INTERGROUP EMULATION

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Acknowledgments

The American educator Laurence Peter is credited with saying that 'originality is the fine art of remembering what you hear but forgetting where you heard it'. In the beginning of this thesis, I would like to acknowledge those people who led me to some of the ideas in this work, and sincerely apologise to those, if any, whom my mind may have conveniently forgotten.

I am very grateful to Joanne Smith for her guidance and support, for always being available when I needed help, offering guidance beyond that required of her role of supervisor, and most of all for her patience and encouragement during my trials and errors in carrying out this research. I am also very grateful to Thomas Kessler, who took the time to listen to my lay opinions about the nature of intergroup relations at a time when I was a Master's student and had no academic knowledge of the topic. Thomas validated my views and my questioning of assumptions in intergroup relations research, and supported me in following this line of research while in Exeter and then from Jena.

Many of the initial ideas for the studies included here emerged during discussions at Exeter and at external conferences and research visits. Alex Haslam, who oversaw my upgrade process, encouraged us to focus broadly on emulation, while Thomas Morton encouraged us to look at legitimacy and stability in a bivariate research design. At the Jena Meeting on Intergroup Relations in 2011, questions from Roger Giner-Sorolla about what is really being emulated and Sven Waldzus's scepticism that emulation is no more than assimilation prompted me to carry out the 'I want a country like abroad' study. On visiting the University of Queensland in 2012, conversations with Jolanda Jetten and Matthew Hornsey helped shape ideas about emulation and distinctiveness that led to the 'Look north, Scotland' study. And chats to Andrew Livingstone, Joe Sweetman, and Sascha Klement helped me shape my understanding of lower status group strategies, identities, and

Abstract

In December 2010, the Romanian pop-rock band Vunk launched the single 'I want a country like abroad'. This marked the beginning of the band's homonymous campaign aimed at motivating Romanians to take an active part in their country's development. The popular campaign advocates learning from more successful nations and striving to reach a similar level. Such examples of positive regard for high status groups are not uncommon – economic, national, or political groups of lower status often seek to forge relations with and emulate higher status groups. However, this type of behaviour towards more successful groups has not been directly investigated empirically in social psychology, and is not encompassed in existing theories on intergroup relations.

In this thesis, I explore the way in which social groups relate positively to higher status groups and how they emulate successful traits in order to improve. I investigate why members of social groups may admire outgroups, and how admiration is linked to becoming inspired and learning from these outgroups. I look at what features of the social system encourage groups to learn, rather than use other strategies, such as competing or justifying their lower status position. I also investigate what kinds of features are most likely to be learned, and what group members ultimately aim to achieve through learning. I investigate intergroup emulation from a social psychological perspective, working mainly within the theoretical framework of Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, in order to understand fully the processes of admiration and emulation, I draw upon insights from a variety of social science disciplines.

In Chapter 1, I present the relevant body of knowledge in social psychology in the study of status relations. The review of literature will focus on how the various theories view and discuss lower status groups and the strategies available to them for improvement. I will argue that existing theories in social psychology have had a particularly conflictual focus, and do not adequately explain positive, collaborative relations within status

hierarchies. Most approaches suggest that conflict in status hierarchies is inherent and unavoidable, while those approaches that accept consensus as ubiquitous state that lower status groups are deluded into accepting hierarchy consensus.

In Chapter 2, I look at sociological and psychological approaches that offer insight into positive relations within status hierarchies. Based on these theoretical approaches, I propose intergroup emulation as one of the positive ways in which lower status groups relate to higher status models. I further describe emulation as a distinct strategy available to lower status groups, with an eye to integration with existing intergroup relations literature.

In Chapter 3, I present the relevant literature for understanding intergroup emulation. This includes literature on social comparison, particularly upward comparison, and literature on individual and group-based admiration. I will also look at research connected with social learning, intergroup learning, and assimilation. Finally, I will review relevant research on intergroup help and collective action, as both concepts are central to the subsequent assessment of intergroup emulation.

Chapter 4 presents a series of empirical results that look at the features that are admired in higher-status groups (i.e., "who is admired") in order to understand why certain outgroups are preferred targets of emulation. Study 1 introduces prototypicality as an admired feature and stresses the importance of a common reference category for comparing groups. Study 2 further explores prototypicality in an experimental setting, looking at different facets of prototypicality and their relation to admiration and emulation. Study 3 is a thematic analysis of Scottish nationals' comments on proposals that Scotland could emulate Scandinavian countries; this study further explores the role of common reference categories and common values in intergroup emulation.

