

Intergroup Helping as Status Relations: Effects of Status Stability, Identification, and Type of Help on Receptivity to High-Status Group's Help

Arie Nadler
Tel Aviv University

Samer Halabi
University of Haifa

Integrating research on social identity processes and helping relations, the authors proposed that low-status group members who are high identifiers will be unwilling to receive help from the high-status group when status relations are perceived as unstable and help is dependency-oriented. The first experiment, a minimal group experiment, found negative reactions to help from a high-status outgroup when status relations were unstable. The 2nd and 3rd experiments, which used real groups of Israeli Arabs and Israeli Jews, replicated this finding and showed that high identifiers were less receptive to help from the high-status outgroup than low identifiers. The 4th experiment, a help-seeking experiment with real groups of competing high schools, found that the least amount of help was sought from a high-status group by high identifiers when status relations were perceived as unstable and help was dependency-oriented. Theoretical and applied implications are discussed.

Keywords: reactions to help, help-seeking, perceived status stability, ingroup identification, dependency-/autonomy-oriented help

In his classic essay *The Gift*, anthropologist Marcel Mauss (1907/1957) described the tribal custom of potlatch, in which a clan leader engages in lavish displays of gift-giving to other clan leaders. Mauss noted that the “motives for such excessive gifts . . . are in no way disinterested. . . . To give is to show one’s superiority” (p. 72). This is group-based behavior in that tribal leaders establish their hierarchical position “to the ultimate benefit . . . of *their own clan*” (italics added, p. 4). For recipients of potlatch, “to accept without returning . . . [is] to become client and subservient” (p. 72). Phrased in the language of modern social psychology, this suggests that helping relations can be mechanisms through which groups create, maintain, and change status relations.

The present research examined the willingness of low-status group members to seek and receive help from a high-status outgroup as affected by the perceived stability of intergroup status relations, the ingroup identification of the recipient, and type of help (i.e., autonomy- or dependency-oriented help). The research hypotheses follow the model of intergroup helping as status relations (Nadler, 2002), which draws on social identity research (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and helping relations (Bierhoff, 2002; Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin, & Schroeder, 2005; Schroeder, Penner, Dovidio, & Piliavin, 1995). The present research represents the first empirical effort to assess the major tenets of this model.

Arie Nadler, Department of Psychology, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv, Israel; Samer Halabi, Department of Psychology, University of Haifa, Haifa, Israel.

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Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Arie Nadler, Department of Psychology, Tel Aviv University, Ramat Aviv 69978, Israel. E-mail: arie@freud.tau.ac.il

SOCIAL IDENTITY PERSPECTIVE

Over the last three decades, the social identity perspective on intergroup relations (Turner & Reynolds, 2001) has progressed in two complementary lines of research and theory: social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) and self-categorization theory (Tajfel, 1978; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Self-categorization theory holds that people’s identity fluctuates across a continuum ranging from individual (e.g., “I am a generous person”) to social (e.g., “I am a fan of a particular soccer team”) identity, and research has explored variables that affect the movement between these two poles and its consequences (e.g., Onorato & Turner, 2004; Roccas, 2003). Social identity theory originated with the pioneering work of Tajfel and his colleagues, who argued that in their quest for positive identity, group members positively distinguish themselves from outgroups by discriminating against them (i.e., Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In support of this, research has demonstrated that the division of people into groups, even on a relatively insignificant dimension (e.g., as *specific* vs. *global* perceivers), is sufficient to produce ingroup favoritism (i.e., discrimination against that outgroup) and outgroup devaluation (e.g., Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1999).

More recent research indicates that the phenomena of ingroup favoritism and outgroup devaluation are affected by the status of the ingroup and the outgroup (Bourhis & Gagnon, 2003). Whereas members of high-status groups show greater discrimination toward low- than equal-status groups (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1991), low-status groups sometimes exhibit outgroup favoritism: When they have internalized their low status, they favor the high-status outgroup on dimensions of comparison that are related to their status inferiority (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987). The inconsistency that is created between outgroup favoritism and people’s general need for positive identity can be resolved by *individual mobility* (joining the high-status group), *social creativity* (e.g., reframing the intergroup

comparison in a way that favors the ingroup), or *social competition* (working to elevate the status of the ingroup through social change; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social competition is more likely when members of the low-status group perceive the existing status hierarchy as relatively unstable and illegitimate and intergroup boundaries as impermeable (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). When status relations are perceived as illegitimate and unstable, members of low-status groups are likely to view the existing social hierarchy as changeable, and because the impermeability of intergroup boundaries prevents individual mobility, they are expected to channel their motivation for social equality toward elevating ingroup status. Regarding the differential effects of perceived legitimacy and perceived stability, research has indicated that variations in levels of perceived stability have stronger effects on the behavior and perceptions of low-status group members toward the high-status outgroup (e.g., Ellemers, Wilke, & van Knippenberg, 1993; Mummendey, Klink, Mielke, Wenzel, & Blanz, 1999). Because the present focus is on behavior and perceptions directed at the high-status outgroup helper, we centered our attention on the effects of perceived stability on receptivity to help from the high-status group.

HELPING RELATIONS AS POWER RELATIONS

Helping relations are inherently unequal social relations. The helper has sufficient resources to confer on a recipient, who is dependent on the helper's goodwill. This inequality makes receiving help a potentially self-threatening experience for the beneficiary (Nadler & Fisher, 1986). In this line, empirical research has found that when help is self-threatening, people respond negatively to its receipt (e.g., Nadler, 1987; Nadler & Fisher, 1986) and prefer to endure hardships rather than seek it (Nadler, 1991). Yet, this research has converged almost exclusively on interpersonal helping encounters. In an exception to this interpersonal focus, Schneider, Major, Luhtanen, and Crocker (1996) studied reactions to interracial help and found that African American participants who received assumptive help (i.e., unsolicited help) from a European American experienced lower self-esteem than African Americans who received assumptive help from a fellow African American. Similar findings were reported in a study that examined the reactions of Arab-Israelis to the receipt of help from a Jewish-Israeli as opposed to an Arab-Israeli helper (Halabi, 2003). The study found that Arab-Israeli recipients reported lower self-evaluations when they were helped by Jewish-Israelis (the dominant group in Israeli society) than when they were helped by Arab-Israelis (the less dominant group). Taken together, these studies suggest two implications. First, it seems that when there is a salient distinction between social groups, as is the case for African Americans and European Americans in the United States and Arabs and Jews in Israel, interpersonal helping encounters between members of these groups tend to be experienced as an intergroup interaction. In support of this, Suleiman (2004) noted that in Israeli society, interactions between Israeli Arabs and Israeli Jews are perceived by participants as intergroup encounters even when they take the form of interpersonal dialogue (Suleiman, 2004). Second, these studies may be interpreted to indicate that because dependency on the high-status outgroup reinforces its dominant position, help from a member of the dominant outgroup is threatening to recipients from the low-status group. This conclusion is echoed in discussions that note that being on the receiving end of affirmative

action programs can be a stigmatizing experience for its beneficiaries (Pratkanis & Turner, 1996; Steele, 1992).

The autonomy or dependency orientation of help may also influence whether dependence on a more privileged outgroup will threaten the recipient's social identity (Nadler, 1997, 1998). *Dependency-oriented help* consists of providing a *full solution* to the problem at hand and reflects the helper's view that the needy cannot help themselves. When recipients agree that they cannot make it on their own, dependency-oriented help is consistent with their view of themselves and they may readily seek and accept it. However, when recipients believe they can succeed independently, dependency-oriented help is inconsistent with their view of themselves as capable actors. In this case, potential recipients of help are likely to reject offers of dependency-oriented help and refrain from seeking it. *Autonomy-oriented help* is *partial* and *temporary* (e.g., taking the form of instructions or hints) and reflects the helper's view that given the appropriate tools, recipients can help themselves (Brickman et al., 1982). Autonomy-oriented help allows recipients to retain their independence despite their reliance on the more resourceful helper (Nadler, 1997, 1998). Therefore this type of help is not likely to clash with recipients' view of themselves as capable and equal actors. Applied to the present research context, this suggests that dependency-oriented help, but not autonomy-oriented help, will be inconsistent with the low-status group's motivation for equality. Because this motivation grows higher when status relations are perceived as unstable, members of low-status groups are expected to be reluctant to seek or receive dependency-oriented help under these conditions.

