition, the bottom row represented the amounts that could be allocated to another member of the in-group. The money could never be awarded to himself. The participants also had no idea about the identity of any member of either group. In another condition the subjects awarded amounts to two different members of the outgroup. In a third condition, the main experimental condition, in half the trials, the top row contained the amounts to be awarded to another in-group member, and the bottom row contained the amounts to be allocated to a member of the outgroup. In the other half of the trials, the positions were reversed: amounts for the ingroup member in the bottom row, and amounts for the outgroup member in the top bottom. There were six matrices, repeated three times; one for each of the three conditions.

In the second experiment, the main interest of the researchers was to understand the strategy adopted by the participants in the allocation of points. The participants could allocate in a way that granted a maximum joint profit, a maximum profit for the in-group, or even a maximum difference between the points allocated for one group compared to the other. In this experiment, the matrices consisted of 13 boxes, and were designed to facilitate the use of any one of the three strategies, mentioned above. In the centre of the matrices was a box with either 13 or 17 points in both the top and bottom rows that permitted an equal distribution. Towards the poles of the matrices, there was the choice that helped the maintenance of a maximum joint profit, maximum ingroup profit or a maximum difference.

Results clearly showed that, even though there was a general effort to act fairly, participants revealed a strong tendency to award more money to ingroup members than to outgroup members. When participants had the choice between maximising the profit for all and maximising the profit for their own group, they chose the latter. More interesting was the fact that the participants showed more concern with creating as large a difference as possible between the amounts allocated to each group (in favour of their own group), than in gaining a greater amount for everybody, across the two groups. Generally, what the Minimal Group Paradigm studies came to show was that no conflict of interests had to exist between two groups for negative intergroup attitudes to emerge. Results were largely replicated in several independent studies (for a review see Brewer, 1979).⁹

⁹ In a subsequent study, Billig and Tajfel (1973) separated the variables of interindividual similarity and social categorization, providing explicitly random criteria for categorization, and showed that even in these conditions, the effects of categorization on intergroup bias persisted.

3.3 - Explaining MGP – the birth of SIT

Initially, Tajfel and colleagues (1971) proposed an explanation for the results that relied on the idea that participants had sought a compromise solution between two conflicting social norms guiding intergroup behaviour. One of the norms was based on the idea of “groupness” (p.175) and posited the adequacy of favouring members of the same group and discriminating outgroup members. By being made aware of the group membership, participants may have evoked “associations with team and team games” (Brown, 1988/1996, p. 543), giving salience to this groupness norm of competition. The other norm was naturally the norm of “fairness”, widely shared in society, of giving the groups an equal treatment.

Other alternative explanations have emerged (e.g. Rabbie, Schot & Visser, 1989), but the most widely accepted and most influential explanation was first articulated by Tajfel in 1972, when he associated the concepts of social categorization, social identity and social comparison. According to this view, social identity was associated to the knowledge and feelings of the group memberships that derived from social categorization, and the cognitive and evaluative dimensions of social identity were established through social comparison – a concept based on the one by Festinger (1954) but here referring to intergroup instead of interindividual comparisons. These concepts and ideas were further elaborated within Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

3.4 - Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory (SIT) can be described through the articulation of three concepts: social categorization, social identity and social comparison. Before the elaboration of SIT, social categorization was already a fundamental concept in Tajfel’s work. Its pervasiveness and usefulness had already been established (Bruner, 1957; Tajfel, 1957) and its consequences (like the accentuation of intragroup similarities and intergroup differences) had already been identified (e.g. Tajfel & Wilkes, 1963).

For Tajfel and Turner (1979), social categorization is a process that accounts for the simplification in the perception of the social world and that allows the individual to organize his subjective perception of the environment. The social categorization of the social environment embeds social categories with value. Thus, social categories are always charged with an evaluative connotation (see also Tajfel & Forgas, 1981) and this

value associated with the social categories affects how individuals perceive themselves. Social categorizations “(...) provide a system of orientation for self-reference; they create and define the individual’s place in society.” (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; p.40). Social categorization provides the individual’s *social identity*.

Tajfel and Turner (1979) defined social identity as “those aspects of an individual’s self-image that derive from the social categories to which he perceives himself as belonging” (p.40). Tajfel (1978) considered the existence of cognitive, evaluative and emotional components of social identity. The cognitive component related to the awareness of belonging to a group, the evaluative component depended on the value that the individual attributes to that belonging and the emotional component referred to the emotions that the individual directs toward that group. The cognitive and evaluative components are achieved through social comparison.

The importance of establishing this value of a social identity pertains to its relationship with self-esteem. Assuming that social identity is a part of individual’s identity, and as such that it contributes to the individual’s self-esteem, Tajfel and Turner (1979) argued that the individual strives for a positive social identity, since in general, the individual strives for a positive self-esteem (for a detailed discussion of the self-esteem hypothesis, see Abrams & Hogg, 1988). Thus, in conditions in which social interactions are determined, to a large extent, by the individuals’ group memberships – i.e. when social behaviour is situated in the *intergroup* extreme of the social behaviour *continuum* – the individuals strive for a positive social identity. A positive social identity can only be achieved through *social comparison*.

Tajfel (1972) had earlier proposed an extension of Festinger (1954)’s Social Comparison Theory. According to Festinger (1954), when objective, non-social means are not available, individuals compare their opinions and abilities with those of other individuals, in order to evaluate themselves. So, self-evaluation depends on the comparison with others. For Tajfel and Turner (1979), a positive social identity depends of *intergroup* social comparisons. Thus, according to SIT, these pressures to achieve a positive social identity through social comparisons lead to discrimination. That is why in the MGP, participants created favourable comparisons with the outgroup (to achieve a positive social identity), using the dimensions available to them – the distribution matrices.

However, Tajfel and Turner (1979) argued that in order for this intergroup differentiation to occur, three conditions would have to be fulfilled: the individual must

be subjectively identified with the ingroup, the situation must allow for these intergroup comparisons and the outgroup must be comparable. When these conditions exist, individuals can make use of different strategies. These strategies include leaving the group (either physically or psychologically), making downward intergroup comparisons that facilitate ingroups' positivity, choosing dimensions that are relevant for those comparisons and devalue the other dimensions, and engage in social change to change group's status. The strategy that is chosen depends on a variety of variables such as the extent to which the boundaries between groups are seen as permeable and the extent to which status differences are regarded as stable/unstable and legitimate/illegitimate.

Thus, the main idea of SIT points to the importance of positive distinctiveness and the fact that negative intergroup attitudes emerge as a way to achieve that goal. Although ingroup bias is the most common strategy (a strategy of differentiation), Blascovich and colleagues (Blascovich, Wyer, Swart, & Kibler, 1997) state that general negative intergroup attitudes such as outgroup prejudice may develop as “a byproduct of this process” (p.1364).¹⁰

SIT was targeted with several critics such as the fact that self-esteem did not predict ingroup favouritism, the fact that ingroup bias did not occur for negative aspects, etc. (for a review see Brown, 2000). However, most of the critics have been debunked as misunderstandings (Turner & Reynolds, 2001).

Nonetheless, we would like to stress one aspect that seemed ironic to us. It is a theory that in the end totally depends on the individual. Though SIT talks about the importance of groups being categorized as two separate entities and the importance of societal aspects such as the stability and legitimacy of group boundaries, the fact is that they make use of concepts such as self-esteem and beliefs (about the societal aspects) to explain the fundamental process. In the end, it all depends on the individual's needs and beliefs. This should not be seen as a critic. It is just curious that an approach that emerged within a context critical of intra-individual approaches focused so much on the individual after all.

¹⁰ SIT and previous literature arguing for the importance of categorization in negative intergroup attitudes gave rise to a whole line of work that conceived strategies that regarded the minimization of category distinctions as a solution for intergroup conflict (for a review see Brewer & Gaertner, 2001). However, this is not the focus of this work; hence it is not further developed here.

Within the Social Identity approach to intergroup behavior, another theory emerged that aimed to refine the cognitive element of SIT: *Self-Categorization Theory* (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherell, 1987).

3.5 - *Self-Categorization Theory*

While SIT focused more on the macro-social aspects and motivational reasons for intergroup behaviour, Self-Categorization Theory (SCT) was conceived to focus more on the cognitive and perceptual processes of intra and intergroup behaviour. In SCT, Turner and colleagues (1987) gave tremendous attention to the categorization process and considered it within a perspective that focused on the self-concept. According to the theory, the self-concept comprises many components. These components are cognitive representations of the self and were named self-categorizations.

These self-categorizations are organized in a hierarchical form in three basic levels of abstraction. The most inclusive level is composed of the superordinate category of the self as human being, the intermediate level considers the self as a member of a social ingroup opposing to other groups of humans (this is the level of social identity) and the subordinate level is the level of personal self-categorizations (self vs. every other individual) based on interpersonal comparisons (*personal identity*).

This hierarchical organization of self-categorizations has implications such as the fact that the more inclusive self-categorizations provide the frame of comparison to establish the differences among subordinate categories and it implies also the existence of a functional antagonism, such that as one level becomes more salient the other levels become less so.

The self-categorization that is activated in a given moment is a function of both accessibility and fit (Oakes, 1987). *Fit* refers to the extent to which the social categories are perceived to reflect social reality, i.e. the extent to which they are seen to be diagnostic of real-world differences. Individuals may perceive a high level of fit if the category distinction maximizes perceived intercategory differences and minimizes intracategory differences (*comparative fit*). Turner (1987) recognized that this principle – the meta-contrast ratio – is in accordance with the basic ideas contained in the classical work on categorization such as the work of Bruner (1957), Campbell (1958), Tajfel (1969) and Rosch (1978) since categories are formed in such a way that maximizes intraclass similarities and interclass differences. However, the innovation of

this approach consists of admitting that this process is clearly dynamic and varies with the context.

One of the main tenets of SCT concerns *depersonalization*. The authors argue that people cognitively represent their social groups in terms of prototypes. Then, when a category is activated, individuals start seeing themselves and others in the same category as interchangeable exemplars of the group stereotype and less as individuals. This group identity then prescribes the attitudes and behaviours that are appropriate in a given context. This concept of depersonalization contributed to the understanding of intragroup processes such as cohesion, conformity and leadership. Thus, SCT undertook a more thorough analysis of intragroup processes than the one that was provided by SIT, which was more focused on intergroup relations.

Even though SCT was more focused on intragroup processes and the cognitive and perceptual functioning of social categorization, this theory is important and is mentioned here because it provides a description of the dynamics that occur when social identity is salient and how this also affects intergroup behavior. In fact, the theory states that the more the intermediate level of categorization (ingroup/outgroup) is salient, the more the individual will act in terms of his/her group membership. Farther along, we will elaborate on why this is important to the phenomenon focused on this work.

3.6 - Social identity vs. social identification

A common concept to these two theories is the concept of social identity (hence the name of Social Identity Approach). In SIT, social identity is not defined as the element that triggers negative attitudes towards other groups. In fact, categorization takes on that role. However, social identity is an element that is invoked as a justification. Discrimination that derives from social categorization occurs in order to provide a positive social identity for the individual.

The way the concepts of social identity and social identification are phrased within SIT raises the question on whether these are independent concepts or not. In fact, social identity is associated to the groups to which the individual acknowledges as belonging and the value that he/she attributes to these group memberships. On the other hand, social identification is presented as one of three conditions for ingroup bias to emerge in case of an unsatisfactory social identity – almost as simply the strength of a certain social identity.

Whether these are independent concepts or not, the fact is that researchers have wondered on the capacity of social/ingroup identification as a triggering element of negative intergroup attitudes – i.e. a direct link between ingroup identification and negative intergroup attitudes.

3.7 - The role of ingroup identification on negative intergroup attitudes

Literature in social psychology hesitates in associating ingroup identification and negative attitudes towards other groups. Some authors claim that, based on SIT, one should expect a positive association between ingroup identification and ingroup bias (see Brown, 2000). However, some studies have challenged the consistency of this relationship.

Hinkle and Brown (1990) reviewed 14 studies testing this relationship and found a global correlation between identification and bias close to null. The inexistence of this association is the most widely used argument used by those trying to devalue SIT (Turner & Reynolds, 2001).

McCarty (2001) suggests that to expect such association is wrong and argues that this mistake builds on an erroneous interpretation of SIT's tenets. The author believes that the theory states that the emergence of bias depends on the occurrence of three fundamental conditions, in which identification with the ingroup is solely one of those conditions. The other two being the existence of relevant evaluative and relational aspects for intergroup comparison and the relevance of the outgroup in question (see Tajfel & Turner, 1979; see also Turner & Reynolds, 2001).

A similar idea was put forward by Hinkle and Brown (1990) who, following their review of the studies, suggested that the relationship between ingroup identification and ingroup bias depends on moderating factors. The authors proposed that identification may have different meanings and developed a taxonomy of groups that includes two orthogonal dimensions: individualism/collectivism (see Triandis, 1995) and a relational/autonomous orientation. This orientation concerns the nature of the group in terms of the importance that the comparisons with other groups assume. Some groups allow the individual to evaluate his/her own group without having to compare it with other groups (autonomous orientation), while other groups “require” a comparison with other groups (relational orientation). Considering this taxonomy, the authors state that the relationship between ingroup identification and negative attitudes toward other

groups only emerges for individuals or groups with a collectivist and relational orientation. Brown and colleagues (Brown, Hinkle, Ely, Fox-Cardamone, Maras & Taylor, 1992) presented data supporting this analysis: the association between ingroup identification and intergroup bias was higher in the collectivist/relational quadrant than in every other quadrant. Similarly, Mummendey, Klink and Brown (2001) showed that the correlation only appeared when the setting framed the situation in terms of comparisons with relevant outgroups and not when the comparisons referred to the ingroup (i.e. in terms of comparing with the ingroup in the past).

Within the field of immigration studies, the relationship is also inconsistent. Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) found an association between national identification and prejudice though this was not one of the strongest associations and was inconsistent across European samples. More recently, Wagner and colleagues (Wagner, Christ, Schmidt, Pettigrew & Becker, 2007) analysed the co-variation of the level of national identification and the derogation of immigrants using longitudinal data. Using two measurement points, the authors found a positive relationship between the two variables. However, our own studies using the Portuguese and Swiss samples of the *International Social Survey Programme* found no significant association between ingroup identification and attitudes towards immigrants and immigration (Costa Lopes, Vala & Deschamps, in press).

3.8 - Ingroup identification as a moderator in intergroup relations

As mentioned, the direct association between ingroup identification and intergroup attitudes is not consistently found. However, the idea of ingroup identification as a moderator in several relationships gathers incredible support and generates a much more consensual appraisal.

In fact, many studies have already shown that the way an individual reacts to intergroup situations depends heavily on his/her commitment to the group. For instance, studies showed that the reactions to threats to group status and group distinctiveness (such as willingness to remain in the group and predisposition to behave in ways that benefit the group) are differentiated according to the level of ingroup identification (e.g. Spears, Doosje & Ellemers, 1997; Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1997; Tropp & Wright, 1999). Indeed, high identifiers are more willing to stick with the group and defend its integrity than low identifiers.

Ingroup identification was also indicated as a moderator of the effects of various variables on negative attitudes towards other groups. For example, Struch and Schwartz (1989) found that the relationship between intergroup religious clash and outgroup aggression was stronger for those individuals who were highly identified with their ingroup. Finally, Jetten and colleagues (2001, 2004) also showed that the effects of intergroup distinctiveness on intergroup attitudes are moderated by ingroup identification.¹¹ Thus, the moderating role of ingroup identification of the effects on intergroup attitudes is strongly supported.

4 - Summary of the chapter

This chapter reviewed two classic approaches that were developed in order to understand intergroup behaviour and attitudes towards other groups. These two approaches form the theoretical background of this work.

One of these fundamental approaches is Goal Interdependence Approach which emerged from the field experiments of Sherif and colleagues (1961). Within this approach, it was stated that negative intergroup attitudes derive from a (real or perceived) conflict of interests and positive attitudes derive from a sense of positive interdependence. Subsequent research proving the importance of this factor in intergroup relations was also reviewed, namely studies that showed how this factor may serve as a moderator in some situations, in the sense that gives meaning and influences interpretations of some intergroup situations.

The other fundamental approach reviewed was Social Identity Approach that includes Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1989) and Self-Categorization Theory (Turner & colleagues, 1987). While SIT claimed the importance of the categorization process invoking the value for the individual in achieving a positive distinctiveness, SCT focused on the perceptual and cognitive determinants of categorization and elaborated on the consequences of the individual perceiving himself/herself as a group member for both intragroup processes and intergroup behaviour. Within this approach, we discussed the importance of ingroup identification in intergroup relations by showing that, even though it is not consistently found to be a triggering element of

¹¹ Since this specific idea and these results are central to one of the arguments of this work, further comments on these studies will appear farther along on this thesis and will not be more elaborated at this moment.

negative intergroup attitudes *per se*, ingroup identification is an important factor that often moderates the effects on intergroup attitudes.

Chapter 3 - Fundamental Dimensions of Social Judgment and Intergroup Relations

So far, we have established the Portuguese context as one that recently started to become characterized by the existence of large immigrant groups where these immigrants are targeted with negative attitudes and perceptions. After justifying the pertinence of focusing on attitudes towards immigrants, we established our perspective as one that considers attitudes towards immigrants as a particular instance of the more general phenomenon of attitudes towards outgroups. Then, we went through two fundamental approaches to the study of the antecedents of negative attitudes towards outgroups. This chapter is based on the idea that underlying attitudes towards outgroups are basic dimensions of evaluation of people, in the same way that any social judgment is structured along fundamental dimensions.

The goal of this chapter is to theoretically review the literature on these fundamental dimensions of social judgment and reflect on how these can help to boost our understanding of attitudes towards immigrants. Thus, the chapter starts by reviewing the work on the “fundamental dimensions” along which these judgments are organized, describing the different conceptions that have been put forward - focusing mostly on social psychology literature, but also being attentive to other social sciences such as sociology and anthropology -, identifying the regularities in the content of these dimensions and the distinctions between them. Next, we intend to propose a new way of looking at these fundamental dimensions by situating these within the specific field of intergroup relations in an immigration context, and explain how all the different examples of dimensions map onto this “new perspective”. We conclude this chapter by discussing how these two dimensions seem to mirror the two fundamental topics that organize the discourse and the opinions about immigrants and immigration.

After an initial interest in the content of social judgments (e.g. Katz & Braly, 1933), social psychologists started to focus mostly on the processes that are involved in these social judgments (for a review see Fiske & Taylor, 2008), and this has been the main focus for the last five or six decades. Only more recently has the focus turned again to the content of these judgments, now with a more structural perspective that considers content (and not just the processes) to be marked by structures (continuing a

tradition initiated by Bruner & Tagiuri, 1954). On this matter, the main question that emerges revolves around the dimensions that underlie these judgments and how those dimensions are organized.

At this level, literature seems to suggest that, though using different labels, two fundamental dimensions emerge consistently whether we are referring to a more individual level or a more group level of social judgment. We start by reviewing the work on social judgment at the individual level, and then we focus on the group level of social judgment.

1 - Fundamental dimensions of social judgment at the individual level

It was within the person-perception domain that emerged the first insight about the idea of two fundamental dimensions underlying social judgment. The classic work of Asch (1946) revealed that the effects of presenting a person as “intelligent, skillful, industrious, practical and determined” depended on whether the other trait added was “cold” or “warm”. Asch’s (1946) work pointed to the potential centrality of two dimensions, but it was the work of Rosenberg, Nelson and Vivekananthan (1968) that lent more consistent support to this tenet.

Assuming that traits tend to separate into clusters, Rosenberg and colleagues (1968) conducted a study to determine the multidimensional structure of personality impressions. Using Multidimensional Scaling techniques, the authors analyzed the descriptions that undergraduates made of ten different persons selecting from a pool of 64 personality traits. These analyses provided data on the psychological relatedness of the traits, resulting in a spatial configuration in which distances between traits in that space map on to their (lack of) relatedness and where the dimensions underlying that space reveal the fundamental dimensions that differentiate trait terms.

The obtained results suggested that a two dimensional space could reproduce the trait-relatedness data with satisfactory fit. Thus, the results of this study suggested that personality traits are best spatially depicted when structured along two dimensions: intellectual (good/bad) and social (good/bad). Some of the traits in the intellectual dimension were *intelligent*, *industrious* and *determined* for the positive pole and *foolish*, *clumsy* and *unintelligent* for the negative pole. In the social dimension, the positive side included traits like *warm*, *tolerant* and *sincere*, and on the negative side we could find traits like *cold*, *dishonest* and *unsociable*.

Still within the field of person-perception, Wojciszke (1994) showed that a behavior and its different features can be interpreted in different ways. What determines the interpretation is the construct that is used. The author distinguished between the *moral* and the *competence* constructs. While the moral construct or category refers to the intents of a person (whether the person who enacts such behavior possesses a good or a bad goal), the competence category refers to the abilities of that person (whether the person has the capacity to attain the intended goal). Wojciszke then showed that when asking participants to recall past events in which they had reached cogent evaluative conclusions about a person, three quarters of the recalled behaviors were construed using these two categories (Wojciszke, 1994). Later, Wojciszke and colleagues (Wojciszke, Bazinska & Jaworsky, 1998) noticed that these same two dimensions can account for more than 80% of the variance in global impressions of familiar others. Within the competence dimension, some of the traits were *competent, creative, efficient, intelligent* and within the morality dimension, we would find traits like *generous, tolerant, sincere, helpful*¹².

At about the same time that Rosenberg and colleagues (1968) empirically came across the two fundamental dimensions of social judgment as applied to personality, Bakan (1966), in an essay on the duality of human existence as seen from a viewpoint combining psychology and religion, theoretically defined two fundamental modalities of human existence: *agency* and *communion*¹³.

Agency refers to an individual's striving to experience competence, achievement and power, involving such qualities as "*instrumentality, ambition, domination, competence and efficiency in goal attainment*" (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007, p. 751). Communion refers to a person's desire to closely relate to and merge with others and depends on qualities like "*warmth, cooperativeness and emotional expressivity*" (p. 751). Concepts of agency and communion are frequently used to describe two basic styles of how individuals relate to the world, and people can be differentiated in terms of the salience of agency and communion orientations.

Trying to account for the positive-negative asymmetry in person evaluations, Peeters (1983) posited that traits can be distinguished in terms of *self* or *other-*

¹² In a different line of research, in a study on the perception of political leaders, Kinder and Sears (1985) argued that, similarly to the impression formation of any other person, *competence* and *moral integrity* constitute the two most important dimensions in overall evaluations of politicians.

¹³ These terms were widely used on gender literature since individuals seem to associate more the agency and communion dimensions respectively with masculinity and femininity (e.g. Bem, 1974, see also Amâncio, 1994).

profitability dimensions. That is, traits can be self-profitable, pertaining to *competence*, in the sense that involve adaptive consequences more important for the self, or other-profitable, pertaining to *warmth*, in the sense that involve consequences more important for the others. Examples of self-profitable traits are *confident* and *intelligent* (and *slow* and *unintelligent* on the negative side) and examples of other-profitable traits are *trustworthy* and *tolerant* (and *selfish* and *intolerant* on the negative side).¹⁴

In an attempt to put together these two lines of research, Abele and Wojciszke (2007) showed, on the one hand, that a large number of traits can in fact be reduced to the dimensions of *agency* and *communion* and, on the other hand, that *agentic* traits are rated as serving more the interests of the self (self-profitability) and *communal* traits are rated as more focused on serving the interests of others (other-profitability, Abele & Wojciszke, 2007; Study 1). Additionally, two subsequent studies showed that agency is more relevant and more desired for the self and communion is more desired for others (Studies 2 and 3). Thus, this line of work seems to show support for the idea that the distinction between agency vs. communion and the distinction between self vs. other-profitability carry similar content and can be thought of using the same reasoning.

As it was mentioned, under the agency and communion labels, we can find qualities like instrumentality and expressiveness respectively. *Instrumentality* vs. *expressiveness* were terms used by the sociologist Robert Bales in his study of small groups. Bales (1950) focused mainly on the nature of interpersonal interaction in small groups and he was a pioneer in the development of systematic methods of group observation and measurement of interaction processes.

As a part of his teaching in Harvard, Bales gave an undergraduate course on group psychology where the students had to take part in an experiment in which they were divided into two self-analytic groups that explored their own interactions as a basis for learning about the problems faced in groups. Additionally, the group members had to make observations of the other group and then had to give feedback on their interaction. By studying many such groups, Bales (1950) came up with a method to study small groups named *Interaction Process Analysis*. Underlying this method was the idea that people always perceive the others in the context of a group according to two distinct dimensions: the task-related and socio-emotional dimensions that mirror respectively

¹⁴ This distinction between aspects pertaining more to the self and aspects pertaining more to others can also be found in the work of Vala (1978). Analyzing elementary school handbooks in order to access social representations of children, Vala distinguished between introversive values (related to the individual's affirmation) and extraversive values (more associated with the relationships with others).

instrumental or expressive functions. And while instrumental functions pertain to the attainment of a goal in a group, expressiveness functions concern the actions that tend to manage the tensions that may arise from the seeking of the goal.

Also in the personality psychology literature we find support for a two-dimensional structure. Freedman, Leary, Ossorio, and Coffey (1951) looked for a comprehensive schema for the organization of personality data. They came up with an interpersonal circumplex, which is a graphical representation in which personality traits are characterized by their angular positions in a two-dimensional factor space: *dominance* (vs. submission) and *friendliness* (vs. hostility). The dominance axis distinguishes between *ambitious/dominant* and *lazy/submissive* and the friendliness axis distinguishes between *warm/agreeable* and *cold/quarrelsome* (Leary, 1957; see also Wiggins, 1979; 1991).

Nonetheless, the most prominent conception of personality structure – the *Big Five* approach (Cattell, 1933; Tupes & Christal, 1961; Goldberg, 1990) - points to the existence of five dimensions. Although with some variation in terms, Factor I has been interpreted as *Extraversion*; Factor II, *Agreeableness*; Factor III, *Conscientiousness*; Factor IV, *Emotional Stability*; and Factor V as *Intellect*. The authors supporting this approach argued that, even though more dimensions can be identified, these five constitute essential and invariable dimensions of personality (Tupes & Christal, 1961). However, Digman (1997) factor-analyzed the estimated factor correlations from 14 studies supporting the five factor structure, and found two higher-order factors (or meta-traits) emerging in all studies. The first higher-order factor, named *Socialization*, included Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Emotional Stability, and the second one, named *Personal Growth*, included Extraversion and Intellect and, according to the author, these two factors map onto the concepts advanced by Bakan (1966) and others. The first factor corresponds to *communion* and the second factor corresponds to *agency*.

Research in cultural psychology has also given some support to the idea that personality constructs can be distinguished along a more individual-oriented or a more collective-oriented dimension. Analyzing self-descriptions of both North-American and Japanese students, Markus and Kitayama (1991, 1998) distinguished between two types of self-construals: the independent and the interdependent – and while independent means defining the self in terms of unique qualities, interdependent means defining the self in terms of relationships with others.

Finally, even in the field of anthropology there are studies supporting the idea of two dimensions on personality structure. In a study that tried to identify the commonalities in the cultural organization of concepts of personality in different societies, the anthropologist Geoffrey White (1980) compared certain lexical aspects in the languages in India, United States and Melanesia. What he found was the emergence of two universal conceptual themes in the language of personality description that resemble the type of two-dimensional structure described so far. White (1980) labeled those dimensions *dominance* (vs. submission) and *solidarity* (vs. conflict). The author further posited that this common cross-cultural structure of personality descriptions reflects universal conditions of human social life.

2 - *Fundamental dimensions of social judgment at the group level*

Research on social judgment at the group level has developed in parallel with the concept of group stereotypes. Study of group stereotypes has focused more on processes than on the actual content (for a review, see Fiske, 1998). Moreover, the small portion of research that focused on stereotype content was merely descriptive and atheoretical (e.g. Katz & Braly, 1933). However, more recently, some authors have tried to identify content dimensions of stereotypes (e.g. Phalet & Poppe, 1997) and identify the systematic regularities within them (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002).

In an attempt to extend the goal-based interpretation of competence and morality in person perception (see Wojciszke, 1994 above) to the domain of group stereotypes, Phalet and Poppe (1997) conducted cross-national research on stereotypes in six eastern-European countries. More than 800 young students rated the desirability of certain stereotypes as applied to the ingroup and to the outgroups. Across all countries, a component analysis revealed a two-dimensional structure for both the ingroup and the outgroup conditions. One of the components was labeled *morality* and included traits like *honest*, *tolerant* and *modest* on the positive side, and *aggressive*, *selfish* and *rude* on the negative dimension, and the other component was labeled *competence* and included traits like *efficient*, *competitive* and *intelligent* on the positive side and *slow* and *clumsy* on the negative side. The authors also showed that the outgroups/countries with greater economic and political power were viewed as highly “competent” and the outgroups/countries that were perceived as being in conflict with the participants’ ingroup were viewed as less “moral”.

The most extensive and consistent work giving support to the two-dimensional structure of group stereotypes was developed by Susan Fiske and her colleagues (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002). These authors intended to identify systematic regularities in the content of group stereotypes. Convinced that stereotype content, similarly to stereotype processes, responds to stable principles, Fiske argued that one of these principles should be related to the common and fundamental dimensions of content. With this in mind, and based on the work on interpersonal perception that suggested the relevance of two dimensions, Fiske wondered if group stereotypes weren't also organized along the two dimensions of *competence* and *warmth*. In fact, much earlier, Allport (1954) had already noticed the existence of one group seen as competent but not warm (Jews) and another one seen as warm but not competent ("Negroes").

The authors (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002) then developed the Stereotype Content Model where the two dimensions (competence and warmth) combine to form four quadrants mirroring four types of stereotypes. Hence, according to this model, we have groups that are targeted with a paternalistic stereotype (high warmth, low competence; e.g. elderly people), groups targeted with an envious stereotype (low warmth, high competence; e.g. Asians), groups that collect a contemptuous stereotype (low warmth, low competence; e.g. welfare recipients) and groups that are regarded with admiration (high warmth, high competence; e.g. ingroup)¹⁵. Extensive research provided cogent support to the tenets of the model, with several studies consistently yielding differentiated clusters of high vs. low warmth and competence stereotypes across a variety of target groups, using a variety of samples (for a review, see Cuddy, Fiske and Glick, 2008).

One of the most interesting aspects of this line of research is that it proposes that differentiated consequences are elicited by these differentiated combinations of competence and warmth in group stereotypes. In fact, the model predicts (and studies have shown) that those groups perceived as low in competence but high in warmth are targeted with pity or sympathy; the groups perceived as high in competence but low in warmth are the target of envious and jealousy and the groups that are low in both competence and warmth are seen with contempt and disgust. Amy Cuddy (Cuddy, Fiske & Glick, 2008) provided an extension of the Stereotype Content Model with the BIAS

¹⁵ The first two types of stereotypes are ambivalent stereotypes combining a positive evaluation in one dimension with a negative evaluation in the other dimension. This conception of stereotypes challenged the traditional view on stereotypes as mere antipathy and characterized solely by negative evaluations (Allport, 1954).

Map that predicts differentiated discriminatory behavioral tendencies following those emotions determined by the combinations of competence and warmth in group stereotypes.

This conception of group stereotypes as organized along two dimensions had already provided an interesting insight into the studies on sexism (Glick, Fiske & Mladinic, 2000; see also Amâncio, 1994). Convinced that the conception of prejudice as antipathy had been impeding the true understanding of prejudice, Glick and colleagues (2000) characterized gender beliefs as ambivalent in which traditional women like “housewives” are seen as warm but not really competent, the less traditional women like feminists or “career women” are seen as competent but cold. While the former are targeted with “benevolent sexism” (seen as vulnerable creatures in need of protection), the latter are treated with “hostile sexism” (seen as insensitive people who just want to out-power men).

Finally, in a recent review on the evaluation of groups, Leach (2006) also argued for the existence of two fundamental dimensions. The author suggested an integrative framework where the concepts of competence, strength, prestige and activity are grouped under the more general dimension of power, and the concepts of warmth/sociability, morality and cooperation are grouped under the more inclusive dimension of benevolence. However, even though the author considered morality and warmth/sociability to be under one same category, in a very recent study, Leach and colleagues did show how morality constitutes a more important dimension than the dimension of warmth/sociability for the evaluation of a group (Leach, Ellemers & Barreto, 2007) and for the individuals’ decision to work for the group status’ improvement (Ellemers, Pagliaro, Barreto & Leach, in press).