Chapter 5 is concerned with understanding the conditions that favour groups choosing an emulation strategy over other strategies (i.e., "when does emulation occur"). Study 4 looks at the role of legitimacy, showing that emulation is more likely when status relations are perceived as legitimate. Study 5 further explores the role of status stability,

showing that the emulation strategy is most likely to be employed when status relations are perceived as legitimate and unstable.

Chapter 6 presents a thematic analysis of a representative example of intergroup emulation, analysing the comments of members of the Facebook group associated with the 'I want a country like abroad' campaign. This analysis is focused on two specific questions: what is being emulated and how does emulation occur. To answer these questions, I look at the categories of attributes that are likely to be emulated, and I investigate how group members implement the emulation strategy and what they see as the aim of emulation, analysing how this strategy is distinct from assimilation.

In Chapter 7, I outline the various directions for further work stemming from current analyses. This chapter includes some data that suggest directions for future research into the interplay of emulation and distinctiveness threat in social groups, and emulation's relation to individual mobility strategies and group goals.

In Chapter 8, I discuss all the empirical results taken together. I relate them to the existing literature, and discuss the theoretical implications of these results. I also discuss the practical implications for social psychologists interested in understanding intergroup help and the development of disadvantaged national groups. Finally, I outline the limitations of these results and discuss the overall contribution of this work.

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Declaration

I designed the studies reported in this thesis with guidance from my supervisors, Joanne Smith and Thomas Kessler, and I collected, analysed, and wrote the results. Part of these data (Study 1) were collected during my Masters study at the University of Exeter; however, the study presented here is an original analysis of these data and includes additional data.

Some of the content of the thesis has been included in papers currently under review or in preparation for submission at several journals, as follows:

1. Onu, D., Smith, J. R., & Kessler, T. (2012). Admiration: Knowns and unknowns. *Manuscript invited for resubmission to Personality and Social Psychology Review.* (Chapter 2 includes a discussion of admiration, which is short summary of part of this article)

2. Onu, D., Smith, J. R., Kessler, T., & Midson, G. (2012). 'Look North, Scotland': Group members' responses to suggestions of intergroup emulation. *Manuscript invited for submission to Journal of Social and Political Psychology.* (Study 3 in the thesis)

3. Onu, D., Kessler, T., Smith, J.R., Andonovska-Trajkovska, D., & Fritsche, I. (2012). Intergroup admiration: a positive response to upward comparison for lower-status groups. *Manuscript invited for resubmission to Group Processes and Intergroup Relations.* (Studies 1 and 4 in thesis)

4. Onu, D., Smith, J. R., & Kessler, T. (2012). 'I want a country like abroad': A thematic analysis of a Facebook group focused on intergroup learning. *Manuscript under review for British Journal of Social Psychology.* (Study 6 in thesis)

5. Onu, D., Smith, J.R., & Kessler, T. (2012). Intergroup learning as a strategy for lower-status group improvement. *Manuscript in preparation for European Journal of Social Psychology.* (Study 5 in thesis)

CHAPTER 1

MAIN APPROACHES TO STATUS RELATIONS

"There is no reason, in fact, to assume that intergroup differentiation is inherently conflictual" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 46)

This chapter explores relations between social groups, as reflected in social psychological theory. It begins by presenting the most important current approaches, doing so with an agenda – to show that, despite Tajfel and Turner's warning, researchers have generally assumed that the mere existence of intergroup differentiation will lead to conflict, especially in unequal status relations. I will argue that there are numerous instances of positive relations between groups of unequal status, which are not encompassed in social psychological approaches due to the nature of groups researchers usually focus on. By positive relations, I refer to those relations marked by positive emotions and approach behaviours (e.g., emulation, cooperation, help-acceptance).

This chapter discusses in greater depth Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), as the thesis will primarily draw upon SIT in its analysis of intergroup relations. SIT was preferred due to several theoretical advantages, such as its particular focus on lower-status groups and their group improvement strategies, and its high dominance and acceptance in the field of intergroup relations (Brown, 2000; Hornsey, 2008).

