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Recategorization and Prosocial Behavior

Common In-Group Identity and a Dual Identity

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Introduction

A range of different interventions, such as appropriately structured intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and emphasis on shared social identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), have been demonstrated to improve intergroup attitudes. However, more favorable intergroup attitudes do not always translate directly to more positive intergroup action. For example, meta-analysis has revealed that racial prejudice is only modestly correlated ($r = .32$) with discriminatory behavior of Whites toward Blacks (Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996). Also, whereas intergroup contact has generally robust effects on attitudes, its impact on support for policies aimed at helping minorities is less reliable (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005).

In this chapter, we review the evidence supporting the Common In-Group Identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), which suggests that biases in prosocial behavior toward out-group members can be reduced when in-group members recategorize themselves within a superordinate group. Our empirical emphasis is on the orientations of majority group members toward minorities, because by virtue of their position in society it is the majority group members' help that is more often required. We also discuss how understanding the different perspectives of majority and minority group members can provide insight into the conditions that influence prosocial behavior.

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We begin by providing a brief overview of the nature of social categorization and its relation to intergroup bias. We then summarize the Common In-Group Identity model and present evidence supporting it, first in terms of reducing intergroup bias and then with regard to helping behavior. We introduce new research on helping that investigates, in the context of race relations in the United States, how Whites respond to Blacks expressing different forms of common identity. The concluding section explores promising directions for improving understanding of intergroup helping and related phenomena.

Social Categorization and Social Bias

In general, categorization, which often occurs spontaneously on the basis of physical similarity, proximity, or shared fate (Campbell, 1958), enables people to make rapid decisions about incoming information. In this respect, people may be characterized as “cognitive misers” who tend to compromise accuracy for efficiency (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). When this tendency operates in the social domain (i.e., social categorization) it is associated with the formation and perpetuation of systematic intergroup biases.

In particular, one basic distinction associated with social categorization involves differentiation between the group containing the self, the in-group, and other groups, the out-groups – that is, between the “we’s” and the “they’s” (see Social Identity Theory, Tajfel, & Turner, 1979; Self-Categorization Theory, Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987).

Even when the basis for the categorization of people into in-groups and out-groups is quite trivial, this distinction has a profound influence on social perception, affect, cognition, and behavior. For example, people spontaneously experience more positive affect toward members of their in-group than toward members of the out-group (Otten & Moskowitz, 2000) and believe that they are more capable of expressing uniquely human emotions (Leyens et al., 2003). Furthermore, when in-group-out-group social categorizations, rather than personal identities, are salient, people tend to behave in a more greedy and less trustworthy way toward members of other groups than if they were reacting to each other as individuals (Insko et al., 2001). In terms of prosocial orientations, which are the focus of the present chapter, people are more readily disposed to be helpful toward in-group than toward out-group members (Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Clark, 1981).

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Although the functional nature of the relations between groups (e.g., actual competition over resources) can further influence the degree to which discrimination is manifested (Sherif, 1966), the process of social categorization itself provides the basis for social biases to develop and to be maintained. Social categorization is a dynamic process, however, and people possess many different group identities and are capable of focusing on different social categories. By modifying a perceiver's goals, motives, perceptions of past experiences and expectations, there is opportunity to alter the level of category inclusiveness that will be primary or most influential in a given situation. This malleability of the level at which impressions are formed is important because of its implications for altering the way people behave toward members of in-groups and out-groups and consequently, altering intergroup relations.

The Common In-Group Identity Model and Intergroup Bias

Because categorization into and identification with social groups are basic processes that are fundamental to intergroup bias, social psychologists have targeted these processes as a starting point for improving intergroup relations. A variety of different approaches have been employed successfully. For example, decategorization strategies that emphasize the individual qualities of others (Wilder, 1981) or encourage personalized interactions (Miller, 2002) have been used to reduce social biases by minimizing the salience of social identities.