2.1 - Another view on the fundamental dimensions

Thus, this review of the literature on the fundamental dimensions organizing social judgment showed the existence of a large consensus around the idea of a two-dimensional structure for both individual and group social judgment. Though using different labels, there seems to be one fundamental dimension that includes concepts like competence, agency, dominance and instrumentality and another fundamental dimension that includes concepts like warmth, morality, communion and expressiveness

(Judd, James-Hawkins, Yzerbyt, & Kashima, 2005).¹⁶ One aspect seems to fundamentally distinguish the two dimensions: the idea that the first dimension includes aspects that are more profitable for the self or the group that possesses those traits and the second dimension pertains more for the relationship with others (Peeters, 1983).

This distinction allows us to suggest yet another meaning associated to the distinction between these two dimensions. The first dimension seems to include aspects that grant those highly characterized by that dimension the tools to achieve material resources while the second dimension seems to include aspects that can be *a priori* seen as less useful from this point of view. Though we should not draw an exact connection between the competence and agentic aspects with this “instrumental” function and the warmth and communal aspects with a more simply “symbolic” dimension, the relatedness is certainly there and can be fully supported depending on the context. Using this axis to set apart the dimensions, we call the first dimension, the *instrumental* dimension, and we label the second dimension, the *symbolic* dimension.

The first dimension is called instrumental because according to this perspective we see the aspects included in this dimension as potentially serving a goal or a purpose (in our view: achieving material resources). In this sense, a group that is characterized as more instrumental than another group is a group that is more prepared and better equipped to achieve material resources than the other group. On the contrary, we use the term symbolic to label the second dimension because it is a dimension defined by opposition. According to this perspective, this dimension includes all the other aspects that, in a given context, are not seen as instrumental. Hence, these non-instrumental aspects are not seen as relevant to achieve material resources... these aspects are simply *symbolic*, like a “symbolic prize” that really doesn’t carry a true consequence. Moreover, this term is abstract enough to include a wide variety of aspects that in many other situations may be seen as standing at different poles. In fact, according to this “new” distinction, we unequivocally deal with only two dimensions. And even the recent discussion of whether warmth/sociability and morality should be seen as two separate dimensions has no sense here, because according to this distinction, these two aspects are *a priori* seen as symbolic in most contexts.

Thus, content-wise, two dimensions unequivocally exist: the one making reference to aspects like competence and agency, and the other one making reference to aspects

¹⁶ Indeed, Fiske, Cuddy and Glick (2006) argue that this different usage of labels has “obscured the pervasiveness of these two dimensions (p. 78).

like warmth, morality and communion. This distinction comprises in itself different meanings. What we argue is that when we think of the relationship between host society members (in our case, Portuguese) and immigrants, one specific meaning becomes more salient. That meaning is a meaning that distinguishes between instrumental and symbolic aspects. We further argue that there is clearly a greater tendency for the first dimension (and aspects like competence and agency, intelligence, etc.) to be considered instrumental, and for the second dimension (and aspects like warmth, communion, sociability, etc.) to be considered symbolic. However, this doesn't always have to be the case. And this points to one very important characteristic of the instrumental-symbolic distinction: its context-dependency. What defines an aspect as instrumental or symbolic is the context: If in a given context, being more sociable or more honest puts that person or that group in a better position to achieve material resources, then those aspects, on that context, should be defined as instrumental.

It should be noted also that the resources considered here are the *material* resources and not those more abstractly defined, where symbolic aspects would also certainly often play a role.

2.2 - Symbolic-instrumental distinction and intergroup relations

This chapter sought to identify and describe examples of the fundamental dimensions along which social judgment seems to be organized. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the interest in these dimensions of social judgment was due to the fact that attitudes toward outgroups are largely determined by the ways these are perceived. As Yzerbyt, Kervyn and Judd (2008) argue “The ubiquity of these two dimensions in social judgment suggests that not only is human judgmental language oriented around these two dimensions, but also these dimensions may provide important information for the regulation of social interactions” (p. 1111).

In fact, when we think about the folk discourse on immigrants and immigration, we notice that it is also structured along these two fundamental topics, referring, *on the one hand*, to identity aspects like their different culture or how they resemble us in so many personality characteristics and how we feel about the way they “rear their children”, and, *on the other hand*, how the fact that these immigrants are coming to this country is “affecting the economy” and the individual's personal financial situation, how they are “taking jobs away” from people born in the country or how they

“contribute to the development of the economy”. Thus, if the folk discourse about immigrants and immigration is organized along these two dimensions, then it is quite plausible to think that attitudes towards immigrants will be differentially affected by these two types of aspects, by these two *dimensions*.

However, literature on immigration issues is often leaned to hype the symbolic side. In fact, when we look at a fundamental line of work on immigration such as the theoretical models on immigrants’ integration, we clearly notice that the symbolic/cultural aspect is being over-considered and the instrumental aspect (concerning the resources) is being clearly neglected.

One of the first models addressing the issue of immigrants’ integration was put forward by John Berry and colleagues (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989). In their *Acculturation Model*, the authors considered that immigrants coming to the country deal with two fundamental questions: one of the questions refers to the way in which immigrants wish to maintain or relinquish their culture of origin and the other question concerns the way they wish to relate to the other groups in the host society. These two fundamental questions constitute two orthogonal axes that give origin to four possible strategies of acculturation (*Assimilation, Integration, Separation* and *Marginalization*). The fact is that all these strategies are simply grounded in cultural/symbolic concerns. And this model has been the most widely used in social psychology of immigration (Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998; Van de Vijver, Helms-Lorenz, & Feltzer, 1999; Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdržálek, 2000; Neto, 2002; Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2003).

Bourhis and colleagues (Bourhis, Moise, Perrault, & Senécal, 1997) added two refinements to Berry and colleagues (1989)’s model. They proposed the *Interactive Acculturation Model* where, on the one hand, it was suggested that one should consider not only the immigrants’ point of view but also what the host society members think about the same issues. On the other hand, considering that the two dimensions considered by Berry and colleagues (1989) measured different concepts (attitudes vs. behavioural intentions), Bourhis and colleagues (1997) suggested a reformulation for the “contact” dimension. The second dimension now dealt with the issue of whether immigrants wish/should adopt the host society’s culture. Nonetheless, these refinements did not respond to the lack of attention given to instrumental aspects. Rudmin (2003) was very critical of these approaches to integration, but his critiques were

fundamentally about psychometric issues and did not add anything theoretically substantial.

One distinct exception in this field is embodied in the *Relative Acculturation Extended Model* (Navas, García, Sanchez, Rojas, Pumares, & Fernandez, 2005) where it is stressed the importance of considering various domains of immigrants' reality. Accordingly, the authors consider that one should adjoin to the cultural aspects (already considered in the previous models), the domain of material aspects (including labor, economic and political domains). However, this is clearly not the prototypical approach to immigration issues. Thus, it is important to give salience to this symbolic-instrumental distinction in intergroup relations studies in general, and to studies on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, specifically.

Thus, we advanced this distinction between instrumental and symbolic dimensions because we consider that it may have an influential role on the understanding of intergroup relations and on the analysis of the factors underlying attitudes towards immigrants. The next part of this thesis further develops on that idea and explains why this symbolic-instrumental distinction may be more useful than the classical distinction.

Summary of Part 1

So far, this work has addressed some previous issues that pertain to the work presented in the rest of the thesis. These previous chapters offered both a contextualization of the problem addressed and a discussion of the approaches that form the theoretical general background of this work.

In the first chapter, we depicted the increase of immigration in Southern Europe and Portugal. Moreover, we analysed how this phenomenon is gathering negative perceptions and attitudes within the host populations and how the attitudes towards immigrants are becoming increasingly negative. The unflattering scenario presented in the final part of this chapter informed on the pertinence of addressing this issue on our work.

The second chapter presented the classic approaches that have been developed within the field of intergroup relations to uncover the basic processes that underlie and determine the attitudes towards other groups (such as immigrant groups). We reviewed two fundamental approaches in detail, as they constitute the main theoretical general background. One of these approaches - *Goal Interdependence Approach* - pointed the conflict of interests as the element triggering negative attitudes towards the outgroups and the existence of a positive goal interdependence (through the implementation of superordinate goals) as a way to reduce that friction. The other approach - *Social Identity Approach* - identified social categorization as the factor preceding ingroup bias, but, in fact, invokes the concept of social identity and the individual's need for a positive social identity as the mechanism inducing negative intergroup attitudes. Within these two approaches we gave salience to the influence of *goal interdependence* and *ingroup identification* and pondered on their potential moderating role.

The final chapter of this first part concerned the two fundamental dimensions along which social judgment is structured. We further discussed how these two dimensions (that we categorized as *instrumental* vs. *symbolic*) mirror the two main topics along which the folk discourse on immigrants and immigration is organized. We argued on the importance of considering this distinction when developing theoretical and empirical work in the field of intergroup relations, namely on the topic of attitudes towards immigrants.

The following part of this thesis will develop the theoretical argument that builds upon the issues discussed in this first part and will present the general and specific hypotheses.

**PART 2 – The Core Role of Similarity/Dissimilarity on
Attitudes towards Immigrants**

Chapter 4 – The Impact of Similarity and Dissimilarity on Attitudes towards Outgroups

As stated before, the general scope of our work is on attitudes towards immigrants and the factors that underlie those. However, within this range, we intend to focus on one specific factor: the impact of perceived intergroup similarity/dissimilarity. We define perceived intergroup similarity/dissimilarity as the extent to which individuals perceive the outgroup as similar or dissimilar to their own group.

Therefore, in this chapter we intend to critically review the literature on the relationship between intergroup similarity and intergroup attitudes and then to propose a new integrative perspective that will be tested empirically in the following chapters of the thesis. The chapter is structured in the following way:

We start by analysing the impacts of similarity and dissimilarity at the interpersonal level. Though we acknowledge the existence of a fairly admissible consensus at this level, we argue on the danger of making a simple extrapolation to the intergroup level. Hence, we start reviewing the literature that specifically addresses *intergroup* similarity.

At the intergroup level, we start by showing that within the *Social Identity Approach*, thoroughly presented in Chapter 2 (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner and colleagues, 1987), there are two opposite predictions that can be drawn. On the one hand, we show how, according to *Social Identity Theory (SIT)*, one should expect intergroup *similarity* to lead to negative intergroup attitudes. We present other theories, models and studies in support of this prediction. On the other hand, we show how, according to *Self-Categorization Theory (SCT)*, conversely, one should expect intergroup *dissimilarity* to be associated with negative intergroup attitudes. And once again theories, models and studies are presented in support of this opposite prediction.

We then describe how the authors that work on this topic have proposed moderators for the relationship in order to solve the contradicting predictions. Within the several factors, we give special attention to ingroup identification and show how the consideration of this factor has successfully solved the apparent contradiction between the predictions emerging from SIT and SCT. We then present a different line of studies that, in some way, builds on ideas proposed within the *Goal Interdependence Approach* (Sherif and colleagues, 1961; also discussed in the second chapter). By presenting these

studies, we show how strong support has also emerged in support of the idea of goal interdependence as a moderator of the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes.

At this point, we acknowledge the existence of support for two moderators of the relationship. Each moderator comes from a different theoretical approach. Studies influenced by the Social Identity Approach suggest that the relationship is moderated by ingroup identification. Studies influenced by the Goal Interdependence Approach suggest that goal interdependence takes on that moderating role.

To conciliate these two perspectives, we introduce in the discussion a new factor that was also discussed earlier in this thesis: the distinction between fundamental dimensions of social judgment (see Chapter 3). Here, we remind the distinction between instrumental and symbolic dimensions and propose that this factor may serve as the meta-moderator that permits the conciliation of the approaches. Specifically, we propose that both approaches are acceptable and that each approach is more suitable in one situation than the other. The hypothesis advanced here is that when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along *symbolic* dimensions, then the prediction of *ingroup identification* as a moderator (emerging from the Social Identity Approach) is more suitable to understand intergroup attitudes; when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along *instrumental* dimensions, then the prediction of *goal interdependence* as a moderator (emerging from the Goal Interdependence Approach) is the one that better frames the situation. The chapter concludes with a re-analysis of the studies presented along the literature review to ponder on the plausibility of the formulated hypotheses.

1 - Similarity and Dissimilarity in Social Relations

Social relations - whether between individuals or between groups - have always depended, to some extent, on the level of similarity or dissimilarity of the individuals or the groups. That is mainly due to the fact that in order to know where we stand and where our group stands, we need to know whether we are similar or different from others to whom we might be compared (Festinger, 1954). Accordingly, similarity and dissimilarity and their consequences have emerged as central in theories on social relations.

2 - Similarity and Dissimilarity at the Interpersonal Level

At the interpersonal level, four classical theories can be cited as making direct or indirect predictions on the effects of similarity/dissimilarity on attitudes towards others: *Social Comparison Theory* (Festinger, 1954), *Reinforcement Theory* (Byrne, 1961), *Cognitive Balance Theory* (Heider, 1958) and *Belief Congruence Theory* (Rokeach, 1960).¹⁷

The core assumption of Social Comparison Theory is that people have the need to evaluate themselves, their opinions, and their abilities. Additionally, in the absence of objective means of evaluation, they will compare themselves, their opinions, and their abilities with those of other people. Since people look to validate their view of the world, there will be a tendency to choose similar others to compare with and to be attracted to those similar others, since they provide that validation (Festinger, 1954).

In a similar vein, Reinforcement theory states that attraction towards others is a function of the (positive) reinforcement people experience when in the presence of those others (Byrne, 1961). A positive reinforcement can be - along the same lines as Social Comparison Theory – attitudinal agreement that provides confirmation on one's own view of the world.

Cognitive balance theorists argue that people need to possess a congruent set of cognitions about the world (Heider, 1958). If a person has a positive attitude toward something, and another person has a similar attitude toward that same thing, then it follows that a balanced set of cognitions will necessitate a positive attitude toward that other person.

Finally, within Belief Congruence Theory, Rokeach and colleagues support the idea that negative attitudes are a function of perceived belief dissimilarity (Rokeach, Evans & Smith, 1960) and that "(...) belief is more important than ethnic or racial membership as a determinant of social discrimination." (p.135). Even though this seems to make reference to group similarity, we still consider this theory to speak mostly about interpersonal comparisons since in the experiments that gave rise to it, the manipulation of similarity referred to the beliefs of a single member of an outgroup and the person had to evaluate that specific person and not the entire group.

¹⁷ Interpersonal similarity is understood here as the level of similarity between the self and another person or persons.

More recently, Tesser (Tesser, Millar & Moore, 1988) and Brewer (1991) considered the effects of interpersonal similarity to be contingent on certain conditions. Tesser and colleagues (1988) stated in their *Self-Evaluation Maintenance Model* that a similar other (“close other” in Tesser’s terms) will receive positive reactions if he or she outperforms the individual, as long as the process of comparison refers to dimensions that are not essential in defining the self. However, little can be derived about the effects of interpersonal similarity from this model, since it holds a confound of similarity/dissimilarity: the person that the individual evaluates is at the same time similar (in the sense of *closeness*) and dissimilar (in the sense of performance and abilities).

In her *Optimal Distinctiveness Model*, Brewer (1991) posits that a preference for similar others is contingent on the need for assimilation which is as strong as the need for differentiation in each individual. This idea of a simultaneous need for similarity and differentiation is present in other models of deindividuation (e.g. Codol, 1984; Lemaine, 1974).

So, at the interpersonal level, though with some caveats, there seems to be a consensus regarding the effects of similarity/dissimilarity: to a certain extent, all theories agree that similarity generally leads to positive attitudes. The question then emerges of whether one can simply extrapolate those predictions to the intergroup level. Several authors have warned on the danger of making a simple extrapolation from the interpersonal to the intergroup levels (Brown & Turner, 1981; Diehl, 1988; Doise, 1970; Roccas & Schwartz, 1993; Tajfel, 1978) building on both theoretical (Brown & Turner, 1981; Doise, 1970; Tajfel, 1978) and empirical arguments (Diehl, 1988; Roccas & Schwartz, 1993). Theoretically, this extrapolation may ignore central distinctions between interpersonal and intergroup behavior (Tajfel, 1978) and empirically, interpersonal and intergroup similarity have, in fact, yielded different outcomes (Diehl, 1988). We turn now to theoretical points of view that have considered similarity/dissimilarity at the intergroup level.

3 - Similarity and Dissimilarity at the Intergroup Level

At the intergroup level, two main meta-perspectives can be identified (Costa Lopes, Vala, Pereira & Aguiar, in press): one that focuses on the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes (Jetten, Spears & Postmes, 2004) and

another one that considers (perceived) dissimilarity (difference) in itself as a form of prejudice (see Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995)

This latter perspective states that dissimilarity/difference is an attributed feature, a meaning attributed to reality and not a reflection of a “given reality”. Thus, according to this perspective, prejudice is not caused by this “difference”. Instead, prejudice manifests in the form of an attribution of a *different* and inferior essence (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Moscovici & Pérez, 1997; Leyens and colleagues, 2000; Vala, 1999; Vala, Pereira & Costa Lopes, in press).

However, our point of view for this work is within the former meta-perspective. And within this meta-perspective, it seems that there is contradictory evidence concerning the effects of intergroup similarity and intergroup attitudes.

Data from survey studies have shown, on the one hand, that ethnic minorities that assimilate (i.e. strive to nullify group differences) are targeted with less prejudiced attitudes (e.g. Van Oudenhoven & Eisses, 1998) but, on the other hand, that the majority, frequently, prefers minorities to remain different (e.g. Thalmammer and colleagues, 2001, see also Lima & Vala, 2002). Equivocal results are also present in a wide array of experimental studies (Brown, 1984a). In fact, experimental research yields results in opposite directions – there seems to be support for both the prediction that intergroup similarity is associated with negative attitudes and dissimilarity with more positive ones (e.g. Diehl, 1988) as well as the opposite prediction stating that similarity is associated with more positive attitudes and dissimilarity with more negative ones (Grant, 1993). Most of the research on the relationship stems from Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) which has generally made the first prediction.

3.1 - Intergroup Similarity Leading to Negative Intergroup Attitudes

“There's no diversity because we're burning in the melting pot”
Immortal Technique in “Dancing with the Devil”

“A social group will only preserve its contribution to social-identity aspects of the individual, and be positively evaluated by the individual, if the group can keep its positive values distinct from other groups”
Henri Tajfel in “La Categorizacion sociale”

According to SIT, an important source of people’s identity derives from their membership in social groups. This social identity is achieved by means of comparisons

with other relevant groups, in a way that permits (positive) distinctiveness. Given this emphasis on seeking distinctiveness, it is easily deduced that any threat to group distinctiveness may generate negative attitudes towards the source of that threat. Thus, intergroup similarity can lead to negative intergroup attitudes in the sense that it may constitute a threat to the desired ingroup distinctiveness. This same reasoning is found in Freud's (1922) concept of "narcissism of small differences" and is also present in the Uniqueness Theory of Snyder and Fromkin (1980) who argue that similarity may compromise people's need to preserve unique aspects of their identity and they extend this argument to the group level.

Literature reveals the existence of several experimental studies supporting this hypothesis (Jetten, Spears & Postmes, 2004). One of the first studies to explicitly manipulate (attitudinal) similarity was conducted by Allen and Wilder (1975) where they varied the similarity between the beliefs of ingroup members or outgroup members and the beliefs of the participant. No overall effect of outgroup similarity was found, but as Brown (1984a) notices, "where the subjects' beliefs were similar to the ingroup's (...) there were clear trends that the discrimination against the similar outgroup was greater than that against the dissimilar outgroup" (p.613). However, the manipulation of similarity was accomplished through attitudinal similarity between the self and the ingroup and the self and the outgroup and therefore it seems to confound interpersonal and intergroup effects (Diehl, 1988). In fact, Brown (1984a) also posited that the fact that the manipulation of similarity was at the level of the individual participant may have decreased the group salience.

In another study, Turner (1978) manipulated intergroup similarity, asking students in two groups to compete in a verbal intelligence task, either in two groups from the same faculty or different faculties (Arts vs. Sciences). The manipulation of similarity was made by telling the participants that they attribute similar or different value on the verbal abilities necessary for the task. Another variable manipulated was the stability of the status difference between faculties: in the unstable condition, subjects were not told explicitly that arts subjects would be naturally better at the ability, but in the stable condition the arts students were told of their definite superiority. The results revealed that similar groups showed more ingroup bias than different groups, when the Arts-Sciences difference was stable. Considering that the Arts groups probably deemed the task as more important and more suitable to them – as it was intended in the instructions –, there was a clear confound of value and status similarity. It was with this in mind that

Mummendey and Schreiber (1984) conducted a replication of Turner's study where they separated the variables of stability and relevance of the task. In this experiment, the unstable condition now consisted of giving information about intergroup differences concerning abilities by showing statistical tendencies that *didn't necessarily reflect* the situation of the participants in the experiment. With these modifications the authors obtained different results: in their case, similar outgroups were targeted with more bias in the unstable condition. The idea that intergroup similarity led to more negative attitudes in unstable conditions is consistent with the SIT argument that the negative effects of intergroup similarity derive from a distinctiveness threat perception.

Other arguments in favour of the intergroup similarity – negative intergroup attitudes prediction are available: In a study that examined whether the introduction of superordinate goals always constitutes an effective measure to improve intergroup relations, Deschamps and Brown (1983) found that this is only true when the two groups enjoy distinctive roles in the cooperative endeavor to achieve those goals. As the authors state, “the convergence between groups which is often implied by superordinate goal situations may represent a threat to the distinctiveness of the groups concerned.” (p. 190). More recently, in a very similar vein, Hornsey and Hogg (2000) have shown that the introduction of a superordinate category was only beneficial for intergroup relations if the subgroups' identities were, at the same time, recognized as distinct.

Diehl (1988) conducted two studies on the effects of interpersonal and intergroup (attitudinal) similarity. In the second study, where intergroup similarity was manipulated, this led to more discrimination (in a rewards allocation task) against a similar rather than a dissimilar outgroup. Also using a modified minimal group procedure, Moghaddam and Stringer (1988, exp. 2), found the same pattern of discrimination of members of similar groups.

In a study designed to examine the contrasting predictions from Belief Congruence Theory (Rokeach, 1960) and SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), Roccas and Schwartz (1993) manipulated three degrees of intergroup (status) similarity (moderately high, high, and very high). Results showed that the greater the intergroup similarity, the larger the ingroup bias on relevant dimensions.

In a very exceptional case where national groups were used, Henderson-King and colleagues (1997) found an interaction between outgroup similarity and the perception of threat, which translated into a (non-significant) positive relationship between

similarity and negative outgroup evaluations – but only for those who saw the outgroup as a threat. However, in this study, intergroup similarity was measured not manipulated.

Finally, Jetten and colleagues conducted extensive research on this topic, also obtaining strong empirical evidence supporting the SIT hypothesis in several cases (Jetten, Spears & Manstead, 1996, exp.2. 1997, 2001). In 1996, the authors examined the effects of manipulating group distinctiveness by providing participants with feedback about ingroup and outgroup norms, in a natural setting, and found that low group norm distinctiveness (intergroup similarity) led to more ingroup bias (Jetten, Spears & Manstead, 1996, exp. 2). Considering that the assessment of intergroup similarity requires information not only about the central tendency of ingroup and outgroup, but also about the variability of both groups (Park, Judd & Ryan, 1991), two other studies were conducted (Jetten, Spears & Manstead, 1997) where group distinctiveness was operationalized as overlapping group boundaries (similarity) or clear separateness of ingroup and outgroup (dissimilarity) in terms of ways in which they perceive stimuli (exp. 1) or belief in supernatural phenomena (exp. 2). The results revealed that ingroup bias was larger when the intergroup distance was smaller. And along the same lines, two other studies from the same authors (Jetten, Spears & Manstead, 2001) showed the same empirical trend.

Though framed in a different way, the work of Park and Judd (2005) has also presented indirect evidence for the SIT hypothesis, showing that an increase in the endorsement of Multiculturalism (ideology that assumes the importance of recognizing group differences) was the only one (comparing with the endorsement of other ideologies such as the color-blind perspective) associated with a decrease in the magnitude of bias in favour of *Whites* (see also Wolsko, Park, Judd & Wittenbrink, 2000).

Although this initial review presents a consistent body of studies emerging from different theories and models in support of the idea that intergroup similarity leads to negative intergroup attitudes, another major trend supporting the opposite hypothesis can also be found in the literature. That is, one also encounters other studies, models and theories stating and showing that it is intergroup dissimilarity (and not similarity) that may stand in the way of positive intergroup relations.

3.2 - Intergroup Dissimilarity Leading to Negative Intergroup Attitudes

“J’ai assez vécu pour voir que la différence engendre la haine”

Stendhal

Even though this idea was considered in early writings on social categorization and social identity (Tajfel & Forgas, 1981), it was within the framework of Self-Categorization Theory (SCT; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987) that the underlying mechanisms of such prediction were theorized. Despite the fact that this theory grew from SIT, SCT distanced itself from the original theory and its motivational postulates by focusing essentially on cognitive and perceptual processes to explain intergroup behavior. SCT argues that, at different times, we perceive ourselves as unique individuals (self-concept) or as members of groups within different levels of abstraction (ingroup-outgroup; superordinate groups). It is this change in *self-categorization* that determines the individuals’ perceptions, attitudes and behavior. What determines the extent to which a categorization is applied at a particular level is referred to as its salience and it depends on the interaction between the characteristics of the perceiver and the situation (Turner and colleagues, 1987). So, social categories (groups) will be perceived as separate entities insofar as the differences between groups exceed the differences within groups (high metacontrast). And if this distinction reflects reality (high comparative fit), then this intergroup salience will lead individuals to behave more as group members (Oakes, 1987). Similar reasoning is present in predictions derived from accentuation principles (Tajfel & Wilkes, 1963) and from the Cognitive Differentiation Model (Doise, Deschamps & Meyers, 1978). Thus, according to SCT, it is high intergroup dissimilarity that forms the basis for subsequent discrimination.

The hypothesis that it is intergroup dissimilarity (and not similarity) that leads to negative attitudes is present in several other theories and models in social psychology. The *Integrated Threat Theory* (Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999) is one example. In their Integrated Threat Theory, Stephan and colleagues (Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999) argue that negative intergroup attitudes (namely prejudice) derive from the perception that the other group is a source of threat. The authors distinguish between realistic and symbolic threats and whereas realistic threats consist of threats to the very existence of the ingroup or its economic and physical well-being, symbolic threats are

the ones relevant to the argument here since they emerge from the perceived group differences in values, beliefs, attitudes, etc. (Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran, 2000). In a very similar vein, Sears (1988) posited that modern racism is rooted in the perception of threat to the values of the ingroup – a type of racism that he termed *symbolic racism*. Along with these theoretical frameworks, also correlational (Struch & Schwartz, 1989) and experimental studies (Hensley & Duvall, 1976; Grant, 1993; Jetten et al, 1996, exp.1) offer support for the prediction that intergroup dissimilarity has negative consequences on intergroup evaluations.

In a correlational study, Struch and Schwartz (1989) analysed the correlation between perceived value dissimilarity and aggression towards the outgroup. Israeli respondents who reported higher perceptions of ingroup/outgroup values dissimilarity expressed higher levels of aggression toward the ultraorthodox Jewish outgroup (e.g. supporting acts harmful to the group).

Hensley and Duvall (1976) conducted an experiment on the perceptual determinants of perceived similarity and liking in which participants were informed of the opinion positions of two groups, one group being moderately similar and the other group being manipulated as different across five levels. Results showed that as dissimilarity between the opinion positions of the participant and those of the other group increased, the liking for that group decreased.

Grant (1993) manipulated intergroup similarity using false feedback given to men and women about beliefs held by men and women that were participating in the experiment. The results supported the similarity-attraction hypothesis.

And finally, even the work of Jetten and colleagues produced some data confirming the prediction that intergroup dissimilarity leads to greater ingroup bias (e.g. Jetten and colleagues, 1996, exp. 1). Manipulating intergroup similarity/dissimilarity by providing feedback on ingroup and outgroup norms, in a minimal group setting, produced a pattern of less ingroup bias in the conditions of similar norms.

In sum, there appears to be support for both the prediction that intergroup similarity is associated with negative attitudes (and dissimilarity with more positive ones) as well as the opposite prediction that dissimilarity is associated with more positive attitudes (and dissimilarity with more negative ones). In fact, Jetten and colleagues recognized, named, and tested these two opposing trends in a meta-analytical review of the available studies on the subject (Jetten, Spears & Postmes, 2004). The meta-analysis focused on the relationship between intergroup distinctiveness (what has

been named here as intergroup similarity/dissimilarity) and intergroup differentiation – which is a dependent variable made up of different variables including a “broader array of differentiating responses” (p.862), but most frequently, ingroup bias. The authors identified the prediction emerging from SIT as the *Reactive Distinctiveness Hypothesis*, since the intergroup attitudes deriving from intergroup similarity were a reaction to a threatened identity, and the prediction emerging from SCT as the *Reflective Distinctiveness Hypothesis*. Considering 29 papers and the results of 79 tests on the intergroup distinctiveness- intergroup differentiation relation, the meta-analysis revealed that the overall effect size was not significantly different from zero, implying the existence of opposite trends. Thus, one can conclude - based on the mixed empirical evidence and the apparently opposing theoretical arguments - that a straightforward relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes is not to be expected (Roccas & Schwartz, 1993; Henderson-King and colleagues, 1997; Jetten and colleagues, 2004) and further understanding of this relationship may come from the consideration of different moderators.

3.3 - Moderators of the Relationship between Intergroup Similarity/Dissimilarity and Intergroup Attitudes

A number of factors have been proposed to moderate the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes, such as the relevance of the dimension of comparison (Moghaddam & Stringer, 1988; Roccas & Schwartz, 1993), the existence and characteristics of a superordinate categorization (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel & Weber, 2003) and the degree of identification with the ingroup (Deschamps & Brown, 1983; Moghaddam & Stringer, 1988; Roccas & Schwartz, 1993; Jetten and colleagues, 2001).

Consistent with the argument of Mummendey and Schreiber (1983; see also Tesser and colleagues, 1988) that a person only displays ingroup bias on dimensions of high importance to the ingroup, Roccas and Schwartz (1993) predicted a moderating effect of the importance of the dimension of comparison and indeed observed that only on relevant dimensions was there a positive linear relationship between intergroup similarity and ingroup bias.

As for the potential moderating role of the superordinate category, Hornsey and Hogg (2000) found that the effects of similarity between two groups depended on

whether the higher-order categorization that included those two (sub)groups was accompanied (or not) with a simultaneous categorization at the subgroup level. Indeed, the positive effects derived from similarity only occurred when this categorization at the subgroup level existed, as Hewstone and Brown (1986) had already predicted when warning on the undesirability of eclipsing subgroup identities. Also Waldzus and colleagues (2003) showed that a dissimilar outgroup was only negatively evaluated if the superordinate category was not sufficiently complex to reduce the levels of ingroup projection. However, it is the potential moderating role of ingroup identification that has received the widest attention and the most consistent support (Jetten, Spears & Manstead, 2001).

3.3.1 - The conciliatory role of ingroup identification

Originally, Deschamps and Brown (1983) considered that the effects of distinctiveness threat derived from the similarity of roles in the achievement of superordinate goals would be stronger if the “groups concerned were psychologically meaningful for the group members” (p. 190). So, they tested this idea by having both natural real-life and *ad-hoc* created groups. This was accomplished by dividing individuals into groups either randomly or based on their faculty membership. And in fact, the negative effects that resulted from lack of distinctiveness were only observed with real-life groups, where the commitment with the group – and hence the degree of identification – was probably higher.

Additional support for this idea came from an experiment by Roccas and Schwartz (1993) that not only provided data on the moderation of the relevance of the dimension of comparison, but also about the influence of the degree of identification with the ingroup. The authors measured the participants’ degree of identification based on responses on three items (e.g. “*How proud are you of attending this school?*”) and the results showed that the positive relationship between intergroup similarity and ingroup bias on relevant dimensions only held for high identifiers.

The work of Jetten and colleagues also provides strong support for the idea that the degree of identification with the ingroup plays a role in determining the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity (Jetten and colleagues, 1996, 2001, 2004). As mentioned before, Jetten, Spears and Manstead (1996) have obtained different results, presenting support for both the reflective distinctiveness hypothesis (exp. 1) and the

reactive distinctiveness hypothesis (exp. 2). The difference between the two experiments concerned the nature of groups: minimal groups (exp. 1) and real groups (exp. 2). The authors reasoned – similar to Deschamps and Brown (1983) - that the commitment to real groups was probably higher than the commitment to minimal groups and that these different degrees of identification had implications for the way the participants reacted to intergroup similarity or dissimilarity. Indeed, what the results indirectly showed was that the SIT's reactive distinctiveness was valid for high identifiers and the SCT's reflective distinctiveness hypothesis was valid for low identifiers. However, no direct measure or manipulation of the degree of identification was accomplished in these experiments. So, another set of experiments was conducted that aimed to test directly the moderating role of ingroup identification (Jetten and colleagues, 2001).