I will also present other major theories in the field of intergroup relations, such as Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Sherif, 1966), Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), and System Justification Theory (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). At the end of the chapter, I will present a critical analysis showing that these theories have focused predominantly on explaining conflictual or oppressive status relations, and have largely

overlooked the extent to which positive intergroup interactions occur. As such, there is a knowledge gap regarding positive interactions between social groups.

1.1. Social Identity Theory

1.1.1. Overview

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) emerged in a time of crisis for social psychology, marked by criticism from inside and outside the discipline, with strong criticism focused on social psychology's reductionist approach to intergroup relations (Elms, 1975; Gergen, 1973; Hornsey, 2008). Social psychologists had become concerned with the study of prejudice and discrimination following Allport's (1954) landmark text on the nature of prejudice. Indeed, it quickly became apparent that prejudice was an important issue best suited to be studied by psychologists due to its subjective nature, making prejudice an essential theme for social psychology's identity as a science (Condor, 2011).

During the 1950s and 1960s, many social psychologists became concerned with explaining intergroup prejudice and conflict. Rooted in psychoanalytical influences, some approaches focused on the individual in order to explain intergroup conflict, looking at personality (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950) or instincts of aggression (Berkowitz, 1962) as motivators for intergroup conflict. At the other end of the spectrum, Realistic Group Conflict Theory (RGCT; Sherif, 1966) suggested an economics-oriented approach, proposing that competition over scarce resources is at the root of intergroup conflict. However, both approaches suffered from limitations. The former approach focuses on individual motivations, and has difficulty explaining 'the glue' that holds individuals together in social groups. At the opposite end, the latter approach focuses on the social group, where individuals seem to be equal 'pawns' who become committed to the group as a result of intergroup conflict. None of these approaches manages to give a comprehensive account of the relation between the individual and the group, irrespective

of the presence or absence of conflict. Individual approaches assume that group behaviour is a mere aggregation of individual tendencies; this can be challenged by the fact that intergroup conflict is too specific to be the outcome of personality (i.e., some groups are discriminated against, but not others) and can change much more rapidly than stable personality traits would allow. RGCT, on the other hand, places the intergroup context at the core of the analysis, and does not explain differences in prejudice among members of the same group. RGCT postulates the importance of the social context, but does not explain the psychological processes that determine the behaviour of individuals as group members (for an extensive discussion, see Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

Tajfel and Turner (1979) introduced *'social identity'* as the explanatory variable that links the individual and the group level; it consists of "those aspects of an individual's self-image that derive from social categories to which he perceives himself as belonging" (p. 40). The authors posit that interactions between two individuals can be described on a continuum between the (unlikely) extremes of purely interpersonal (i.e., interactions solely on the basis of their individual characteristics) and purely intergroup (i.e., interacting solely as members of a single social category) relations. The level of interaction is determined by how the individuals categorise themselves depending on the context, as is further clarified by Self-categorization Theory (SCT; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) .

The central role given to the social identity construct within the theory stems from its motivational implications. Tajfel and Turner (1979) consider that individuals have a need for a positive self-concept and strive to achieve it. The social identities associated with the various groups one belongs to form an integral part of the self-concept; therefore, the assumption is that individuals will strive to achieve and maintain positive social identity. This motivational effect stemming from the need for a positive group identity has been referred to as the *'self-esteem hypothesis'* (Abrams & Hogg, 1988).

Whether a social identity is positive or not becomes apparent through intergroup comparisons. Based on attributes that are particularly valued, the outcome of comparison

can be favourable for the group, in which case it is said that the group is *positively distinct* or has positive social identity, or it can be unfavourable, leading to negative social identity. *Social group status* reflects a group's relative position on a specific dimension of comparison.

Tajfel and Turner (1979) hypothesise that group members who are identified with the group and are in a social situation that allows for social comparisons with relevant outgroups will be motivated to evaluate their group positively. Depending on the structure of the social system, group members will employ various strategies to achieve a positive social identity: individual mobility, social creativity, or social competition.