Intergroup Helping Relations as Status Relations

Figure 1 is a schematic representation of intergroup helping as status relations (Nadler, 2002). It suggests two clusters of intergroup helping relations: (a) when status relations are perceived as stable and legitimate and (b) when they are viewed as unstable and illegitimate. In the first case, the high-status group is expected to try to maintain its social advantage by providing *dependency-oriented* help to the low-status group. Under these conditions, the low-status group is expected to be receptive to dependency-oriented help. When status relations are perceived as unstable and illegitimate, members of the high-status group view their privileged position as being threatened and are expected to try to reaffirm their social advantage through increased efforts to provide dependency-oriented help to the low-status group. Under these conditions, members of low-status groups—which should be motivated to gain equal status—are expected to react negatively to the receipt of dependency-oriented help from the high-status group and be willing to seek such help only when it is autonomy-oriented.

The Role of Ingroup Identification

The model of intergroup helping does not account for the effects of individual variation between group members. Yet, research on social identity shows that not all ingroup members respond to threats to ingroup identity the same way. These responses are affected by individuals' identification with their group. Members who identify strongly with the ingroup are more defensive when ingroup identity is threatened. They express stronger identification with the "threatened" ingroup, more ingroup fa-

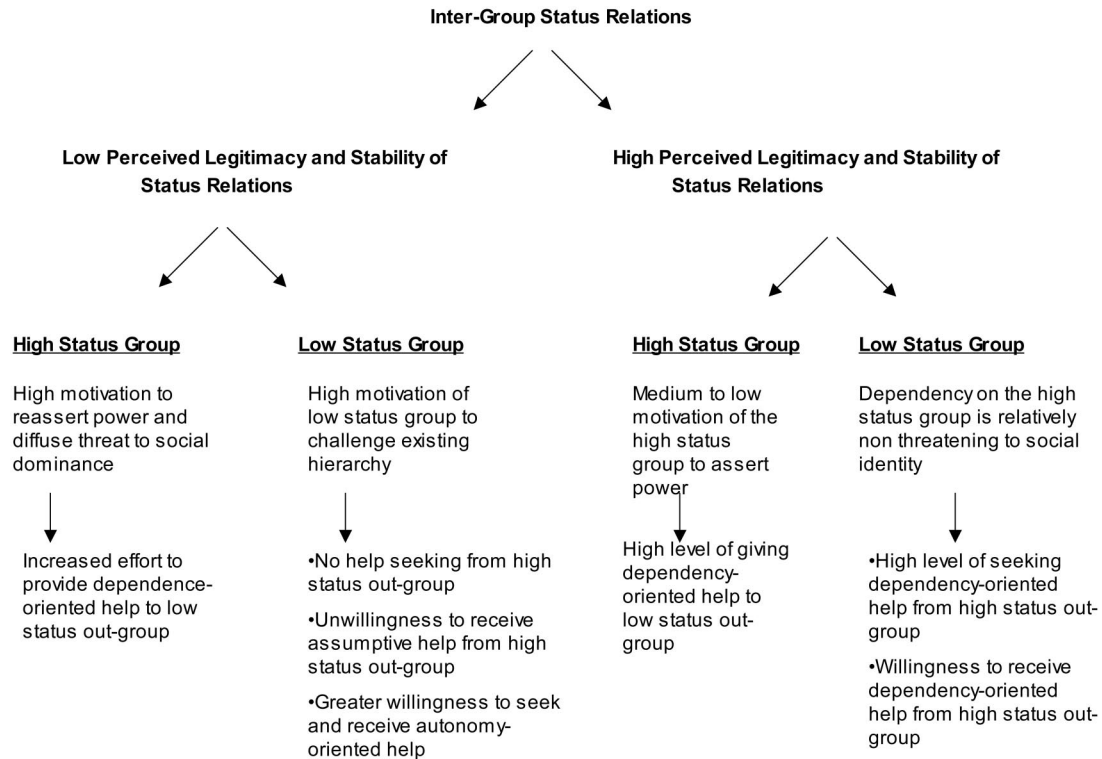


Figure 1. Intergroup helping relations as affected by perceived legitimacy and stability of power relations between groups. From "Inter-group helping relations as power relations: Maintaining or challenging social dominance between groups through helping," by A. Nadler, 2002, *Journal of Social Issues*, 58, 487–502. Copyright 2002 by Blackwell Publishing. Reprinted with permission.

voritism, and increased stereotyping against the outgroup, whereas low identifiers lower their identification with the ingroup (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999). Also, threat to social identity increases the perceptions, particularly among those who identify highly with their group (Doosje, Spears, Ellemers, & Koomen, 1999), of the homogeneity of members of the ingroup and of the outgroup (Rothgerber, 1997). Applied to the present context of intergroup helping, we expect the reluctance of low-status group members to receive or seek dependency-oriented help from the high-status group to be more characteristic of high ingroup identifiers than low identifiers. We do not expect similar differences when help is autonomy-oriented.

PRESENT RESEARCH AND HYPOTHESES

The present studies focused on the reactions and behaviors of low-status group members to offers of help from the high-status group as affected by the perceived stability of intergroup status relations, their degree of ingroup identification, and the dependency- or autonomy-oriented nature of help. The first study was a minimal group experiment and assessed the link between the perceived stability of status relations and reactions to receiving help from a high-status group. The second experiment examined the same link with real groups (i.e., Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs). The third experiment used the same Arab-Israeli and Jewish-Israeli intergroup context to examine the effects of ingroup identification on the reactions of low-status

group members to help from the high-status outgroup. The fourth experiment used a different real group context (two competing high schools) to examine help-seeking behavior as affected by the perceived stability of intergroup status relations, degree of ingroup identification, and the autonomy- versus dependency-oriented nature of help.

Our main predictions rest on our theorizing that when status relations are perceived as relatively unstable, dependence on the high-status outgroup is inconsistent with group members' quest for equality and results in a threat to social identity. This threat should be expressed in relatively low affect, drive group members to positively distinguish the ingroup by discriminating against and devaluing the outgroup, and perceive the ingroup and the outgroup as more homogeneous (Studies 1 and 2). These reactions to help will be more characteristic of high than low ingroup identifiers (Study 3). Finally, high identifiers are expected to be the least willing to seek needed help from the high-status outgroup when status relations are perceived as unstable and dependency-oriented help is offered (Study 4).

STUDY 1

Method

Participants and Design

The first experiment used the minimal group paradigm and consisted of a 2 (help vs. no help) \times 2 (stable vs. unstable status relations) between-

participants experimental design. Sixty-seven Israeli undergraduate students ages 19 to 24 years (44 female and 23 male, equally distributed across the four experimental cells) participated in the experiment.

Procedure

Participants were seated in individual booths and were told that they were participating in a study of the links between perceptual style, integrative thinking abilities, and social decision making. We informed participants that people usually fall into either of two perceptual style categories, *global perceivers* or *specific perceivers*, and that global perceivers have higher integrative abilities. We then had participants take the dot estimation task (Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1996), which would ostensibly determine which perceptual style they belonged to. On completing the task, all participants learned that they were specific perceivers (i.e., that they belonged to the group with lower integrative abilities).

Independent Variable Manipulation

Stability of status relations. In the *stable status* condition, participants were told that the designation of individuals as specific or global perceivers tends to remain consistent across multiple administrations of the dot estimation task. In the *unstable status* condition, participants were informed that the distinction between the two groups is somewhat inconsistent and may change from test to test (for a similar manipulation of perceived status stability, see Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2000; Turner & Brown, 1978).