The approach we have employed, the Common In-Group Identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), draws upon the theoretical foundations of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Self-Categorization Theory (Turner et al., 1987). This strategy emphasizes the process of recategorization, in which the goal is to reduce bias by systematically altering the perception of intergroup boundaries, redefining who is conceived of as an in-group member. If members of different groups are induced to conceive of themselves as a single superordinate group, rather than as two separate groups, attitudes toward former out-group members would be expected to become more positive through processes involving pro-in-group bias, thereby reducing intergroup bias (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). A common in-group identity can be achieved by increasing the salience of existing common superordinate memberships (e.g., a school, a company,

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a nation) or by introducing factors perceived to be shared by these memberships (e.g., common goals or fate).

Within the framework of the Common In-Group Identity model, different types of cognitive representations (i.e., one group, two subgroups within one group, two groups, or separate individuals) of members of groups are hypothesized to have specific cognitive, affective, and behavioral consequences. For example, Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, and Dovidio (1989) found that, relative to a condition that maintained the boundaries between two groups, decategorizing members of the groups to produce a separate individuals representation reduced bias by decreasing the attractiveness of former in-group members; in contrast, recategorizing in-group and out-group members as belonging to the same superordinate group reduced bias by increasing the attractiveness of former out-group members.

Considerable empirical support has been obtained for the Common In-Group Identity model in laboratory and field experiments involving temporary and enduring groups (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, 2007). In the next section, we examine in more detail studies directly related to intergroup prosocial behavior.

Common Identity and Prosocial Behavior

Beyond improving intergroup attitudes, interventions involving recategorization of members of two groups within a superordinate identity have been found to facilitate prosocial intergroup behavior. In one of our earlier tests of the Common In-Group Identity model (Dovidio, Gaertner, Validzic, Motako, Johnson, & Frazier, 1997), for example, participants initially worked in two separate subgroups, supposedly representing different personality types (overestimators and underestimators). They were then induced to either develop a common superordinate representation or to maintain a two-group representation using a procedure similar to that used in our previous research on group differentiation (Gaertner et al., 1989). Next, under the conditions representing the One Group or Two Group manipulations, participants worked on a decision task.

To examine helping, participants were escorted to separate rooms and informed that they had been chosen for the one-way communication aspect of the study and that they would be listening to an audio-tape of one of the previous participants in the study. The person on the tape was presented as either a member of participants' original subgroup category (e.g., an overestimator) or as a member of the other

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group. The person on the tape explained that she was unable to complete an important project because of illness. At the conclusion of the session, participants were given an opportunity to help the person in need by placing posters to recruit participants for the other person's project.

The results provided support for the facilitating role of recategorization in intergroup helping. As expected, in the Two Group condition that reinforced the original group memberships, participants were more helpful (i.e., agreed to place more posters for the other person) for in-group than for out-group members ($M_s = 4.83$ vs. 2.25). In the One Group condition, in contrast, there was no bias against original out-group members ($M_s = 3.08$ vs. 3.92). These findings offer direct support for the applicability of the Common In-Group Identity model for understanding and promoting intergroup helping.

Other research provides evidence that emphasizing a common in-group identity can facilitate other forms of prosocial behavior, such as cooperative and socially responsible behavior in a commons dilemma. Kramer and Brewer (1984) led participants to focus either on their different group identities (i.e., half of the participants were college students whereas the other half were not) or on a superordinate identity (i.e., participants were all residents of the same city). When resources became scarce, participants whose superordinate identity was emphasized cooperated more to conserve the resources than those who saw themselves as members of different groups. Wit and Kerr (2002) examined the choices people made in a commons dilemma when the experimenter emphasized that the person would be participating in the session as (a) one of a group of six people, (b) a member of one of two different three-person groups, or (c) one of six individuals. The results showed that participants were most generous in giving their resources to a fund benefiting the six participants collectively when they believed they shared one collective identity. Participants allocated the fewest resources to the 6-person collective account when the subgroup social identity was salient.