The hypotheses to be tested were now clearly formulated since work by Spears and colleagues (Spears, Doosje & Ellemers, 1997) had meanwhile demonstrated the influence of degree of identification in a set of experiments not directly related to the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity. The authors (Spears and colleagues, 1997) presented four studies in which different (perceived) threats to group status or group distinctiveness were manipulated and ingroup identification was measured. Results revealed different responses depending on the level of identification such that high identifiers were more willing to express group-level attitudes (e.g. group solidarity) in response to group threats, namely a threat to group distinctiveness (Spears and colleagues, 1997; exp. 4).

Considering these results and the fact that in the SIT original formulation it was stated that “[individuals] must be subjectively identified with the relevant ingroup” (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; p. 41) to act in terms of their group membership, Jetten and colleagues tested hypotheses that would allow for a theoretical integration of the apparently contradictory SIT and SCT approaches. The authors argued that this apparent contradiction was simply derived from different theoretical emphases of each approach (Jetten & Spears, 2003). The hypotheses were then as follows: highly identified individuals are more likely to perceive low intergroup distinctiveness as a threat and will, therefore, be more motivated to display intergroup bias in the case of intergroup similarity and more “comfortable” with a context of intergroup dissimilarity since it allows for the clear separateness of two groups; low identifiers, on the contrary, may be insufficiently invested in their group identity and, in the case of intergroup similarity,

may be more likely to think in terms of a superordinate categorization in which expressions of ingroup bias are unsuitable. However, if the groups are clearly distinct (intergroup dissimilarity), the idea of two different groups becomes undeniable and the individuals will act in accordance to that ingroup-outgroup categorization, looking for ingroup-enhancement.

Thus, to test these hypotheses, in the first experiment, Jetten and colleagues (2001; exp. 1) manipulated group distinctiveness by providing graphical feedback about group distributions in their level of extroversion and identification with a real group was measured (e.g. “*I identify with students of the University of Amsterdam*”). As predicted, high identification led to more differentiation when group distinctiveness was low (similarity) and there was a (non significant) tendency for low identified individuals to display more intergroup bias when group distinctiveness was high (dissimilarity). In the second study, looking to overcome the possible weakness of measuring group identification in study 1, this variable was manipulated by means of a “bogus pipeline” procedure, and the manipulation of group distinctiveness was achieved by providing feedback on ingroup and outgroup norms (Jetten and colleagues, 1996). The results showed that the similarity condition led to reliably more ingroup bias for high identifiers compared to the dissimilarity condition, but no significant pattern was observed for low identifiers. However, when comparing specific allocating strategies between groups as a behavioural measure of bias, low identifiers showed greater ingroup bias under a condition of dissimilar norms.

More indirect support for the moderating role of identification with the group came from two experiments in which Jetten and colleagues (1997) showed that the negative effects of similarity only occurred for prototypical and not for peripheral group members. Though one can consider that prototypicality is different from identification in the sense that it is context-dependent, the close association between the two suggest that these studies offer further support for this moderating hypothesis.

So, although several factors have been proposed to moderate the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes, the degree of identification has received the most compelling support. A final confirmation of the moderating role of ingroup identification came with the above mentioned meta-analysis that Jetten and colleagues (2004) performed where they showed that “only group identification was a reliable moderator” (Jetten and colleagues, 2004; p. 1) with equally strong support for reflective and reactive processes. So, ingroup identification does serve as a moderator of

the relationship and allows one to explain the domain of applicability of each hypothesis: the reactive distinctiveness hypothesis according to which intergroup similarity leads to negative attitudes suits high identifiers better (since they have more motivational concerns) and the reflective distinctiveness hypothesis which states that intergroup dissimilarity leads to negative attitudes is more suitable for low identifiers (for whom perceptual and cognitive processes are more dominant). Thus, according to the Social Identity Approach, the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes is moderated by ingroup identification: highly identified individuals express more negative intergroup attitudes when the outgroup is similar than when the outgroup is dissimilar, and low identified individuals express more negative intergroup attitudes when the outgroup is dissimilar than when the outgroup is depicted as similar.

3.4 - Yet Another View: The Influence of Goal Interdependence

So far, this review has shown that the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity are clearly not straightforward. In fact, two opposing hypotheses have been supported and it seems that ingroup identification importantly explains when each hypothesis holds. However, another set of studies, not yet discussed, has shown the importance of still another basic and crucial factor in group dynamics that can be easily linked with perceptions of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity: Goal interdependence. In these studies, Brown (Brown, 1984b; Brown & Abrams, 1986) demonstrated the influence of goal interdependence on the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes, revealing its moderating role. Even though he was based on the hypothesis derived from SIT that groups who become too similar may be targeted with increasing discrimination and dislike, Brown delineated an approach in which the central idea was that the effects of intergroup similarity are a function of the prevailing *goal orientation* (Brown, 1984b) rather than *ingroup identification*. The idea that goal orientation or goal interdependence could play a role here came from *Realistic Conflict Theory* (RCT, Campbell, 1965; Sherif, 1966) which states that intergroup behavior is determined by the functional relationships that are established between groups. These interdependent relations can be of competition (negative interdependence) or of cooperation (positive interdependence). While cooperation, fuelled by the idea of a

common goal, elicits positive attitudes, competition is a mechanism that generates negative attitudes and behaviors toward the other group (Sherif and colleagues, 1961).

Brown (1984b) reported two experiments conducted with students from two different schools where status and attitudinal similarity were manipulated. In the first experiment, groups expected to interact cooperatively with one another on a general knowledge task. The outgroup (the other school) was manipulated to be seen as having higher, lower or similar status compared to the ingroup, and similar or different attitudes. Similar outgroups (in both status and attitudes) were liked more than dissimilar outgroups. But when the groups were put in a competitive situation (i.e., using the Prisoner's Dilemma Task), there was a tendency to discriminate against similar outgroups more. In a second experiment, the nature of the anticipated task was manipulated (cooperation vs competition) but no effects of this factor were found on ingroup bias, but more competitive subjects did indeed express less liking for an attitudinally similar outgroup.

Considering the possible weakness of the result, since the predicted effect of competition only emerged in a post hoc secondary analysis, Brown undertook another experiment (Brown & Abrams, 1986) in which goal orientation was manipulated in a different manner: actual cooperation and competition was used instead of mere anticipation. The students were told that the study was designed to test a new form of evaluation to see if people were good at Math and English. The goal orientation was manipulated by saying that the researchers were interested in how working with another school affects people's performance (cooperation – moreover it was said that half the test was completed by them, and the other part was completed by the other school, the outgroup) or by saying that they were interested in the effects of competition on performance (competition – and it was also said that the school performances would be compared). Then, participants in both conditions were told that they would receive *prize money*, whether based on the joint performance (cooperation) or on relative performances (competition). Thus, the groups were interdependent in both conditions. But, once again, the results didn't reveal the expected interaction: Similar outgroups were liked more irrespective of goal orientation. However, the predicted effects did emerge when the authors introduced a subjectively perceived competitiveness against the other school as a factor in a later analysis. So, even though it is a post hoc and correlational result, it does replicate similar results of the other experiments (Brown, 1984b).

Thus, taken together, the results seem to offer initial support to the idea that goal interdependence may also constitute a reliable moderator of the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes. Though the hypothesis that goal interdependence may serve as a moderator of the relationship is largely unexplored compared with the hypothesis of the moderating role of ingroup identification, this idea has, nonetheless, received further support from another compelling (theoretical and empirical) argument offered by the work of Esses and colleagues (Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998; Esses, Dovidio, Jackson & Armstrong, 2001; Esses, Jackson, Dovidio & Hodson, 2005). Also inspired by RCT (Sherif, 1966; Levine & Campbell, 1972), the authors present a model to account for attitudes towards immigrants: the *Instrumental Model of Group Conflict* (Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998). The model suggests that “the combination of resource stress and the salience of a potentially competitive outgroup leads to perceived group competition for resources. In turn, this perceived competition leads to attempts to remove the source of competition, using a variety of strategies.” (Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998; p. 702). In order to remove the source of competition, one group can try to decrease the other group’s competitiveness by expressing negative attitudes and attributions in an attempt to prove the competitor’s lack of worth or by overt discrimination or it can also avoid the group by decreasing proximity, by denying “other groups access to its territories” (p.702). What is relevant for the discussion here is what it means in the model: “resource stress” and a “potentially threatening outgroup”. Resource stress concerns any belief that access to resources is limited to certain groups in a society and derives directly from the perception of scarce resources (resources such as money, jobs and power). This concept is thus closely related to that of “negative interdependence” or “competition”. And then, a potentially threatening outgroup is a group that is salient to the ingroup’s perception, because of its size, for example, but that is also similar to the ingroup in dimensions that make them likely to take resources. With this in mind, one can easily identify in this model, a reasoning that is very similar to the hypothesis of goal interdependence serving as a moderator of the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes.

In an experimental study (Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998), a fictitious immigrant group (“*sandirians*”) described as hard-working and ambitious (characteristics resembling the profile of the Canadian host population), in the competition condition, tended to be targeted with more negative attitudes and support

for “sandirian” immigration was significantly weaker. Thus, according to the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict, intergroup similarity can have negative effects, depending on the perception of interdependence.

According to these studies (Brown, 1984b; Brown & Abrams, 1986; Esses and colleagues, 1998) influenced by the Goal interdependence approach, intergroup similarity leads to negative attitudes in a condition of competition but not in a condition of cooperation. So, considering Brown’s work (Brown, 1984b: Brown & Abrams, 1986) and the work by Esses and colleagues (1998), that build on ideas emerging from the Goal Interdependence Approach, we get a new perspective on the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes: a perspective that considers goal interdependence as the moderator of that relationship.

Thus, at this point, we notice the existence of support for two moderators of the relationship. Each moderator comes from a different theoretical approach. Studies influenced by the Social Identity Approach suggest that the relationship is moderated by ingroup identification. Studies influenced by the Goal Interdependence Approach suggest that goal interdependence takes on that moderating role.

The question then is to know whether these two points of view, and their respective moderators, are both valid and, if so, the conditions under which each moderator is more or less important. If we can clarify this, then we will have identified a higher-order moderator (a meta-moderator), one that determines whether it is ingroup identification or goal interdependence that affects the intergroup similarity/dissimilarity – intergroup attitudes relationship.

3.5 - Different Dimensions, Different Processes

Considering the studies reviewed so far, it becomes evident that there are many different dimensions along which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity has been manipulated. Intergroup similarity/dissimilarity has been operationalized in very different ways, such as attitudes (e.g. Allen & Wilder, 1975), group roles (Deschamps & Brown, 1983), status (Brown, 1984b), group norms (Jetten and colleagues, 1996, 2001) and others. The fact is that these different manipulations may in fact yield different subjective meanings and consequences. However, little attention has been paid to this aspect. Thus, one could argue that the type of dimension used to define intergroup similarity/dissimilarity may be important. In fact, it seems likely to us that

the type of the dimension may well be the crucial variable that determines whether it is identification that moderates the relationship or whether it is goal interdependence that serves as the moderator.

As shown in Chapter 3, a basic distinction that we can establish among dimensions of social judgment is a distinction between instrumental dimensions and symbolic dimensions (see Chapter 3 for a thorough explanation of this distinction). This same distinction may be applied to the different dimensions along which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined. And therefore, what determines the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes may be whether intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is manipulated along a symbolic or an instrumental dimension.

We consider as an aspect of an instrumental dimension, every aspect which constitutes a tool to the person or group who possesses it and can be used as means to achieve better material resources or outcomes (such as jobs and money). Every other aspect that doesn't constitute an instrumental tool, such as some kinds of cultural beliefs, attitudes, values and way of life is included in what we call the symbolic dimension.

The literature shows that the perception of groups (and persons and cultures) is structured along two fundamental dimensions (e.g. Rosenberg, Nelson & Vivekananthan, 1968; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999). In a recent review, Judd, James-Hawkins, Yzerbyt and Kashima (2005) showed that "(...) one of these dimensions makes reference to attributes such as competence, agency, and individualism and the other makes reference to attributes such as warmth, communality, and collectivism" (p.2). Transferring to our terminology, we consider that dimensions that refer to competence, agency or individualism are *a priori* instrumental. All the other attributes such as warmth, communion and collectivism might be *a priori* thought of as symbolic. However, a fundamental characteristic of this distinction is its context-dependency, i.e. this distinction is not fixed, since any cultural belief, attitude or value, *a priori* seen as symbolic, may become instrumental, if in a given context it becomes a tool for achieving desired (material) outcomes.

Thus, with this distinction in mind, we hypothesize that these two different dimensions correspond with different processes. So, the fact that intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to a symbolic or an instrumental dimension may determine whether ingroup identification or goal interdependence serves as the moderator of the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup

attitudes. Therefore, it is assuming the meta-moderating role of the dimension to which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to, that we formulate the following reasoning and hypotheses: Considering that notions of identity are typically more linked with aspects like beliefs, attitudes and values, and not as related to outcomes, we hypothesize that the social identity perspective is better framed in a symbolic perspective. Accordingly, we hypothesize that *when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is in terms of a symbolic dimension, the relationship with intergroup attitudes will be moderated by ingroup identification* – in the way illustrated by Jetten and colleagues (2004). When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined in terms of an instrumental dimension, then the Goal Interdependence Approach – that considers the scarcity of resources as one of the main determinants of intergroup relations (Sherif, 1966) – provides a more suitable understanding. Thus, we hypothesize that *when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined in terms of an instrumental dimension, the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes will be moderated by goal interdependence.*¹⁸

The hypothesis that the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes are determined by this distinction between two fundamental dimensions is in fact concordant with the ideas of several other authors (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson & Armstrong, 2001; Scheepers, Spears, Doosje & Manstead, 2002; Lima & Vala, 2002; Zarate, Garcia, Garza & Hitlan, 2004).

Curiously enough, it was in an attempt to reconcile the approaches derived from the Social Identity Approach (SIT/SCT) with the Goal Interdependence Approach that Scheepers and colleagues (2002) adopted a contextual-functional view, arguing that different contexts elicit different responses due to different motivations, and distinguished between an identity-function and an instrumental function of differentiation. The authors proposed that the Social Identity Approach provides the best explanation for the identity-function of differentiation (achieving a positive distinctiveness) and the Interdependence Approach provides the best perspective to understand the instrumental function of differentiation. However, it should be noted that what Scheepers and colleagues (2002) call *instrumental* does not map into our concept of *instrumental*, because even though the instrumental function of differentiation is related with achieving goals, in their case, this does not necessarily pertain to *material*

¹⁸ Detailed hypotheses are delineated in the following section of the thesis.

resources or outcomes. In fact, in their experiments, they only used symbolic measures of differentiation. Besides, the authors made no application of this distinction to the domain of the effects of intergroup similarity.¹⁹

Esses and colleagues (2001) have suggested that relationships with immigrant groups could be differently affected by similarity and dissimilarity, depending on whether these refer to “dimensions relevant to being able to compete successfully for resources” (instrumental) or “dimensions irrelevant to obtain resources” (symbolic). Vala and colleagues (Vala, Brito & Lopes, 1999; Lima & Vala, 2002) report a series of studies showing that the perception and exaggeration of *cultural* differences elicited prejudice (Vala and colleagues, 1999). However, on the other hand, when the perception was in terms of a characteristic that could cause changes in the other group’s ability to achieve resources, then similar groups were the ones evaluated negatively (Lima & Vala, 2002).

Zárate and colleagues (2004) conducted an experiment that illustrated how intergroup similarity was differentially evaluated depending on whether it referred to *interpersonal* or *work-related* traits. Though named differently, this distinction maps perfectly into our symbolic-instrumental distinction. However, the authors did not consider any other potential moderating factors and so they did not consider that the type of intergroup similarity (interpersonal vs. work-related) could be a meta-moderator that determines which moderator comes into play.

And finally, the moderating role of the type of dimension along which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity was manipulated was even tested within the meta-analysis carried out by Jetten and colleagues (2004). However, the coding of dimensions that they used (attitudes, group status, task roles, category) did not reflect our distinction, because even though one could *a priori* consider *task roles* and *status* as instrumental, and the others as symbolic, the fact is that the context of the experiment in which those manipulations were used turned them all into symbolic dimensions (as we shall see below). The only studies included in the meta-analysis that truly had a manipulation of instrumental similarity were the two studies by Rupert Brown, which could not provide a reliable test of our hypothesis.²⁰

¹⁹ For the same reasons, our understanding of “instrumental” is also distinct from the concept of “instrumental” as understood within the context of the SIDE Model (e.g. Sindic & Reicher, 2008).

²⁰ This is in fact the reason why we did not choose to test our hypothesis through a new meta-analysis using Jetten and colleagues (2004)’s data.

So, these authors have suggested and sometimes demonstrated that the dimension on which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is manipulated may well serve as a moderator that determines the approach that is more suitable in each context. Our proposal goes further in hypothesizing that the dimension in which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined (symbolic or instrumental) determines the factor (ingroup identification or goal interdependence) that moderates the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes; and so it also determines the approach that is more suitable to help understand and predict attitudes in each situation. One way of examining the plausibility of the general idea that we outlined above, although only indirectly, is to look back at what has been made in the domain of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity, and see if the reasoning fits.

Considering the studies in which ingroup identification played a moderating role (Roccas & Schwartz, 1993; Jetten and colleagues, 2001) or seemed to have played a role (Deschamps & Brown, 1983; Jetten and colleagues, 1996), the dimensions along which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity was manipulated should tend to be all symbolic. And in fact, this is the case. In none of these studies was similarity manipulated along instrumental dimensions. In Deschamps and Brown's (1983) experiment, even though there was a prize reward for a well performed task, the cooperative nature of the task made the group roles' similarity or dissimilarity irrelevant for whether or not the outcome was obtained. And so the similarity or dissimilarity of group roles did not have an instrumental nature here.

In the experiment by Roccas and Schwartz (1993), the manipulation of similarity included different aspects such as success in national examinations, readiness to exert themselves during compulsory military service, etc; but the experimental setting provided no relationship whatsoever between this manipulation and obtaining an outcome, since the dependent variables were evaluation of the ingroup and the outgroup and readiness to engage in social contact. So, even if some of those characteristics (e.g. success in national examinations) could serve as instrumental in certain contexts, the context on this experiment was not one of them.

Finally, in the experiments by Jetten and colleagues (1996, 2001), the manipulation of similarity revolved around several aspects that are clearly symbolic (Introversion/extroversion, belief in supernatural phenomena and group norms of fairness and discrimination) and even though a norm of (for example) discrimination

could have an indirect impact in the money that could eventually be allocated to the participant, the manipulation of similarity/dissimilarity did not focus on this.

Considering the studies in which goal interdependence moderated in some way the relationship between intergroup similarity and intergroup attitudes (Brown & Abrams, 1986; Esses and colleagues, 1998), it seems that the manipulation of similarity/dissimilarity focused nearly exclusively on dimensions relevant for maximizing outcomes or obtaining desired resources.

Even though in Brown and Abrams' (1986) experiment, the intergroup similarity that led to negative attitudes was manipulated in terms of attitudes, the authors admit: "(...) both attitude and status similarity dimensions were *experimentally defined as being relevant to task performance*" (p. 89; *our italic*) and, consequently, were relevant also to obtaining the final outcome (prize money). So, the authors turned those attitudes into something instrumental.

As for the work of Esses, even though the one study discussed previously did not manipulate similarity (since the immigrant group was always presented in the same way), the characteristics that were used intended to resemble the profile of the Canadian population (host population), and these were characteristics (e.g. hard-working, ambitious) that can undoubtedly be considered instrumental and relevant for obtaining resources in the context implied in the experimental setting: the Canadian society.

So, the experiments presented in the literature do seem to support the plausibility of the ideas and hypotheses advanced in this review. When identification moderates the intergroup similarity/dissimilarity – intergroup attitudes relationship, similarity/dissimilarity has been largely defined along symbolic rather than instrumental dimensions. When goal interdependence serves as the moderator, then the manipulation of similarity/dissimilarity has focused on instrumental dimensions.

However, a true support for this idea can only come from the direct empirical test of the hypotheses. Therefore, the rest of this thesis presents the empirical work conducted to test the hypotheses. Before presenting the studies, general and specific hypotheses are delineated in the following chapter.

4 - Summary of the Chapter

The purpose of this chapter was to critically review the research conducted on the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes and

present an integrative explanation for the competing theoretical approaches and empirical results present in the literature on the issue.

We have shown how the apparent contradiction in the predictions emerging from SIT and SCT concerning the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity was resolved invoking the moderating role of ingroup identification (Jetten and colleagues, 2004). We then disputed the universal scope of this mechanism and, based on research by Brown (Brown, 1984b; Brown & Abrams, 1986) we suggested that another crucial factor in group dynamics – goal interdependence – also served as a moderator of the referred relationship.

We then claimed the importance of considering the dimension (symbolic *vs.* instrumental) to which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to, suggesting that this aspect may serve to reconcile the competing approaches, serving as a meta-moderator that defines the conditions in which each moderator (ingroup identification or goal interdependence) comes into play. In fact, we proposed that when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is in terms of a symbolic dimension, the relationship with intergroup attitudes will be moderated by ingroup identification. When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined in terms of an instrumental dimension, the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes will be moderated by goal interdependence. The next chapter presents the general and specific hypotheses to be tested in the experimental studies of this thesis.

Chapter 5 - Goal and Hypotheses of the Thesis

The goal of this work is to analyse the effects of perceived intergroup similarity/dissimilarity, between Portuguese and immigrant groups, on the Portuguese's attitudes towards the depicted immigrant groups. In order to comply with that goal we intend to test the ideas proposed in the previous chapter to integrate the competing predictions on the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes. To test these ideas, we formulate general and specific hypotheses to be tested within the empirical component of this work.

1 - General Hypothesis

“Different dimensions, different processes”

Our starting assumption on the analysis of the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes relies on the belief that these effects depend on the dimension along which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined.

Considering that symbolic and instrumental aspects convey different types of information and elicit different concerns, we expect the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes to be moderated by different variables depending on the intergroup similarity/dissimilarity being manipulated in terms of a symbolic or an instrumental dimension. The specific processes that are expected to follow each dimension (symbolic vs. instrumental) are described in the specific hypotheses.

2 - Some notes on the dependent variable

Before addressing the specific hypotheses, something needs to be said concerning the dependent variable that will be used in the empirical studies. As we've mentioned, we are interested in the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup

attitudes.²¹ Exactly what kind of intergroup attitudes we are interested in must be clarified.

In order to understand our choice here, one must consider the ulterior goal of this work. As mentioned before, this work emerged from a general interest on attitudes towards immigrants. In turn, this interest derived from the observation that the immigrants in Portugal (and in other places) are targeted with negative attitudes. The immigrants are seen under a negative light and gather negative opinions about them. These attitudes that are directed towards them are the ones that directly affect them and that have the potential to arise instances of intergroup conflict. Therefore, our real interest is on attitudes towards the immigrants, and not on the phenomenon of ingroup bias and intergroup differentiation. We are not interested in whether the Portuguese prefer their own group over the immigrants. What we are interested is in what causes negative attitudes towards immigrants, independently of what each person feels about his or her own group. In fact, Brewer (1999) recognizes that outgroup antagonism may occur “in the absence of any ingroup loyalty” (p.431). However, some of the literature previously reviewed to support the argument advanced here relies more on the phenomenon of ingroup bias instead of attitudes towards outgroups *per se* (especially, the work on the Social Identity Approach). Nevertheless, we do believe that it is possible to make this theoretical leap, using the predictions concerning ingroup bias, to formulate predictions about *attitudes towards outgroups*, in this case attitudes towards immigrant groups. And in fact, as Blascovich and colleagues (Blascovich, Wyer, Swart, & Kibler 1997) recognize “outgroup prejudice may develop or be reinforced as a byproduct of this process” (p. 1364), referring to ingroup bias and intergroup differentiation. Therefore, all the specific hypotheses presented below use the attitudes towards immigrant groups as the dependent variable.

2.1 - *Specific hypotheses*

A: When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along a symbolic dimension, the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes will be moderated by the individual’s level of ingroup identification.

²¹ We consider intergroup attitudes here as the evaluative dimension of social judgments about groups (Zanna & Rempel, 1988).

The interaction found by Jetten and colleagues (2004) between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and ingroup identification, stated that high identifiers are more worried with the distinctiveness threat caused by the similarity of an outgroup. Therefore, highly identified individuals express higher levels of differentiation in the condition of similarity (in order to restore distinctiveness) and less differentiation in the condition of dissimilarity – if the groups are different, there is no need to further differentiate them. As for low identifiers, the authors stated that these are more influenced by perceptual processes due to their lower investment in their group. Therefore, in a condition of similarity, individuals will think in terms of a superordinate category (because the metacontrast principle drives them to the activation of that self-categorization), and no need for differentiation will emerge since that ingroup-outgroup categorization does not make sense to those individuals. However, when the groups are clearly different, the ingroup-outgroup categorization will be undeniable by the individuals and in that case, differentiation emerges as a way of enhancing those differences (Oakes, 1987; Jetten and colleagues, 2004).

By considering the attitude towards the outgroup, instead of differentiation or ingroup bias, we need to rephrase these hypotheses. Thus, in our understanding, and similarly to Jetten and colleagues (2004)'s reasoning, we consider that highly identified individuals are more concerned with the distinctiveness threat caused by intergroup similarity. Our leap is to state that, in a condition of intergroup similarity, highly identified individuals see the similar outgroup as the source of threat and *negative attitudes* emerge against that group, i.e. high identifiers *do not like* an outgroup that is similar. To them, an outgroup that is dissimilar and that doesn't threaten their distinctiveness is *preferred* and is actually *targeted* with positive attitudes. As for the low identifiers, we also agree with Jetten and colleagues (2004) in the sense that we consider these individuals to be more influenced by perceptual conditions. And therefore, we hypothesize that in a condition of similarity, the superordinate categorization will be activated as it will be considered as more suitable for the situation. And if ingroup and outgroup are part of the same category, negative attitudes toward the "outgroup" are not appropriate. However, when the outgroup is dissimilar, then, the categorization that becomes salient is the ingroup-outgroup categorization and in this case we predict a classic effect of the categorization, that, in our perspective, should translate into negative attitudes towards the outgroup.

Therefore, our hypotheses go as follows:

A1: Low identified individuals will express a more negative²² attitude toward an immigrant group presented as dissimilar than toward a similar immigrant group.

A2: Highly identified individuals will express a more negative attitude toward an immigrant group depicted as similar than toward an immigrant group presented as dissimilar.

And, since we hypothesize that goal interdependence does not play any role when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is manipulated in a symbolic dimension, we also expect that this interaction of ingroup identification with intergroup similarity/dissimilarity should hold regardless of the condition of (perceived) goal interdependence,

B: When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along an instrumental dimension, the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes will be moderated by the individual's perception of goal interdependence.

To describe the patterns that are expected for this moderation, one should take into account the following aspects:

In the literature reviewed in the previous chapter, *goal interdependence* was suggested as a moderator of the effects of *intergroup similarity* on intergroup attitudes. Therefore, the most relevant result from the goal interdependence approach on the relationship considered showed that intergroup similarity led to negative intergroup attitudes in a condition of competition, but not in a condition of cooperation. To state that goal interdependence serves as a moderator of the relationship between *intergroup similarity/dissimilarity* and intergroup attitudes, one needs to further elaborate on the reasoning beyond the hypotheses.

We consider that when an outgroup is depicted as similar in an instrumental dimension that leads to the perception that the outgroup is in an equal position to access material resources comparing to the ingroup's position. The individuals' appreciation of this state of affairs depends on the condition of goal interdependence. If the individual

²² In all the hypotheses, one can say "less positive" or "more negative" interchangeably, because our hypotheses predict relative results and not absolute positions in terms of attitudes being above or below the mid point (i.e. absolute positive vs. absolute negative).

perceives that the outgroup is competing with the ingroup for resources, then he/she will perceive resources to be scarce and if that outgroup is in the same position in terms of capacities to achieve those scarce resources (since they are instrumentally similar), then that situation will naturally be seen negatively. That is why, in our opinion, a similar outgroup is seen more negatively in a condition of competition than in a condition of cooperation.

However, it is necessary to take one step further to elaborate also on the effects of intergroup *dissimilarity*. What happens when an outgroup is depicted as instrumentally dissimilar and how does that interact with the perception of goal interdependence?

To respond to that we propose a global hypothesis about the mechanism for the instrumental dimension that tries to integrate in one explanation the effects of both intergroup *similarity* and *dissimilarity*. This hypothesis states that the effects of intergroup *instrumental* similarity/dissimilarity will depend on the consequences that this situation carries in terms of the position in which the outgroup is placed in comparison to the ingroup. This means that the outgroup will be evaluated depending on whether it is seen as in the same position (similar), in worse position (dissimilar by inferiority) or in better position (dissimilar by superiority). So, when we manipulate the outgroup as similar or dissimilar (by inferiority or superiority) to the ingroup, we are placing the outgroup and the ingroup in a ranking of capacities to achieve material resources. And this ranking is what determines individuals' attitudes towards the outgroup (in this case, the immigrant group). However, these attitudes will not be straightforward and will depend on the perception of goal interdependence; i.e. these attitudes will depend on whether the individual perceives the relationship between Portuguese and immigrants as a relationship of competition (negative interdependence – fighting over the same scarce resources) or as a relationship of cooperation (positive interdependence – Portuguese and immigrants cooperate to achieve more resources for both groups).

In general, we hypothesize that the outgroup (immigrant group) that is responsible for a more negative situation for the Portuguese (ingroup) will be targeted more negatively than the outgroup that is responsible for a positive situation of the Portuguese. We consider here a more negative situation, a situation where Portuguese expect to achieve less material resources and a more positive situation, a situation where Portuguese expect to achieve more material resources.

What follows logically from these ideas are the following specific hypothesis for the instrumental dimension:

B1. In a condition of competition:

B1.1. A similar outgroup will be targeted more negatively than a dissimilar and inferior outgroup.

B1.2. A similar outgroup will be targeted less negatively than a dissimilar and superior outgroup

B2. In a condition of cooperation:

B2.1. A similar outgroup will be targeted with more positive attitudes than a dissimilar and inferior outgroup.

B2.2. A similar outgroup will be targeted with less positive attitudes than a dissimilar and superior outgroup.

And since it is expected that ingroup identification will not play a role when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along an instrumental dimension, we also hypothesize that these patterns should hold for both low and highly identified individuals,

These hypotheses were tested in six experimental studies that are described in the third part of the thesis.

PART 3 – Experimental Studies

Presenting the Experimental Studies

Six experimental studies were conducted to test the hypotheses of the thesis.

Before addressing the idea that the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity depend on whether this variable is defined in symbolic or instrumental terms, a first study (*Study 1*) is conducted to clarify one facet concerning the symbolic dimension. The study seeks to test if any symbolic aspect serving as the manipulation of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity can elicit the interaction with ingroup identification, or if those aspects have to be considered relevant in the context of the comparison between Portuguese and immigrants. After specifying the scope of the hypotheses for the symbolic dimension, we conduct *Study 2* to test the global model.

This second study intends to show that ingroup identification moderates the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes when that similarity/dissimilarity is defined along a symbolic dimension, and goal interdependence plays that moderating role on the relationship when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along an instrumental dimension. To test these hypotheses, in this second study, we manipulate the perceptions of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity (between Portuguese and Eastern immigrants), the dimension to which similarity/dissimilarity refers to, and the perception of goal interdependence. Ingroup identification is measured. The following studies deal with issues that emerge from this second study.

Studies 3a and 3b intend to test the same general hypotheses than *Study 2* with two changes: a new manipulation of similarity/dissimilarity was used in order to provide a neutral (non asymmetrical) manipulation of dissimilarity, and only one moderator is considered in each study in order to simplify the experimental designs. In *Study 3a* ingroup identification is measured. In *Study 3b*, perception of goal interdependence is manipulated.

Study 4 deals with one of the unexpected results of *Study 2*. In the second study, the expected interaction between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and ingroup identification (in the symbolic dimension) only emerged in a condition of cooperation. *Study 4* uses a new manipulation of competition in order to test the expected interaction also in this condition.

The sixth and final study (*Study 5*) deals with the other unexpected result of Study 2. In that second study, the expected interaction between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and goal interdependence only appeared for highly identified individuals. Study 5 uses a closer manipulation of instrumental concerns (using a different manipulation of instrumental similarity/dissimilarity and a different population) in order to extend the results for the instrumental dimension and to show its independence from the influence of ingroup identification.

Across studies, different types of experimental manipulations, different types of samples and different experimental paradigms are used.