One way to achieve a more positive social identity is through *individual mobility*. Lower status group members could choose to dissociate themselves from their group and move upwardly into a higher status outgroup. This can only be achieved when individuals believe that social mobility is possible and it implies disidentification with the current group. *Social creativity* is a strategy that may not imply any actual change of status, but is achieved through cognitive restructuring. This can be achieved through (a) comparing the groups on a novel dimension that favours the in-group (e.g., 'we may be poor, but we are hospitable'), (b) by redefining the status dimension, changing it to a positive attribute (e.g., 'we are poor and that means we value more important things than material wealth'), or (c) changing the comparison group (e.g., 'we are actually rich in comparison to some people'). Finally, *social competition* occurs when group members aim to achieve a more positive identity through direct competition with the outgroup.

The configuration of the social system will make some of these strategies more likely than others. Individual mobility becomes likely when boundaries between groups are perceived as permeable (i.e., when it is possible and desirable to move upwardly in the hierarchy). In turn, when individual mobility is not possible or not desired, the choice of strategy depends on whether status relations are perceived as secure (legitimate and stable), in which case group members are more likely to employ social creativity, or insecure (illegitimate and unstable), in which case social competition is the more likely outcome. The

distinction between secure and insecure status relations is related to societal consensus regarding the status hierarchy. Tajfel and Turner (1979) note that many groups live in a social reality of shared beliefs, and, in many cases, these include beliefs that legitimise the status hierarchy. When lower status groups share the belief that their position is just, and cannot envision alternatives to the status quo, relations between groups are secure (i.e., all groups consider them fair and unlikely to change). However, sometimes lower status groups perceive their position as unfair and that it is possible to achieve a better position, in which case the intergroup relations become insecure (illegitimate and unstable).

1.1.2. Contribution

As Tajfel and Turner (1979) themselves note, much of the content put forward in SIT was not necessarily novel at the time; however, its merit stands in integrating individual social identity with group comparison and intergroup behaviour processes in a testable framework. Indeed, Reicher, Spears, and Haslam (2010) argue that the contribution of SIT is not to provide definitive answers, but rather to set the agenda for future research. It provides testable hypotheses and places the dimensions of legitimacy, stability, and permeability at the centre of intergroup relations. An essential methodological contribution of SIT is the minimal group paradigm, an experimental procedure for testing group processes by forming new social groups into the laboratory, devoid of historical meaning (Tajfel, 1970). This is an important contribution; before the minimal group paradigm the only way to test the effects of structural variables in intergroup relations was to conduct costly large-scale experiments (e.g., Sherif, 1966). SIT is one of the major theoretical contributions in intergroup relations. It has contributed to a deeper understanding of ingroup bias and stereotyping, status inequalities and social change strategies (Brown, 2000), influencing thousands of works within and outside social psychology (Reicher et al., 2010).

1.1.3. Theory testing and theoretical advances

SIT research has spanned over three decades, and this provides the opportunity to evaluate some of its initial assumptions. More recently, a number of theoretical and empirical review articles have evaluated the evidence in support of SIT. I will discuss some of these results, with a particular focus given to the question of the strategies employed by lower status groups.

An important contribution of SIT consists in its prediction that permeability, legitimacy, and stability are essential dimensions in determining the choice of strategy for lower status groups to achieve a positive identity. There are almost no studies that have tested the effect of all these structural variables within the same experimental design (Bettencourt, Charlton, Dorr, & Hume, 2001). A notable exception is the work of Ellemers, van Knippenberg, and Wilke (1993). In one study, participants were assigned to minimal groups of higher and lower status; the experimenter manipulated the legitimacy of relations in terms of group assignment to low or high status, the possibility for groups to reverse positions (i.e., stability), and the possibility for participants to change groups (i.e., permeability). The results provided support for SIT predictions, finding that lower status group participants were most competitive in illegitimate and unstable conditions. In addition, they were more likely to strive for individual mobility when the boundaries between groups were permeable, but also when the status relations were unstable.

Legitimacy in particular proves to be a strong predictor of social competition. In a meta-analytic investigation of SIT predictions, Bettencourt and colleagues (2001) tested 145 independent samples regarding effects on ingroup bias. Although they confirmed that lower status groups tend to show less ingroup bias than higher status groups, ingroup bias in lower status groups increases dramatically when relations are perceived to be illegitimate. Illegitimacy is associated with greater group cohesion and increased collective action against such inequality (Ellemers et al., 1993; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). The authors also found support for the role of permeability, showing that lower status group

members show outgroup favouritism when boundaries are permeable. However, the expected effect of status stability on ingroup bias was not supported by this meta-analysis.