Additionally, evidence for the effectiveness of a common group identity for promoting prosocial responses was found outside the laboratory with naturalistically consequential groups. In particular, it was demonstrated that a salient superordinate identity can increase behavioral compliance with a request for assistance from a person of a different race. In a field experiment (Nier, Gaertner, Dovidio, Banker, Ward, & Rust 2001, Study 2) conducted at the University of Delaware football stadium prior to a game between the University of Delaware and Westchester State University, Black and White interviewers

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approached fans from both universities just before they entered the stadium. These fans were asked if they would be willing to be interviewed about their food preferences. The interviewers systematically varied whether they were wearing a University of Delaware or Westchester State University hat. By selecting fans who wore clothing that identified their university affiliation, we systematically varied whether the fans and our interviewers had common or different university identities in a context where these identities were particularly salient.

Although we planned to oversample Black fans, the sample was still too small to yield any informative findings. Among White fans, however, sharing common university identity with the Black interviewers significantly increased their compliance (59 percent) relative to when they did not share common identity with the Black interviewer (36 percent). When the interviewers were White, however, there was no significant difference in their levels of compliance as a function of their university identity: equivalent levels of compliance were gained when they shared common university identity with the fan (44 percent) as when they appeared to be affiliated with the rival university (37 percent). These findings together with those of the preceding study offer support for the idea that out-group members will be treated more favorably in terms of prosocial behavior when they are perceived to also share a more inclusive, common in-group affiliation.

Dual Identities

Despite the evidence that the strategy of achieving a common group identity can improve intergroup relations, its effectiveness may be limited by the difficulty of maintaining a common identity in the face of powerful social forces within naturalistic settings that emphasize group differences and reinforce separate group memberships (Hewstone, 1996). Also, because membership in particular groups satisfies many psychological and material needs, people may often resist interventions designed to make superordinate group identity primarily salient. Introducing conditions that challenge the positive distinctiveness of one's group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), such as emphasizing similarity or overlapping boundaries between the groups (Dovidio et al., 1997; Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1997) or their shared identity (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000), can stimulate motivations to reaffirm the different group identities, particularly among people who strongly identify with their original group (Crisp, Walsh, & Hewstone, 2006). Consequently, when group identities and the associated cultural values are central to

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members' functioning, it may be undesirable for people to relinquish these identities.

These insights are reflected in the inclusion of another form of shared identity recategorization, besides a one group identity, within the Common In-Group Identity model. This form, a dual identity, involves the simultaneous activation of original subgroup identities *and* a common in-group identity. We believe that it is possible for members to conceive of two groups (for example, Blacks and Whites) as distinct units within the context of a superordinate identity (i.e., American).

However, we have also found that majority and minority group members may have different preferences for these different forms of recategorized representations. Whereas majority group members prefer a common in-group identity representation of intergroup relations, minority group members prefer a dual identity representation (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kafati, 2000). From a broader perspective, one group and dual identity representations are parallel to assimilation and multicultural ideologies, respectively (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007).

Within the acculturation literature, the ideologies of assimilation and multiculturalism have received significant attention, and they have commonly been considered oppositional (Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006). Assimilation requires minority group members to conform to dominant values and ideals, often requiring the abandonment of inconsistent racial or ethnic group values, to achieve full acceptance in society. Multicultural integration, in contrast, strives to be inclusive by recognizing, and often celebrating, intergroup differences and their contributions to a common society. Paralleling our results for one group and dual identity preferences, across a range of different types of groups, majority groups have been found to possess a greater preference for assimilation, whereas minority groups preferred multiculturalism (see Verkuyten, 2006).