Chapter 6 - Study 1: Not Everything Matters in the Symbolic Dimension

This first study comes before the global test of the hypotheses outlined in the previous chapter. Before addressing the idea that the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity depend on whether this variable is defined in symbolic or instrumental terms, this initial study aims to clarify one facet concerning the symbolic dimension: we wanted to test if any aspect mirroring a symbolic dimension could bring forth the process of the moderation of ingroup identification or if this process would only happen with relevant aspects. In fact, when we talk about instrumental aspects, as we've seen in the previous chapters, we are talking about aspects that are necessarily relevant. Only aspects that can be construed as relevant in the achievement of material resources are considered instrumental. However, when we talk about symbolic aspects, a plethora of aspects can be included, and these aspects can certainly vary in the degree of relevance.

We define relevance here as the extent to which a certain aspect is present in the public discourse on relations between different groups, and namely on the relations seen to exist between the Portuguese and the immigrant groups. We recognize that it is not possible to present a clear cut distinction of what aspects are relevant and which are irrelevant. And we certainly admit that it is even more difficult to establish that outside of a specific context. In this sense, we chose aspects that in the context of the Portuguese society seem to constitute examples that are found in the extreme poles of relevance/irrelevance. Therefore, in the specific context of eastern immigrants in Portugal, conversations, discussions and studies seem to revolve more around cultural aspects such as immigrants' traits or characteristics than around food habits. Thus, immigrants' traits were chosen to mirror the relevant aspects and food habits were chosen to mirror the irrelevant or trivial aspects. Further explanations on the materials used are found below.

So, this initial study emerged from a simple interrogation: Will the predictions about the impact of symbolic similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes be the same whether we are considering relevant or trivial aspects?

The pertinence of this question derives from realizing how today's society takes part in the celebration of "folkloric" differences and similarities, praising the beauty of

both diversity and communion in the fields of culinary traditions, holidays and decoration, etc. It may be the case that only relevant dimensions affect social identity processes.

The relevance/importance that dimensions of comparison assume has been identified as a determinant factor in intergroup relations (e.g. Mullen, Brown & Smith, 1992). In fact, intergroup bias has revealed itself as contingent to the importance of the dimension on which the groups are evaluated (e.g. Van Knippenberg, 1978).

In an experiment designed to address whether ingroup bias depended on the method used to measure it, Mummendey and Schreiber (1983) used a paradigm where the participants had the opportunity to evaluate the ingroup and the outgroup in three different ways: “complementary assessment” (in which the ingroup and outgroup were rated interdependently on one dimension), “separate assessment” (in which the ingroup and outgroup were rated separately but still on only one dimension), or “choice of dimension” (in which the ingroup and outgroup were rated separately using different chosen dimensions). Results showed that “outgroup discrimination only takes place when there is no other alternative to guarantee one’s own positive identity than one at the expense of the outgroup” (Mummendey & Schreiber, 1983, p. 395). More importantly, the authors showed that a person only displays negative intergroup behaviour on dimensions of high importance for the ingroup. A similar idea was advanced by Tesser (Tesser, 1988; Tesser, Millar & Moore, 1988) in his *Self-Evaluation Maintenance Model* which states that the outcomes of comparison processes depend on whether the dimensions involved in those processes are essential or not in defining the self. Other studies have showed the existence of differentiated attitudes depending on the relevance of the dimensions considered (e.g. Mlicki & Ellemers, 1996).

Closer to our intent, the results of Roccas and Schwartz (1993) showed the influence of the relevance of the dimension along which intergroup similarity is defined. In their study, only on relevant dimensions (as rated by the participants) was there a positive linear relationship between intergroup similarity and ingroup bias. In this study, however, there was no manipulation of dissimilarity. Therefore, based on these results it is not possible to analyse whether highly identified individuals have a more positive attitude toward a dissimilar than a similar outgroup, nor whether low identified individuals have a more positive attitude toward a similar than a dissimilar group. Accordingly, it is not possible to determine whether the identification difference, that we hypothesize, only exists for relevant dimensions.

Thus, this first study intends to show that the moderation of the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes by ingroup identification only occurs when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along relevant (in opposition to irrelevant/trivial) dimensions.

To test this idea, a study was conducted in which the perceptions of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity between Portuguese and Eastern European immigrants were manipulated along two different symbolic aspects (relevant vs. trivial) and the participants' (Portuguese) general attitude towards Eastern European immigrants was measured.

1 - Hypotheses

- a) When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to relevant symbolic aspects, participants' general attitude toward immigrants will be moderated by the level of ingroup identification in such a way that highly identified individuals will express a more positive attitude toward a dissimilar outgroup than to a similar outgroup, and low-identified individuals will express an opposite pattern.
- b) When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to trivial symbolic aspects, participants' general attitude toward immigrants will not depend on the condition of similarity/dissimilarity, nor on the interaction between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and the participant's level of ingroup identification.

2 - Method

2.1 - Participants and Experimental Design

One-hundred and twelve psychology undergraduates (95% females) at the University of Coimbra with ages ranging from 19 to 50 ($M = 20.9$; $SD = 3.60$) participated in this study²³.

The hypotheses were tested using a 2 (Similarity/Dissimilarity) X 2 (Relevant vs. Trivial aspects) between-participants design. Ingroup identification was measured.

²³ A larger number of students participated in the study, but only 112 were considered for analysis, because not all participants filled out both questionnaires, since some of the students left before the second part of the study.

2.2 – Procedure

The study was run in classrooms and was carried out as if there were two independent studies occurring in the same day. The “two studies” were ostensibly presented as unrelated to each other. The “first study” was conducted at the beginning of the class and was presented as a study on the “media coverage of scientific research”. In reality, the study was used to give the manipulations of similarity/dissimilarity in relevant or trivial aspects. The “second study” was presented at the end of the class as a study on immigration. In fact, this study contained the measurement of the dependent variable. Ingroup identification was measured in a previous class. In both studies, participants were asked to fill out a multiple-choice questionnaire.

2.2.1 - Phase 1 – Media coverage of scientific research

The first part of the study contained the manipulations of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and was conducted at the beginning of each class. This part of the study was presented as an independent study about “Media coverage of scientific research”. Participants were given bogus news stories supposedly taken from an important newspaper in which a study was described from the *Centre for Anthropological Research* that compared Portuguese and Eastern European immigrant samples. The specific content of the news concerning the results of the anthropological study depended on the experimental condition (See Table 6.1)²⁴. After participants read the news, they were asked to answer some questions about the news. These questions were later used as a manipulation check.

2.2.2 - Phase 2 – Study on immigration

The second part of the study was ostensibly presented by a different experimenter as an unrelated independent study on immigration. In this phase, participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire including a question about the participants’ general attitude toward eastern immigrants.

²⁴ In the relevant aspects condition, we used “cultural” and “natural” traits - a distinction advanced by Moscovici and Perez (1997) - which are traits that are typically present in ingroup-outgroup comparisons. But since we did not want to have a valence confound, we only used positive traits.

Materials

2.3 - Materials

2.3.1 - Intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and relevance

Intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and the relevance of the aspects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity (relevant vs. trivial) were manipulated in the supposed “results” of the anthropological study that compared Portuguese and eastern immigrants. Table 1 presents the specific content of each news considering the experimental conditions^{25,26}.

Table 6.1. Experimental conditions – Similarity/Dissimilarity X Relevance (Study 1)

	<i>Relevant aspects</i>	<i>Trivial Aspects</i>
<i>Similarity</i>	Portuguese and eastern immigrants are both presented as typical “Apolineous” groups. <i>Apolineous</i> is a supposed anthropological term to refer to groups whose main traits are “tolerant” and “sincere”.	Portuguese and Eastern immigrants are presented as having identical food habits, which translates (for example) into a similar tendency in the specific aliments they choose to get most of carbon hydrates.
<i>Dissimilarity</i>	Eastern immigrants are presented as “Dionisiacs” – having as main traits “gentle” and “spontaneous” – while Portuguese are presented as “Apolineous” whose main traits are “tolerant” and “sincere” ²⁷ .	Portuguese and Eastern immigrants are presented as having dissimilar food habits, which translates (for example) in picking different aliments to get carbon hydrates.

²⁵ All the content of the news was chosen in order for the aspects to be considered symbolic: i.e.: all the characteristics depicted in the news were conceived to mirror aspects that are irrelevant to achieve resources in the context of the relationship between Portuguese and immigrants and in Portuguese society in general.

²⁶ An example of the newspaper sheet that participants read is presented in *Appendix A*.

²⁷ The Portuguese words used were: “tolerante”, “sincero”, “dócil” and “espontâneo”.

2.3.2 - Ingroup identification

To measure ingroup identification, we used three items used by Jetten, Spears and Manstead (1996) adapted to measure individuals' identification with the country (Portugal): "I identify with other Portuguese", "I feel a strong connection with other Portuguese" and "I see myself as a part of the Portuguese". All items were measured from 0 (not identified at all) to 100 (very identified). The items presented a very good internal consistency ($\alpha = .911$). Thus, a global score of ingroup identification including all three items was considered for the analyses. Higher values represent higher levels of ingroup identification.

2.3.2 - Attitude toward immigrants

To measure the participants' general attitude toward eastern immigrants, we used the following item: "In general, your evaluation of eastern immigrants is..."²⁸ The students answered the item using a scale ranging from 1 ("highly unfavourable") to 7 (highly favourable). Thus, higher values represent more positive attitudes.

3 – Results

3.1 - Manipulation check

All the manipulations yielded the perceptions to which they were aimed. Thus, most of the participants correctly identified the respective aspect that was described in the news. The six students who did not identify the aspect correctly were taken from the sample and all analyses were conducted with 106 participants. Considering these responses, the participants who read news that depicted the outgroup as different from the Portuguese reported less similarity ($M = 3.68$; $SD = .089$) than those who read the news depicting the outgroup as similar ($M = 4.94$; $SD = 1.02$; $F(1,105) = 44.1$; $p < .001$). Moreover, no effects of design conditions were found on the credibility and clarity attributed to the news (all F 's < 1).

²⁸ In portuguese, the expression used was: "Em geral, a apreciação que faz dos imigrantes de leste é..."

3.2 - Test of the hypotheses

To test the hypotheses, we conducted a Multiple Regression Analysis in which we considered in the same model all the main predictors, the three two-way interactions, and the three-way interaction. The categorical independent variables (relevance and intergroup similarity/dissimilarity) were coded with contrast codes (+1, -1). Ingroup identification was standardized (mean equals 0 and standard deviation equals 1). The regression model was estimated using these three variables as predictors as well as their products (to capture their interactions). Results showed that only the three-way interaction was significant ($b = .222$; $SE = .95$; $t = -2.35$, $p < .05$). This interaction can be interpreted in terms of the two-way interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and ingroup identification in the two conditions of relevance (relevant aspects vs. trivial aspects). To examine this interaction, we conducted simple analyses between similarity/dissimilarity and identification within each level of relevance. We derived and tested the simple slopes, computing the predicted values for participants situated one standard deviation below and above the mean on identification (Aiken & West, 1991). These show that the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and attitudes towards the outgroup is indeed moderated by the participant's level of ingroup identification, but only when the symbolic aspects that intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to are relevant. In fact, when the aspects are relevant, highly identified individuals express a more positive attitude toward an immigrant group presented as dissimilar than to a group presented as similar ($b = -.361$; $SE = .197$; $t = 1.83$; $p < .07$). Low identified individuals express the opposite pattern, revealing a more positive attitude towards an immigrant group depicted as similar, than when the group is depicted as dissimilar ($b = -.377$; $SE = -.40$; $t = -2.14$; $p < .05$) (see Figure 6.1).

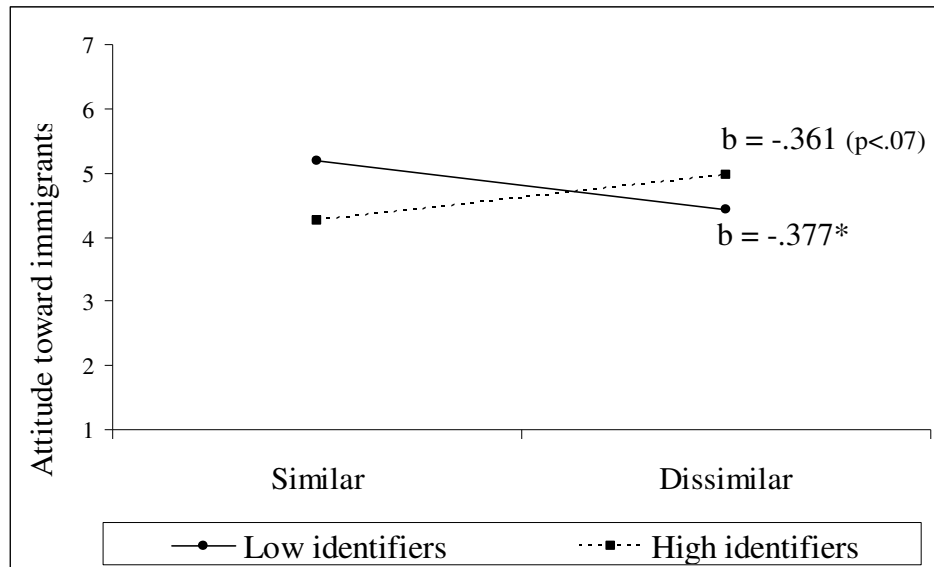


Figure 6.1. Intergroup similarity/dissimilarity X Ingroup identification for relevant aspects^{29,30} (Study 1)

When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to trivial aspects, a graphical analysis of the pattern of means does not show any effect of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity nor any interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and ingroup identification (see Figure 6.2). For high identifiers, there is no significant difference between the attitude towards a group presented as similar and towards a group presented as dissimilar ($b = .089$; $SE = .176$; $t = .51$; ns.). The same happens for low identifiers ($b = .239$; $SE = .197$; $t = 1.21$; ns.)

²⁹ The graphs present predicted values and not means of the dependent variable in each condition.

³⁰ For every statistical test presented in this document, “*” represents a difference statistically significant at $p < .05$; “**”, represents a difference statistically significant at $p < .01$ and “***” represents a difference statistically significant at $p < .001$. Near each line of the graph is presented the correspondent unstandardized coefficient that indicates the slope and the significance of that line.

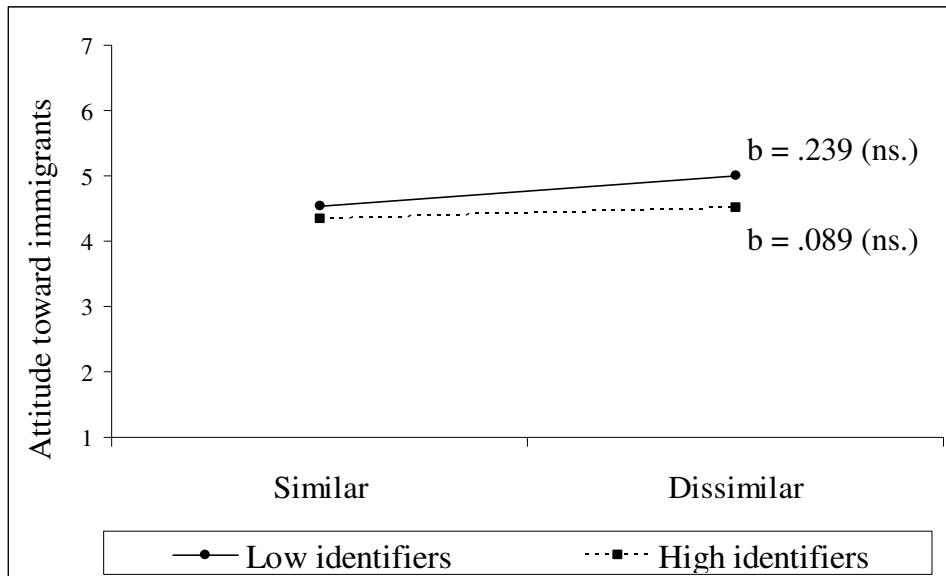


Figure 6.2. Intergroup similarity/dissimilarity X Ingroup identification for trivial aspects (Study 1)

4 – Discussion

The results offer clear support for the two specific predictions of this study. Indeed, data shows that when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity referred to symbolic and relevant aspects, the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and general attitude toward the immigrant group presented as similar or dissimilar was moderated by the level of identification, in such a way that highly identified individuals expressed a more positive attitude toward a dissimilar than towards a similar immigrant group and low-identified individuals yielded the opposite pattern. These results are in accordance with those obtained by Jetten et al (2004). On the contrary, when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity was operationalized in terms of *trivial* aspects, the results did not yield the interaction.

Generally speaking, these results offered initial support for the idea expressed in hypotheses A1 (low identifiers express more positive attitudes toward a symbolically similar than a symbolically dissimilar outgroup) and A2 (high identifiers express a more positive attitude toward a symbolically dissimilar than a symbolically similar outgroup). But now the scope of these hypotheses is narrowed, since these hypotheses can now only be considered valid for relevant aspects of symbolic dimensions.

Thus, this initial study simply aimed to clarify one specific aspect concerning the symbolic dimension: i.e. the fact that not all symbolic aspects are equally relevant

concerning their importance in the public discourse and in the comparisons that occur between majority and immigrant populations; and also that only when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is manipulated in terms of relevant aspects will there be an impact on intergroup attitudes that is moderated by the individual's level of ingroup identification.

Two limitations should be mentioned in this study. The first one considers a possible alternative to explore the role of relevance. Indeed, what is relevant in this experiment is defined by the experimenter. What could have been done would be to have an item to measure the relevance that each participant attributes to each of these aspects and use the scores of this variable in the test of the moderation. However, the fact that the results emerged using "our evaluation" of relevance indicates that the relevance scores for each aspect would have probably fallen along the same lines that we are considering.

The other limitation is also related to the aspects used in the manipulations. Though we pointed out that the aspects were chosen to univocally mirror symbolic dimensions (more or less relevant according to the condition), the fact is that this consideration in particular was not pre-tested, so it is not possible to undoubtedly assert that these aspects were seen as symbolic by all participants. Nevertheless, it is difficult to conceive that any individual regarded traits like tolerant, sincere, gentle and spontaneous as aspects that in the Portuguese context grant those who possess them with better abilities to achieve material resources (this is even more true to aspects like food habits). We do not consider that these two limitations invalidate the conclusions drawn from it.

After specifying the scope of the hypotheses for the symbolic dimension, we are now in a position to address the premises of the general model, namely the idea that to different dimensions correspond different processes. In order to do that, the following studies will consider in their experimental design the manipulation of the dimension, where we will have intergroup similarity/dissimilarity manipulated in both symbolic and instrumental dimensions.

Chapter 7 - Study 2: Testing the Global Model

This second study is the first one addressing the role of the type of dimension to which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to – symbolic vs. instrumental – on the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes. This study aims to offer general support for the idea that the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes and the moderators of this relationship depend on the dimension to which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refer. Namely, we intend to show that ingroup identification moderates the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes when that similarity/dissimilarity is defined along a symbolic dimension, and goal interdependence plays that moderating role on the relationship when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along an instrumental dimension.

In order to test these hypotheses, we conducted a study where we manipulated the perceptions of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity (between Portuguese and Eastern immigrants), the dimension to which similarity/dissimilarity refers to, and the perception of goal interdependence. We also measured ingroup identification. We then analysed the effects of these independent variables on the Portuguese's general attitude towards the depicted immigrant group.

1 – Hypotheses

- A) When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to a symbolic dimension, the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes will be moderated by the level of ingroup identification: A.1) Low-identified individuals will express a more positive attitude towards a similar immigrant group than a dissimilar group. A.2) Highly identified individuals will express the opposite pattern. These effects should hold regardless of the level of the goal interdependence manipulation.
- B) When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to an instrumental dimension, the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes will be moderated by the perception of goal interdependence: B.1.1) in a condition of competition, a similar outgroup will be targeted with more negative attitudes

than a dissimilar (and inferior) group. B.2.1.) in a condition of cooperation, a similar outgroup will be targeted with more positive attitudes than a dissimilar (and inferior) outgroup.³¹ These patterns are expected for both low and highly identified individuals.

2 – Method

2.1 - Participants and experimental design

One-hundred and forty-seven psychology undergraduates (89% female) at the University of Coimbra with ages ranging from 18 to 28 ($M = 18.8$; $SD = 1.63$) participated in this study.

The hypotheses were tested using a 2 (Perception of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity: similarity, dissimilarity) X 2 (Dimension: Symbolic vs Instrumental) X 2 (Perception of Goal interdependence: Competition vs. Cooperation) between-participants design. Ingroup identification was measured.

2.2 – Procedure

As mentioned in the first study, not all students were considered as participants of the study since some of them did not fill out both questionnaires (the manipulations questionnaire and the dependent variable questionnaire). This was sometimes due to the fact that the students did not see a connection and (therefore) did not see the importance of answering both questionnaires, which was an intended consequence of ostensibly presenting the two studies as non-related. Therefore, we decided to change the paradigm in this second study and made it into a study on memory. We also conducted this study in classrooms, but now the participants were told initially that there would be two parts in the study and that it was crucial that they participated in both parts. By turning this study into a study on memory abilities, we also made sure that the participants devoted more attention to the manipulations, which was truly important considering the more complex design of this second study.

³¹ In this experiment, it was not yet considered an instrumentally dissimilar and *superior* outgroup.

Thus, as mentioned, this study was run in classrooms and was separated into two parts. In the beginning of the class, a researcher came in and asked the students to take part in a study on memory. The participants were asked to carefully read two (fictitious) news stories from a (transformed) newspaper page since questions about those news stories would be posed at the end of the class (second part of the study). In the second part of the study, the researcher returned to the class room and gave the questionnaire to the students. During the first part, the manipulations were made through the news stories (each news story represented an experimental condition) and in the second part the questionnaire included the questions pretending to be testing participants' memory (which served as manipulation checks) and the dependent variable.

To justify the existence of other questions such as the one serving as dependent variable which obviously had nothing to do with memory, participants were told that one of the aims of the study was to test if affect influences memory ability, which implicated the need to know the participants' attitudes toward this topic – the topic of the news was always related to immigration. A week before the study, we collected the ingroup identification measure (identification with Portugal).

2.3 – Materials

To manipulate perceptions of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity (on each dimension) and perception of goal interdependence, we created fictitious newspapers mentioning anthropological studies conducted in Portugal comparing Portuguese with Eastern Europe immigrants. Each participant read one sheet containing two news pieces of news- One of the pieces accomplished the manipulation of similarity/dissimilarity on either a symbolic dimension or on an instrumental dimension and the second news story manipulated the perceptions of goal interdependence.

2.3.1 Manipulation of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and dimension

In the first piece, all participants read the same introduction as follows:

“A recent study, conducted by the Center for Contemporary Anthropological Studies compared Portuguese citizens with Eastern Europe immigrants. A sample of 1300 Eastern immigrants and an equal number of Portuguese completed a questionnaire, covering the most diverse questions and aspects of everyday life of both populations.”

The rest of the piece described the results of the study, and this section varied according with the experimental condition of similarity/dissimilarity and dimension. To manipulate whether the dimension of comparison was symbolic or instrumental, the news piece talked about different aspects that were examined by the survey. In the symbolic dimension condition participants were told about respondents' *dedication to the family* and *helping behavior*. In the instrumental dimension condition, they were told about respondents' *academic skills*, specifically referring to the percentage of Portuguese/immigrants who completed basic school and received a college degree.

In the similarity/symbolic condition, participants read:

*“The results of this study are interesting since they show Eastern immigrants as quite similar to Portuguese in cultural aspects, namely in terms of dedication to the family, helping behavior and other aspects. In fact, as an example, we see that a majority of both Eastern immigrants and Portuguese, while responding to the question: “How important is family to you?”, chose the answer “A lot” instead of the answer “A little” chosen by a small minority. 68% of Eastern immigrants gave that answer, and in a very similar pattern, 70% of the Portuguese gave that same answer (Figure 1). These cultural aspects that are usually regarded as typical of the Portuguese culture are after all identical for both Portuguese and Eastern immigrants.”*³²

In the dissimilarity/symbolic condition, participants read:

“The results of this study are interesting since they show Eastern immigrants as quite different to Portuguese in cultural aspects, namely in terms of dedication to the family, helping behavior and other aspects. In fact, as an example, while a vast majority of the Portuguese, in response to the question: “How important is family to you?” chose the answer “A lot” (70%), only a small minority of Eastern immigrants (37%) gave that same answer (Figure 1). These cultural aspects that are usually regarded as typical of the Portuguese culture are, indeed, more present in the Portuguese population than in the Eastern immigrant population.”

³² This particular phrasing intended to reinforce this specific manipulation since pre-tests revealed that these symbolic aspects were seen as more typical of Portuguese in general.

In the similarity/instrumental condition, participants read:

“The results of this study are interesting since they show Eastern immigrants as quite similar to Portuguese in terms of education and work skills, namely in terms of the percentage of people that completed basic school and received college degrees. In fact, results reveal that (when considering equivalent age groups) Eastern immigrants and Portuguese present similar numbers of people who completed a college degree (Figure 1). Thus, data shows that for both Portuguese and Eastern immigrants, the percentage of people that completed a college degree is between 8 and 10% (Fig. 1).”

In the dissimilarity/instrumental condition, participants read:

“The results of this study are interesting since they show Eastern immigrants as quite different to Portuguese in terms of education and work skills, namely in terms of the percentage of people that complete basic school and received college degrees. In fact, results reveal that (when considering equivalent age groups) Eastern immigrants and Portuguese present very different numbers in terms of people that completed a college degree (Figure 1). Thus, data shows that there is a larger percentage of Portuguese who completed a college degree (16%), comparing to Eastern immigrants, where only 8% completed a college degree (Fig. 1).”³³

2.3.2 - Manipulation of goal interdependence

The news story that participants read contained the manipulation of the perception of goal interdependence. In both conditions, participants read the same introduction as follows:

“Within the realm of a study conducted by the Center for Anthropological Studies that aimed to compare Portuguese and Eastern immigrants (see above), several questions sought to evaluate the relationship between Portuguese and Eastern immigrants in Portuguese society (...)”

The rest of this piece contained the manipulation of goal interdependence that referred whether to there was an incompatibility in the goals of the two groups (condition of competition) or an equality of goals and the idea of a common good arising from achieving those goals (condition of cooperation).

³³ An example of a newspaper page used in this experiment is presented in *Appendix B*.

Competition:

“Data consistently shows a consensus revolving around the idea according to which Portuguese and Eastern immigrants possess interests that may be considered incompatible both in the socio-cultural and the economic domains. In fact, as an example, in response to the question: “Do Portuguese and Eastern immigrants have compatible or incompatible interests?” almost every Portuguese respondent (84%) said that these interests are indeed incompatible, while only 16% believes that these interests can be reconciled. Thus, Portuguese sustain the idea that for a group to be in a better position, the other group must be in a worse position. These results reinforce the idea, advanced by others, that Portuguese and Eastern immigrants coexist in a competitive environment.”

Cooperation:

“Data consistently shows a consensus revolving around the idea according to which Portuguese and Eastern immigrants possess interests that may be considered compatible both in the socio-cultural and the economic domains. In fact, as an example, in response to the question: “Do Portuguese and Eastern immigrants have compatible or incompatible interests?” almost every Portuguese respondent (94%) said that these interests are indeed compatible, while only 6% believes that these interests can not be reconciled. Thus, Portuguese sustain the idea that the cultural and economic development of the country comes from the cooperation that exists between Portuguese and Eastern immigrants. These results reinforce the idea, advanced by others, that Portuguese and Eastern immigrants coexist in a cooperative environment.”

All the manipulations were previously pre-tested. In that pre-test ($n = 36$), several manipulations of symbolic and instrumental dimensions and of goal interdependence were considered. The manipulations used were those that were considered as equally positive, relevant and believable.³⁴

³⁴ The only exception was that the instrumental dimension was consistently evaluated as more relevant. Nevertheless, both the instrumental and symbolic dimensions were evaluated as relevant (i.e. with a mean score above the midpoint)

2.3.3 - Ingroup identification

To measure ingroup identification we used Cameron's (2004) scale derived from his three-factor model of social identity that comprises three factors: *centrality*, *ingroup affect* and *ingroup ties*. We considered that the former measure of identification was tapping mainly the cognitive dimension of identification. The literature, however, presents ingroup identification as a multidimensional concept (e.g. Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade & Williams, 1986; Ellemers, Kortekaas & Ouwerkerk, 1999). Similarly, Tajfel (1978) had already argued for the existence of the cognitive, the evaluative and the emotional components of social identity. Therefore, we decided to use the referred scale including the three factors since it reflects all the dimensions theoretically considered in the concept of ingroup identification. Responses to the twelve individual items were given on a six point scale (1 = totally disagree; 6 = totally agree).

The responses to the twelve items as a set showed good internal consistency ($\alpha = .798$). Thus, a global score of ingroup identification including all twelve items tapping the three components of ingroup identification was used for the analyses. Higher values represent higher levels of ingroup identification.

2.3.4 - Attitude towards immigrants

To measure the participants' general attitude toward eastern immigrants, we used the following item: "In general, your evaluation of eastern immigrants is..." The students answered the item using a scale ranging from 1 ("highly unfavourable") to 7 (highly favourable). Thus, higher values represent more positive attitudes.

3 – Results

3.1 - Manipulation check

All manipulations yielded the intended impression. Participants in the similarity condition reported more similarity between the two groups than those in the dissimilarity condition ($M_{similarity} = 5.28$, $SD = 0.973$; $M_{dissimilarity} = 2.90$, $SD = 0.670$;

$F(1, 145) = 297.66; p < .001$). Also, participants in the competition condition (negative goal interdependence) reported that the goals of the two groups were more incompatible than those in the cooperation condition ($M_{competition} = 5.06, SD = 0.860; M_{cooperation} = 2.76, SD = 0.907; F(1, 145) = 246.58; p < .001$).

Moreover, no effects of design conditions were found on the credibility and clarity attributed to the news (all F 's < 1) and all news were evaluated as reliable presenting a level of credibility above the scale's mid-point for all of them.

3.2 - Test of the hypotheses

To test our hypotheses, we conducted Multiple Linear Regression analyses. Once again, the categorical independent variables (intergroup similarity/dissimilarity, dimension and goal interdependence) were coded with contrast codes (+1, -1). Ingroup identification was standardized (mean equals 0 and standard deviation equals 1). The regression model was estimated using these four variables as predictors as well as their products (to capture their interactions). Since the four-way interaction was significant (and considering the complexity of describing such effect), we decided to conduct separate analysis for each dimension. Below, we describe the analyses for the symbolic dimension ($n = 75$) and for the instrumental dimension ($n = 72$).

Thus, for the symbolic dimension, we expected to obtain a two-way interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and ingroup identification, and that interaction should be similar for both conditions of goal interdependence. A regression model including as predictors similarity/dissimilarity, goal interdependence, ingroup identification, the three possible two-way interactions and the three way interaction was run. Instead of the two-way interaction that was expected (between similarity/dissimilarity and ingroup identification), we obtained a significant three-way interaction ($b = -.503; SE = .168; t = -2.99; p < .005$)³⁵, revealing that the interaction that we hypothesized was only found in a condition of cooperation. In fact, in this condition, low identified individuals (indeed) expressed a more positive attitude toward an outgroup presented as similar than toward a dissimilar outgroup ($b = -.974; SE = .508; t = 1.93; p < .05$). On the contrary, highly identified individuals expressed more positive attitudes towards a dissimilar outgroup compared to a similar outgroup ($b = 1.275; SE = .415; t = 3.07; p < .01$) (Figure 7.1).

³⁵ Unless mentioned otherwise, the statistical procedures to examine the interactions along the studies were the same as those used in Study 1.