Several studies confirm that the expectation for social mobility does indeed influence choices for individual mobility (Ellemers, van Knippenberg, De Vries, & Wilke, 1988; Ellemers, 2001; Lalonde & Silverman, 1994; Verkuyten & Reijerse, 2008), particularly for those lower status group members of high ability (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997). In contrast, when group boundaries are impermeable, a choice for a social creativity strategy may be preferred. Several studies also find that status stability is related to individual mobility, with individuals more likely to try to move upward individually if they perceive their group status as stable (Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2000, 2001; Ellemers et al., 1993). Although SIT predictions regarding the effects of legitimacy and permeability seem to receive general support, the effect for status stability receives only partial support from more recent work (Bettencourt et al., 2001).

Since the publication of the first SIT postulates, several additional strategies for low-status groups have been proposed, with several classifications. Blanz, Mummendey, Mielke, and Klink (1998) identify up to thirteen different strategies. They categorise these strategies according to whether they are behavioural or cognitive; that is, whether they are oriented towards effecting reality or imply a psychological change. They also categorise these strategies as individual or collective. The four-quadrant model and resulting taxonomy of strategies are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. *A taxonomy of identity management strategies according to Blanz et al. (1998)*

		Target of change	
		Individual	Collective
Response mode	Behavioural	Individual mobility Assimilation	Social competition Realistic competition Assimilation
	Cognitive	Individualization	Re-evaluation of comparison dimension New comparison dimension Superordinate re-categorization Subordinate re-categorization New comparison group Temporal comparison Comparison with standard

In addition to those strategies already included in SIT, the authors identify several novel strategies. On the behavioural side, social competition is included to differentiate it from realistic competition (i.e., actual struggle over scarce resources), which has been the focus of the Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Sherif, 1966). Assimilation is also included; this implies a loss of identity and acquisition of the new norms and values of the new identity. Assimilation can be viewed as either an individual strategy (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) or a group strategy (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Individual group members may choose to move upwardly and assimilate into higher status groups (individual mobility, Tajfel & Turner, 1979), or lower status groups (e.g., minority groups) may collectively endorse assimilation into the higher status group. On the cognitive side, individualisation is considered to be a strategy in which the group member re-categorises him- or herself as an

individual, stressing his or her unique characteristics. As cognitive collective strategies, Blanz and colleagues (1998) include several additional strategies to SIT. Drawing on the Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993), the strategies of re-categorisation at superordinate and subordinate level are included (i.e. including the group in a larger category that is more favourable or splitting the current group and choosing the more favourable faction for differentiation). In addition, two final strategies are proposed that change the focus of comparison from an intergroup setting to temporal comparisons (e.g., comparing to a worse time in the group's history) or comparison with the ingroup standard (i.e., the group's own goals and expectations).

1.1.4. Limitations

Although it has generated large amounts of research and has contributed to a deeper understanding of intergroup relations, the social identity approach is still subject to important limitations and challenges (Brown, 2000; Hornsey, 2008; Reicher et al., 2010). I will discuss in greater detail those limitations and challenges relevant to lower-status groups' comparison choices and identity-management strategies.

One of the major criticisms of the approach refers to the self-esteem hypothesis, which postulates that positive intergroup differentiation should result in higher self-esteem, and that people with depressed self-esteem will be motivated to differentiate more between their group and comparison targets. This self-esteem hypothesis has not received consistent empirical support (see M. Rubin & Hewstone, 1998), and the importance of individual self-esteem for the theory has been played down by most SIT researchers in recent years (Hornsey, 2008).

A further challenge for SIT researchers is to elucidate the processes underlying the choice of target groups in the process of intergroup comparison. The vast majority of studies impose comparison groups on participants (Brown, 2000), and this makes it unclear how group members choose relevant comparison groups in a naturalistic setting. Although

it may seem tempting to believe that lower status groups will choose to compare downward rather than upward in order to achieve a positive identity, the scarce experimental evidence available suggests the opposite – that groups may display a preference for upward comparison (Brown & Haeger, 1999), particularly when they are motivated to improve the group rather than enhance their positive identity (Caricati, 2012).