These different perspectives and preferences for majority and minority group members are of particular importance because intergroup relations are determined by the extent to which they are taken into account and reconciled (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002). Piontkowski, Rohmann, and Florack (2002) found that discordance in acculturation values between majority and majority groups was directly related to feelings of intergroup threat (see also Bourhis, Moïse, & Perrault, 1997). It is possible, thus, that the expression of an identity that is valued and functional for a member of one group (e.g., a dual identity for a minority group member) may pose a threat to the values and world views of a member of another group (e.g., a

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one group, assimilationist value held by a majority group member). One consequence of this threat may be less positive and helpful orientations toward out-group members.

We consider this issue in the next section, focusing on both the attitudes and prosocial orientation of Whites toward Blacks.

Responses to Expressed Identity: Prejudice and Helping

In this section, we examine the possibility that even though Whites and Blacks both value connection within a superordinate collective identity, the different preferences for the form of this representation, a one group identity versus a dual identity, can elicit negative intergroup behavior. In particular, we describe two studies testing the hypothesis that Whites would respond negatively (in terms of both attitudes and pro-social behavior) to Blacks who express their preference for a dual identity representation because it deviates from Whites' ideal one group representation (which primarily reflects their racial values). Due to practical concerns, we did not examine the way Blacks respond to Whites expressing different types of identities. Whereas it is more common and acceptable for a Black person to describe himself or herself as Black, such an emphasis on race by a White person is more unusual and is likely to convey that the person advocates an extreme racial position, such as White supremacy.

In the first study in this set (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Johnson, 1999), we explored the effects of Whites' exposure to a Black person who expressed his feelings of identity with the different representations outlined in the Common In-Group Identity model (one group, different groups, dual identity, and separate individual). In this experiment, White college students from Colgate University viewed a videotape that portrayed an interview with a Black male student (actually a confederate), with whom they anticipated interacting in a subsequent session. The confederate responded to the questions posed to him using a script developed, based on pilot testing, to make a positive impression. After a series of questions intended to create this positive impression (e.g., about college activities and educational goals), the interviewer asked the confederate, "And how do you see yourself?" The response was constructed to reflect one of the four representations outlined in the Common In-Group Identity model: (a) "I see myself primarily as a Colgate student" (one group), (b) "I see myself primarily as a Black person" (different group), (c) "I see myself primarily as a Black Colgate

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student [or a Colgate student who is Black]” (dual identity), or (d) “I see myself primarily as a unique individual” (separate individuals).

Our main interest in this study was in how this brief, positive intergroup “contact” could influence responses toward Blacks as a group. The primary dependent measures were White participants’ responses on Brigham’s (1993) Attitudes toward Blacks Scale, a well-validated measure of general racial prejudice, and willingness to volunteer to help a Black student organization on campus. Thus, after the videotaped interview ended, participants responded to items assessing their impressions of the confederate and attitudes toward Blacks in general. Then, at what appeared to be the conclusion of the session, the experimenter handed each participant an envelope with the logo of a campus volunteer organization.

Inside the envelope was a letter announcing four volunteer activities for the month, with a request for students to volunteer for at least one of them. The experimenter explained that participants were under no obligation to respond to it. Participants were asked to place the envelope, whether the materials inside were completed or not, in the collection box on the way out of the laboratory. Our focus was on the number of hours participants volunteered to assist a Black student organization that was sponsoring activities for local children and adolescents. We hypothesized that Whites would respond negatively to Blacks who express an identity that deviates from Whites’ ideal one group representation, even when that identity involves an essential component of common identity, that is, a dual identity.

The results for both dependent measures suggest that minorities’ expression of their dual identity might have quite negative effects on majorities’ responses. With respect to attitudes toward Blacks, as illustrated in the top panel of Figure 10.1, the manipulation based on a one group representation (the common university identity condition), which was most compatible with an assimilation ideology, was related to the lowest level of prejudice for White college students. Attitudes toward Blacks in general were less prejudiced when the Black student described himself solely in terms of common university identity than when the Black confederate described himself with a different racial identity (i.e., as a Black person), with a dual identity (i.e., as a Black Colgate student), or as a unique individual. The latter three conditions did not significantly differ from one another. Indeed, attitudes toward Blacks tended to be the most negative when Black confederates expressed a dual identity.