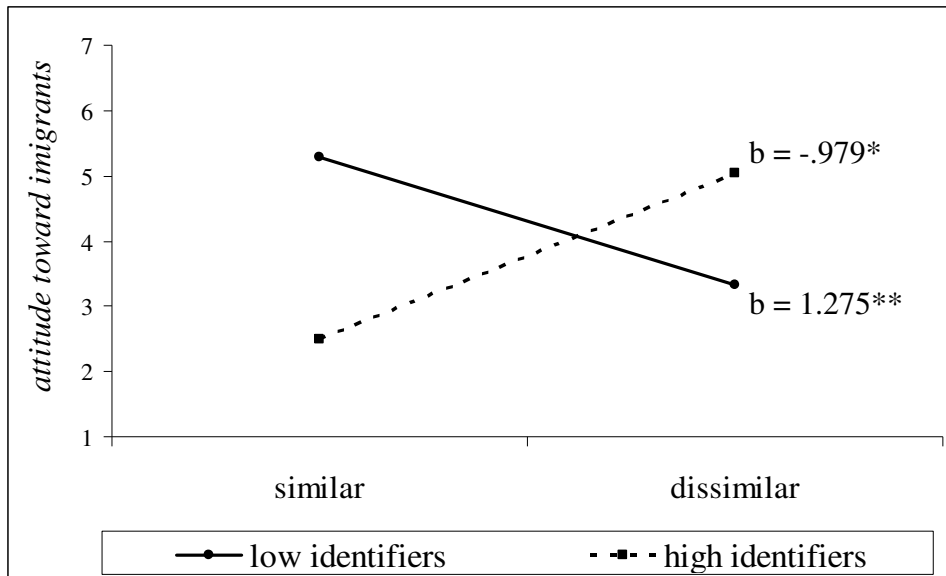


Figure 7.1. Intergroup similarity/dissimilarity X Ingroup identification (Cooperation/ Symbolic Dimension) (Study 2)

In the condition of competition, results did not follow the hypotheses. For low identifiers, results showed a significant difference between the attitude expressed towards the similar and the attitude toward the dissimilar outgroup in the opposite direction of the hypothesis: an outgroup depicted as dissimilar was targeted with a more positive attitude than the similar outgroup ($b = 1.057$; $SE = .506$; $t = 2.09$; $p < .05$). For highly identified participants no difference was found ($b = -.633$; $SE = -.460$; $t = -1.01$; *ns.*) (Figure 7.2).

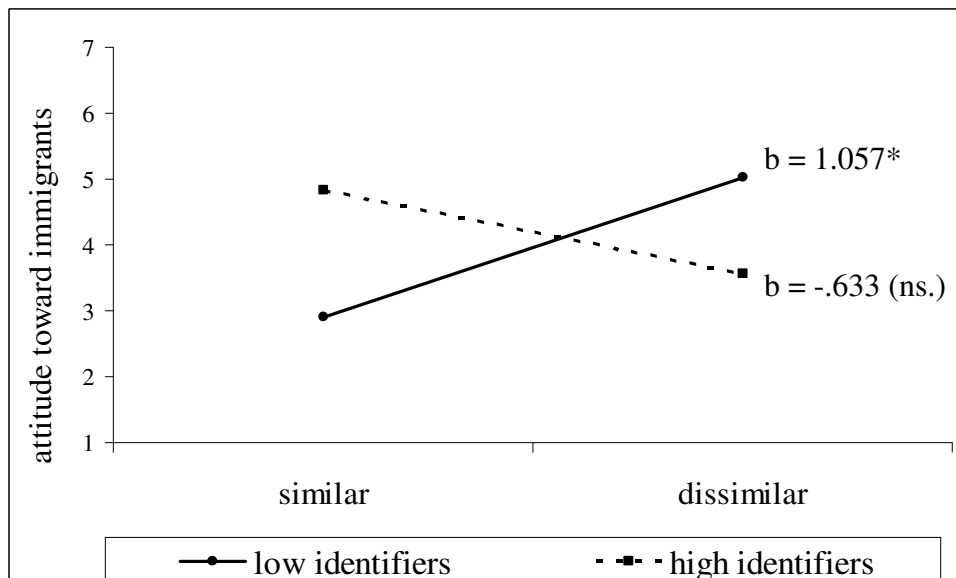


Figure 7.2. Intergroup similarity/dissimilarity X Ingroup identification (Competition/ Symbolic Dimension) (Study 2)

For the instrumental dimension, we expected to obtain a two-way interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and goal interdependence, and that interaction was expected to hold regardless of the participant's level of ingroup identification, i.e. it should yield the same pattern for both low and highly identified individuals. What we found, however, was a significant three-way interaction that rejects immediately the idea that ingroup identification does not have an influence when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to an instrumental dimension ($b = .680$; $SE = .150$; $t = 4.529$; $p < .001$)³⁶. In fact, the results reveal that the two-way interaction only occurred in the hypothesized way for highly identified individuals, with a similar outgroup being targeted with more negative attitudes than a dissimilar outgroup in the competition condition ($b = .691$; $SE = .384$; $t = 1.80$; $p < .07$) and the opposite pattern was found for the cooperation condition ($b = -1.525$; $SE = .535$; $t = -2.85$; $p < .01$) (as hypothesized) (Figure 7.3).

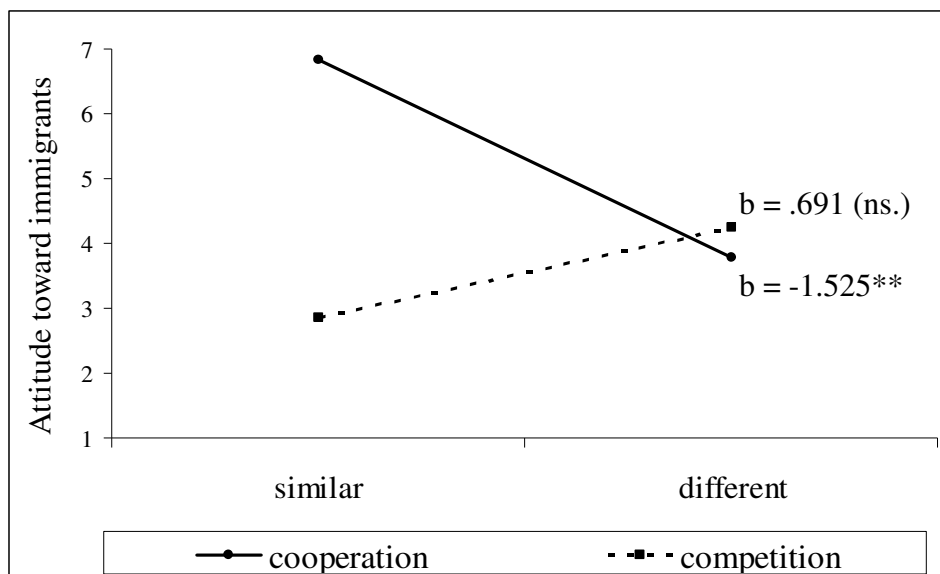


Figure 7.3. Intergroup similarity/dissimilarity X Goal interdependence
(High identifiers / Instrumental dimension) (Study 2)

Individuals with low levels of identification expressed patterns opposite to those expected: in the condition of competition, the immigrant group depicted as similar

³⁶ We also found a main effect of goal interdependence that translated into more negative attitudes towards the immigrant group in the condition of competition than in the condition of cooperation ($b = -.748$; $SE = .135$; $t = -5.55$; $p < .001$). However, this result was not relevant for our hypotheses and it did not affect them.

gathered more positive attitudes than the dissimilar outgroup ($b = -1.383$; $SE = .390$; $t = -3.55$; $p < .001$); in the condition of cooperation, the dissimilar outgroup was targeted more positively than the similar outgroup ($b = 1.733$; $SE = .499$; $t = 3.47$; $p < .001$) (Figure 7.4).

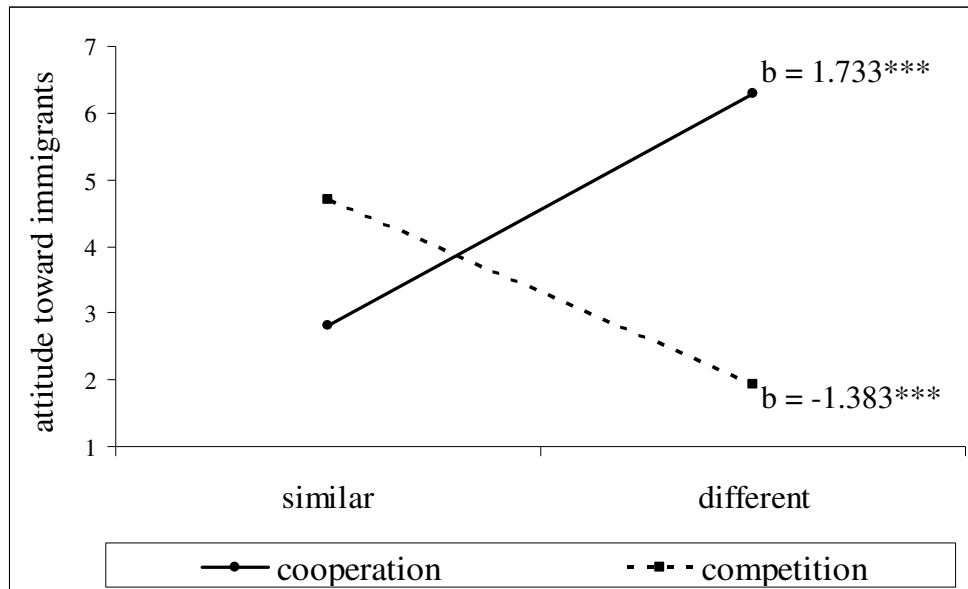


Figure 7.4. Intergroup similarity/dissimilarity X Goal interdependence (Low identifiers / Instrumental dimension) (Study 2)

4 – Discussion

This second study aimed to offer an initial test of the global model. We intended to show that the moderator (ingroup identification or goal interdependence) that comes into play in the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes depends on the dimension to which intergroup similarity refers to (symbolic or instrumental). Namely, we expected to show that ingroup identification serves as the moderator when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along a symbolic dimension and goal interdependence plays that role when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along an instrumental dimension.

Thus, for the symbolic dimension, we expected to obtain a two-way interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and ingroup identification, irrespective of the condition of perception of goal interdependence. However, results revealed that the expected interaction only occurred in a condition of cooperation, but not in a condition of

competition. It might have been the case that the manipulation of goal interdependence was confounded with the manipulation of similarity/dissimilarity. The message of incompatible interests (contained in the manipulation of competition) may have yielded an idea of dissimilarity that made the manipulation of similarity weaker and the manipulation of dissimilarity stronger, impeding a clear interpretation of the results in this condition. This reasoning points to the necessity of running further studies where the manipulation of competition is conceived in a way that cannot be confounded with similarity/dissimilarity issues. This new manipulation will allow us to test if the unexpected interference of goal interdependence in the expected interaction between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and ingroup identification was simply due to deficiency of materials and manipulation issues or if, more importantly, implies a theoretical revision of the model.

For the instrumental dimension, we expected to obtain a two-way interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and goal interdependence that should hold equally for both low and highly identified individuals. However, the results reveal that the expected interaction only occurred for participants with a higher level of ingroup identification. This was probably due to the fact that only high identifiers have instrumental concerns about a situation that regards the country and the Portuguese in general, but not themselves directly. This reasoning is similar to the idea advanced by Moghaddam and Stringer (1988), according to whom, "(...) for competitiveness to become effective in an intergroup context there has to first be identification with an ingroup" (p.113). Our participants are Portuguese but at the same time, in this particular study, they were psychology students. These students are probably not feeling directly affected by the coming of immigrants, namely the similar instrumentally skilled immigrants. They don't see their personal situation at risk, since it is commonly regarded that the jobs that immigrants are taking away are the less-qualified ones, or even when it is considered that they are getting more qualified jobs, the psychology jobs are not one example of those. Therefore, the participants are only worried with this state of affairs when they are highly attached to the country, i.e. when they are highly identified with the country. This reasoning receives further support if we consider that in the condition of cooperation, a similar outgroup was targeted with more positive attitudes than a dissimilar outgroup. That is, in a condition where the idea of common work and common results was primed, the highly identified participants expressed a more positive

attitude toward the similar group which was the better skilled immigrant group - since in this study the *dissimilar* outgroup was always an *inferior* outgroup.

For low identified individuals, the explanation for the unexpected results seems to build on similar arguments. It appears that these low levels of identification imply more than a simple low attachment to the country; these seem to imply a real detachment concerning the country and the Portuguese in general. And therefore, the results seem to show that these individuals have a negative attitude toward their own country, and are consequently seeing as positive the situations that may carry the most negative consequences for Portugal and the Portuguese. That is why they expressed more positive attitudes toward a similar outgroup that is in an equal position to compete for the same resources in the condition of competition and toward a dissimilar *and inferior* outgroup in the condition of positive interdependence in which more negative performances by the immigrants may imply more negative results for the country in general.

Whether for low or high identifiers, the results seem to suggest that the unexpected result of the influence of ingroup identification in the instrumental dimension has to do with the fact that the participants were not directly involved in the situation and the manipulations of instrumental similarity/dissimilarity and goal interdependence were not close to the individuals' concerns. To make sure that the effect of ingroup identification only emerged due to this reason, it is necessary to conduct another study where the manipulation of instrumental similarity/dissimilarity is closer to the participants' direct concerns, to check if the effect of ingroup identification on the expected interaction between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and goal interdependence ceases to exist.

The interpretations of the unexpected results advanced so far make reference to another caveat of this study: the confound between the manipulation of dissimilarity and status. As it was mentioned, the dissimilar group in this experiment was always an inferior group (whether in the symbolic or the instrumental dimension). It is necessary to conduct further studies where the manipulation of dissimilarity is conceived in a symmetric way, a way in which different does not mean worse. As we explained in the Hypotheses section of the thesis, in the case of the instrumental dimension, the meaning attributed to outgroup dissimilarity is very dependent on the asymmetrical direction of the difference, i.e. it depends on whether this dissimilarity means that the outgroup is in a better or in a worse position than the ingroup to achieve resources. Therefore, for the

instrumental dimension, it is also necessary to conceive, in another study, outgroup dissimilarity in terms of outgroup superiority, an issue not yet addressed in this study. Finally, some of the results of this study may have missed the goal because of the complex and heavy experimental design, which points to the need of conducting simpler studies.

To summarize, this study yielded results that followed the hypothesized patterns but also some unexpected results that revealed the necessity of operating some changes in the next studies. It was also mentioned some issues not yet dealt with in this study.

Thus, the studies that followed this one were conducted to address the issues that emerged in this second study, namely a) the asymmetrical nature of dissimilarity that was thus confounded with status, b) the unexpected interference of goal interdependence in the expected interaction between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and ingroup identification for the symbolic dimension (i.e. the fact that the interaction did not work in a condition of competition), c) the unexpected interference of ingroup identification in the expected interaction between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and goal interdependence for the instrumental dimension (i.e. the fact that the hypothesized interaction only worked for highly identified individuals) and d) the complexity of the experimental design. The following chapters present the rest of the experimental studies and illustrate the ways in which these studies deal with the referred issues.

Chapter 8 - Studies 3a and 3b: Using a New (Symmetrical) Manipulation of Dissimilarity

One of the issues that emerged after the second study was the fact that the manipulation of dissimilarity was confounded with status. Next, we present two studies that, once again, intend to show that ingroup identification moderates the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes when that similarity/dissimilarity is defined along a symbolic dimension, and goal interdependence plays that role in the relationship when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along an instrumental dimension. This time, however, the manipulation of dissimilarity will be conceived in a symmetrical and neutral way.

In order to conceive dissimilarity in that manner, we used a new manipulation of similarity/dissimilarity based on a paradigm by Zárte and colleagues (2004). In a study on the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity, these authors asked some participants to evaluate how *similar* their ingroup was, compared to an outgroup, and others were asked how *dissimilar* they considered their ingroup to be compared to an outgroup. This simple *nuance* constituted their manipulation of similarity/dissimilarity. While, logically, one should expect these different questions to yield equivalent results, the authors propose that the framing of the question produces distinct temporary norms (Kahneman & Miller, 1986) and the type of question evokes different mental representations of the similarities and dissimilarities between groups (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). By asking about similarities between groups, one evokes more similar exemplars from memory, and questions about dissimilarities elicit the evocation of dissimilar exemplars.

For these two studies, besides using their manipulation of similarity/dissimilarity, we were also inspired by Zárte and colleagues' study to conceive our manipulation of the dimension to which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to. In their study, the authors were interested, as are we, on the effects of different types of similarity, and they argued that similarity/dissimilarity in interpersonal or work-related traits would lead to different outcomes. Though using different terms, their distinction between interpersonal and work-related traits maps perfectly into our symbolic-instrumental distinction. Therefore, we used interpersonal traits to mirror the symbolic dimension and work-related traits to mirror the instrumental dimension.

What distinguishes these two studies from the study of Zárte and colleagues (2004) is the fact that we consider the existence of moderators. And responding to the necessity of designing studies with simpler designs, we decided to use only one moderator in each study. Thus, in Study 3a, we manipulate intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and the dimension to which this similarity/dissimilarity refers to and we also measure ingroup identification; in Study 3b, besides manipulating intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and the dimension, we also manipulate the perception of goal interdependence.

1 - Overview

In both studies, the students were asked to fill out a questionnaire in the beginning of the lesson. In the first part of the questionnaire, the students were asked to rate how similar/dissimilar their ingroup (Portuguese) was compared to Eastern Europe immigrants. In the second part, the students answered questions on attitudes towards immigrants. Additionally, for Study 3a, a scale of ingroup identification was filled out by the participants a week before the questionnaire mentioned above and for Study 3b, the introduction to the questionnaire included the manipulation of goal interdependence.

2 - Hypotheses

- a) In Study 3a, we expect to find an interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and ingroup identification only when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to a symbolic dimension (and not when it refers to an instrumental dimension).
 - 1. Thus, in the symbolic dimension, highly identified individuals will express more negative intergroup attitudes toward a similar than a dissimilar outgroup
 - 2. Low identified individuals will express more negative attitudes toward a dissimilar than toward a similar group.
- b) In Study 3b, we expect to find an interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and goal interdependence only when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to an instrumental dimension (and not when it refers to a symbolic dimension).

1. Thus, in the instrumental dimension, in a condition of competition, the outgroup depicted as similar will be targeted with more negative attitudes than the dissimilar group.
2. In a condition of cooperation, the outgroup depicted as dissimilar will be targeted with more negative attitudes than the similar group.

As it was mentioned in the *Hypotheses* section of the thesis (Chapter 5), for the instrumental dimension, the effects of intergroup dissimilarity depend on the meaning/direction of that dissimilarity. We formulated different predictions for a dissimilar and *inferior* outgroup and for a *dissimilar* and superior outgroup. In this case, however, dissimilarity was manipulated in a neutral way. What we expect is that participants will be more affected by the manipulation of similarity because similarity in this context is concrete and meaningful, and that is probably what will drive the participants' attitudes. The manipulation of dissimilarity will be less informative for the participants and it will probably convey different meanings for different participants.

3 - Method

3.1 - Participants and experimental designs

In Study 3a, 85 (82% females) from the *Polytechnic Institute of Setubal* with ages ranging from 18 to 41 years ($M = 21.9$; $SD = 5.64$) participated in this study.

The hypotheses were tested using a 2 (Perception of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity: similarity, dissimilarity) X 2 (Dimension: Interpersonal /symbolic) vs. Work-related (Instrumental)) between-participants design. Ingroup identification was measured.

In Study 3b, 141 students (95% female) from the *Higher Institute for Education João de Deus* with ages ranging from 18 to 46 years ($M = 22.8$; $SD = 6.41$) participated in this study.

The hypotheses were tested using a 2 (Perception of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity: similarity, dissimilarity) X 2 (Dimension: Interpersonal /Symbolic vs. Work-related/Instrumental) X 2 (Perception of Goal interdependence: Competition vs. Cooperation) between-participants design.

3.2 – Materials

3.2.1 - Intergroup similarity/dissimilarity

To manipulate similarity, participants were asked “How *similar* do you consider Eastern Immigrants and Portuguese to be?” and to manipulate dissimilarity, participants were asked “How *different* do you consider Eastern Immigrants and Portuguese to be? Moreover, in the questions about similarity, the scale would range from 1 (not *similar* at all) to 7 (very *similar*), and in the questions about dissimilarity, the scale would range from 1 (not *different* at all) to 7 (very *different*).

3.2.2 - Symbolic and instrumental dimensions

As it was mentioned, to mirror the symbolic dimension, the participants were asked to compare their ingroup to an immigrant group in terms of interpersonal traits. The interpersonal traits used were: *friendly, humble, lovely, generous, affectionate, kind, solidary and warm*³⁷. To mirror the instrumental dimension, the participants were asked to compare their ingroup to an immigrant group in terms of work-related traits. The work-related traits used were: *hard-working, competent, motivated, talented, organized, determined, responsible and entrepreneur*³⁸.

The traits used in both studies were previously validated in a pre-test. The pre-test was conducted in order to obtain traits that were evaluated as clearly positive and that were clearly perceived as either interpersonal (symbolic dimension) or work-related (instrumental dimension). From an initial list of 28 traits (including the traits used by Zárte and colleagues, 2004), we obtained a final list with 16 traits: eight traits evaluated as symbolic and eight traits evaluated as instrumental. All traits were evaluated as clearly positive (significantly above the midpoint of the scale), even though the traits seen as symbolic gathered a more positive evaluation than the traits seen as instrumental.³⁹

³⁷ In portuguese, *amigável, humilde, amável, generoso, afetuososo, simpático, solidário* and *caloroso*.

³⁸ In portuguese, *trabalhador, competente, motivado, talentoso, organizado, determinado, responsável* and *empreendedor*.

³⁹ A more detailed report of the pre-test is presented in *Appendix C*.

3.2.3 - Ingroup identification

To measure ingroup identification in Study 3a, the students filled out Cameron's (2004) identification scale that considers the existence of three components: *centrality*, *ingroup ties* and *ingroup affect*. Responses to the twelve individual items were given on a six point scale (1 = totally disagree; 7 = totally agree).

The items presented a good internal consistency ($\alpha = .720$). Thus, a global score of ingroup identification including the twelve items tapping the three factors was considered for the analyses. Higher values represent higher levels of ingroup identification.

3.2.4 - Goal interdependence

In Study 3b, goal interdependence was manipulated in the introduction of the questionnaire. In both conditions of goal interdependence reference was made to the increasing number of immigrants coming to Portugal and the increasing number of immigrants' sons and daughters entering in the University as a consequence. The reference to immigrants as students served to give a more proximal manipulation of goal interdependence. Then, in the condition of competition, the participants were told how these students are capable of entering the Portuguese job market, competing for the same jobs that the Portuguese students aspire; in the condition of cooperation, the participants were told that these immigrant students have shown to be capable of cooperating with their Portuguese colleagues, and every time they cooperated in Portuguese companies, the achieved results were better for both groups.

3.2.5 - Dependent variables: General attitude toward immigrants and Opposition to immigration

In these two new studies, we decided to consider more than one dependent variable. This allows us to tap into a different domain of the attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. As we mentioned before, the use of the general attitude as a dependent variable allows for a general vision of the effects of our independent variables. Moreover, we chose this variable for being relatively independent from the position that each individual has concerning his/her own group. But, on these studies

(and on the studies that follow), we decided to use as the other dependent variable, the *Opposition to immigration*. This allows us to peer into the direct and concrete consequences of the perception of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity.

Thus, to measure participants' general attitude toward eastern immigrants, we used the following item: "In general, your evaluation of eastern immigrants is..." The students answered the item using a scale ranging from 1 ("highly unfavourable") to 7 (highly favourable). Thus, higher values represent more positive attitudes.

To measure participants' opposition to immigration, we used the following item: "In your opinion, the number of Eastern immigrants in Portugal should..." The students answered the item using a scale ranging from 1 (Increase a lot) to 7 (Decrease a lot). Thus, higher values represent a higher opposition to immigration.

4 - Results for Study 3a

4.1 - Manipulation check

The only data that may serve as manipulation check are the responses that participants gave to the items used for manipulating similarity/dissimilarity. In this sense, it would be desirable that the responses would be, in mean, significantly above the mid-point of the scale. Considering this, the manipulation did not reveal itself as particularly effective, since the grand mean of the responses to the manipulation questions across all conditions is not significantly different from the mid-point ($M = 3.82$; $SD = .940$; $t(1, 84) = 1.72$; *ns.*).

4.2 - Test of the hypotheses

4.2.1 - General Attitude

A Multiple Regression Model including Similarity/Dissimilarity, Ingroup identification, (Symbolic vs. Instrumental) Dimension, the two-way interactions and the three-way interaction as predictors was run on the general attitude toward eastern immigrants. We expected to obtain a three-way interaction (including similarity/dissimilarity, ingroup identification and dimension) that would reveal the

existence of the interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and ingroup identification only in the condition of a symbolic dimension.

Regression analyses revealed the existence of one significant main effect: a main effect of ingroup identification ($b = -.252$; $SE = .109$; $t = 2.31$; $p < .05$) that translates into highly identified individuals expressing more negative attitudes than low-identified individuals. About the hypothesized three-way interaction, this effect was not significant ($b = -.182$; $SE = .114$; $t = -1.61$; *ns.*). However, graphical analyses of the simple effects reveal the existence of trends lending reasonable support to our hypotheses. In fact, in the symbolic dimension, low identified participants display a (marginally significant) tendency to express a more positive attitude toward a similar group than toward a dissimilar group ($b = -.283$; $SE = .171$; $t = -1.65$; $p < .10$), and highly identified individuals express the opposite pattern ($b = .359$; $SE = .193$; $t = 1.86$; $p < .07$) (Figure 8.1).

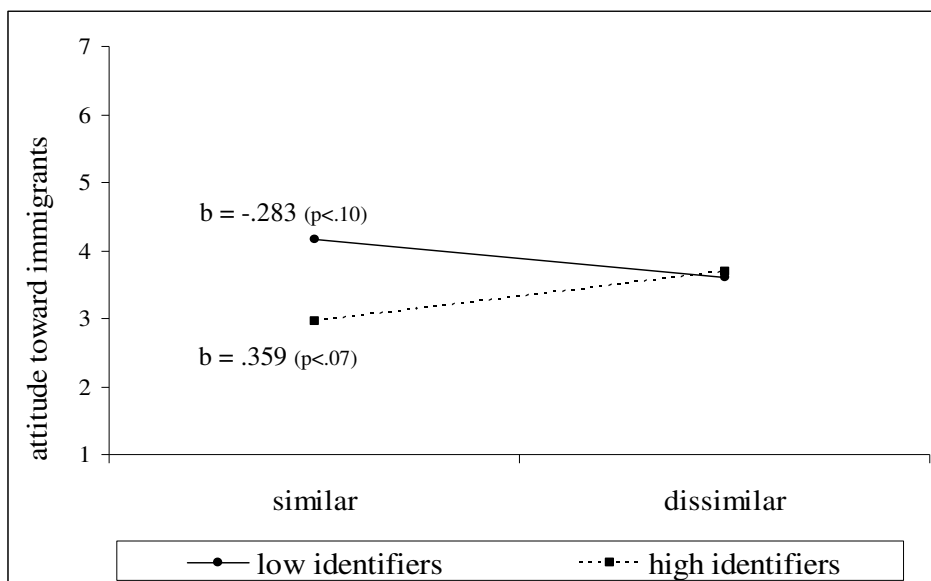


Figure 8.1. Intergroup Similarity/Dissimilarity X Ingroup Identification for General Attitude (Symbolic Dimension) (Study 3a)

Moreover, in the instrumental dimension, as hypothesized, no trends supporting the interaction can be identified (for both high and low identifiers, $t < 1$), revealing only the main effect of ingroup identification already reported (Figure 8.2).

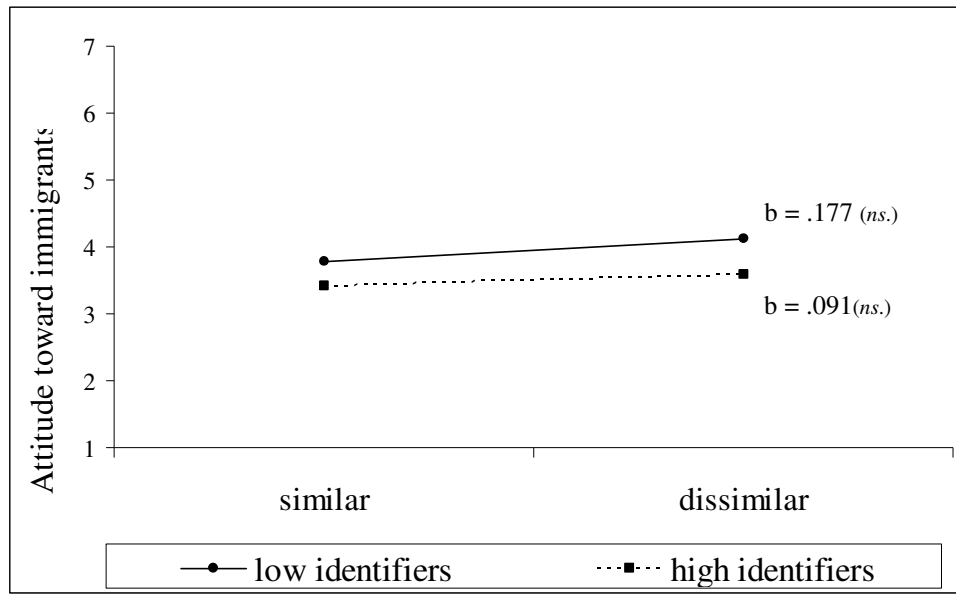


Figure 8.2. Intergroup Similarity/Dissimilarity X Ingroup Identification for General Attitude (Instrumental Dimension) (Study 3a)

4.2.2 - Opposition to immigration

Similar results were obtained for Opposition to immigration. The Multiple Regression Model yielded a significant main effect of ingroup identification ($b = .294$; $SE = .128$; $t = 2.30$; $p < .05$). The expected three-way interaction was once again non-significant ($b = .217$; $SE = .133$; $t = 1.63$; $ns.$). However, graphical analyses show, once more, trends lending support to the hypotheses. In the symbolic dimension, low identified participants display a clear (though non-significant) tendency to express more opposition to eastern immigration when the immigrant group was depicted as dissimilar than when the same group was depicted as similar ($b = .295$; $SE = .187$; $t = 1.58$; $ns.$), and highly identified individuals express the opposite pattern ($b = -.409$; $SE = .226$; $t = 1.81$; $p < .07$) (Figure 8.3).

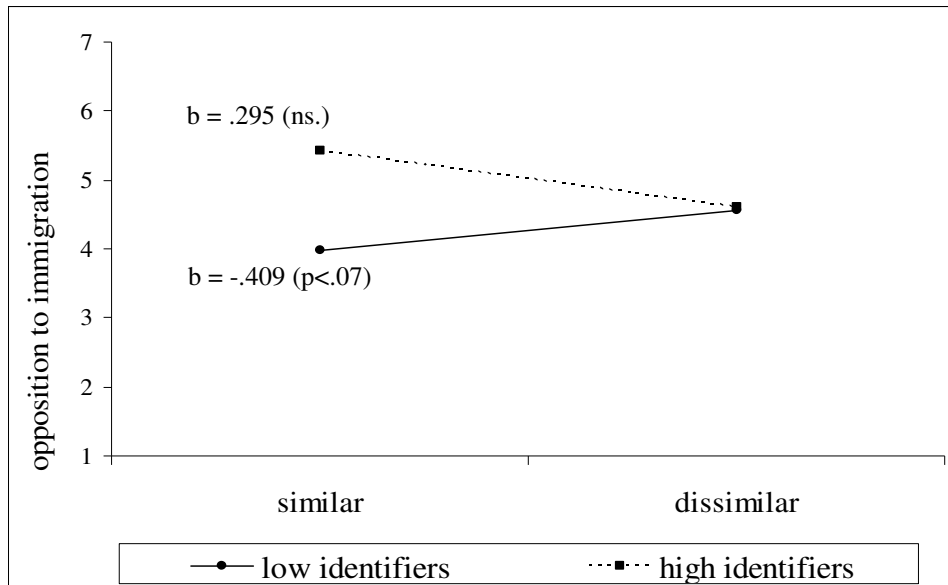


Figure 8.3. Intergroup Similarity/Dissimilarity X Ingroup Identification for Opposition to Immigration (Symbolic Dimension) (Study 3a)

Moreover, in the instrumental dimension, neither significant differences nor visual trends are found (for both highly and low identified individuals, $t < 1$) (Figure 8.4).