Another challenge for SIT researchers is to predict the choice of identity-enhancement strategy for lower status groups (Brown, 2000). As mentioned above, the number of strategies described has increased over the last decades, which leads to increased difficulty in predicting the conditions that lead to different choices in lower status groups in terms of the strategy employed. This is made more difficult by the fact that few studies have tested the theoretical predictions related to legitimacy, stability, and permeability simultaneously, as well as the contradictory empirical results in relation to stability discussed earlier (Bettencourt et al., 2001).

1.2. Other approaches to status relations

Although SIT provides a good framework for analysing status relations, several alternative approaches to intergroup relations address some of its limitations. Due to its historical importance, I will briefly discuss Realistic Group Conflict Theory (RGCT) as a precursor to SIT ideas. I will also focus on Social Dominance Theory (SDT) and System Justification Theory (SJT), with a focus on how lower status is understood in the context of these theories.

1.2.1. Realistic Group Conflict Theory (RGCT)

The foundations of RGCT were laid out by Muzafer Sherif in the 1950s. At the time, these ideas represented a dramatic philosophical shift in the psychological study of intergroup relations. Mainstream social psychologists had focused on individual processes

in order to explain intergroup conflict. For instance, some argued for a personality predisposition for discrimination (e.g., authoritarian personality, Adorno et al., 1950), or for individual processes of frustration being manifested in group-level behaviours of conflict (Crosby, 1976). In opposition to these individual approaches, Sherif (1966) argued that one cannot understand intergroup relations by focusing solely on the psychology of the individual, and that the structural variables governing the intergroup relation cannot be ignored. He proposed that intergroup conflict is grounded in the interdependence of group goals; groups can find themselves pursuing opposing goals (competition), leading to conflict, or compatible goals (leading to cooperation).

The individual approaches to intergroup conflict were not only popular for epistemic, but also practical reasons – it was much easier to test the individuals than to manipulate structural societal variables. However, Sherif and his colleagues attempted to do just that in the famous Boys' Camp experiments (Jackson, 1993). In a series of studies, they selected young boys to take part in what participants thought were summer camps; in fact, researchers were disguised as camp staff and recorded their actions. The researchers were careful to select their participants in such a way as to challenge previous approaches, selecting boys who were well-adjusted and sociable, and performed better than average in school, thus removing personality or psychodynamic explanations for conflict; by the allocation of boys into groups that cut across friendships, they also removed interpersonal attraction variables. The Boys' Camp experiments were based on a similar structure, including three phases. First, groups were formed, and the boys had the chance to develop a common 'history' and become connected to the group by developing a common idenity, group structure and leadership. Second, groups were subjected to competitive tasks; this created strong hostility between groups and the construction of negative stereotypes on both sides. This phase mimicked the formation of intergroup conflict, showing how competing goals, rather than individual variables, were responsible for phenomena such as hostility, ingroup bias, and prejudice. In the third stage, several hostility reduction strategies

were employed. One strategy was intergroup contact (e.g., the two groups watching a film together), which was viewed at the time as an effective strategy for hostility reduction (Allport, 1954); however, this did not reduce the conflict, but rather presented an opportunity for overt displays of hostility. In contrast, as predicted by RGCT, the most effective strategy was to introduce a series of activities based on superordinate goals that could only be achieved by the groups working together – these activities reduced hostility over time and allowed for more cross-group friendships.

One of the important merits of RGCT is to have broadened the focus of analysis in social psychology from individual and ingroup level to intergroup level. The structural societal variables, such as conflicting group goals, had previously been the realm of sociology, but Sherif and colleagues (1966) not only extended the level of analysis, but also showed that the experimental method can be employed to study these macro-level variables. Throughout his life, Sherif (1977) maintained the belief that such high level of analysis is necessary in order to counteract the reductionist nature of much of social psychological research. Another important merit was to discuss the nature of the relationships between the individual and the group as *identification*, analysing the way in which the strength of group identification varies as a function of the conflict between groups. This concept is further developed by the social identity approach.

RGCT is robust and theoretically sound, describing one of the major causes of intergroup conflict – competition over scarce resources (Jackson, 1993). However, as much as competition is shown to be sufficient to produce conflict, it may not be necessary. Henri Tajfel and colleagues' work in the 1960s demonstrates that it is enough to divide people into meaningless groups and they will display ingroup bias although no competing goals are present (Tajfel, 1970). As shown in the earlier section, the fact that mere categorisation appears sufficient to produce conflict is the cornerstone of the social identity approach. One theoretical limitation of RGCT is that it deals with groups that are competing as equals, and as such does not take into account the effect of group status. Status, say critics

(for a review, see Jackson, 1993), cannot be ignored, because it poses important threats to conflict resolution – while superordinate goals may decrease competition, they cannot eradicate existing status differences.