Help versus no help. Participants were told that in the next part of the experiment they would work in pairs to complete a task requiring integrative ability and that each pair would include one specific and one global perceiver; the other pair member was said to be working in another room. Each participant would be asked to solve 20 anagrams, and participants were informed that students like themselves could usually solve 12 of these 20 anagrams in the allotted time. However, they had to solve at least 10 anagrams to proceed to the next phase of the experiment. To make the second phase of the experiment seem more appealing, we told participants that those who made it to the next phase would have the chance of winning a large monetary prize.

Following these instructions, the 20 anagrams appeared consecutively on the computer screen. Each anagram was presented for 5 s. On the basis of a pilot test, we predetermined that 8 of the anagrams were easily soluble and the other 12 extremely difficult. At the end of the anagram test, participants learned that they had solved 8 anagrams correctly, whereas the outgroup member (i.e., a global perceiver) had solved 14 anagrams correctly. At this point a message appeared on the screen stating that to compensate for decrements in performance due to time pressure, participants would be given 2 more minutes to work on the anagrams they had not been able to solve. We told the participants that because students in past sessions had asked to communicate with their pair member, they could now do so by writing a message that the experimenter would deliver to the other participant. The experimenter then left the room and returned, 2 min later, with an envelope containing a message from the other participant (the *help* condition). The message stated: "It seems that you're having some difficulty—let me help." The note included the solution to 4 of the difficult anagrams. In the *no-help* condition, participants were exposed to the same information but did not receive a message from the other participant.

At this point, before they could write a message of their own, participants were asked to respond to a number of questions. These included the dependent measures (measure of affect, ingroup favoritism, evaluation of the outgroup, and perceived homogeneity of the ingroup and outgroup). Participants were asked "how you experienced participation in the experiment" by choosing one of three possibilities: "The experiment feels like an interaction between (1) *groups*, (2) *representatives of two groups*, or (3) *two individual students*." This allowed us to ascertain that participants perceived the social interaction within the experiment as an intergroup

interaction. Following this, participants were fully debriefed and the experiment ended.¹

Manipulation Checks

Perceived stability of status relations. Participants were asked to name the group they belonged to (i.e., global or specific perceivers) and rate the degree to which they thought that the differences between global and specific perceivers would remain constant throughout the experiment, on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all constant*) to 7 (*very constant*).

Help versus no-help manipulation. At the beginning of the debriefing, participants were asked to report if they had received any information from their partner (i.e., the outgroup member) and to describe the nature of this communication.

Dependent Measures

We assessed recipients' reactions to receiving help in terms of affect, behavior (ingroup favoritism), and attitudes (evaluation of the outgroup and perceived homogeneity).

Affect. Participants were asked to rate "How I feel now" on nine bipolar adjectives: *good/bad*, *happy/sad*, *negative/positive*, *strong/weak*, *calm/nervous*, *angry/not angry*, *satisfied/dissatisfied*, *secure/insecure*, and *successful/unsuccessful*. Because of the high internal consistency between items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$), ratings were summed to obtain a single measure of affect, with higher scores indicating higher affect.

Ingroup favoritism. As noted previously, the experiment was presented as assessing the links among perceptual style, integrative thinking abilities, and social decision making. It was indicated to participants that as part of a social decision-making task, they were now asked to divide a hypothetical sum of 3,000 New Israeli Shekels (NIS; equivalent to roughly \$700) between a member of "your group—that is, a specific perceiver—and a person who belongs to the group of global perceivers." Participants were to choose one of seven alternatives: three representing ingroup favoritism (1,800/1,200 NIS, 1,700/1,300 NIS, and 1,600/1,400 NIS for the ingroup and outgroup, respectively), one representing equal division (1,500 NIS to each group), and three representing outgroup favoritism (1,200/1,800 NIS, 1,300/1,700 NIS, and 1,400/1,600 NIS to the ingroup and outgroup, respectively; see Federico, 1998, for a similar assessment of ingroup favoritism).

Evaluation of the outgroup. This was measured on six 7-point bipolar adjectives. Although the internal consistency for these items was relatively high (Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$), it increased when ratings for the aggressive/nonaggressive item were deleted (to $\alpha = .89$). This, together with previous findings that reactions to assumptive help from a high-status outgroup are characterized by feelings of hostility toward the helper (Schneider et al., 1996), suggested that the ratings of the outgroup on aggressiveness represented a relatively different dimension than the overall evaluation. This was borne out in a factor analysis, using varimax rotation, which yielded two distinct factors: The first, accounting for 58% of the variance, was a general evaluation factor (i.e., ratings on honest/dishonest, high abilities/low abilities, successful/unsuccessful, trustworthy/untrustworthy, and dependable/not dependable), and the second, accounting for 18% of the

¹ Of the participants, 21% (13 out of 62) wrote back a note to the other participant (i.e., the outgroup member). Six were in the stable status/help cell, 3 in the unstable status/help cell, and 4 in the stable status/no-help cell. This small number does not allow for statistical analyses, yet the contents of the messages are revealing and are consistent with our theoretical logic. All 6 messages in the stable status/help cell consisted of hopeful expectations for future cooperation, words of thanks, and the like. The 4 messages in the stable status/no-help condition were all informative requests (e.g., "Did you do well?" and "Was it hard?"). All 3 messages in the unstable status/help condition included an element of resentment and were a variation on "Thanks, but I can handle it myself."

variance, consisted of ratings of the outgroup μ s aggressiveness (i.e., aggressive/nonaggressive). Higher scores on the first factor denote more favorable evaluation of the outgroup, and higher scores on the aggressiveness item denote more perceived aggressiveness.

Perceived homogeneity of ingroup and outgroup. Perceived homogeneity was measured by asking participants to indicate the degree to which specific perceivers were similar to each other (ingroup homogeneity) and the degree to which global perceivers were similar to each other (outgroup homogeneity). Both scales ranged from 1 (*not at all similar to each other*) to 7 (*very similar to each other*; see Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997, for a similar assessment).

Results

All of the participants correctly identified themselves as members of the specific-perceivers group. Five of the 67 participants perceived the interaction as an interpersonal interaction. They were evenly distributed across the four experimental cells (2 in one cell and 1 in each of the other three cells). The analyses reported here are based on the results of all 67 participants.² Analyses revealed no significant main effects or interactions involving gender, and it was therefore not included as a factor in subsequent analyses in this research.

Manipulation Checks

Status Manipulation

Participants in the stable status condition, more than participants in the unstable status condition, thought that the differences between the two groups would remain the same throughout the experiment; means were 4.60 and 3.50, respectively, $F(1, 65) = 8.07, p < .01$.

Help Manipulation

All participants in the help condition correctly remembered that they had received a communication from their partner and that this communication contained help.

Dependent Measures

Measure of Affect

A 2 (help vs. no help) \times 2 (stable vs. unstable status) analysis of variance (ANOVA) yielded a main effect for status stability, $F(1, 63) = 20.08, p < .001$, which is qualified by a significant Stability \times Help interaction, $F(1, 63) = 3.80, p < .05$. This interaction reflected the finding that participants who had received help in the unstable status condition had lower ratings of affect than those who had received help in the stable status condition; means were 3.20 and 4.58, respectively, $t(63) = 4.12, p < .001$. The comparable difference in the no-help condition was not significant; means were 4.10 and 4.80, respectively.

Ingroup Favoritism

A 2 (help vs. no help) \times 2 (stable vs. unstable status) ANOVA on the measure of ingroup favoritism revealed no significant effects. Although the predicted Help \times Stability interaction was not significant, $F(1, 63) < 1$, we tested the a priori hypotheses by comparing the mean score of ingroup favoritism in the unstable status/help cell to the stable status/help cell. This comparison

revealed that in line with our hypothesis, participants in the unstable status/help cell tended to be more discriminatory toward the outgroup than those in the stable status/help cell; means were 3.52 and 2.81, respectively, $F(1, 31) = 3.70, p < .07$. The comparable difference in the no-help condition was not significant; means were 3.10 and 2.70, respectively, $F(1, 32) < 1$.