The manipulation of the Black confederate’s expression of identity also systematically influenced White participants’ willingness to

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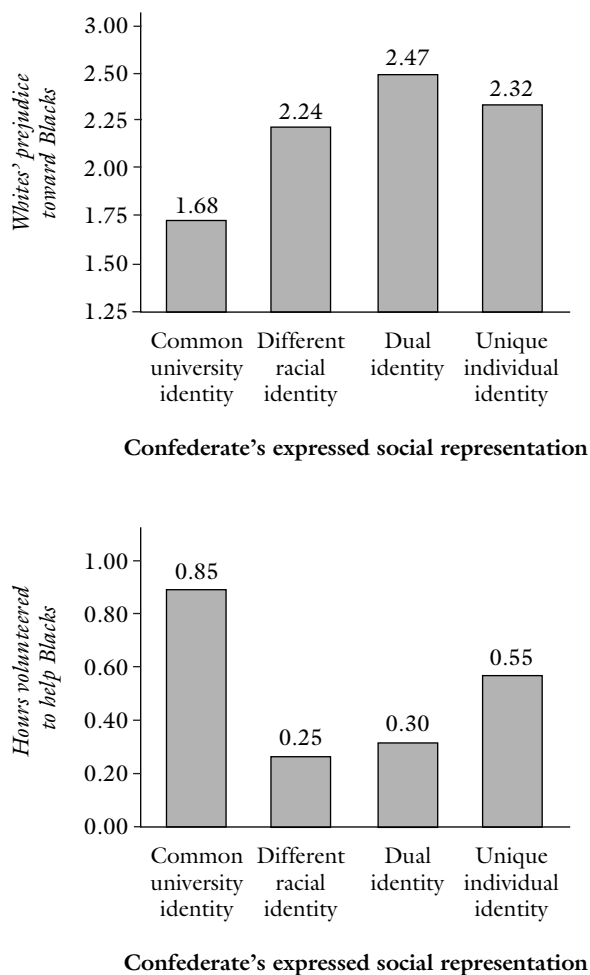


Figure 10.1 Whites' prejudice toward Blacks and time volunteered to help a Black organization as a function of the expressed social representation of a Black confederate.

volunteer to help the Black student organization on campus. However, as depicted in the bottom panel of Figure 10.1, the pattern was somewhat different. As expected, participants volunteered the most time when the Black confederate emphasized only his common university identity. White participants helped the next most in the condition in which the confederate emphasized his unique individual identity, which also reflects an orientation compatible with an assimilation

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ideology (individualism being a core value in White American dominant culture). They helped the least, and equivalently so, in the conditions in which the confederate emphasized only his different racial identity (as a Black person) or a dual identity (as a Black Colgate student).

Although the results of this experiment were generally consistent with our hypotheses, the processes underlying the helping responses were not clear. Unexpectedly, the pattern of helping was not mediated by responses on the Attitudes toward Blacks Scale. In fact, the correlation between Attitudes toward Blacks and volunteering to help the Black student organization ($r = .25$) was comparable to the modest meta-analytic relationship between racial and discriminatory behavior ($r = .32$) obtained in the Dovidio et al. (1996) study. A possible reason for the failure of attitudes toward Blacks as a group to mediate volunteering to help the Black student organization is that these measures represented responses to different entities, that is, Blacks in general and the subset of Blacks in the campus organization, respectively. Indeed, considerable empirical evidence (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005) suggests that the attitude-behavior relationship is substantially stronger when attitudes are measured in a way more directly representative of the behavior being considered. To test this possibility, in a subsequent experiment we examined how the attitudes and emotional responses to a Black person relate to Whites' willingness to help this particular person.