Subsequent approaches, such as the social identity approach, deal with status in much more detail. However, SIT has also come under scrutiny from critics in its analysis of status relations by placing too large a focus on social change (M. Rubin & Hewstone, 2004). More often than not, hierarchies are remarkably stable and lower status groups rarely strive for change. Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and System Justification Theory (Jost et al., 2004) attempt to explain just this phenomenon – the way in which hierarchies are maintained.

1.2.2. Social Dominance Theory (SDT)

SDT was developed by Jim Sidanius and Felicia Pratto (1999) in order to understand how societies organise themselves in group-based hierarchies. It is a complex theory that operates at multiple levels of analysis, investigating the relation between individual-level variables (socialisation and personality), intergroup variables (such as specific power differentials), and societal variables (such as ideology or culture). All of these levels contribute to understanding those forces that lead to the maintenance or, sometimes, the change of group-based hierarchies. At the *societal level*, ideology can serve to enhance or reduce social hierarchies (e.g., sexism is hierarchy-enhancing, while a human rights doctrine is hierarchy-attenuating). These ideologies are manifested through social institutions (e.g., courts, news media, etc.), which act to enhance or equalise the hierarchy. Sidanius and Pratto (2012) stress that, unlike SIT which is focused on group status, they are concerned primarily with power (defined as the ability to control another party), which is qualitatively different from status (the prestige a group holds in society), although the two often overlap in reality.

At the *intergroup level*, the social context allows societal variables to become manifest. For example, if the social context is one of intergroup inequality, this situation favours the expression of discriminatory ideologies. These ideologies are often endorsed by both high- and low-status groups. This may be counterintuitive from the perspective of group interest. As one might expect, the more dominant groups in society are generally those most in favour of hierarchy-maintaining ideologies, as they act in a self-interested manner. However, if lower-dominance groups act in an equally self-interested manner, this would represent a strong force for hierarchy attenuation, which is often not the case. Sidanius and Pratto (1999) discuss the phenomenon by which members of less dominant groups act in a way that is less beneficial to themselves and their group than members of more dominant groups – this is termed 'behavioural asymmetry', an important mechanism acting at the intergroup level (which is also reflected at the individual level – see below).

The level of analysis that SDT is most well-known for is that of *individual processes*, so much so that the theory is often misunderstood as a theory of individual differences (Sidanius, Pratto, Van Laar, & Levin, 2004). SDT posits that prejudice and discrimination at the group level occurs through the aggregation of discrimination tendencies at the individual level. The tendency to endorse group-based inequality is termed 'social dominance orientation' (SDO). Individuals' SDO is influenced by a variety of factors, such as personality variables (e.g., dominance, openness), socialisation and personal experiences, or dominant societal ideologies. Through socialisation within a group-based hierarchy, dominant group members are likely to have higher SDO than subordinate group members, leading to the behavioural asymmetry mentioned above, by which dominant group members act in a particularly group-serving manner. Empirical results show how individual SDO finds its expression at a societal level through aggregation at an institutional level. People high in SDO may be more likely to choose to be a part of hierarchy-enhancing institutions, such as the police or the military, and in turn become further socialised in a hierarchy-enhancing culture (see Sidanius et al., 2004).

The individual-level component of the theory has come under much criticism, being the most controversial part of SDT. As a result of debate, the definition of SDO has changed over time from a preference for own-group dominance to a general preference for hierarchy, and has also transitioned from a stable trait to being more responsive to the social context (see M. Rubin & Hewstone, 2004). However, whatever the origin of SDO, as long as it is regarded as highly stable, the theory has difficulty accounting for social change and for any sudden shifts of power in group-based hierarchies in particular, as any changes would have to reflect changes in SDO for a large number of individuals, which would be a long-term process.

Nonetheless, SDT represents an important contribution to the field of intergroup relations. An essential advancement is the focus on intergroup power, manifested both as institutional control and ideology. Consistent with RGCT, the theory not only focuses on symbolic competition over social status, which is central to SIT, but also on the realistic competition to establish control over the allocation of resources (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012). Although this has posed numerous problems for SDT, the theory also has the merit of analysing group-based hierarchies at multiple levels and showing the mutual influences between these levels.