Another approach to assessing the experimental hypothesis was to compare the percentages of ingroup favoritism choices. We collapsed the ingroup favoritism index, which assessed the magnitude of discrimination on a 7-point scale, into the three categories of ingroup favoritism, equal division, and outgroup favoritism. Because no participant made an outgroup favoritism choice, participants' allocation decisions were compared between the two categories of ingroup favoritism and equal division. As predicted, participants in the help/unstable status cell made significantly more ingroup favoritism choices than those in the help/stable status cell; average percentages were 62.5% and 23.5%, respectively, $\chi^2(1, N = 33) = 5.10, p < .05$. The equivalent comparison in the no-help condition was not significant; average percentages were 47% and 30%, respectively, $\chi^2(1, N = 34) = 1.12, ns$.

Evaluation of the Outgroup

A 2 (help vs. no help) \times 2 (stable vs. unstable status) ANOVA on the general evaluation score indicated that when status relations were perceived as unstable, the outgroup was evaluated less positively than when they were perceived as stable; means were 4.30 and 5.00, respectively, $F(1, 63) = 11.54, p < .001$. Also, participants who had received help rated the outgroup less favorably than those who had not received help; means were 4.40 and 4.80, respectively, $F(1, 63) = 4.70, p < .05$. The Stability \times Help interaction was not significant, $F(1, 63) < 1$.

A 2 (help vs. no help) \times 2 (stable vs. unstable status) ANOVA on perceived aggressiveness of the outgroup revealed a significant interaction, $F(1, 63) = 3.70, p < .05$. Participants who had received help viewed the outgroup as more aggressive when status relations were perceived as unstable than when they were perceived as stable; means were 3.60 and 4.50, respectively, $t(63) = 2.12, p < .05$. The difference between the stable and unstable status cells in the no-help condition was nonsignificant (means were 4.60 and 4.40, respectively).

Perceived Ingroup and Outgroup Homogeneity

A 2 (stable vs. unstable status) \times 2 (help vs. no help) ANOVA on the item assessing perceived ingroup homogeneity revealed no significant effects. A similar ANOVA on the perceived homogeneity of the outgroup revealed a significant Status Stability \times Help interaction, $F(1, 63) = 8.27, p < .005$. This interaction derived from the finding that participants in the unstable status conditions who had received help from the outgroup perceived the outgroup as more homogeneous than those who had received help in the stable status conditions; means were 4.70 and 3.00, respectively, $t(63) = 3.77, p < .001$. The comparable difference was not significant in the no-help condition (means were 3.50 and 3.60, respectively; see Table 1).

²The main analyses with and without these 5 participants revealed similar patterns of findings.

Table 1
Means (and Standard Deviations) of Affect Scores, Percentage of Ingroup Favoritism Choices, Perceived Aggressiveness of Outgroup, and Perceived Outgroup Homogeneity as a Function of Perceived Status Stability and Help (N = 62): Study 1

Dependent measure	Experimental condition			
	Help		No help	
	Unstable	Stable	Unstable	Stable
Affect	3.20 (0.55)	4.58 (1.01)	4.10 (0.81)	4.80 (1.20)
Percentage of discriminatory choices	62.5%	23.5%	47.0%	30.0%
Perceived aggressiveness of outgroup	3.60 (1.20)	4.50 (0.99)	4.60 (0.99)	4.40 (1.50)
Perceived outgroup homogeneity	4.70 (1.06)	3.00 (1.50)	3.50 (1.06)	3.60 (1.41)

Note. Lower scores on the measure of perceived aggressiveness denote greater level of perceived aggressiveness.

Discussion

The results of the first experiment support the central hypothesis. When the status hierarchy was perceived as relatively stable, the receipt of help from the high-status outgroup did not influence recipients' affect, ingroup favoritism, and perceptions of the outgroup. Yet when the status hierarchy was perceived as unstable, being helped by a member of the high-status outgroup led recipients to feel worse. This relatively negative affect may reflect the greater threat to social identity under these conditions, leading to efforts for positive ingroup distinctiveness (expressed in more discrimination toward the outgroup in the unstable/help cell than the stable/help cell). The parallel comparison in the no-help condition was not significant. The findings for perceived aggressiveness indicate that the outgroup was perceived as most aggressive by participants who had perceived status relations as unstable and had received help from the high-status outgroup. This finding is conceptually important and suggests that when help thwarted the low-status group members' motivation for equality (i.e., status relations were perceived as unstable), recipients viewed the helper as "forcing" his or her generosity on them. Finally, consistent with research that threat to social identity leads to viewing the source of threat as more homogeneous (Doosje et al., 1999), participants in the unstable status condition who had received help viewed the outgroup as more homogeneous than those who had not received such help.

The conclusions from the first experiment are limited by the nature of the help that was studied and the type of groups that were used. Regarding the nature of help, the participants received help without having asked for it (i.e., assumptive help; Schneider et al., 1996). This raises the possibility that help from a high-status group when status relations are perceived as unstable poses a threat to the recipient's social identity only when it is imposed by the high-status helper. We address this issue in the fourth experiment and discuss it more extensively in the General Discussion section.

Concerning the type of groups used, this experiment used ad hoc, experimentally created groups. While this reliance on the minimal group paradigm increases confidence in the internal validity of the observed phenomena and places this research within

the empirical and theoretical tradition of the social identity perspective, it limits the generalizability of our findings. Several authors suggest that there are differences between empirical relationships observed with ad hoc groups in the laboratory and similar relationships in studies that examine real groups (Jetten et al., 1996; Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992).

To address this possibility and replicate the findings, the second experiment assessed the same hypothesis with real groups. It examined the reactions of Arab-Israeli participants to the receipt of help from an Arab-Israeli or a Jewish-Israeli helper (i.e., lower and higher status groups in Israeli society, respectively) under varying degrees of perceived stability of intergroup status relations. To extend generalizability, we used the same theoretical logic but changed the focus of the empirical comparison. Whereas the first experiment focused on a comparison between the help and no-help conditions, the second experiment focuses on comparing reactions to receiving help from a high-status outgroup versus help from an ingroup helper under varying levels of perceived stability of status relations. We predict that consistent with the theoretical model (Nadler, 2002) and the findings of the first experiment, Arab-Israelis' social identity will be most threatened when they receive help from a Jewish-Israeli helper and status relations are perceived as unstable. We expect this high threat to be reflected in depressed affect and to result in high motivation for positive ingroup distinctiveness, which will be expressed by increased ingroup favoritism and devaluation of the outgroup.

STUDY 2

Method

Participants and Design

Participants were 71 Arab-Israeli high school students in a school in northern Israel, ages 16 and 17. The experiment was conducted on school premises and consisted of a 2 (Arab-Israeli vs. Jewish-Israeli helper) \times 2 (stable vs. unstable status hierarchy) between-participants design. The proportion of male to female participants in each of the experimental cells was the same.

Procedure

Participants took part in the experiment in small groups of 5–6 individuals who were seated in individual booths. The experiment was portrayed as an assessment of the validity of the Israeli psychometric tests, which are used as entrance examinations for institutions of higher learning in Israel. The test was said to include an assessment of verbal, quantitative, and social skills. The research was said to be sponsored by the National Testing Center in Israel and conducted nationwide. After making these short introductory comments, the experimenter excused himself, saying that he must attend a prescheduled meeting with the school's principal and that his coworker would administer the study.

Independent Variable Manipulations

Stability of status relations. Participants were asked to read an information page on psychometric testing, which was presented as part of the measurement of verbal skills. The information page ended with a statement on the achievements of different subgroups in Israeli society on psychometric tests and noted that the average scores of Arab-Israeli students were lower than the average scores of Jewish-Israelis. In the stable status condition, the text stated that this gap had remained constant over the years, and in the unstable status condition, the text stated that the gap was

consistently narrowing. Because it is commonly known that members of disadvantaged groups within Israeli society, including many Israeli Arabs, score lower on these tests than members of advantaged groups, this information did not constitute a deception.

Participants were then asked to answer a few questions ostensibly assessing their understanding of the material they had just read. One of these questions comprised the manipulation check on the stability of status relations.