This study was modeled after the previous one. Again, White college students viewed a videotape of a Black confederate interviewed in a way designed to create a favorable impression of him. Once more, the interview ended with the key question, "And how do you see yourself?" This time the confederate answered in ways that reflected the three collective representations in the Common In-Group Identity model: one group (i.e., common university identity: Colgate student), dual identity (Black Colgate student), or different groups (different racial identity: Black person). Also, a segment was added in which the confederate discussed a serious illness (pneumonia) that made him get behind in his senior project, which he needed to complete for graduation. The confederate explained that he needed students to complete questionnaires to help him finish this project.

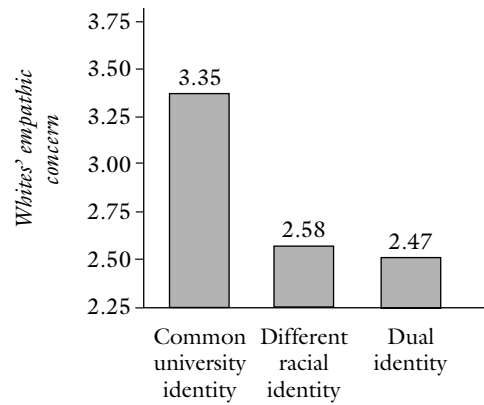
The dependent measures in this study were attitudes toward the confederate (e.g., friendly; Gaertner et al., 1989), empathic concern aroused by the person's problem (e.g., sympathetic; Batson, 1991), and helping behavior. The procedure for assessing helping was based on that used by Dovidio, Allen, and Schroeder (1990; see also Dovidio

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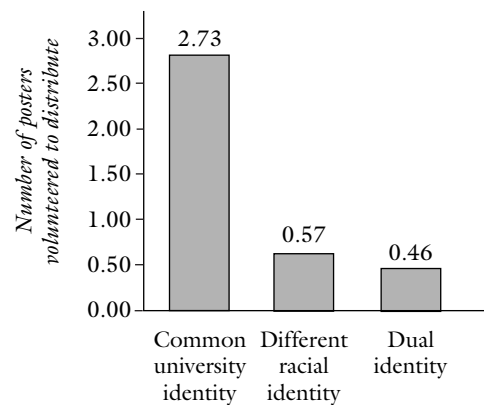
et al., 1997). After the experimental session was allegedly concluded, the experimenter casually mentioned that the professor in charge of this study asked her to handle a sealed envelope to participants. Inside the envelope was a cover letter from the professor informing participants that the envelope contains a request for help from students whose materials were used in the study, stressing that participants are *not* obligated to comply with this request. The envelope also contained a letter from the Black confederate who was interviewed in the videotape in which he asked participants to help him by distributing posters across campus. The number of posters that participants agreed to distribute in different campus buildings was our primary measure of helping.

We again hypothesized that the representations expressed by the Black confederate would systematically affect White participants' attitudes, emotional reactions, and helping behavior. Specifically, we expected that White participants would have more positive attitudes, respond with greater empathic concern, and be more helpful when the confederate expressed a one group (common university) identity than a different racial group (Black) identity (see Dovidio et al., 1997). Moreover, on the basis of our previous study showing Whites' negative reactions to a Black person's expression of a dual identity (Black Colgate student), we anticipated that participants in the dual identity condition would respond similarly to those in the different group condition.

The results of this study were generally consistent with our hypotheses. Although the difference among the common university (one group), different racial (different group) identity, and dual identity conditions was only marginally significant for the attitude measure ($p = .08$), it was significant for both empathic concern ($p = .04$) and helping ($p = .01$). Responses were much more positive in the common university identity (one group) condition than in the different racial identity (different groups) and the dual identity conditions. Attitudes toward the confederate, for example, were more positive in common university identity condition ($M = 5.00$) than in the different racial identity and dual identity conditions ($M_s = 4.33$ and 4.55). With respect to prosocial responses, White participants expressed the most empathic concern for the Black confederate when he expressed a common university identity than when he expressed a different racial identity or a dual identity (see top panel of Figure 10.2); White participants showed a corresponding pattern for the number of posters they agreed to help distribute (see bottom panel of Figure 10.2). For each of the main measures in this study – attitudes, empathic concern, and helping – there was no significant difference between the different racial identity and dual identity conditions, but the means for the