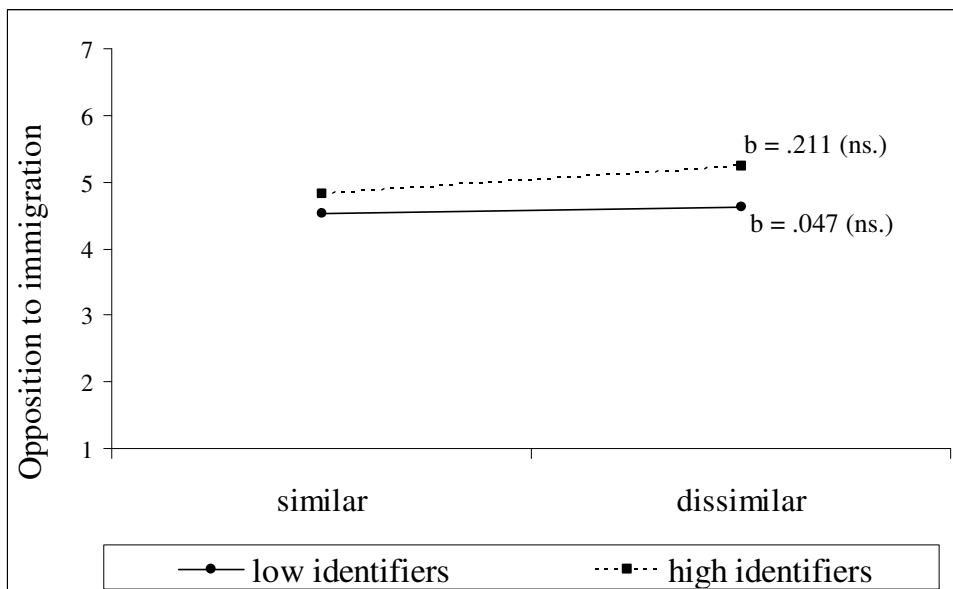


Figure 8.4. Intergroup Similarity/Dissimilarity X Ingroup Identification for Opposition to Immigration (Instrumental Dimension) (Study 3a)

5 - Results for Study 3b

5.1 - Manipulation check

Once again, the only data that may serve as manipulation check are the responses that participants gave to the items used for manipulating similarity/dissimilarity. The manipulation was not, once more, particularly effective, since the grand mean of the response to the manipulation questions across all conditions is not significantly different from the mid-point ($M = 3.93$; $SD = 1.002$; $t(1, 140) < 1$).

5.2 - Test of the hypotheses

5.2.1 - General Attitude

In Study 3b, we expected to obtain a three-way interaction (including similarity/dissimilarity, goal interdependence and dimension) that would reveal the existence of the interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and goal interdependence only in the condition of an instrumental dimension.

Results from an Analysis of Variance revealed the existence of the three-way interaction hypothesized ($F(1, 133) = 3.81$; $p < .05$), showing the existence of the interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and goal interdependence only when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity was operationalized in terms of instrumental aspects: in fact, in the instrumental condition, one-degree-of-freedom contrasts show that participants primed with the idea of competition expressed a more negative attitude toward a similar than a dissimilar immigrant group ($F(1, 133) = 6.45$; $p < .01$) and the participants in the condition of cooperation revealed a (non-significant) tendency to express a more negative attitude towards a dissimilar than towards a similar group ($F(1, 133) = 1.63$; $p < .20$) (Figure 8.5). Furthermore, the effects of instrumental intergroup similarity *per se* depend on the condition of goal interdependence. An instrumentally similar outgroup similar is targeted with more negative attitudes in the condition of competition than in the condition of cooperation ($F(1, 133) = 9.68$; $p < .01$). This reveals more than a simple effect of goal interdependence, since this difference was not significant for symbolic similarity ($F(1, 133) < 1$).

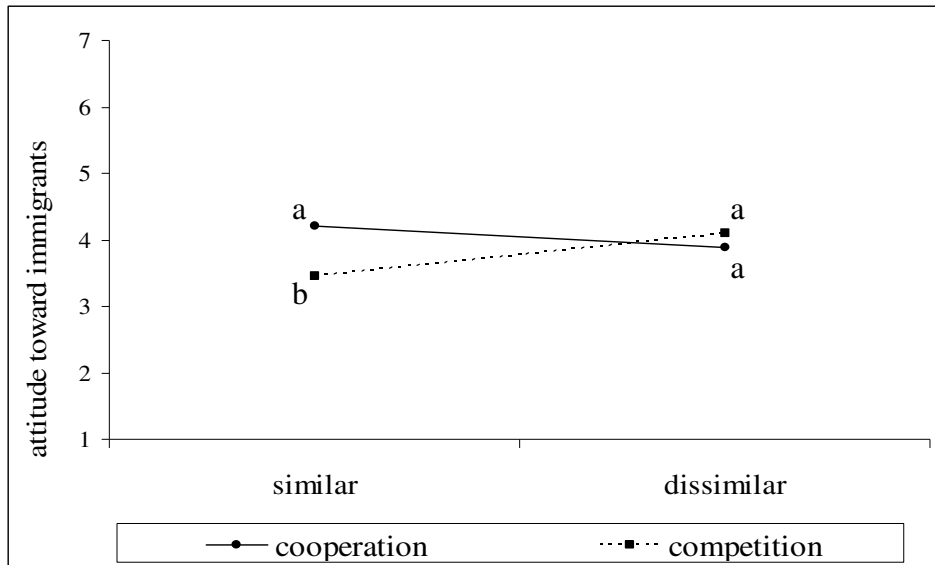


Figure 8.5. Intergroup Similarity/Dissimilarity X Goal interdependence for General Attitude (Instrumental Dimension)⁴⁰ (Study 3b)

When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity referred to symbolic aspects, no significant differences nor visual trends were found (for all contrasts: $F < 1$) – at least, nothing more than an apparent main effect of goal interdependence (Figure 8.6).

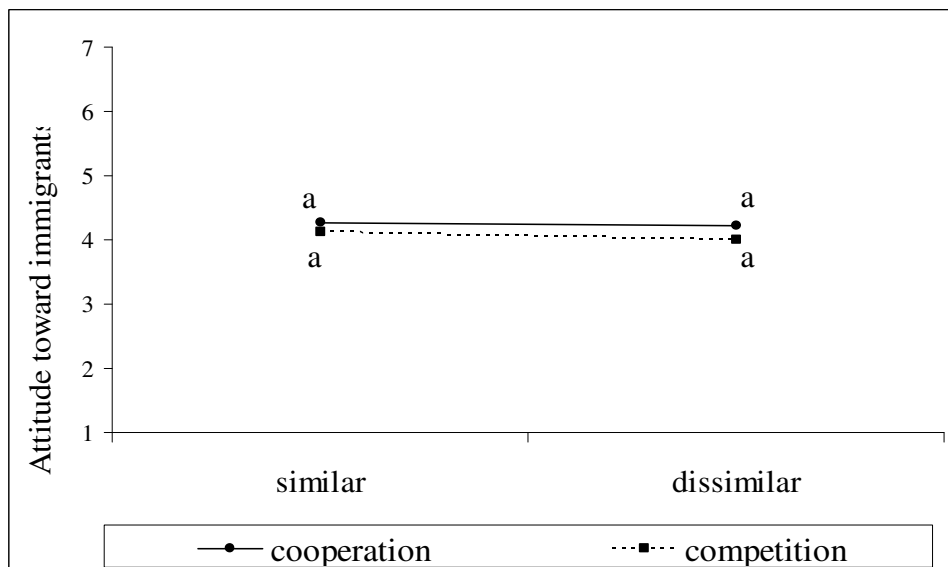


Figure 8.6. Intergroup Similarity/Dissimilarity X Goal interdependence for General Attitude (Symbolic Dimension) (Study 3b)

⁴⁰ Different letters indicate statistically different means at $p < .01$

5.2.2 - Opposition to immigration

For opposition to immigration, the expected three-way interaction (including similarity/dissimilarity, goal interdependence and dimension) was not significant ($F(1, 133) = 2.08; p < .15$). However, one-degree-of-freedom contrasts show mean differences rather congruent with the hypotheses: participants primed with the idea of competition showed higher levels of opposition to immigration toward a similar than a dissimilar immigrant group ($F(1, 133) = 6.64; p < .01$) and the participants in the condition of cooperation revealed a (non-significant) weak tendency to express higher opposition to immigration towards a dissimilar than towards a similar group ($F(1, 133) < 1$) (Figure 8.7).

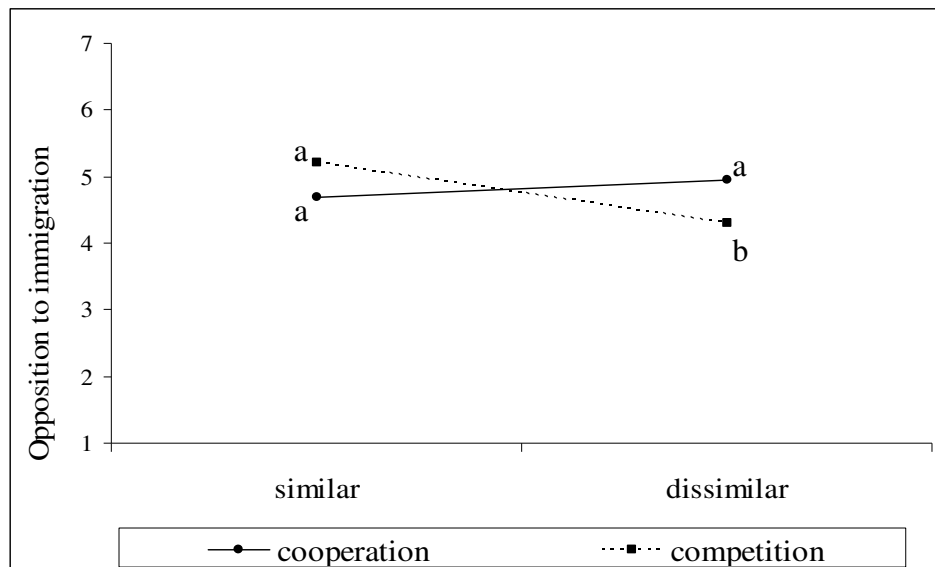


Figure 8.7. Intergroup Similarity/Dissimilarity X Goal interdependence for Opposition to Immigration (Instrumental Dimension)⁴¹ (Study 3b)

When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity referred to symbolic aspects, no significant differences nor visual trends were found (for all contrasts: $F < 1$) (Figure 8.8).

⁴¹ Different letters indicate statistically different means at $p < .01$

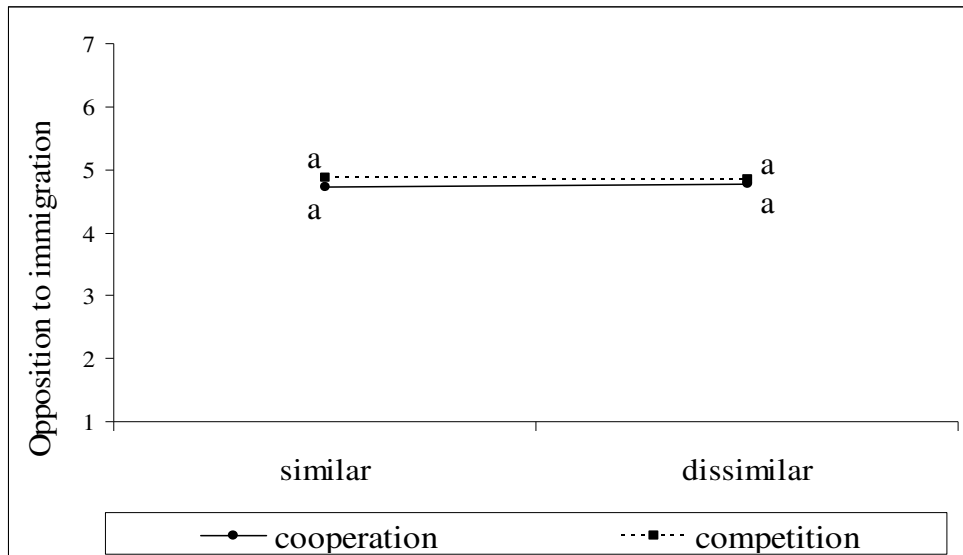


Figure 8.8. *Intergroup Similarity/Dissimilarity X Goal interdependence for Opposition to Immigration (Symbolic Dimension)⁴² (Study 3b)*

6 – Discussion

The goal of these two studies was to show that ingroup identification moderates the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes when that similarity/dissimilarity is defined along a symbolic dimension, and goal interdependence plays that role in the relationship when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along an instrumental dimension, even when dissimilarity is conceived in a symmetrical and neutral way.

Overall, the results are somewhat supportive of the hypotheses. In study 3a – where ingroup identification was measured – results showed that when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity was manipulated in terms of symbolic traits, the relationship with intergroup attitudes was moderated by ingroup identification. Moreover, this same interaction could not be seen when intergroup similarity was defined along instrumental traits. In study 3b – where goal interdependence was manipulated – results showed that when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity was manipulated in terms of instrumental traits, the relationship with intergroup attitudes was moderated by goal interdependence. Moreover, this same interaction could not be seen when intergroup similarity was defined along symbolic traits.

⁴² Different letters indicate statistically different means at $p < .01$

Results from study 3b deserve further comments. In fact, in Study 3a, the results that we wanted to obtain concerned symbolic dissimilarity. And the idea of an abstract symbolic dissimilarity yields some meaning in the sense that the main matter is the existence or inexistence of distinctiveness *per se* (Mlicki & Ellemers, 1996). However, in Study 3b, in which we were focused on the results of instrumental dissimilarity, the fact is that an abstract instrumental dissimilarity has no consistent meaning. An instrumental dissimilarity will only carry any significance if it is known what the direction of this dissimilarity is. As we said earlier, the effects of instrumental similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes depend on what this similarity/dissimilarity means in terms of the positions that these groups end up occupying in terms of ability to achieve material resources. We obtained these results in Study 3b, probably because (as we predicted) the participants were more influenced by the idea of similarity. The manipulation of similarity was direct, concrete and meaningful, and that is what drove the participants' attitudes. In the condition of dissimilarity, it may have been the case that some people understood that dissimilarity meant ingroup inferiority, and others thought it meant outgroup inferiority, but in general, the participants seem to have interpreted dissimilarity as outgroup inferiority.⁴³ That is why, in the condition of cooperation, the similar group was seen more positively. But what this means is that in terms of the instrumental dimension, it is more informative and more correct to manipulate dissimilarity asymmetrically, in both directions (outgroup inferiority and ingroup inferiority). And we acknowledge that it is more correct to conceive manipulations of intergroup dissimilarity in an asymmetrical manner. This is an issue to be dealt with in Study 5.

In general, the results were not particularly strong. Some of the hypothesized differences were only marginally significant and there are even some differences that are illustrated in visual trends but are not quite supported by statistical arguments. We believe that this derives from the subtleness of the manipulation of similarity/dissimilarity. This manipulation rests on a simple nuance that, considering the results of the manipulation check, did not exert a particularly strong effect on the participants. However, at the same time it is a somewhat unobtrusive manipulation of similarity/dissimilarity that permits using existing social groups.

⁴³ In fact, the inexistence of a significant difference between the conditions of dissimilarity in cooperation and competition may have been derived from these differentiated interpretations of this "ambiguous" dissimilarity.

On the whole, these two studies allowed us to conclude that our hypotheses are supported by the results even when intergroup dissimilarity is manipulated in a (symmetrical) way that is not confounded with status. Additionally, the study offered initial support to the idea that ingroup identification does not play a role in explaining the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity when this refers to instrumental aspects (Study 3a) and to the idea that goal interdependence does not have any influence on the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity when it refers to symbolic aspects (Study 3b).

Nevertheless, since the two moderators were never considered simultaneously in these two studies, it is not possible to evaluate if the two puzzling results from Study 2 still persist, namely a) the fact that the expected interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and ingroup identification for the symbolic dimension only occurred in the hypothesized manner in the condition of cooperation; and b) the fact that the expected interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and goal interdependence for the instrumental dimension only held the hypothesized pattern of results for highly identified participants. About this last result, we can at least say, nonetheless, that we may have some support for the reasoning we presented earlier. Before, we had reasoned that this pattern only held for highly identified individuals because only these participants were enough involved with the country to express concern (through intergroup attitudes) with a situation that does not affect them personally. In this study, the manipulation of interdependence was purposely construed to be more proximal to the participants. And the interaction emerged. It is not possible to know for sure that the results did not depend on the level of identification (since we haven't measured it in this study) but the fact is that it is plausible to assume that within our sample we had both low and highly identified individuals and even so, in general, the results showed the expected interaction. However, a direct test of this hypothesis is still needed. The following two studies will indeed deal directly with the two unexpected results obtained in Study 2.

Chapter 9 - Study 4: A New Operationalization of Competition

In this section, we describe Study 4. This study intends to deal with the issue of one of the unexpected results obtained in Study 2. In that first study testing the global model, the results had shown that the expected interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and ingroup identification for the symbolic dimension only occurred in the hypothesized manner in the condition of cooperation. As we discussed previously, it is possible that the reason why the expected results did not emerge in the condition of competition was because of a possible confound of the manipulation of competition with the manipulation of similarity/dissimilarity. In fact, by mentioning the existence of *incompatible* interests, that manipulation probably conveyed an impression of dissimilarity that made the manipulation of similarity weaker and the manipulation of dissimilarity stronger. Thus, in this fourth study, we used a different operationalization of goal interdependence that could not be confounded with similarity/dissimilarity aspects.

In light of the goal of designing simpler studies, in this third study we only included the condition of competition (since the results had already emerged in the expected way for the cooperation condition) and the manipulation of similarity/dissimilarity was only conceived in symbolic aspects. Ingroup identification was measured a week before the rest of the study was conducted.

Thus, in this study we manipulated symbolic similarity/dissimilarity (in a context of competition) and measured ingroup identification. The effects of these variables were observed on the attitudes toward eastern immigrants.

1 - Hypotheses

- a) We expect to find an interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and ingroup identification such that highly identified individuals will express more negative attitudes (more negative general attitude and higher opposition to immigration) towards a similar than a dissimilar outgroup while low identified individuals will express more negative attitudes towards a dissimilar than a similar outgroup.

2 – Method

2.1 - Participants and experimental design

Seventy eight *Computer Science* and *Management* undergraduates (52% female) from ISCTE with ages ranging from 18 to 51 ($M = 20.8$; $SD = 5.49$) participated in this study. The hypotheses were tested using a single factor design where intergroup similarity/dissimilarity was manipulated between-participants. Ingroup identification was measured.

2.2 – Procedure

The study was conducted in classrooms. Students were asked to fill out a questionnaire on immigrants and immigration. The introduction to the questionnaire discussed the increasing number of immigrants coming to Portugal and the increasing number of immigrants' sons and daughters entering in the University as a consequence. To convey the idea of competition, it was additionally mentioned that these students are capable of entering the Portuguese job market, competing for the same jobs to which the Portuguese students aspire (especially in areas like *Engineering*, *Computer Science*, *Medicine* and *Management*). The introduction also communicated that this situation had led to some studies being conducted to compare these immigrant students with Portuguese students. The participants were then asked to read some of the results of one of these studies, to give their opinion on it and were later asked about their views on immigrants and immigration.

The results of the bogus studies that they were asked to read contained the manipulation of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity. Additionally, ingroup identification was measured a week before the completion of this questionnaire also in a classroom.

2.3 – Materials

2.3.1 - Intergroup similarity/dissimilarity

As mentioned, the only variable manipulated in this study was intergroup similarity/dissimilarity in a symbolic dimension. Symbolic similarity and dissimilarity

were manipulated as fictitious results from a study comparing the Portuguese students with the immigrant students living and studying in Portugal in terms of patterns of human values. Loosely based on Schwartz's (1992) *Model of Human Values*, the results presented Portuguese and immigrant students as similar or dissimilar in terms of the importance that each group attributed to four basic human values: *Self-transcendence*, *Self-enhancement*, *Openness to change* and *Security*. All values were pre-tested and were seen as equally positive and relevant⁴⁴. This means that the manipulation of dissimilarity was, once again, unconfounded with status/inferiority.

Similarity and dissimilarity were manipulated in terms of the distance that separated the two groups along the four quadrants. Below is presented an example of the manipulation of similarity (Figure 9.1) and dissimilarity (Figure 9.2).

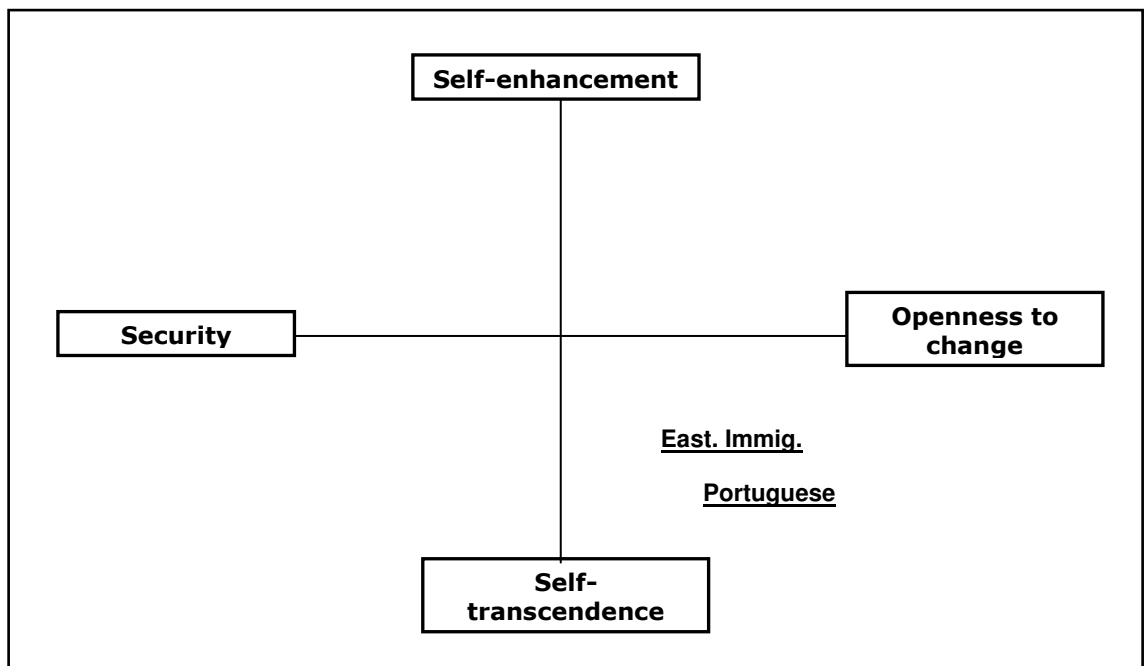


Figure 9.1. Example of manipulation of similarity (Study 4).

⁴⁴ Initially, this manipulation was supposed to have *Conservation* as one of the four higher-order values as it is identified in Schwartz's model. However, the results of the pre-test had shown that conservation was rated less positively than the other three values. Therefore, we replaced that value for *Security* which had been rated as positively as the other three in the same pre-test. Luckily, no student claimed the "inaccuracy" of the model.

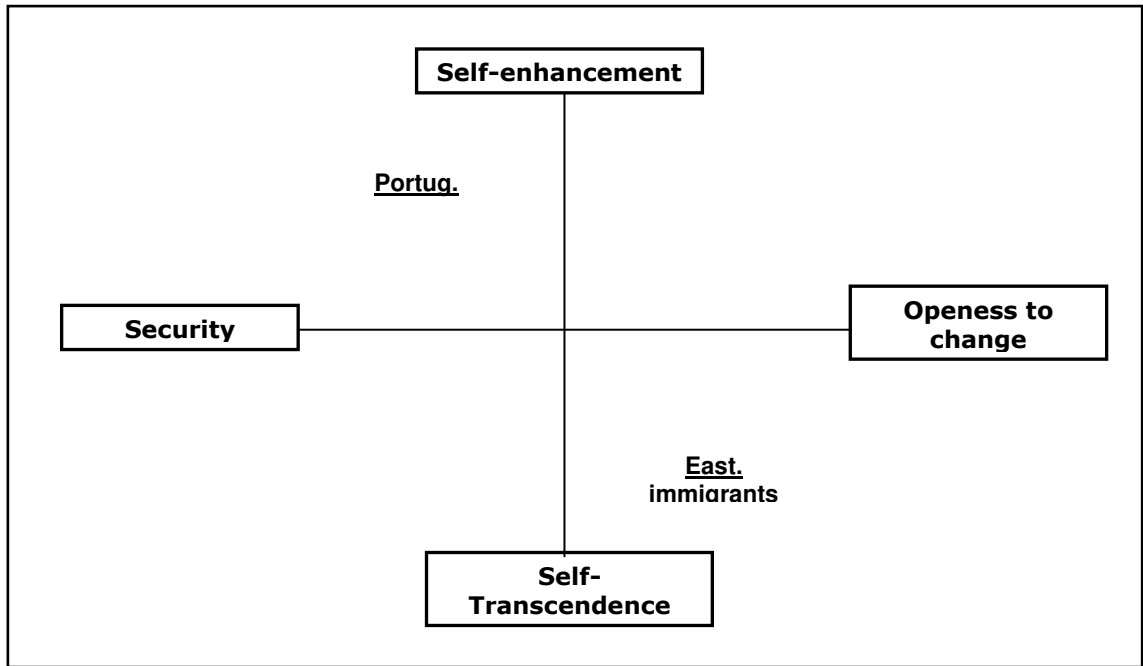


Figure 9.2. Example of manipulation of dissimilarity (Study 4).

We had two conditions of dissimilarity to alternate the quadrants in which the Portuguese and the Eastern immigrants appeared and two conditions of similarity in which, even though in both conditions the two groups were in the same quadrant, we could vary the quadrants to which they were closer.

2.3.2 - Ingroup identification

To measure ingroup identification we used Cameron's (2004) scale derived from his three-factor model of social identity that comprises three factors: *centrality*, *ingroup affect* and *ingroup ties*. Responses to the twelve individual items were given on a seven point scale (1 = totally disagree; 7 = totally agree).

The responses to the twelve items as a set showed good internal consistency ($\alpha = .803$). Thus, a global score of ingroup identification including all twelve items tapping the three components of ingroup identification was used for the analyses. Higher values represent higher levels of ingroup identification.

2.3.3 - Dependent variables: General attitude toward immigrants and Opposition to immigration

The dependent variables used in this study were, once again, the general attitude toward Eastern immigrants and opposition to immigration.

To measure participants' general attitude toward Eastern immigrants, we used the following item: "In general, your evaluation of eastern immigrants is..." The students answered the item using a scale ranging from 1 ("highly unfavourable") to 7 (highly favourable). Thus, higher values represent more positive attitudes.

To measure participants' opposition to immigration, we used the following item: "In your opinion, the number of Eastern immigrants in Portugal should..." The students answered the item using a scale ranging from 1 (Increase a lot) to 7 (Decrease a lot). Thus, higher values represent a higher opposition to immigration.

3 - Results

3.1 - Manipulation check

The manipulation yielded the intended impression. Participants in the dissimilarity condition reported more dissimilarity than those in the condition of similarity ($M_{dissimilarity} = 5.49$, $SD = 1.29$; $M_{similarity} = 3.28$, $SD = 1.58$; $F(1, 76) = 45.23$; $p < .001$). Moreover, no effects of the manipulated factor were found on the credibility and clarity attributed to the news (all F 's < 1).

The different conditions of dissimilarity were not evaluated differently nor did they produce different effects on the dependent variable. The same happened for the two conditions of similarity. Therefore, in the following analyses these conditions were collapsed in two simple conditions (similarity vs. dissimilarity).

3.2 - Test of the hypotheses

3.2.1 - General Attitude

To test the hypotheses, we conducted a Multiple Regression Analysis in which we considered in the same model the two main predictors and their interaction. The

categorical independent variable (intergroup similarity/dissimilarity) was coded with contrast codes (+1, -1). Ingroup identification was standardized (mean equals 0 and standard deviation equals 1). The regression model was estimated using these two variables as predictors as well as their product (to capture the interaction). Results showed that the expected interaction was marginally significant ($b = .257$; $SE = .146$; $t = 1.76$, $p < .08$). Examining this interaction, we observe that highly identified individuals did express a more positive attitude toward a dissimilar than towards a similar outgroup ($b = .583$; $SE = .302$; $t = 1.93$, $p < .05$) while low identified individuals expressed a trend in the opposite way, though non significant ($b = -.425$; $SE = .338$; $t = -1.26$, $ns.$) (Figure 9.3).

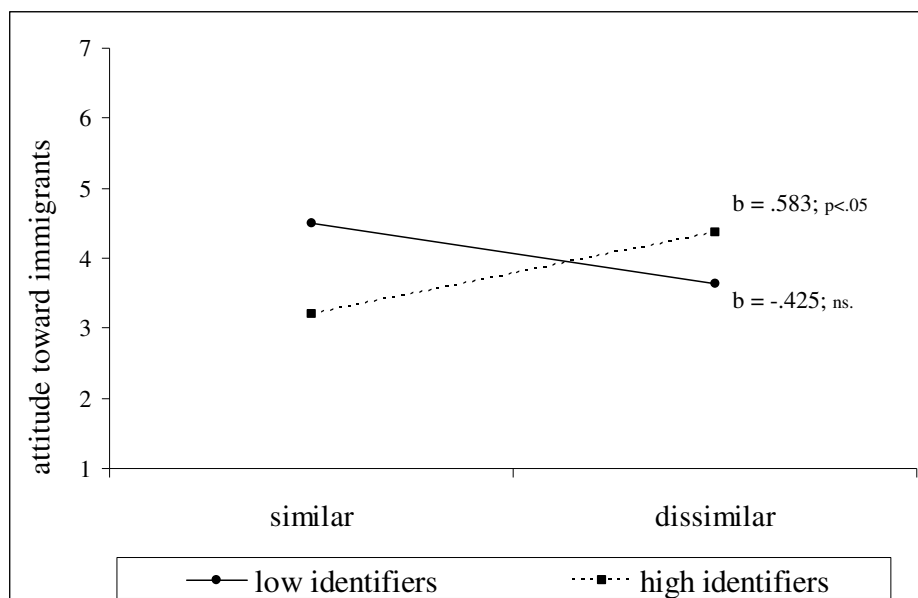


Figure 9.3. Intergroup similarity/dissimilarity X Ingroup identification for General attitude (Study 4)

3.2.2 - Opposition to immigration

The exact same procedure was used for the analyses with opposition to immigration as dependent variable. Results showed that the expected interaction was also marginally significant ($b = -.268$; $SE = .302$; $t = 1.93$, $p < .07$). Examining this interaction, we observe a marginally significant difference for the highly identified individuals who showed a tendency to express a more positive attitude toward a dissimilar than towards a similar outgroup ($b = -.478$; $SE = .300$; $t = -1.60$, $p < .10$) while

low identified individuals expressed a marginally significant trend in the opposite way as expected ($b = .572$; $SE = .337$; $t = 1.70$, $p < .09$) (Figure 9.4).

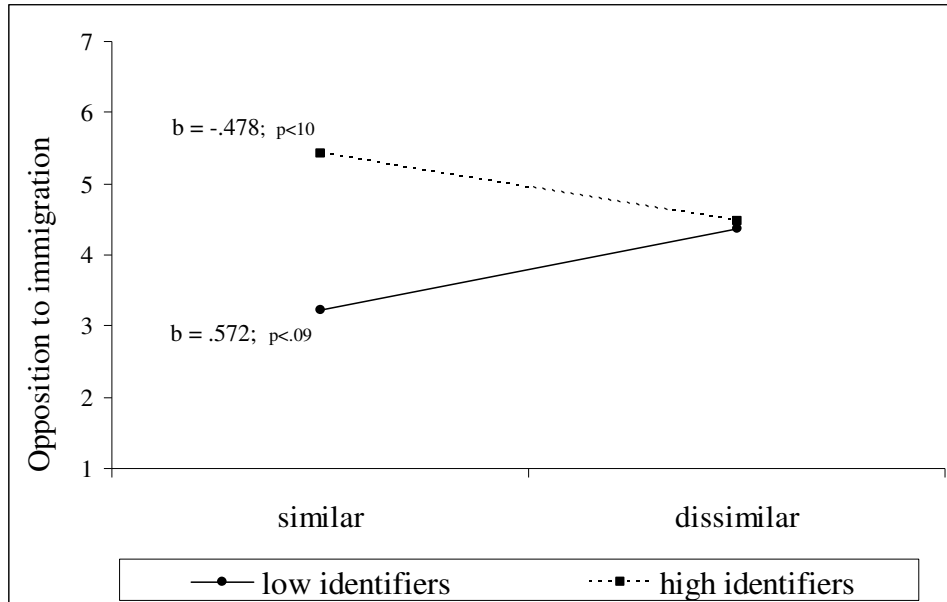


Figure 9.4. Intergroup similarity/dissimilarity X Ingroup identification for Opposition to immigration (Study4)

4 – Discussion

This study sought to address the unexpected result obtained in Study 2 in which the interaction between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and ingroup identification only emerged with the expected pattern in a condition of cooperation. We assumed that the unexpected result was due to a confound of the manipulation of competition with the manipulation of similarity/dissimilarity. Accordingly, this new study was conducted using a new manipulation of competition in which no aspects of incompatibility or distinctiveness in terms of goals were mentioned to avoid interference with similarity/dissimilarity aspects. Using this new conception of competition, results revealed the existence of the expected interaction in this new condition of competition offering further support to the general ideas of this work.