Group affiliation of helper and help-giving. The experimenter introduced himself, by using a different name, to half of the participants as an Arab-Israeli and to the other half as a Jewish-Israeli. Participants were asked to work on a sample of 12 psychometric problems, 6 of which were extremely difficult and 6 of which were readily soluble. Participants were given 15 min to solve all 12 problems and had been told that students can usually do so in about 10 min. Six minutes into their work, the experimenter, walking between the booths, discreetly pointed to the correct answer on 4 difficult problems (i.e., provided assumptive help). Subsequently, participants were asked to fill out the dependent measures. The experimenter was blind to the stability condition to which participants belonged.

Manipulation Checks

Stability of status relations. Following the status stability manipulation, participants were asked to answer a number of questions on the material they had just read. One of the questions asked them to rate their agreement, on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), with the statement that "I think that the gaps between Arab-Israelis and Jewish-Israelis in Israeli society have remained constant over the years."

Group affiliation of helper. Toward the end of the experiment, participants were asked to report their impressions of the session they had just participated in. These included questions asking them for the group affiliation of the test administrator and whether or not he had helped them.

Dependent Variables

As in Study 1, here we also assessed affective, behavioral, and attitudinal reactions (i.e., affect, ingroup favoritism, and outgroup evaluation, respectively) to the receipt of help from the high-status outgroup, as influenced by different levels of perceived stability of status relations.

Affect. Participants were asked to rate their affect on the same nine 7-point bipolar adjectives that were used in Study 1, and the average of these items was used as an affect score (Cronbach's $\alpha = .88$).

Ingroup favoritism. This measure was presented as assessing social decision making. Participants were asked to imagine that they had just learned that high schools in their area (i.e., the Haifa-Nazareth region in northern Israel) needed funds to operate a special educational program. The schools were arranged in four pairs of schools, each consisting of an Arab and a Jewish school (identified by name). Participants were asked to allocate funds by dividing 1,000 NIS between the two schools in each pair by choosing one out of seven possible allocation possibilities. Three represented ingroup favoritism (50/950 NIS, 200/800 NIS, or 350/650 NIS to the Jewish-Israeli and the Arab-Israeli school, respectively), one represented equal division (500 NIS to each school), and three represented outgroup favoritism (950/50 NIS, 800/200 NIS, or 650/350 NIS to the Jewish-Israeli and Arab-Israeli school, respectively). The correlations between choices made on each of these four pairs of Arab-Israeli/Jewish-Israeli schools were significant and high (ranging from .57 to .77). Ingroup favoritism scores were computed by subtracting the average amount allocated to the ingroup (an Arab-Israeli school) from the average amount allocated to the outgroup (a Jewish-Israeli school). Thus, positive scores reflect ingroup favoritism and negative scores reflect outgroup favoritism. The higher the score, the greater the amount of ingroup favoritism.

Outgroup evaluation. At the end of the experiment, we asked participants if they would be willing to fill out a scale for a separate study by a

sociology student who was investigating how different groups in Israel perceived each other. They all agreed and were asked to evaluate Israeli Jews on seven 7-point bipolar adjective scales: *wise/stupid*, *honest/dishonest*, *good/bad*, *devious/trustworthy*, *truthful/deceitful*, *egoistic/altruist*, and *materialistic/nonmaterialistic*. The average of these items was used as an index of outgroup evaluation (Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$).

Results

Manipulation Checks

Perceived Stability of Status Relations

Participants in the stable status condition perceived the status gap between Arabs and Jews in Israel as being more constant over the years than did participants in the unstable status condition; means were 6.05 and 3.30, respectively, $t(69) = 2.26, p < .001$.

Group Affiliation of Helper

All of the participants correctly remembered the group affiliation of the experimenter (i.e., the helper), and 97% (69 participants) also indicated that he had helped them.³

Dependent Measures

Affect

A 2 (Arab-Israeli vs. Jewish-Israeli helper) \times 2 (stable vs. unstable status) ANOVA on affect scores revealed a main effect for helper's group affiliation, $F(1, 67) = 5.15, p < .05$, which was qualified by a two-way interaction, $F(1, 67) = 3.97, p < .05$. The interaction was due to the finding that affect scores in the Jewish-Israeli helper/unstable status condition were significantly lower than affect scores in the Jewish-Israeli helper/stable status condition; means were 4.26 and 5.48, respectively, $t(67) = 3.70, p < .001$. The comparable difference in the Arab-Israeli helper condition was not significant; means were 5.24 and 5.54, respectively, $t(67) < 1$.

Ingroup Favoritism

A 2 (Arab-Israeli vs. Jewish-Israeli helper) \times 2 (stable vs. unstable status) ANOVA revealed a significant two-way interaction, $F(1, 67) = 7.27, p < .01$. This interaction is due to the finding that participants who had received help from a Jewish-Israeli under conditions of an unstable status hierarchy displayed greater ingroup favoritism than those who had received help from a Jewish-Israeli under conditions of a stable status hierarchy; means were 554.2 and 252.8, respectively, $t(67) = 2.92, p < .01$. When the helper was an Arab-Israeli, the ingroup favoritism scores were not significantly different when status relations were perceived as

³ The analyses on the ratings of all 71 participants yielded the same effects as analyses using only the 69 participants who correctly remembered having been helped.

Table 2
Means (and Standard Deviations) of Affect Scores, Amount of Funds Allocated to the Ingroup, and Evaluation of the High-Status Outgroup as a Function of Helper's Group Affiliation and Status Stability (N = 71): Study 2

Dependent measure	Experimental condition			
	Jewish-Israeli helper		Arab-Israeli helper	
	Unstable	Stable	Unstable	Stable
Affect	4.26 (0.67)	5.48 (0.99)	5.24 (1.30)	5.54 (0.78)
Amount given to the ingroup	554.20 (334.50)	252.80 (281.00)	295.60 (368.30)	200.00 (234.90)
Evaluation of the outgroup (Jewish-Israelis)	2.75 (0.98)	4.33 (1.38)	4.32 (1.51)	4.55 (0.93)

unstable versus stable; means were 295.6 and 200.0, respectively, $t(67) < 1$.⁴

Outgroup Evaluation

A 2 (Arab-Israeli vs. Jewish-Israeli helper) \times 2 (stable vs. unstable status) ANOVA revealed a main effect for the helper's group affiliation, $F(1, 67) = 9.47, p < .01$, which is qualified by an interaction between status stability and the helper's group affiliation, $F(1, 67) = 5.24, p < .05$. The interaction is due to the finding that the evaluation of the outgroup (i.e., Israeli Jews) was lower when status relations were perceived as unstable than when they were perceived as stable; means were 2.75 and 4.33, respectively, $t(67) = 3.80, p < .001$. The parallel difference between the stable and unstable status conditions when the helper was an Arab-Israeli was not statistically significant; means were 4.32 and 4.55, respectively, $t(67) < 1$ (see Table 2).

Discussion

The main findings of the second study are consistent with our predictions and the findings of the first study. The greater threat to social identity was evident on affective, behavioral, and attitudinal reactions to receiving help from the high-status outgroup. Participants who had been helped by the high-status outgroup helper (i.e., a Jewish-Israeli) felt worse under conditions of unstable status relations than participants who had received help from the high-status outgroup helper under conditions of stable status relations, and worse also than those who had been helped by an ingroup helper (i.e., an Arab-Israeli). The depressed affect in the unstable status/outgroup helper cell is consistent with the suggestion that these conditions present the greatest level of threat to social identity. Congruent with the idea that this threat will result in increased efforts to attain positive ingroup distinctiveness, participants in this cell displayed a higher level of discrimination against the outgroup and evaluated it less positively than participants who had received help from the high-status outgroup under the stable status conditions. Variations in the perceived stability of status relations did not affect the discrimination and evaluation of the outgroup by participants who had been helped by an ingroup member (i.e., an Arab-Israeli).