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Confederate's expressed social representation



Confederate's expressed social representation

Figure 10.2 Whites' empathic concern and number of posters volunteered to help distribute for a Black confederate as a function of the confederate's expressed social representation.

one group (common university identity) condition were significantly higher ($ps < .04$) than the means for the other two conditions combined for each measure.

We next tested for mediation of the effect of the manipulation of common university identification condition versus the different racial identity and dual identity conditions combined on helping by both attitudes toward the confederate and empathic concern. Although, as

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described earlier, Whites had more favorable attitudes toward the Black confederate in the one group condition than in the other two conditions, attitudes toward the confederate did not mediate the differences in helping. However, not only was empathic concern greater in the one group (common university) condition than in the other two representation conditions combined, but also empathic concern partially mediated the difference in helping between the one group condition and the other conditions. When empathic concern was included with representation condition as a predictor of helping, the effect for empathic concern was significant, $\beta = .34$, $p < .01$, while the effect for representation condition was significantly reduced, from $\beta = .46$ to $.35$, Sobel $z = 1.99$, $p < .05$, albeit still significant ($p < .01$).

These results conceptually replicate and extend our earlier work. In the field study described earlier in this chapter (Nier, Gaertner, Dovidio, Banker, Ward, & Rust, 2001), even while their race was highly salient, Blacks were helped more by Whites when they emphasized their common group membership with college signature clothing than when they did not wear clothing indicating their common university membership. Furthermore, in the first study we described about responses to a Black person emphasizing different representations (e.g., common university identity, dual identity), we found that this identity manipulation influenced both attitudes and helping directed toward the Blacks as a whole. In that study, as well as in the second study using this manipulation, attitudes did not mediate helping. However, the findings of the second study manipulating a Black confederate's identity expression did reveal that responses of empathic concern, which were stronger when the confederate expressed a one group (common university) identity rather than a dual identity or different racial group identity, mediated helping.

Taken together, the studies described in this section reveal how even when members of two groups value some form of common identity, the concordance between the specific form of recategorization, that is, common group (assimilation) versus dual identity (multiculturalism), is a critical factor determining whether intergroup orientations will be positive and helpful. The responses of White participants in these experiments were positive and prosocial when a Black person identified himself in a way compatible with an assimilation ideology (i.e., a common university, one group representation in both studies as well as unique individual in the first study) but were relatively negative when the Black person emphasized their racial identity, either in conjunction with a common identity (i.e., a dual identity) or by itself.

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As we acknowledged at the beginning of our description of these studies, we did not include an examination of Blacks' reactions to Whites who emphasized their racial identity because such behavior is highly non-normative. For example, the statement "I see myself primarily as a White person" is likely to be perceived as extremely racist, unlike its equivalent for Blacks. As a consequence, the current research, by itself, cannot disentangle whether it is discordance in representations per se that underlies the effects we observed or the particular type of expressed identity that might be interpreted as less inclusive, and therefore exclusionary. Further research is necessary to clarify this issue.

Mechanisms and Moderators

Although both involve some form of recategorization in terms of a superordinate group, the presented research demonstrates that responses to a one group or a dual identity can be substantially divergent. As mentioned, further research is necessary to fully explain the underlying mechanisms that mediate the process through which discordance between majority's and minority's preferred representations may lead to negative reactions.