It should be mentioned that the manipulation of competition in this study was clearly close to the participants' concerns. As we mentioned in Study 2, it could be the case that in the instrumental condition, the results did not emerge for individuals with

low levels of identification with the country, because the situation was depicted in a way that did not affect the participants directly. To make sure that the reason why these results emerged in this new study in the expected way was not because of a distant scenario, the idea of competition used here was conceived in a way that that directly and unequivocally affected the participants – the introduction mentioned the immigrant students as being able to compete for the same jobs, especially in the participants' areas. So, if the results did emerge in the hypothesized way this time, it is indeed because goal interdependence is not a moderator of the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along a symbolic dimension. Thus, this study successfully deals with the issue emerged in Study 2 that was compromising the hypotheses of this work for the symbolic dimension.

An issue that remains to be dealt with is the issue of the other unexpected result obtained in Study 2: the fact that the expected interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and goal interdependence for the instrumental dimension only revealed the hypothesized pattern of results for highly identified participants. The final study (Study 5) presented in the following chapter deals directly with this issue and it also contemplates the manipulation of dissimilarity by superiority of the immigrant group.

Chapter 10 - Study 5: A Closer Operationalization of Instrumental Concerns

The prior study (Study 4) dealt with one of the unexpected results that were obtained in Study 2. This final study deals with the other unexpected result obtained in the same study. This unexpected result had to do with the fact that, in the instrumental dimension, we expected to obtain a two-way interaction between similarity/dissimilarity and goal interdependence that should hold regardless of the level of ingroup identification of the participants. However, the results revealed that the expected interaction only occurred for highly identified individuals – i.e. only high identifiers expressed more negative attitudes toward an immigrant group depicted as similar than a dissimilar immigrant group in the condition of competition, and expressed an opposite pattern in the condition of cooperation. As mentioned before (see Study 2, *Discussion*), we assumed that this effect of ingroup identification on the instrumental dimension was due to the fact that only high identifiers have instrumental concerns about a situation that affects the country and the Portuguese in general, but not themselves directly. Building on this idea, we conducted this final study where the operationalization of instrumental similarity/dissimilarity and the operationalization of goal interdependence were conceived in a way that was closer to the personal interests of the respondent.

Another issue addressed by this study concerns the asymmetrical dissimilarity. So far, the studies only tested the impact of a neutral instrumental dissimilarity or an asymmetrical instrumental dissimilarity that mirrors a superiority of the Portuguese. This study uses both types of asymmetrical dissimilarity and therefore there will also be a condition of instrumental dissimilarity in which the immigrant group is depicted as superior. Thus, in this study, we manipulated goal interdependence and instrumental similarity and dissimilarity. We also measured ingroup identification. We then analysed the effects of these independent variables on the Portuguese's general attitude towards the depicted immigrant group and their opposition to immigration.

1 – Hypotheses

B.1) In a condition of competition:

B1.1. A similar outgroup will be targeted more negatively than a dissimilar and inferior outgroup.

B1.2. A similar outgroup will be targeted less negatively than a dissimilar and superior outgroup

B.2) In a condition of cooperation:

B2.1. A similar outgroup will be targeted with more positive attitudes than a dissimilar and inferior outgroup.

B2.2. A similar outgroup will be targeted with less positive attitudes than a dissimilar and superior outgroup.

These patterns should not depend on the individual's level of ingroup identification

2 – Method

2.1 - Participants and experimental design

One hundred and nineteen students from Calouste Gulbenkian Nursing School (77% female) with ages ranging from 18 to 39 ($M = 22.7$; $SD = 4.40$) participated in this study. The hypotheses were tested using a 3 (Perception of instrumental similarity/dissimilarity: similarity, dissimilarity – ingroup superiority, dissimilarity – outgroup superiority) X 2 (Perception of Goal interdependence: Competition vs. Cooperation) between-participants design. Ingroup identification was measured.

2.2 – Procedure

The study was conducted in classrooms. Students were asked to fill out a questionnaire on immigrants and immigration. The questionnaire's introduction included the manipulation of goal interdependence. Still within the introduction, it was mentioned that the situations depicted in the manipulations of goal interdependence led to some studies that had been conducted to compare these immigrant students with the Portuguese students. The participants were then asked to read some of the results of these studies, to give their opinion on it and were later asked about their views on immigrants and immigration.

The results of the bogus studies that they were asked to read contained the manipulation of similarity/dissimilarity. Additionally, ingroup identification was measured a week before the completion of this questionnaire also in a classroom.

2.3 – Materials

2.3.1 - Intergroup instrumental similarity/dissimilarity

The results of the two bogus studies presented within then introduction provided the manipulation of instrumental similarity/dissimilarity. Both studies conveyed the same image, and were both used to strengthen the manipulation.

The first study compared immigrants and Portuguese in terms of the percentage of nurses that completed at least one kind of post-graduation degree, in the five-year period after completing the degree⁴⁵. In the similarity condition, the percentages were naturally close to identical. In the condition of dissimilarity by inferiority of the immigrant group, Portuguese presented larger percentages of nurses completing post-graduate studies, and in the condition of dissimilarity by superiority of the immigrant group, immigrants presented larger percentages – the percentages of Portuguese in one condition were the percentages of immigrants in the other condition. Below, we present the similarity condition table and an example of a dissimilarity condition table.

Table 10.1. Table used in the similarity condition (First bogus study) (Study 5)

<i>Percentage of nurses working in Portugal with post-graduation studies</i>		
Type of post-graduation studies	<i>Eastern immigrants</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>
<i>Short Duration</i>	17,8%	17%
<i>Expert Degree</i>	9%	9,5%
Total	26,8%	26,5%

⁴⁵ The manipulations were overseen by a nurse (to which we thank) in order to assure technical accuracy and general credibility.

Table 10.2. Example of table used in the dissimilarity condition (First bogus study)
(Study 5)

Percentage of nurses working in Portugal with post-graduation studies

Type of post-graduation studies	Eastern immigrants	Portuguese
<i>Short Duration</i>	16,2%	27,5%
<i>Expert Degree</i>	9%	14,2%
Total	25,2%	41,7

The second bogus study compared the same populations but in terms of characteristics like creativity, determination and motivation.⁴⁶ Another table was presented with the mean levels of performance of the groups (immigrants vs. Portuguese) in each test or scale, depending on the characteristic. Similar levels of performance were presented in the similarity condition. Better or worse levels of performance followed each condition of dissimilarity. Below we present the table used in the similarity condition and an example of the table used in the dissimilarity conditions.

Table 10.3. Table used in the similarity condition (Second bogus study) (Study 5)

Mean performances of creativity, determination and motivation of nurses working in

Portugal

Test / Scale	Eastern immigrants	Portuguese
Creativity (0 - 100)	57	58,1
Determination (0 - 100)	79,5	78
Motivation (0 - 100)	76,5	77

⁴⁶ Previous pre-tests had already shown these characteristics to be seen as instrumental (and positive).

Table 10.4. Example of table used in the dissimilarity condition (Second bogus study)
(Study 5)

**Mean performances of creativity, determination and motivation of nurses working in
Portugal**

Test / Scale	Eastern immigrants	Portuguese
Creativity (0 - 100)	43	58,1
Determination (0 - 100)	70,5	87,4
Motivation (0 - 100)	72,4	80

Following each study, a small comment summed up the results noticing the degree of similarity or dissimilarity between Portuguese and immigrants, depending on the experimental condition.

2.3.2 - Ingroup identification

To measure ingroup identification we used Cameron's (2004) scale derived from his three-factor model of social identity that comprises three factors: *centrality*, *ingroup affect* and *ingroup ties*. Responses to the twelve individual items were given on a seven point scale (1 = totally disagree; 7 = totally agree).

The responses to the twelve items as a set showed good internal consistency ($\alpha = .817$). Thus, a global score of ingroup identification including all twelve items tapping the three components of ingroup identification was used for the analyses. Higher values represent higher levels of ingroup identification.

2.3.3 - Goal interdependence

The manipulation was included in the introduction of the questionnaire. For both conditions, it was referred the increasing number of immigrants coming from Eastern Europe to Portugal and, as a consequence, the increasing number of immigrants entering the Portuguese job market.

Additionally, in the condition of competition, it was mentioned a tendency for these immigrants to run for the same jobs that nursing students aspire. In the condition of cooperation, it was mentioned that, whenever immigrants enter the "health services

job market, this has allowed the creation of synergies and mutual contacts with the other (Portuguese) nurses which has influenced the functioning of the Health Care Services in general, and has carried positive consequences for all nurses working in Portugal.”.

2.3.4 - Dependent variables: General attitude toward immigrants and Opposition to immigration

The dependent variables used in this study were, once again, the general attitude toward eastern immigrants and opposition to immigration.

To measure participants’ general attitude toward eastern immigrants, we used the following item: “In general, your evaluation of eastern immigrants is...” The students answered the item using a scale ranging from 1 (“highly unfavourable”) to 7 (highly favourable). Thus, higher values represent more positive attitudes.

To measure participants’ opposition to immigration, we used the following item: “In your opinion, the number of Eastern immigrants in Portugal should...” The students answered the item using a scale ranging from 1 (Increase a lot) to 7 (Decrease a lot). Thus, higher values represent a higher opposition to immigration.

3 – Results

3.1 - Manipulation check

The manipulations yielded the intended impression. Participants in the dissimilarity condition reported more dissimilarity than those in the condition of similarity ($M_{dissimilarity} = 4.90$, $SD = 1.19$; $M_{similarity} = 2.90$, $SD = 1.49$; $F(1, 117) = 64.32$; $p < .001$). Moreover, no effects of the manipulated variables were found on the credibility and clarity attributed to the bogus studies’ results (all F ’s < 1).

3.2 - Test of the hypotheses

If we hypothesize that the similar group will receive more positive attitudes than the dissimilar and the inferior outgroup but less positive attitudes than the dissimilar and superior outgroup (in a condition of cooperation) and, similarly, that the similar group

will receive more negative attitudes than the dissimilar and the inferior outgroup but less negative attitudes than the dissimilar and superior outgroup (in a condition of competition), it is equivalent to say that we expect linear effects of similarity/dissimilarity. This is true if we categorize the variable of similarity/dissimilarity in terms of contrast code ranking in which -1 corresponds to a dissimilar and inferior immigrant group, 0 corresponds to a similar immigrant group and 1 corresponds to a dissimilar and superior group. This was indeed how this variable was organized for these analyses.

3.2.1 - General attitude

For general attitude (as for Opposition to immigration) we expected to find a linear trend in the condition of cooperation and a different but also linear trend for competition. Namely, in the condition of competition we were expecting that the better⁴⁷ the way the immigrant group is depicted, the worse the attitude and we expected the exact opposite for cooperation. The mean patterns reveal a linear trend identical in cooperation and in competition. This means that, regardless of the condition of goal interdependence, the better the way the immigrant group was depicted, the better the general attitude towards that group (see Figure 10.1).

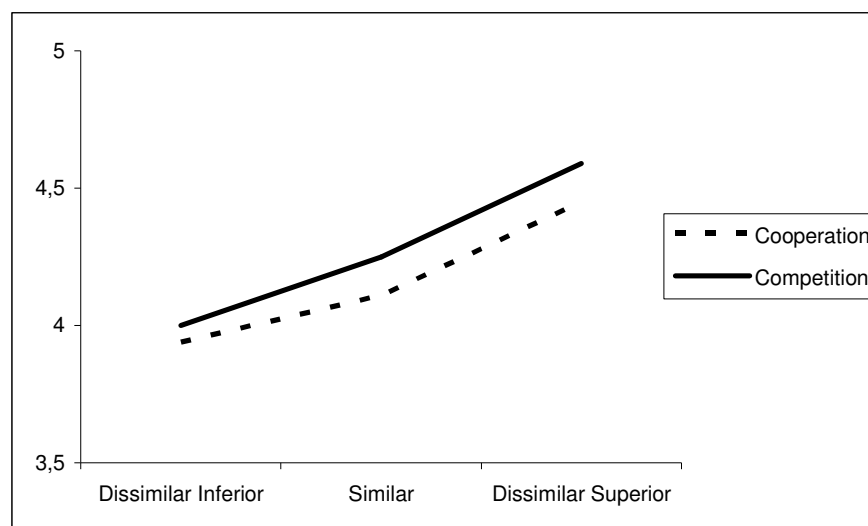


Figure 10.1. Intergroup similarity/dissimilarity X Goal interdependence (General attitude) (Study 5)

⁴⁷ Better here refers to having better abilities (to achieve material resources)

Planned comparisons support the significance of this linear trend (i.e., dissimilarity by inferiority = -1; similarity = 0; dissimilarity by superiority = 1). In fact, the linear contrast (that tested the hypothesis that the mean in the condition of dissimilarity by superiority of the immigrants is higher than the mean in the condition of dissimilarity by inferiority) was significant, $F(1,113) = 3.93, p < .05$ and the quadratic effect (that tested the hypothesis that the mean in the similarity condition is higher than the mean in both conditions of dissimilarity, i.e., dissimilarity by inferiority = -1; similarity = 2; dissimilarity by superiority = -1) was not ($F < 1$). Moreover, results revealed that these planned comparisons remained the same even when including ingroup identification in the analysis. The linear trend remained significant, $F(1, 108) = 3.64; p < .05$, and the quadratic effect remained non-significant ($F < 1$). Thus, results did not follow our hypotheses for general attitude.

3.2.2 - Opposition to immigration

For Opposition to immigration, we expected to find a linear trend in the condition of cooperation and a different but also linear trend for competition. Namely, in the condition of competition we were expecting that the better the way the immigrant group is depicted, the higher the opposition to the coming of that immigrant group to the country and we expected the exact opposite for cooperation. The mean patterns show support for our hypotheses (see Figure 10.2).

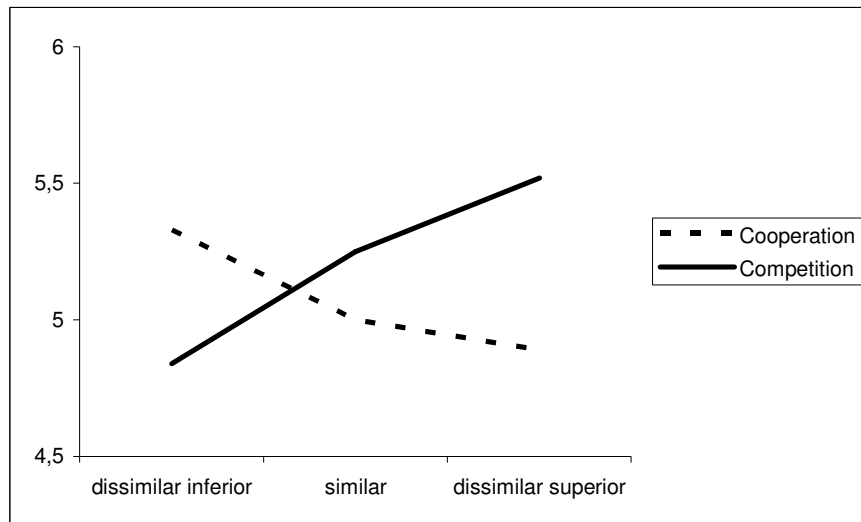


Figure 10.2. Intergroup similarity/dissimilarity X Goal interdependence (Opposition to immigration) (Study 5)

However, planned comparisons showed that, in a condition of cooperation, none of the contrasts were significant: $F_{\text{Linear contrast}}(1,110) = 1.26, ns.$; $F_{\text{Quadratic contrast}} < 1$. As for the condition of competition, the linear contrast was marginally significant, $F(1,110) = 3.01, p < .08$ and the quadratic contrast was not significant ($F < 1$). When ingroup identification was included in the analysis, none of the contrasts were significant. Thus, results for opposition to immigration present partial support to our hypotheses.

4 – Discussion

Results for general attitude toward immigrants did not follow the hypotheses. The pattern of means reveals higher levels of appreciation for higher (i.e. better) levels of instrumental skills which denotes a simple acknowledgment of competence. The participants seem to have given an objective appreciation of the group: If a group was presented as better in terms of instrumental skills, then the general appreciation of such group was more positive. These patterns of responses may have been due to the context induced by the questionnaire characteristics. In fact, (to serve as a manipulation), in the first part of this study we asked the nurses⁴⁸ to analyse the results of bogus studies comparing Portuguese nurses with immigrant nurses, and in this context the immigrant group was depicted in instrumental terms; instrumental terms to which the participants

⁴⁸ Though the participants were *students* in nursing school, most of them already had short periods of professional experience during the course.

could relate. Later, when asked to give their appreciation of that group, the participants were probably embedded with a “sense of duty” for giving an objective appreciation of the group. This had also to do with the formulation of the question used to measure the general attitude. The item asked for the general “evaluation”⁴⁹ of the group. Though the formulation was identical to prior studies, in this study, the context described above may have triggered a different interpretation of the term which, in turn, may have led the participants to give an objective appreciation of the group instead of expressing what their attitude towards such a group is. The idea that this evaluation was objective gets further support if we take into account the fact that the pattern of means occurred regardless of the condition of goal interdependence.

For the other dependent variable (Opposition to immigration), results partially followed the hypotheses. In this case, participants gave a response on a topic that actually carries consequences for their everyday life. And in this situation, participants expressed larger levels of opposition to immigration in the situations that potentially grant them with fewer resources. Thus, in a condition of competition (negative goal interdependence), levels of opposition to immigration increased along with the instrumental skills of the immigrant group. This is because the better the immigrant group, the better the position that immigrant group occupies in terms of abilities of “stealing” resources from the ingroup. In a condition of cooperation, where the idea of a common good was given salience, levels of opposition decreased along with the levels of instrumental skilfulness of the immigrant group, since the better the immigrant group is, the better is the contribute for the common good. However, even though these results are mirrored in the patterns of means, these were not always associated with statistical significance. In the condition of cooperation, it might have been the case that the idea of a common good for both Portuguese and immigrants was not explicitly defined as carrying material consequences. In fact, the manipulation mentioned that this situation of cooperation “carried *positive consequences* for all nurses working in Portugal”. The participants could only assume that positive consequences were related to material resources. An alternative explanation could be that the lack of significance was due to the relatively small number of participants.

To sum up, results show that the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity in an instrumental dimension depend on the consequences that such similarity/dissimilarity

⁴⁹ In Portuguese, the term used was “apreciação”.

has in terms of the positions in which the groups became, in terms of abilities to achieve material resources. And in this sense, the effects are moderated by the condition of goal interdependence. The fact that my ingroup is in a better, equal or worse position for achieving material resources is only provided with meaning taking into account the relations of interdependence that exist in the society, i.e. whether the resources are limited or not, and whether the other group is competing for the same resources or working together with the ingroup to obtain them.

One other aspect that we intended to support with this experiment was the fact that ingroup identification would not play a role in this situation. Results revealed that for general attitude, including ingroup identification in the analysis did not provide any change. As for the opposition to immigration, the inclusion of identification only meant that the significance of the contrasts disappeared. But this occurred in the same way for both low and high identifiers, i.e. things did not happen differently for low and high identifiers. Thus, if ingroup identification played any role in this situation, this role was at the most modest.

One should mention, however, that the effect of ingroup identification was modest or even absent simply because the manipulations of instrumental similarity and goal interdependence were conceived in a way that is closer to the participants' concerns. When the consequences of instrumental similarity/dissimilarity affect the group in general (the Portuguese) but not the individual directly, then the level of identification does seem to play a role.

Summary of Results

This section intends to summarize the empirical findings obtained in the six studies that were conducted to test our hypotheses.

The main idea supported by these studies is that different dimensions (of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity) do indeed lead to different processes. Studies 2, 3a and 3b have shown that the mechanism elicited by the perception of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is different depending on whether that similarity/dissimilarity refers to aspects that have the potential to influence the capacity of the group to achieve material resources or to aspects that are irrelevant at that level.

When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to a symbolic dimension, the effects of this variable on intergroup attitudes are moderated by ingroup identification - assuming these are relevant aspects (Study 1) - in such a way that individuals that are highly identified with the country express more positive attitudes toward an immigrant group depicted as dissimilar than toward a group presented as similar and individuals who possess low levels of identification with the country express the opposite pattern (Studies 2, 3a and Study 4). We have shown that this interaction holds regardless of the individual's perception of goal interdependence, since the interaction appeared both in a condition of cooperation (Study 2) and in a condition of competition (Study 4).

When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along an instrumental dimension, our studies showed that the effects of this variable on intergroup attitudes are moderated by the perception of goal interdependence. This interaction revealed that in a condition of competition, a similar outgroup is targeted with more negative attitudes than a dissimilar and inferior outgroup (Studies 2 and 5) but targeted with less negative attitudes than a dissimilar and superior outgroup (Study 5); in a condition of cooperation, the results are the exact reverse: a similar outgroup receives more positive attitudes than a dissimilar and inferior outgroup (Studies 2 and 5) but is targeted with less positive attitudes than a dissimilar and superior outgroup (Study 5). These patterns emerge somewhat independently of individual's level of identification (Study 5). However, this independence from the level of ingroup identification is relative. In fact, results showed that ingroup identification does not play an important role only when intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to instrumental aspects only if the manipulation of this latter variable implies direct concerns for the participants (Study 5). When the potential consequences of the instrumental similarity/dissimilarity (as perceived by the

participants) didn't seem to affect the participant directly, the expected interaction between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and goal interdependence only appeared for individuals with higher levels of identification with the country (Study 2).

GENERAL DISCUSSION

General Discussion

1 – Shedding some light on the issue

To start this discussion, let us start with an extended example to describe what we now feel to know about the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes. We will describe hypothetical situations based on the same general situation and in each case describe what our work predicts that happens and the reasons for such predictions.

“Let us imagine a basketball court where a group of people who call themselves the *Reds* play every week. Now imagine that a new group of people arrives in that same court and wishes to play there as well. This group of people call themselves the *Blues*. And the Blues are very similar to the Reds in certain characteristics like basketball technique, concentration and physical stamina.

In the meantime, there is a recreation society that manages this basketball court. And this society says to the Reds and to the Blues that they are willing to pay to see them play. And the amount of money that they will pay them depends on the amount of points each team makes. They will pay 10 Euros per point to the team who makes that point. However, they say that they only have 100 Euros, and so the game will end when the sum of points of both teams reaches 10. This means also that in order for one team to get more money, the other team gets less money. This creates a clear condition of competition or negative interdependence, in a situation of intergroup instrumental similarity, because those characteristics that we mentioned univocally help the team members to achieve material resources. This situation is predictably seen negatively by the Reds who witnessed the Blues coming to their basketball court. This situation would be seen even more negatively if the Blues were dissimilar concerning the same characteristics but better. However, if the Blues were dissimilar and inferior (with less technique and less physical stamina), then the Reds would not feel threatened by those players and no negative attitudes would emerge. In fact, in this condition of competition the Reds like the Blues when they are inferior and in this case they do not feel the need to expel them from the court. But they will feel bad by having a similar team that has the same ability to achieve the resources competing with their team, and they will feel

even worse with a team that is in a better position to achieve the money they are after (assuming the Reds like money).

Now picture a different situation in which this same recreation society has a lot of money and says that they will give money depending on the amount of points but that it does not matter which team makes the points. They will give 10 Euros for each point made during a half-an-hour game. And then the total money will be equally distributed by the two teams. In this condition, the characteristics are still instrumental since these have the same influence on the accomplishment of points, though, the situation now constitutes a relationship of positive interdependence. This goal is common to both groups (superordinate) and non-conflicting. Both teams want the other team to succeed, i.e. to make a large number of points, since both parts will benefit from that result. And it is a goal that is better achieved by the work of both teams. In this situation, the Reds' attitudes toward the Blues will also depend on the Blues' abilities to achieve the resources (just as it was in the condition of competition). On the contrary here, however, the Reds like more of the Blues, the *better* the Blues' capabilities are. Therefore, whether they have more positive attitudes toward a similar group or a dissimilar group depends on what this similarity/dissimilarity translates into in terms of the Blues' abilities. If the Blues are similar, they will receive more positive attitudes from the Reds than if the Blues are dissimilar and inferior, since in this latter case they are not contributing to a good result that ends in the Reds' pockets. At the same time, the similar Blues will be targeted with less positive attitudes than the dissimilar and superior Blues, because a dissimilar and superior group gets even more money for the Reds' pockets than a plain similar group.

Initially, we thought that this would be the case regardless of the level of ingroup identification of each member of the Reds. However, our results showed that the only situation where ingroup identification will not play a role is if the Reds are directly affected by this situation, i.e. identification is irrelevant only when the situation depicted in the manipulations affects the participants directly. Now, imagine that the Reds are constituted by two sub-teams: sub-team A and sub-team B. And imagine, that sub-team A plays on Fridays (the day this happened) and the sub-team B plays on Wednesdays (and therefore, the B players were not directly affected by this situation). What the results showed is that if the situation affects only the A members, the B members (when asked about what they feel about the Blues) will only display the patterns described above if they are attached to this team. When they (B members) are highly identified

with the team (Reds), they worry about what happens to them (even to A members). When they are not identified, and the situation does not affect them in particular, then their attitudes will not be guided by these attitudes. And if this low identification even translates into a kind of *detachment*, then they will probably be “happy” with the bad situations affecting the A members (a kind of “*schadenfreude*”; see, for example, Leach, Spears, Branscombe, & Doosje, 2003) and express more positive attitudes towards the Blues when they represent worse situations for the A Reds.

Now, let us imagine a situation where no recreation society exists. No money exists to giveaway to these teams. In this case, those characteristics become simply symbolic, because even though they put the teams in good positions to make points, these points do not translate into material resources. Or imagine another set of characteristics: the Blues are similar or dissimilar to the Reds in terms of importance attributed to the arts or in terms of characteristics like friendliness and expression of affection. In this case, these conditions are symbolic because they don’t even contribute to the ability of making points in basketball.

To know what the Reds will feel towards the Blues we need to take into account the level of ingroup identification of each Reds’ member. If a certain team member is highly attached to this basketball group (the Reds), because this membership provides him a positive social identity and no other memberships provide him with this positive social identity, then that particular membership is essential to his identity. This individual is thus highly identified with the Reds. In this case, he will express a more negative attitude toward the Blues when these are presented as similar than when they are presented as dissimilar, because if there is another group with the same characteristics, then one cannot extract a distinctiveness from that situation. And if the Blues are impeding this “extraction”, then that “Red” will not like those Blues. This highly identified individual will have a much more positive attitude toward a group that is clearly distinct.

However, imagine another member of the Reds who works in a research centre in social psychology that is highly regarded even by international standards. That membership (to belong to an excellent research group) is what grants him/her with a positive social identity. In his/her case, there is no need to see a positive distinctiveness in the Reds membership. And if the Blues are similar to the red, he/she will probably view Reds and Blues as part of the same group – the group that plays in that basketball court. However, if the groups are dissimilar, then he/she will think in terms of Reds and

Blues and the intergroup attitudes will follow according to this categorization. Thus, this low identified individual will have more positive attitudes towards the Blues when they appear as similar, than when they appear as dissimilar.”

2 – Considerations and Limitations

It might have been the case that the reader going through this example often wondered “What if...?”, or “What about...?” or even “Why is it that...?”. If that is the case, chances are that the reader came across some of the issues, limitations and potential future directions of this work that we now address.

Thus, what follows are considerations on some of the issues that emerge from a thorough reflection on this work. These considerations may contain simple remarks that conclude our understanding of the issue or may lead to some questions on the caveats and limitations of certain aspects of this work. Deriving from these limitations we will also reflect upon potential future directions of this work.

2.1 - The target group: what about other groups besides the Blues?

One may have pondered on the issue of using only one immigrant group throughout the studies (or using just the Blues throughout the example). In response to this issue, we can first of all state the reason why we used Eastern Europe immigrants. In the Portuguese context, as we have seen in the first chapter, there are three main immigrant groups: the Brazilian, the Cape Verdeans and the Ukrainians (and other Eastern Europe immigrants). From these three groups, those coming from Eastern Europe presented the best configuration of symbolic and instrumental aspects. In fact, considering the public discourse on immigration, the discussion about the Eastern immigrants revolved not only around symbolic aspects (including cultural aspects and their religion) but also around instrumental aspects, like their academic qualifications. By the time these studies started to be conducted, this was the only group that triggered discussions about jobs and unemployment. Considering that our manipulations of similarity/dissimilarity had to mention instrumental aspects like academic qualifications and that the manipulation of competition depended on the credibility of a situation where immigrants steal jobs from the Portuguese, we thought that this was the best group to use.

However, we consider that the use of only one group is not that limitative. In fact, in the final three studies we included in each questionnaire a question about the immigrants depicted in the experiment. This question sought to know whether the respondents considered that these Eastern immigrants were in the country by reasons of necessity or choice. Across three studies, Eastern immigrants were always seen as any other immigrant group that comes to this country because they need to and not because it is their choice or as part of a luxury living. In that sense, Eastern immigrants are closer to the status of the other groups like the Brazilian and the Cape Verdeans. We believe that the term “immigrant” is influencing more of the respondents’ perceptions than the term “Eastern”. In fact, one might think that different immigrant groups would elicit different attitudes. However, results from surveys using national representative samples show that when attitudes towards different immigrant groups are aggregated their internal consistency presents very high levels; “ranging from 0.92 and 0.97” (see Vala, Pereira & Ramos, 2006b, p.233).

Moreover, the goal of this work was to shed some light over the general processes underlying the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity. Indeed, we intended to establish the patterns emerging from the perception of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity in symbolic and instrumental dimensions. By doing so, we were hoping to be able to say that if an immigrant group (whether from Eastern Europe, Brazil or Cape Verde) is similar or dissimilar in symbolic or instrumental dimensions, then, all other things being equal, the effects of this situation will be this and that. This means that we believe that all immigrant groups will elicit, in general, the same processes, as long as they present themselves in those conditions of similarity and dissimilarity.

2.2 - Why is it that it happens like this? The mechanisms beyond the processes

This work has allowed us to state that different dimensions elicit different processes. To state that similarity/dissimilarity in a symbolic dimension elicits a process that is influenced by ingroup identification and that similarity/dissimilarity in an instrumental dimension elicits a process that is influenced by goal interdependence means that the concerns that each situation elicits are different. What concerns are elicited in each situation? What are the mechanisms that are taking place?

In the symbolic dimension, we argued that the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity are moderated by the individuals' level of ingroup identification (in our case, identification with the country). Highly identified individuals are marked by motivational concerns. For highly identified individuals, the question is about distinctiveness. They are motivated to achieve that distinctiveness. That particular membership is important to them, since they extract a positive social identity from that belonging. And therefore, a similar outgroup triggers a distinctiveness threat (Spears and colleagues, 1997; Jetten and colleagues, 2004). Since he identifies the outgroup as the source of threat, the individual expresses negative attitudes towards that source. A dissimilar outgroup causes no distinctiveness threat to highly identified individuals. Therefore, no negative attitudes are triggered.

Low identified individuals are more influenced by perceptual mechanisms. In their case, the process is determined by situational features. The existence of intergroup similarity makes the superordinate categorization more suitable for the situation and that is the categorization that will determine the individual's behaviour (Turner and colleagues, 1987). And if ingroup and outgroup are part of the same category, negative attitudes toward the "outgroup" are not appropriate, and in fact the favourable views of ingroup members expand to the former outgroup members (see Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman & Rust, 1993). In the case of intergroup dissimilarity, the categorization that becomes salient is the ingroup-outgroup categorization. And that categorization determines the individual's behaviour. However, at this level, we must recognize our lack of understanding, because one could expect a classic effect of categorization, but that effect would translate in the emergence of ingroup bias and not necessarily in a negative attitude toward the outgroup. Nevertheless, though the effects of categorization have been much more largely observed in the emergence of ingroup bias by enhancement of the ingroup evaluation (see Brewer, 1999), the fact is that some studies showed that the effects of categorization sometimes translate into a devaluation of the outgroup (e.g. Hensley & Duvall, 1976). Research stemming from the Common Ingroup Identity Model (e.g. Dovidio, Gaertner & Validzic, 1998) has also shown that the differences between a categorization condition and a superordinate categorization condition (*recategorization*) are often grounded on outgroup evaluations, instead of ingroup evaluations. And in fact, what we observe in our results is not that the attitudes are necessarily negative in the dissimilarity condition (where the ingroup-outgroup categorization is more salient for low identifiers), it is just that the attitudes are not as

positive as they are in the similarity condition (where the outgroup is regarded as a part of a larger ingroup).

In any case, if one considers this process for low identifiers to be a classic effect of categorization, it would be correct to say that low identifiers are also marked by motivational concerns. So, it would seem that motivational concerns (related with identity dynamics) are underlying the processes that take place for the symbolic dimension. And ingroup identification determines the level at which these motivational concerns emerge.