There are two important differences between Studies 1 and 2: (a) The first study was a minimal group experiment and the second

was conducted with real groups, and (b) the first study tested the hypothesis by comparing responses between the stable and unstable status cells in the help and no-help conditions, whereas the second study tested the hypothesis by comparing between the stable and unstable cells in the ingroup and high-status outgroup helper conditions. The support for the major experimental hypothesis, given these differences, raises our confidence in the theoretical logic that underlies the phenomena under study. The findings of the second experiment, by themselves, are open to the alternative interpretation that these discrepancies reflect the difference between receiving help from an ingroup versus an outgroup helper, irrespective of the outgroup's status. Yet, the agreement with the findings of the first experiment, and the conceptually consistent effects of the perceived stability of status relations, makes this alternative interpretation less plausible.

Reactions to threat to social identity are determined by level of ingroup identification. In the face of threat to social identity, high identifiers attempt to positively distinguish their group from the source of threat (i.e., the outgroup) more so than low identifiers (Ellemers et al., 1999). Applied to the context of intergroup helping, this suggests that the threat posed by help from the high-status outgroup will be higher for high than low identifiers. High identifiers are expected to report worse affect when receiving help from a high-status outgroup and to discriminate against and devalue the source of threat (i.e., the outgroup helper) more so than those whose ingroup identification is relatively low. The third study examined this hypothesis.

⁴ Another index of ingroup favoritism is the value that is derived from the choice that participants make on the 7-point scale, where 1 represents extreme ingroup favoritism (i.e., 950 and 50 NIS to the ingroup and outgroup, respectively), 4 represents equality (i.e., 500 NIS to each), and 7 represents an extreme outgroup allocation choice (i.e., 50 and 950 NIS to the ingroup and outgroup, respectively). Decisions on the four allocation items were internally consistent (Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$) and summed to obtain a single index of ingroup favoritism. A 2 (stable vs. unstable status) \times 2 (Arab vs. Jewish helper) ANOVA revealed a significant interaction, $F(1, 67) = 6.29, p < .01$. The pattern of findings was similar to those obtained on the measure of average funds allocated to the ingroup, as reported in the Results section (i.e., the Jewish helper/unstable status cell had the highest ingroup favoritism score).

STUDY 3

Method

Participants and Design

Sixty-four high school students from an Arab-Israeli high school in northern Israel, ages 16 and 17, participated in a 2 (high identifiers vs. control) \times 2 (ingroup vs. outgroup helper) between-participants experimental design. The proportion of male to female participants in each of the four experimental cells was the same.

Procedure

The procedure was identical to the one used in Study 2. The experiment was presented as an investigation of three dimensions in psychometric tests: verbal, quantitative, and social skills. The first part was described as an assessment of verbal skills and consisted of an ingroup identification manipulation.

Independent Variable Manipulations

Ingroup identification. In the high identification condition, participants were asked to read half a page on the contributions of Arab culture to humankind in medicine, mathematics, and the arts. In the control condition, participants read a neutral section. Following the reading, participants were asked to answer a few questions on the section they had just read. One of these questions was a check on the ingroup identification manipulation (see Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1997, for a similar manipulation).

Group affiliation of helper and help-giving. The experimenter presented himself to half of the participants as an Israeli Jew and to the other half as an Israeli Arab. Subsequently, and in an identical manner to the procedures in the second experiment, participants began working on the quantitative part of the assessment. The experimenter provided assumptive help on 4 out of the 20 sequences of geometric problems that the participants were working on.

Manipulation Checks

For the manipulation check on ingroup identification, participants were asked to rate their agreement with the statement "I am proud to be an Arab" on a 7-point scale. The manipulation check for group affiliation of helper was identical to Study 2.

Dependent Measures

As in the first two experiments, we again assessed the affective, behavioral, and attitudinal reactions to receiving help from the high-status outgroup. Measures of affect, ingroup favoritism, and outgroup evaluation were identical to those used in Study 2.

Results

*Manipulation Checks**Ingroup Identification*

The difference between the high identification and control conditions was highly significant, $t(62) = 4.97, p < .0001$ (means were 6.62 and 4.18, respectively).

Helper's Group Affiliation

All of the participants correctly remembered the group affiliation of the helper, and 98% reported that he had helped them.

*Dependent Measures**Affect*

A 2 \times 2 ANOVA on the affect measure revealed a main effect for the group affiliation of the helper, $F(1, 60) = 5.66, p < .05$, due to the lower affect scores of participants who had been helped by a member of the outgroup than by an ingroup helper (means were 4.74 and 5.38, respectively). The two-way interaction failed to exceed an acceptable level of significance, $F(1, 60) = 1.92, p < .17$; however, to assess the a priori hypothesis that only in the high identification condition would recipients of help from the high-status outgroup experience lower affect than recipients of help from an ingroup helper, we conducted planned comparisons between relevant cell means. Consistent with the hypothesis, participants in the high identification/Jewish-Israeli helper group had lower affect than participants in the high identification/Arab-Israeli helper cell; means were 4.34 and 5.39, respectively, $t(60) = 2.70, p < .01$. There was no significant difference between the affect scores in the Arab-Israeli and Jewish-Israeli helper cells in the control condition; means were 5.36 and 5.14, respectively, $t(60) < 1$.

Ingroup Favoritism

A 2 (high identification vs. control) \times 2 (Arab-Israeli vs. Jewish-Israeli helper) between-participants ANOVA revealed a significant two-way interaction, $F(1, 60) = 4.09, p < .05$. Planned comparisons between relevant cell means indicate that this interaction is due to the outcome that high identifiers who had received help from the high-status outgroup (i.e., from a Jewish-Israeli helper) discriminated against the outgroup more than high identifiers who had received help from an ingroup helper; means were 436.0 and 291.0, respectively, $t(60) = 2.06, p < .05$. The comparable difference for participants in the control condition was not significant; means were 230.0 and 318.0, respectively, $t(60) < 1$.⁵

Outgroup Evaluation

A 2 \times 2 ANOVA revealed a similar two-way interaction, $F(1, 60) = 4.41, p < .05$. Planned comparisons indicate that high identifiers who received help from the Jewish-Israeli helper rated the outgroup lower than did high identifiers who had received help from an Arab-Israeli helper; means were 3.68 and 4.62, respectively, $t(60) = 2.02, p < .05$. The parallel difference in the control condition was not significant; means were 4.55 and 4.20, respectively, $t(60) < 1$ (see Table 3).

Discussion

Study 3 indicates that the threat to social identity inherent in receiving help from the high-status outgroup depends on ingroup

⁵ Here, too, an index of ingroup favoritism was created by summing the choices made on the four allocation items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$; i.e., scores ranging from 1 to 7, where 1 represents the highest level of ingroup favoritism). A 2 (high vs. low identification) \times 2 (Jewish vs. Arab helper) ANOVA on these scores revealed a significant interaction, $F(1, 59) = 3.97, p < .05$. This interaction reflects a similar pattern of findings as those obtained on the average allocation of funds, as reported in the Results section (i.e., the highest ingroup favoritism score was found in the high identification/Jewish helper cell).

Table 3
Means (and Standard Deviations) of Affect Scores, Amount of Funds Allocated to the Ingroup, and Evaluation of the High-Status Outgroup as a Function of Helper's Group Affiliation and Ingroup Identification (N = 64): Study 3

Dependent measure	Experimental condition			
	Jewish-Israeli helper		Arab-Israeli helper	
	High ingroup identification	Low ingroup identification	High ingroup identification	Low ingroup identification
Affect	4.34 (0.85)	5.14 (1.32)	5.39 (1.04)	5.36 (0.98)
Amount given to the ingroup	435.90 (387.70)	229.70 (273.10)	290.60 (202.80)	318.70 (248.70)
Evaluation of the outgroup (Jewish-Israelis)	3.68 (1.50)	4.55 (1.38)	4.20 (1.11)	4.62 (1.19)

identification. High Arab-Israeli identifiers had lower affect after receiving help from the dominant outgroup than after receiving help from an ingroup helper, but affect for participants in the control condition did not differ in these two cells. This lower affect suggests that receiving help from a high-status outgroup is more threatening for high identifiers than for participants in the control condition who had not undergone a manipulation to increase ingroup identification. Similar to the findings in the first two experiments, this greater threat to social identity led to greater efforts for positive ingroup distinctiveness, which found expression in more discrimination and devaluation of the source of threat (i.e., the high-status outgroup). It may be noted that the manipulation of ingroup identification (i.e., praising Arab contributions to global art and culture) might be construed as having led to perceptions of higher ingroup status. Yet, we maintain that the effects are attributable instead to increased identification. This interpretation is supported by the consistency of the findings with the results of Study 4, which are based on a different manipulation of identification (i.e., informing high school students that graduates of their school are committed to their school).