One promising candidate for such mediating mechanism is social comparison and projection processes. In particular, Mummendey and Wenzel (1999) proposed that when a common, superordinate identity is salient, people tend to overestimate the extent to which their own group's standards and values are prototypical of the superordinate category relative to the standards and values of other groups. This tendency to project one's group values onto others is more pronounced among majorities than minorities (Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997). When the standards of one's own group are perceived to represent those of the superordinate category, the standards of other groups may be seen as more deviant and non-normative and – due to social comparison processes – as more inferior. Thus, an out-group member who stresses his or her subgroup identity is likely to be reacted to more negatively.

Another mechanism that may explain the process through which discordance in preferred representations may lead to negative reactions is identity threat. For majority group members learning that the minority adopts a dual identity representation may be threatening because it undermines the hegemony of the dominant culture. In contrast, for minority group members, knowing that the majority adopts a one group representation may be threatening because it implies a

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denial of the value of their subgroup's culture and traditions. These types of threats to identity may be particularly strong for members who highly identify with their subgroup.

Cultural context may be another factor that influences bias due to discordance in intergroup representations. In contrast to our findings for Blacks and Whites in the US, Rebelo, Guerra, and Monteiro (2005) reported that recategorization as one group was more effective for reducing intergroup bias for Black children in Portugal, whereas a dual identity tended to reduce bias among European Portuguese children. Guerra et al. (2007) proposed that these different patterns of findings may in part be related to the longevity and dynamics of intergroup relations in these countries. Whereas Black-White relations have been important historically in the US, much of the presence of Blacks in Portugal is the result of recent immigration from Africa. A dual identity may not be functional or desirable for second generation African (Black) Portuguese children, who may strive for assimilation and equality with European Portuguese children. However, for European Portuguese children the dual identity representation may ameliorate identity threat by offering a degree of positive differentiation from African Portuguese children, thus lowering intergroup bias more than recategorization as one common group. Although the exact processes that account for these cultural differences have yet to be identified, their implication is clear: the different values and representation preferences of the groups need to be considered to understand intergroup relations.

Conclusion

In this chapter we explored how the processes of recategorization, as outlined in the Common In-Group Identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), can influence not only intergroup attitudes but also prosocial behavior. The work we described extends our earlier research in this area in three fundamental ways. First, whereas our initial research on recategorization and intergroup helping employed laboratory groups and considered only the one group form of recategorization, newer studies presented in this chapter reveal the importance of distinguishing between two forms of shared identity representations, that is recategorization as one group and dual identity.

A second extension is the focus on the correspondence between one group and dual identity representations and assimilation and multicultural acculturation values, respectively. Although our emphasis in

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this chapter was on the association between assimilation values and preference for a one group representation, it should be noted that assimilation can represent one of two forms of colorblind perspectives. One is an emphasis on common or shared identity (e.g., “we are all Americans”), reflecting a preference for a one group representation. The other represents a decategorized orientation, in which the emphasis is on the unique qualities of individuals and individual outcomes (e.g., an emphasis on meritocracy beliefs, such as the Protestant Work Ethic). This orientation may correspond to the “separate individuals” representation within the Common In-Group Identity model (Dovidio et al., 2000). In fact, some common manipulations to prime colorblindness (Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2000) encourage people to focus on both types of perspectives. The research we have presented in this chapter suggests that it might be valuable to distinguish these two types of colorblindness.

The third extension of our previous work represented in the current chapter points to the importance of acknowledging the different perspectives of majority (high power or high status) and minority (low power or low status) group members on collective identity and intergroup relations. We suggest that discordance between these different perspectives can lead to negative intergroup reactions through processes of social comparison and projection as well as identity threat.

Finally, although we acknowledge that intergroup helping is not *necessarily* prosocial and may instead promote the dependency of minority groups (Halabi, Dovidio, & Nadler, 2008), we contend that helping is a particularly important behavior for intergroup relations. Assistance that is withheld can confirm negative intergroup expectations and generate further distrust, which in turn fuels intergroup conflict. Conversely, prosocial action typically elicits reciprocal behaviors and thus can stimulate and reinforce movement toward more harmonious intergroup relations.