For low identifiers, perceptual concerns determine the initial process defining the categorization that becomes salient. Only when intergroup dissimilarity is perceived then the ingroup-outgroup categorization becomes salient and the motivational concerns come into play. For high identifiers, the motivational concerns exist a priori, since to them the ingroup-outgroup categorization is always salient.

In the instrumental dimension, the effects of intergroup *instrumental* similarity/dissimilarity depend on the consequences that this situation carries in terms of the position in which the outgroup is placed in comparison to the ingroup; this position being in terms of abilities to achieve material resources. And this “ranking” is what determines individuals’ attitudes towards the outgroup. However, the attitudes towards this ranking depend on the relationship of interdependence that exists between the two groups. A similar or dissimilar by superiority outgroup will be targeted more negatively than a dissimilar and inferior outgroup in a condition of competition (negative interdependence), but a similar or dissimilar by superiority outgroup will be targeted more positively in a condition of cooperation (positive interdependence). The general mechanism that seems to underlie the process in both conditions is the perception of the outgroup as causing a more negative or more positive situation to the ingroup in terms of material resources that are potentially awarded to the latter.

This is why, in the condition of competition, the participants expressed a more positive attitude towards the less threatening outgroup (the dissimilar and inferior) and more negative attitudes towards those groups who are in an equal or even better position than the ingroup. And in the condition of cooperation, the better the outgroup (similar or dissimilar by superiority), the better the situation, since the achieved resources will be awarded to the ingroup too.

Though we have highlighted the mechanisms that we believe to be underlying the different processes in the different dimensions, we have to acknowledge a limitation at this level. In fact, though we have evoked mechanisms like distinctiveness threat (Spears and colleagues, 1997), perception of superordinate or intermediate categorizations (Gaertner & colleagues, 1993; Turner, 1987) and a kind of economic threat (Stephan and colleagues, 1999), the fact is that these are mere assumptions since we did not test these mechanisms in the experiments. This limitation points to the necessity of addressing this aspect in future studies having measures of these processes. These studies could include settings where those mechanisms would be controlled or even impeded to see if the effects remain or dissolve.

2.3 - On the manipulations of dissimilarity used

In the studies along the thesis, the manipulations of symbolic dissimilarity always conveyed information about a dissimilar and neutral outgroup (Studies 3a and 4) or a dissimilar and inferior outgroup (Studies 1 and 2). No manipulation of symbolic dissimilarity by superiority of the immigrant group was ever used. This had to do with an initial consideration that symbolic dissimilarity by inferiority of the immigrants was more grounded on stereotypes about immigrants. As the literature on the attribution of difference as an expression of prejudice shows, when outgroups are targeted with prejudice, they are also targeted with an attribution of a different and *inferior* essence (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Leyens and colleagues, 2000; Moscovici & Pérez, 1997; Vala, Brito & Lopes, 1999; Vala, Pereira & Costa Lopes, in press). One can assume that whenever the idea of symbolic dissimilarity is triggered, the content of this dissimilarity will probably tend to cling to the negative side. This tendency could only happen in the symbolic dimension where there is place for subjectivity. In the instrumental dimension, information about abilities to achieve material resources is much more objective and leaves no place to spin the difference in the intended direction. But this is in any case a limitation that these studies carry. On the other hand, it is a limitation mitigated by the results of Study 3a where the manipulation of dissimilarity was not conceived in an asymmetrical way.

This aspect points to another limitation at this level. By not having a manipulation of dissimilarity by superiority of the outgroup, it was not possible to test one idea regarding the mechanism described in the former point: whether distinctiveness is more

important to highly identified individuals than a positive image, i.e. what happens if distinctiveness is not positive distinctiveness? In fact, the idea conveyed by SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) is that individuals strive for a positive distinctiveness to maintain a positive social identity. Therefore, one could assume that distinctiveness would only be valued – i.e. dissimilarity would only be preferred over similarity – when dissimilarity meant superiority of the ingroup or no information about the direction of that dissimilarity is provided. Only a manipulation of dissimilarity that meant outgroup superiority would have allowed testing the opposite prediction. However, there is already some research providing the answer to this question. In fact, in a study about national stereotypes of Polish and Dutch, Mlicki and Ellemers (1996) have shown that for Polish participants, it was more important to have a distinct national identity than to create a positive national image (see also Spears, Doosje & Ellemers, 1999, for further arguments on the idea of distinctiveness as a more critical aspect for the person than self-enhancement). Related to this, the manipulation of similarity could also be conceived in a negative way, in which both groups would be equally “bad” in some symbolic aspect.

But still within the manipulations of dissimilarity, a deeper question emerges: one result that may trigger a few questions is the fact that symbolic dissimilarity is seen positively (to be exact, a symbolically dissimilar outgroup is seen positively) by individuals with high levels of identification. In fact, when one thinks about the relations between social groups, namely between countries, and between host societies and immigrants, the great topic of discussion is the problems that emerge from the coexistence of these different groups – the whole discussion on the “clash of civilizations” (Huntington, 1996). And though nothing is said about ingroup identification at this level, one could even assume that those highly identified with their country or culture, would even react more strongly to this *difference*.

However, we think that this result has to do with a different conception of dissimilarity and that this pattern of intolerance is triggered by a different phenomenon other than dissimilarity. The type of outgroup features that have to be perceived (even if these do not exist) by the ingroup members to engender these conflictual attitudes are not simply dissimilarity features. These features have to constitute a (symbolic) threat to fundamental values of the individual’s culture (Sears, 1988; Stephan and colleagues, 1999). This threat usually occurs in features such as religious conceptions and legal

issues.⁵⁰ The fact is that the manipulations used in these experiments did not intend to tap into these features, since these have a deeper meaning beyond dissimilarity. The discussion shifts to a different level. It was not an intention of this work to address this type of phenomenon since it seems to be better framed theoretically by Stephan's work within the *Integrated Threat Theory* (Stephan and Stephan, 1996; Stephan and colleagues, 1999). Some of the issues discussed within this topic seem to be closer to a philosophical debate between cultural relativism and ethnocentrism than to empirical social psychology and have been poetically examined in the work of Lévi-Strauss (1958), Edward Said (1978) and Amin Maalouf (1986, 1998).

Nevertheless, this points to the possible necessity of refining the symbolic dimension. Maybe it is necessary to conceive a further division within the symbolic dimension; a division between aspects that refer to fundamental and legal values and the other aspects that refer to identity but do not necessarily pertain to a peaceful coexistence – this distinction may be better construed within the framework of minimal and maximal goal orientation (see Fritsche, Kessler, Mummendey, & Neumann, in press).

2.3.1 - Difference between formal dissimilarity and content dissimilarity

Another issue that emerges from the manipulations of similarity/dissimilarity is whether these do not “interact” with the categorization of Portuguese vs. immigrants, creating a sort of cross-categorization that drives the results. In response to this, we should mention that we consider our manipulations of dissimilarity to be distinct from instances of categorization. In fact, we consider a distinction between a *formal* dissimilarity and *content* dissimilarity. Formal dissimilarity refers to the process of categorization; it's the mere existence of *separate* entities that may or may not be different content-wise. Content dissimilarity refers to the manipulations conceived throughout the experimental studies of this thesis. It is the set of features that characterizes the two separate entities that emerge from categorization. Thus, we do not consider that our studies convey manipulations of cross-categorization, because in these

⁵⁰ The issue of “female genital mutilation” constitutes a paradigmatic case of this discussion.

experiments we simply manipulate content similarity/dissimilarity. Formal dissimilarity is identical across studies (Portuguese vs. immigrants).⁵¹

2.4 - On the relationships between variables

One could expect the occurrence of effects of the manipulations on the measured variables such as the effect of goal interdependence on ingroup identification. In fact, some authors predicted that a state of competition should lead to an increased ingroup identification (e.g. Sherif and colleagues, 1961). But our results show no such influence. Indeed, in these studies, ingroup identification was measured prior to the manipulations (a week before in most cases) and the results showed the interaction of identification with intergroup similarity/dissimilarity in the symbolic dimension even in a condition of competition (Study 4). This means, at the very least, that the ingroup identification that was playing a role in that situation was the ingroup identification that had been measured and not a potential state of ingroup identification emerging from the manipulations.

The reason for these results may lie in the fact that identification with a country may be considered more chronic (less dynamic) and less affected by contextual aspects. Indeed, Jetten and colleagues (1997) distinguished between ingroup identification and prototypicality stating that the latter is more context-dependent than the former (see also Turner and colleagues, 1987).⁵² In fact, in Study 2, results showed that the expected interaction between goal interdependence and intergroup similarity/dissimilarity only occurred for the highly identified participants. If competition would have increased the level of identification of the participants, this variable wouldn't have had an influence. Thus, competition does not increase levels of identification with the country. It is the level of identification with the country that determines whether participants will feel affected by a state of competition. This is the relationship that exists between these two variables. It is, nonetheless, a relationship that we did not anticipate and that required a refinement of the initial hypotheses.

⁵¹ This distinction is, in fact, what allows us to see that Tajfel's ideas are not contradictory. In fact, the minimal group studies have shown that mere (formal) dissimilarity triggers discrimination, but from Social Identity Theory, one can derive the hypothesis that a state of intergroup (content) dissimilarity permits the existence of positive intergroup relations.

⁵² In fact, this is the reason why ingroup identification was never manipulated in our studies.

The idea that identification actually plays a role in some situations is, in fact, concordant, with the ideas of other authors that conducted work in this area. Scheepers and colleagues (2002) asserted that a certain level of group identity had to exist in order for other group processes to occur. Also Moghaddam and Stringer (1988) argued that “(...) for competitiveness to become effective in an intergroup context there has to first be identification with an ingroup” (p.113).

Another example of intertwined variables that could be expected was related to the connection between symbolic and instrumental dimensions. In this work, the intention was to separate processes that in reality are most probably entangled. The reason for this strategy was to test the hypotheses that we conceived. However, this situation raises questions on how things exist in reality. If in reality, similarity and dissimilarity in symbolic and instrumental dimensions appear simultaneously, different questions emerge such as wondering what happens, for example, when an immigrant group is instrumentally similar but symbolically dissimilar. Answers to this type of questions would require experimental studies with manipulations of similarity/dissimilarity in symbolic and instrumental dimensions within participants.⁵³ These experiments would permit us to analyse whether there is a more dominant dimension or whether context defines the more relevant dimension for evaluating the immigrant group. Thus, concerning this topic, the future directions that this work could take would be related with conceiving new manipulations.

2.5 - Conciliating two fundamental approaches?

Related with the last topic of the relationship between variables, another discussion should emerge, which has to do with the fact of considering, in the same work, two meta-perspectives of intergroup behaviour that are so distinct. However, one should say that our intention was simply to try to reconcile two fundamental *predictions* about the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes. It was never our goal to conciliate or articulate the two fundamental approaches that underlie each prediction. Instead we opted to separate the approaches.

⁵³ When an outgroup is presented as similar or dissimilar in one dimension, and no information is given about the other dimension, individuals may manage the image of the ingroup by compensating a possible negative image on one situation with a positive image on the other.

It is not as important for us to argue that one hypothesis comes from the Social Identity Approach and the other from the Goal Interdependence Approach, as it is to define the domain of applicability of each hypothesis. It is not of interest to this work to prefer one over the other. It is of interest, conversely, to give salience to the different focuses of the different theories and discuss how these allow us to understand the different dynamics of the consequences of the perception of similarity and dissimilarity. In the phenomenon, all the effects were together. Our work tried to separate them in order to understand the distinct processes. And that separation was based on the distinction between dimensions. So, our articulation was to say that each perspective is correct in a certain context. In a way, it is an example of the “*dodo bird verdict*”. Like Scheepers and colleagues (2002) remembered when trying to distinguish the different functions of ingroup bias, emerging from these two traditions, this dodo bird verdict is a reference to the dodo character of “Alice in Wonderland” (Carroll, 1865/1962 cit. by Scheepers and colleagues, 2002) that when asked to act as a referee during a race, said that everybody had won and that everybody should get prizes. So, to a certain extent, it is exactly that: both approaches are right, in the right context.

Nonetheless, this is not a conciliation of the two fundamental approaches. To conciliate these approaches, in the strict sense of the word, is a herculean task though very valuable to the meta-theoretical development of social psychology (Duckitt, 2002).

2.6 – Scope of results

One final consideration is related to a limitation concerning the scope of the results obtained herein and provides indications for future research. In this vein, it must be mentioned that all the work developed for this thesis was conceived having in mind the perspective of the host society members. In particular, the work was derived from a preoccupation with the attitudes that the Portuguese express towards immigrants. However, two fundamental questions may emerge when we think about other domains and whether these hypotheses and findings can be applied in other contexts.

First of all, one can wonder whether these hypotheses and findings can be applied to the immigrants’ point of view. And then, one can even ponder further by questioning about the applicability of these findings in a context of intergroup interaction that is not characterized by this asymmetry of host society/immigrants.

Thus, on the one hand, we consider to be dealing with basic and fundamental psychological processes that should, in principle, be applicable to a wide variety of situations. On the other hand, one can also think of the core influence that the context plays in shaping those processes. With this in mind, let us reflect upon the applicability of these ideas on those two contexts.

Concerning the immigrants' point of view, we could first of all recognize the rareness of this perspective (Crocker, Major & Steele, 1998; Lopes & Vala, 2004). In fact, most of the work conducted under the topic of migration is focused on the point of view of the host society/majority, even though some authors have alerted for the importance of considering both points of view (e.g. Bourhis and colleagues, 1997). Thus, we recognize the importance of considering immigrants' point of view.

At first, we can imagine that the same mechanisms mentioned before would take place and would determine the immigrants' attitudes. However, a fundamental distinction can be identified. The relationship between host society members and immigrants is characterized by an aspect that exists implicitly almost as a taboo. By this we mean that the majority of the host society members seem to act as if they are embedded with a "right of precedence" that grants them with a supposed authority *over* the immigrants. This idea is in some way conveyed in Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) in the sense that these attitudes of the majority members seem to build on the idea of a social hierarchy consisting of a hegemonic group at the top (host society) and negative groups at the bottom (immigrant groups).

This hegemonic posture can be observed in several situations. For instance, the designation of immigrants as ethnic minorities implies that this group has a "particular *ethnos*" as opposed to the majority group which serves as a normative reference having no *ethnos*. This hegemonic tendency can also be observed in the conception of questionnaires and surveys. For example, in the formulation that is chosen by some of the authors that work with acculturation scales. Most items begin with the expression: "Immigrants *should* (e.g. maintain their culture of origin; Bourhis and colleagues, 1997). Psychologically, this posture seems to build on a feeling of "legitimacy".

Considering that the immigrants may have internalized this asymmetry, one could expect their attitudes to be moderated by this lack of "legitimacy" and, therefore, different patterns may emerge in this case. The idea that the immigrants' point of view is distinct from the point of view of the majority or host society has been proposed

before (e.g. Deaux, 2000). In fact, Deaux alerts to the fact that “In the context of immigration, members of the ingroup and the outgroup are not interchangeable and the perspectives of the two groups are not necessarily symmetrical. Rather the members of an ingroup host country typically have higher status and more privilege compared to the members of the immigrant group.” (p. 424).

Demoulin, Leyens and Dovidio (in press) also argue on the fact that the perspectives of the different groups in the interaction are not interchangeable, stating that the immigrant groups (and minorities and low status groups) often perceive the situation differently, carry different goals and employ different strategies from the host society/majority (see also Barreto & Ellemers, 2003). Adding to this limitation of rarely considering the immigrant’s point of view, Demoulin and colleagues (in press) notice that what is even rarer in studies on intergroup relations is the analysis of both points of view *simultaneously* (e.g. Monteiro, Guerra & Rebelo, in press; see also Judd, Park, Ryan, Brauer & Kraus, 1995).

To address these limitations, further studies would have to be conducted using a full ingroup-outgroup design where immigrants’ attitudes would thus also be collected. The use of minimal groups could also be considered even though adjustments would have to be made in order to incorporate this particular feature mirroring the referred asymmetry.

Concerning intergroup interactions other than the host society members/immigrants interaction, we would expect the same patterns found in our studies to occur in this case. The preoccupations underlying intergroup attitudes would be the same. While we consider that the asymmetry would not exist nor there would be a legitimacy of one group to act over the other, the results should emerge in a similar pattern. Even though one could expect a possible decrease in the intensity of those attitudes, past studies seem to suggest otherwise. In fact, Jetten and colleagues (2001) obtained results consistent with the ideas defended in this work using students from one university as ingroup and students from other university as the outgroup. Similarly, Brown and Abrams (1986) obtained results supporting the moderating role of goal interdependence on the effects of intergroup similarity in a setting that compared two secondary schools.

Thus, we consider that even though this work was conducted with an incorporated perspective that gives more salience to members of a host society that receives immigrants, it has, nonetheless, highlighted some fundamental mechanisms that, to a certain extent, could emerge in other contexts. However, we also acknowledge that when we ponder on the applicability of these hypotheses in other contexts we realize that other factors must be taken into account. Thus, in order to come up with a *universal* perspective on the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes that can be applied to all types of groups one risks the loss of parsimony. Though this idea may seem negative, one should bear in mind that some of the most fundamental models and theories in social psychology that are seen as basic and parsimonious, in some cases, put together a large set of variables. Take for example, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). While one could think of SIT as a simple theory on the effects of categorization, the fact is that it invokes three distinct psychological mechanisms (categorization, identity and self-esteem) to explain the emergence of several intergroup differentiation strategies. At the same time, it defines three contextual conditions (permeability of boundaries, stability and legitimacy of status differences) that determine the effects of those mechanisms on the strategy chosen. Therefore, one should not expect the topic of the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes to be a simple and parsimonious one. That is in fact why we devoted more attention to one simple topic within the vastness of this area, which is the topic of attitudes of majority members towards immigrants.

Thus, considering this specific topic, even though one can think of all these limitations, it should be mentioned that we consider having enough support to the hypotheses advanced in this thesis. In fact, the following aspects should be taken into account.

This work involved a theoretical articulation of classical approaches with up to date refinements which culminated in a scientifically sound argument that allowed the designing of experiments. These experiments were conducted using different manipulations of similarity/dissimilarity and goal interdependence and different measures of ingroup identification and attitudes towards immigrants. The manipulations of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity varied both in layout and content. Concerning the layout, the manipulations were given through means of false information - whether as results of fake/mock studies or within fake/mock news – or inducing the recruitment of mental exemplars. In terms of content, similarity and dissimilarity referred to distinct

aspects such as importance of family, dedication to others, personality characteristics (interpersonal and work-related traits) and academic abilities and achievements.

Almost 700 individuals participated in the studies. Though the respondents were always university students, these were from different scientific areas - such as psychology, sociology, human resources, management, computer science, nursing and others – and from different regional areas, coming from Coimbra, Lisbon and Setubal.

All these aspects allow us to attribute validity to the following concluding remarks.

Concluding Remarks

If the question that this work intended to answer is “What are the effects of perceiving intergroup similarity or dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes?”, then the answer is – as it is so often in scientific work – it depends! The main conclusion of this work is indeed that the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity *depend on the dimension* to which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to.

Different dimensions do indeed elicit different processes. When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along a symbolic (and relevant) dimension, then the effects on intergroup attitudes will be moderated by ingroup identification, in such a way that low identified individuals will have more positive attitudes towards a similar than toward a dissimilar outgroup, and highly identified individuals will express the opposite pattern.

When intergroup similarity/dissimilarity is defined along an instrumental dimension, then the effects on intergroup attitudes will be moderated by the perception of goal interdependence, in such a way that in a condition of perceived competition (or negative interdependence) a similar outgroup will be targeted with more negative attitudes than a dissimilar and inferior outgroup but will be targeted with less negative attitudes than a dissimilar and superior outgroup; and in a condition of cooperation, the effects will reveal an opposite trend.

Thus, the point to be made is that a clearer understanding of the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity on intergroup attitudes depends on the integration of the literature arguing for this symbolic-instrumental distinction with the classical theories on intergroup behaviour from which different predictions on the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity are derived. This integration will allow for the conclusion that the dimension to which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to constitutes a factor that has to be considered when analyzing the relationship between intergroup similarity/dissimilarity and intergroup attitudes and the factors that moderate that relationship.

An approach that considers the dimension to which intergroup similarity/dissimilarity refers to is important not only because it articulates two basic factors in group dynamics (ingroup identification and goal interdependence) with the classical distinction between symbolic and instrumental aspects, but also because it uses

this articulation to explain the effects of one of the most important determinants of intergroup relations: intergroup similarity/dissimilarity.

Especially in the field of immigration, namely in the topic of attitudes towards immigrants, it is extremely important to consider both the dynamics of similarity and dissimilarity and this distinction between dimensions, since these attitudes are heavily marked by this distinction between symbolic and instrumental aspects and this distinction influences the meaning of perceived similarity and dissimilarity. However, these two aspects do not cover all the spectrum of factors affecting attitudes towards immigrants or towards any other outgroups.

In fact, as Allport (1954) often emphasized, the understanding of prejudice and negative attitudes towards other groups requires complex models and a multilayered perspective. Hence, we do not claim to have solved the issue. We are just claiming that one of the factors contributing to these attitudes is the perceived intergroup similarity/dissimilarity. And the way in which this factor influences intergroup attitudes is not straightforward and is in itself multilayered, but if we needed to give salience to one aspect, it would certainly be that *different dimensions lead to different processes*.

Future Directions

Along this discussion, several aspects were pointed out as potential work to be conducted to address limitations of these studies. However, it is possible to identify some potential directions that the work on this topic could take that are not related with limitations. We shall focus on two of these directions that share the orientation of adding a dynamic view to the phenomenon in analysis.

1) The first aspect that could be developed within the study of the effects of intergroup similarity/dissimilarity would be to conceive the manipulations of similarity and dissimilarity in the form of two competing *interethnic approaches*: an approach promoting the value of diversity and an ideology promoting the importance of cohesion and similarity. While the studies conducted within this thesis analysed the Portuguese's attitudes towards a "present situation" where a configuration of intergroup similarity and dissimilarity is described (i.e. manipulated), these new studies could analyse the Portuguese's attitudes towards a "future situation", collecting the participants' attitudes towards approaches that describe how an "ethnically" diverse society should optimally function. Thus, these approaches or "ideologies" could serve whether as manipulations of similarity/dissimilarity – in this case the effects would then be observed on attitudes towards outgroups after the participants being primed with such approaches – or as dependent variables by analysing what the individual feels about each approach (see Park & Judd, 2005). Another advantage of such an approach would be the fact that this structure of manipulations would be closer to the way how these issues are often discussed in the public setting.

2) The other way of adding a dynamic view to the analysis of this phenomenon would be at the level of the dependent variables. Instead of asking the general attitude towards immigrants or how strong the individuals oppose to the coming of this immigrant group (after the immigrant group has been depicted as similar or dissimilar), one could ask about the individuals' acculturation attitudes (e.g. Berry and colleagues, 1989; Bourhis and colleagues, 1997). When asked from the majority point of view, these acculturation attitudes convey information about whether the host society members want immigrants to adapt (becoming similar) or not (remaining different).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A - Example of news sheet used in Study 1

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[1.º Caderno](#)
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[Actual](#)
[Opinião](#)
[Edições Anteriores](#)
[Pesquisa](#)
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«Imigrantes: Semelhantes ou Diferentes?»

Emília Sousa



Recentemente, realizou-se um estudo antropológico em vários países europeus (Inglaterra, França, Espanha e Portugal) que procurou caracterizar as populações imigrantes de cada país, em termos das suas características dominantes. Em Portugal, o estudo foi da responsabilidade do Centro de Estudos Antropológicos (CEA) e comparou as características dominantes dos cidadãos portugueses com as dos Imigrantes de Leste. O estudo do CEA efectuou-se através da observação continuada em contexto natural de 124 Imigrantes de Leste e de igual número de Portugueses. Os resultados mostram que tanto os imigrantes como os portugueses podem ser considerados, essencialmente, como *Apolíneos*. Segundo a mesma fonte, tal significa que as características que mais se salientam nos Imigrantes de Leste e nos Portugueses são as características de "sociável", "tolerante" e "sincero".

De facto, os investigadores do CEA, responsáveis pelo estudo no contexto nacional, estimaram que cerca de 69% dos Imigrantes apresentavam, predominantemente, as características "tolerante" e "sincero" e apenas 31% possuíam como principais traços as características dionisíacas, como "dócil" e "espontâneo". De forma quase idêntica, os portugueses apresentaram um padrão em que cerca de 75% apresentavam como características mais predominantes "tolerante" e "sincero" e em pouco mais de 25% dos portugueses, as características dionisíacas eram mais marcantes. (Figura 1).

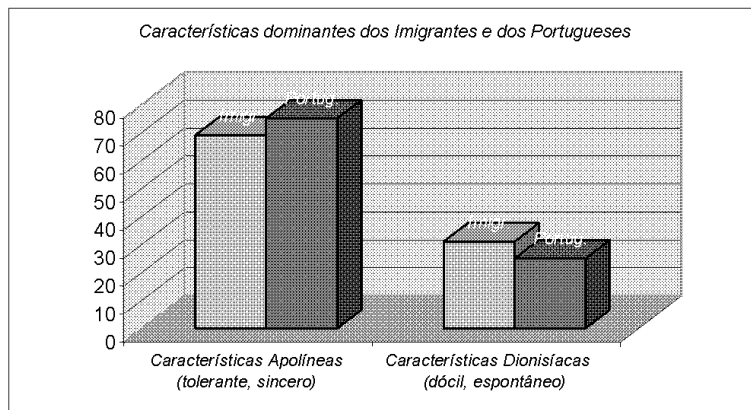


Figura 1. Características dominantes dos imigrantes e dos portugueses (Fonte: CEA)

De acordo com os investigadores, este estudo contribui para o conhecimento dos fenómenos migratórios no nosso país e na Europa.*

- Três gerações
Jorge Fiel
- Cresce e multiplica
vos
João Duque
- O Pacto e o crescimento
o
Avelino Crespo
- Em alta/em baixa
- Dez medidas para o Orçamento do Estado
Diogo Leão de Campos
- Competência e transparência
João M. Loureiro
- Desorden da cobiça
José A. Tavares
- Sobre a água virtual
Jorge Rio Cardoso
- O mundo dos outros
José Cutileiro
- Cartas

APPENDIX B - Example of news sheet used in Study 2

DN TEMA

NACIONAL

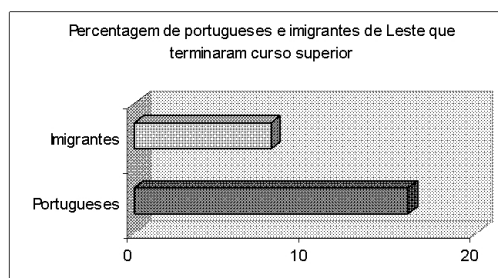
EDITORIAL

ECONOMIA

Portugueses e Imigrantes: Semelhantes ou Diferentes?

Rosa Santos

Um estudo recente, da responsabilidade do Centro de Estudos de Antropologia Contemporânea (CEAC), comparou os cidadãos portugueses com os imigrantes de Leste. Uma amostra de 1300 portugueses e, sensivelmente, igual número de imigrantes de Leste respondeu a um questionário cobrindo as mais diversas questões e os mais variados aspectos do quotidiano de ambas as populações.



Os resultados revestem-se de interesse por mostrarem como os imigrantes de Leste são bastante diferentes dos portugueses em aspectos como a educação e formação, nomeadamente em termos da percentagem de pessoas que terminam a escolaridade obrigatória e de pessoas que terminam um curso superior. De facto, e a título de exemplo, os resultados revelam que os imigrantes de Leste e os portugueses com média etária equivalente, apresentam um número muito diferente de pessoas que possuem um curso superior (Figura 1).

Assim, os dados mostram que existe uma maior percentagem de portugueses que terminaram um curso superior (16%) do que em relação aos imigrantes de Leste, em que apenas cerca de 8% terminaram um curso superior (ver figura).

De acordo com os investigadores, este estudo contribui para o conhecimento das dinâmicas decorrentes dos fenómenos migratórios no nosso país e na Europa.

Portugueses e Imigrantes de Leste: competição ou cooperação?

Rita Araújo

No âmbito de um estudo realizado pelo Centro de Estudos de Antropologia Contemporânea (CEAC) que procurou comparar imigrantes de Leste com cidadãos portugueses (ver notícia acima), várias questões procuraram aferir as relações entre portugueses e imigrantes na sociedade portuguesa.

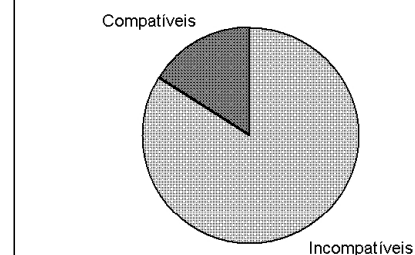
Os dados apontam consistentemente a existência de um consenso em torno da ideia segundo a qual portugueses e imigrantes de Leste têm interesses que se podem considerar incompatíveis nos domínios cultural e social e nos domínios da economia e do emprego.

De facto, e a título de exemplo, em resposta à pergunta "Portugueses e imigrantes de Leste têm interesses compatíveis ou incompatíveis?", a quase totalidade dos portugueses inquiridos (84%) referiu que estes interesses são efectivamente incompatíveis, enquanto que apenas 16% acredita que os interesses são conciliáveis. Assim, está patente a ideia de que para um grupo estar melhor, o outro grupo tem de estar necessariamente pior.

Tais resultados vêm sustentar a ideia, avançada por outros de que portugueses e imigrantes vivem num clima de verdadeira competição.

Os investigadores do CEAC responsáveis pelo estudo afirmam que o conhecimento das percepções dos portugueses contribui para o entendimento das relações entre estes e imigrantes.

Interesses de portugueses e imigrantes de Leste



**APPENDIX C - Report of the pre-test of interpersonal and
work-related traits (Studies 3a and 3b)**

Report of the pre-test of interpersonal and work-related traits

This report describes the results of the study conducted to pre-test the traits used in Studies 3a and 3b. Thirty-eight psychology undergraduates (89% females) participated in the study, by filling out a questionnaire where they evaluated the valence and nature of several traits.

List of traits used in the studies:

Interpersonal traits (Symbolic dimension):

Friendly, humble, lovely, generous, affectionate, kind, solidary, warm.

Work-related traits (Instrumental dimension):

Hard-working, competent, motivated, talented, organized, determined, responsible, entrepreneur

The traits used had to be clearly evaluated as positive and clearly considered as more related to interpersonal relations or more related to work settings.

Valence

Traits were evaluated in a scale from 1 (very negative) to 7 (very positive). All traits had to be evaluated significantly above the midpoint (4)

Next, a table is presented containing the means (and standard deviations) of attributed valence to each trait.

Table 1. Means (and Standard deviations) of attributed valence to each trait

Trait	M	SD
Friendly	6.26**	.724
Humble	5.92**	.912
Lovely	6.05**	.868
Generous	6.16**	.855
Affectionate	6.05**	.804
Kind	5.92**	1.24
Solidary	6.18**	.865
Warm	5.95**	.868
Hard-Working	6.03**	.854
Competent	4.37*	1.12
Motivated	6.08**	.941
Talented	5.82**	.955
Organized	5.50**	1.03
Determined	5.95**	.899
Responsible	6.16**	.886
Entrepreneur	5.79**	.963

** Significantly different from the midpoint (4) at $p < .001$

* Significantly different from the midpoint (4) at $p < .05$

Globally, interpersonal traits were evaluated (marginally) more positively than work-related traits. ($M_{\text{interpersonal}} = 6.06$; $M_{\text{workrelated}} = 5.86$; $t(1,37) = 1.83$; $p < .08$).

Interpersonal vs Work-related

Participants were asked if they considered each trait to be more related to interpersonal relations or more work-related. The scale used ranged from 1 (more related to interpersonal relations) to 7 (more work-related). All traits had to be considered significantly different from the mid-point (4). Interpersonal traits had to be evaluated significantly below the midpoint (< 4). Work-related traits had to be evaluated significantly above the midpoint (> 4).

Table 2. Means of relatedness to Interpersonal vs. Work settings

Trait	M	SD
Friendly	1.89**	1.085
Humble	2.92**	1.402
Lovely	2.34**	1.400
Generous	2.42**	1.081
Affectionate	1.82**	.766
Kind	2.74**	1.178
Solidary	2.66**	1.146
Warm	3.11**	1.467
Hard-Working	6.39**	.718
Competent	6.03**	.822
Motivated	5.53**	1.059
Talented	5.63**	1.076
Organized	5.84**	.855
Determined	5.39**	1.028
Responsible	5.24**	1.173
Entrepreneur	4.89**	1.158

** Significantly different from the midpoint (4) at $p < .00$