The theoretical model guiding the present research program also predicts that low-status group members will avoid *seeking* help from the dominant outgroup when dependency on the high-status group poses a threat to social identity (Nadler, 2002). Taken together with the findings of the previous experiments, this model suggests that high identifiers will be most reluctant to seek help from the high-status outgroup when status relations are perceived as unstable. This reluctance is likely to be evident only when the assistance is dependency-oriented (i.e., a full solution is provided). When assistance is autonomy-oriented (i.e., consisting of a partial solution or hints), seeking help from the high-status outgroup is not likely to pose a threat for social identity, and high-identifying members of low-status groups are likely to seek such help even when perceived status relations are unstable. These predictions are the focus of the fourth study.

STUDY 4

The fourth experiment examined the willingness of low-status group members to seek autonomy- or dependency-oriented help from a high-status outgroup as a function of the interaction between (a) perceived stability of status relations and (b) ingroup

identification. Thus, it represents a full examination of the predictions of the intergroup helping model (Nadler, 2002), together with extensions suggested by the findings of Study 3 (i.e., the role of ingroup identification). This examination was carried out using a behavioral measure of willingness to seek help.

Method

Participants and Design

Fifty-six students from a high school in a midsize town in northern Israel participated in the study. The design was a 2 (high ingroup identification vs. control) \times 2 (stable vs. unstable status relations) between-participants design. Each of the four experimental cells included a similar number of male and female students. The dependent measures consisted of the frequency that participants chose to (a) not seek help, (b) seek dependency-oriented help, and (c) seek autonomy-oriented help. As in Studies 2 and 3, this experiment also used real groups. However, unlike the previous experiments, which used national group affiliation, the present experiment used high school affiliation as the intergroup context.

Procedure

During the first part of the experiment the experimenter, who had been introduced as an employee of the Israeli Ministry of Education, described the study as an assessment of alternative forms of psychometric testing. Participants were told that they would be working on tasks assessing verbal abilities and interactive analytical abilities. Following this general introduction, participants were told that the study was being carried out in different geographical areas in the country and that their school and another school had been chosen to represent northern Israel. The other school was said to be a prestigious and reputable school in the city of Haifa (i.e., a high-status outgroup).

Independent Variables Manipulation

Stability of status relations. In the stable status condition, participants learned that a comparative analysis had revealed that over the last 5 years their school's overall performance on various criteria was consistently lower than that of the higher status school (e.g., as measured by admission to selective university programs). In the unstable status condition, participants were told that over the last 5 years the gap between their school and the high-status school had grown consistently narrower.

Ingroup identification. Following the manipulation of status stability, the manipulation of ingroup identification was introduced. In the guise of

taking the verbal part of the psychometric test, participants were asked to read a short article that they would later be questioned on as part of the "verbal abilities" section of the psychometric test. In the high ingroup identification condition, the short article recounted the history of their high school, praising the school and noting the commitment that students and graduates felt for it. The article was said to have been taken from the local community newspaper. In the control condition, participants read an article of similar length that focused on environmental issues. After they had finished reading the articles, participants were asked to answer a few questions on what they had just read. This short questionnaire included checks on the status stability and ingroup identification manipulations.

Manipulation Checks

Stability of status relations. Participants were asked to respond to two questions on a 7-point scale: the chances that a graduate of their high school and a graduate of the high-status school would be admitted to prestigious university departments, and how many years it would be before the scholastic achievements of the two schools would become relatively equal. Responses to these two items were significantly correlated ($r = -.55, p < .001$), and ratings were summed to obtain a single index of perceived status stability.

Ingroup identification. Participants answered two questions on a 7-point scale: the degree to which they had a sense of belonging to their school and whether they would recommend enrolling at their school to others. Answers to these two questions were highly correlated ($r = .80, p < .001$), and ratings were summed to obtain a single index of ingroup identification.

Dependent Measures: Avoidance of Help-Seeking, Dependency-Oriented Help-Seeking, and Autonomy-Oriented Help-Seeking

Participants were told that the next part of the study would assess interactive analytic thinking. Participants were given five index cards, each of which displayed an arithmetic problem that had to be solved within 60 s. Two of the problems were readily soluble and were solved by all participants. The other three cards contained insoluble problems. After it became clear that participants could not solve the three problems, and in preparation for the upcoming "interactive" part of the session, the students were asked to indicate one of three choices for each problem they had been unable to solve: (a) not receiving any assistance from a student from the other high school, who was said to be working on the same task (i.e., avoidance of seeking help); (b) receiving the solution to the unsolved problem from the other high school student (i.e., seeking dependency-oriented help); or (c) receiving a hint from the other high school student that might help them find the solution on their own (i.e., seeking autonomy-oriented help). The indices for avoidance of help-seeking, dependent help-seeking, and autonomous help-seeking consisted of the average number of times that participant chose either of these three alternatives. Thus, scores for either of these options could range from 0 (i.e., never choosing this option) to 3 (i.e., choosing that option on all three problems).

Results

Manipulation Checks

Perceived Stability of Status Relations

Participants in the stable status group perceived the gap between the ingroup and the outgroup as more stable than did participants in the unstable status condition, $F(1, 52) = 9.29, p < .01$ (means were 3.11 and 2.04, respectively).

Ingroup Identification

Participants in the high identification condition identified with their group more than participants in the control condition, $F(1, 52) = 14.90, p < .001$ (means were 6.01 and 4.77, respectively).

Dependent Measures

Avoidance of Help-Seeking

A 2 (stable vs. unstable status) \times 2 (high identification vs. control) ANOVA on the avoidance of help-seeking scores revealed a significant Stability \times Identification interaction, $F(1, 52) = 6.15, p < .01$. This indicates that for participants in the control condition, scores for avoidance of help-seeking did not differ between the stable and unstable status conditions; means were 0.67 and 0.50, respectively, $t(52) = 0.80, ns$, whereas high identifiers exhibited significantly higher avoidance when status relations were perceived as unstable than when they were perceived as stable; means were 1.31 and 0.36, respectively, $t(52) = 2.40, p < .05$.

Dependent Help-Seeking

Consistent with our hypothesis, the incidence of help-seeking in the unstable status/high identification condition was zero, rendering the use of ANOVA impossible. To counter this problem, we conducted two t tests for independent samples in which equal variance is not assumed; these compared the amount of dependency-oriented help sought in the stable versus unstable status cells, within the high identification and control conditions separately. In the control condition, the amount of dependency-oriented help did not differ between the stable and unstable status cells; means were 1.20 and 1.43, respectively, $t(26.51) = 0.52, ns$. In the high identification condition, participants in the stable status cell sought more dependency-oriented help than those in the unstable status cell; means were 1.21 and 0.00, respectively, $t(13.00) = 3.82, p < .01$.

Because students had to choose among three alternatives, there were two degrees of freedom on this measure. We expected significant Stability \times Identification interaction on the avoidance index, and a similar interaction, but in an opposite direction, on the dependent help-seeking index. We expected, and found, that high identifiers will have the highest avoidance scores when status relations were unstable and lowest dependency help-seeking scores when relations were unstable. Under these conditions, the ANOVA on the third measure (i.e., autonomy-oriented help-seeking) could not have produced any significant effects. We therefore did not conduct an ANOVA on this index.

Discussion

The findings of Study 4 support the hypotheses. Participants were most reluctant to seek help from a member of the high-status outgroup when they had been induced to identify with the ingroup and viewed intergroup status relations as unstable. It is important to note that this reluctance was evident only in the case of dependency-oriented help. In fact, not a single participant in the unstable status/high identification condition sought dependency-oriented help. We interpret this to reflect that under these conditions, seeking help conflicted with the motivation of high identifiers to elevate the status of their ingroup and attain equality with

the outgroup. When assistance was framed as autonomy-oriented, high identifiers sought similar amounts of help from the outgroup as participants in the control condition, regardless of the stability of status relations.

While the first three studies examined segments of the theoretical links suggested by the present analysis (i.e., the stability of power relations in Studies 1 and 2, and ingroup identification in Study 3), the fourth experiment assessed all three conceptual elements in tandem. It found support for the joint effects of (a) structural characteristics of intergroup power relations (i.e., perceived stability), (b) characteristics of the person in need of help (i.e., ingroup identification), and (c) the nature of the help (i.e., autonomy- or dependency-oriented) on help-seeking. Also, the study extends the generalizability of the earlier findings in two major aspects. First, it allows for the generalization of the theoretical principles from the realm of reactions to help (as in the first three experiments) to actual help-seeking behavior. Second, while Study 1 focused on experimentally created ad hoc groups and Studies 2 and 3 on relations between Israeli Arabs and Jews, Study 4 examined status differences between different high schools. The overall similarity in the pattern of findings across these different kind of groups and operationalizations reinforces our confidence that the phenomenon under study represents a basic phenomenon of intergroup relations.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The above four experiments support the hypotheses of the intergroup helping model (Nadler, 2002). Taken together, these studies indicate that members of low-status groups are least receptive to help from a high-status outgroup when status relations are perceived as unstable and help is dependency-oriented. Further, this unwillingness to seek or receive help from the high-status group is particularly characteristic of high ingroup identifiers. We interpret this to indicate that under the abovementioned conditions, dependency on a high-status helper is inconsistent with the motivation of the low-status group for social equality and that such help poses a threat to social identity.

Although the overall empirical picture is consistent with this interpretation, the studies contain some methodological ambiguities that require discussion. In the second and fourth experiments, the perceived instability of status relations was induced by informing participants that the gap between their group and the high-status group was narrowing over time. It is possible that such a manipulation could have resulted in the perception of higher ingroup status or may have led to greater identification with the ingroup. Our interpretation that these effects are attributable to the different perceptions of the stability of status relations is reinforced on a number of grounds. First, this manipulation is consistent with previous manipulations of perceived status stability and instability in this context (Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2000; Federico, 1998; Turner & Brown, 1978). Second, our manipulation checks showed that participants perceived the manipulation as intended. Third, the effects of status stability in Studies 2 and 4 are consistent with those in the first experiment, which was a minimal group experiment and in which a different manipulation of stability was used (i.e., the likelihood that participants would be assigned to the low-status group in the future).

In social systems in which the power hierarchy is perceived as stable and legitimate, it is the privileged group's duty to cater to

the needs of the low-status group. The low-status group's receptiveness to such help serves as a behavioral acknowledgment of its inferior position. This is captured in Mauss's (1907/1957) statement that by accepting gifts without returning them in kind, the recipients "become client and subservient" (p. 72). Such social situations are likely to have characterized relations between racial and gender groups in past centuries (e.g., African Americans and European Americans, males and females) and in societies in which the power structure is relatively rigid (such as tribal societies). It is interesting to note that such a unidirectional flow of assistance from the strong to the weak is also evident in nature, in which a less dominant member in the community of birds that was studied rarely gives food to the more dominant member of its group (Zahavi & Zahavi, 1997). This idea is consistent with the argument made by Worchel (1984) that helping may be a way for dominant groups to maintain their supremacy and with analyses of paternalism in gender and race relations (e.g., Jackman, 1994; Pratto & Walker, 2001; van der Berghe, 1967). In the same line, Leach, Snider, and Iyer (2002) argued that one of the consequences of feeling secure in one's privileged social position is benevolence toward the disadvantaged. They wrote: "The security of the fortunate's advantage allows a somewhat benevolent reaction to the disadvantaged in the form of pity" (p. 7). In the same way that receptivity to help from the high-status outgroup is a behavioral affirmation of the disadvantaged position of the low-status group, refusing help from the advantaged group may signify a challenge to the existing status quo. As our data indicate, this is more likely when status relations are perceived as unstable.

The empirical support for our hypotheses is underscored by the differences that existed between the four experiments, as reflected in the types of groups studied, the status dimensions used, the comparisons used to assess the main hypotheses, and the dependent measures that were assessed. Regarding the types of groups studied, the first study was a minimal group experiment, whereas the other three experiments studied real groups. Regarding the dimension of status, the second and third experiments studied low-status groups within a given society (i.e., Arab citizens in Israel), whereas the fourth experiment focused on status differences between two high schools. The central comparisons across the four experiments also varied (i.e., receiving vs. not receiving help in Study 1, and reactions to receiving help from a high-status outgroup and ingroup helper in Studies 2 and 3). Furthermore, both help-seeking behavior and reactions to help were predicted by the same theoretical logic. In closing, it may be noted that future research should analyze the mediating role of relevant psychological motivations (e.g., positive ingroup distinctiveness) and emotions (e.g., feeling humiliated by dependency) on the observed relationships.

Direct or Indirect Means to Maintain or Challenge Intergroup Status Relations

The logic guiding the present research has implications for both high-status groups and help-giving behavior. It suggests that high-status groups may try to retain a jeopardized position of dominance by providing dependency-oriented help to the source of threat (i.e., the low-status group). This leads to an important question: When will a high-status group try to maintain dominance by providing help, and when will it do so by the more direct means of asserting its superiority? The same question also applies to the low-status

group, which at times may directly challenge existing inequality by confronting the high-status group with a demand for equal power, and at other times less directly by refusing dependency on the more dominant group. Although the direct and less-direct forms of maintaining intergroup power relations are not mutually exclusive, the question of when groups are more likely to use one or the other method remains open. One possible determinant is the social and normative context within which intergroup relations take place. If, for example, the social context is confrontational (e.g., groups are in open conflict), they may be likely to use more explicit and direct methods to maintain or challenge existing status relations. If, however, the social context discourages open confrontation, groups may be likely to use less explicit and confrontational means to maintain or challenge power relations. Helping relations are such means.

Intergroup and Interpersonal Helping Relations

Although the present analysis focused on intergroup helping, we theorize that the same processes apply to the analysis of helping relations between differentially powerful individuals (e.g., managers and employees). Consistent with self-categorization theory, the analysis of the helping interaction will be informed by variables that are relevant to this level of analysis (e.g., ingroup identification) when interactants' social identity is salient. However, when the interactants' individual self is salient, the helping interaction may be construed as an interpersonal interaction, requiring consideration of variables that are relevant to this level of analysis (e.g., self-esteem). In both cases, however, the pattern of helping relations depends on the perceived stability and legitimacy of existing power relations between the parties and the dependency or autonomy orientation of the help.

Social Change and Helping Relations

Times of social change give rise to motivational conflicts between more and less socially dominant groups, and this may be expressed in the framework of helping relations as well. Whereas a stronger party may seek to defend its social advantage by providing dependency-oriented help, the less dominant party may likely be motivated to refuse such help. This may fuel tension between the two parties. In this scenario, one can imagine the more dominant group feeling baffled and angry at the low-status group's resistance to its generosity, and the less dominant party viewing the generosity of its counterpart as a manipulative effort to retain social advantage. These processes are described as operating in affirmative action programs (Pratkanis & Turner, 1996), and similar barriers have been underscored on the road to peace-building, wherein the stronger party's efforts to assist its former adversary may be spurned out of hand as mechanisms to retain dominance (Lederach, 1997; Nadler & Saguy, 2004). The fact that helping is both an expression of caring and a demonstration of superiority makes it an especially effective instrument of dominance in the hands of a more advantaged group. As our data show, members of low-status groups are sensitive to this danger and under certain conditions resent such help and are unwilling to seek it.

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