1.2.3. System Justification Theory (SJT)

Developed by John Jost and Mahzarin Banaji, SJT was greatly influenced by SIT and SDT, but developed as a response to these theories' over-emphasis on intergroup conflict (Jost et al., 2004). With SIT focused on ingroup bias, and early SDT on own-group dominance, both theories stress the way in which group members are motivated to see their own group as superior to others, either symbolically or in terms of power over resources. If all groups are motivated to assert their superiority, those groups at the bottom of the hierarchy, who are most in need of positive self-esteem or social power, should display the highest ingroup bias or desire for their group's dominance. SJT is built around

empirical evidence showing that this is not the case. In fact, the opposite tends to be true – lower-status groups often do not display ingroup bias, but outgroup favouritism, evaluating dominant groups in society more highly on both relevant and irrelevant status dimensions (for an overview, see Jost et al., 2004). SJT sees outgroup favouritism as a manifestation of the general tendency in humans to legitimise group-based hierarchies.

Both lower and higher status groups legitimise the hierarchy, and the theory argues that this tendency stems from a general motive to see the status quo as legitimate and fair. SJT distinguishes the motive of system justification from motives of group or ego justification. Ego justification is the need for positive self-image and validation, while group justification is the need to have a favourable image of one's own group; however, the system justification motive acts at the system level (the level of the group-based hierarchy), reflecting individuals' need to live in a just world. SJT, thus, does not propose that system justification is the only motive driving individuals, but that it may, under certain conditions, override motives such as group justification or ego justification. For instance, the endorsement of social stereotypes by lower-status groups, when stereotypes are clearly unfavourable to the ingroup (Jost & Banaji, 1994), is seen as a situation in which system justification motives override group justification motives. At other times, group motives may be stronger than system justification motives, and lower status groups will act according to group interest and seek to produce social change. Outgroup favouritism, in particular, is seen as evidence that lower status group members do not act in the interest of their group, but out of a need to justify the social reality they live in. SJT studies employ a variety of measures of outgroup favouritism, such as implicit, explicit, or open-ended measures, to find indications of system justification tendencies (for a review, see Jost et al., 2004).

The interpretation of outgroup favouritism as system justification is, however, a matter of debate. SIT also recognises outgroup favouritism and proposes that it occurs in a situation of consensual discrimination – where a socially shared system of beliefs *a priori*

dictates the social order. The contribution of SJT is to propose that individuals actively construct this shared reality as just and fair due to their need for system justification. However, the evidence to demonstrate this is not entirely convincing (M. Rubin & Hewstone, 2004); much of the evidence, for instance, shows that individuals endorse or legitimise the status hierarchy, but it is unclear whether they only reflect and recognise a common shared reality of this hierarchy, or whether they "over-endorse" the hierarchy and actively legitimise it further, which would be consistent with SJT. Jost et al. (2004) responded to the need to differentiate system justification from social reality by showing that lower status groups do not only display outgroup favouritism on status-relevant dimensions (thus reflecting the reality of the status hierarchy), but also on status-irrelevant dimensions (thus going further than a mere reflection of social reality). It is puzzling, however, why favouritism on status-irrelevant dimensions would legitimise status-relevant differences (M. Rubin & Hewstone, 2004). SJT developed as a reaction to the focus of SIT and early SDT on inherent intergroup conflict and has, as a result, re-focused the field on the need to explain system stability and has attempted to shed light on outgroup favouritism, a phenomenon largely unexplained by intergroup relations theories. However, the debate over the nature and motives driving outgroup favouritism is ongoing.

1.3. Critical overview

1.3.1. Negative focus of intergroup relations theory

As Jost and colleagues (2004) note in their analysis of intergroup relations theory, most approaches seem to assume that the mere existence of group differentiation is inherently conflictual. This is, for instance, a mainstream conclusion drawn from minimal group experiments, which show that when participants are divided into meaningless groups they display ingroup bias by allocating higher rewards to their own group (Tajfel, 1970); this could be interpreted to show that mere differentiation is inherently conflictual. In

addition, the motivational bases of SIT and SDT, the need for self-esteem or dominance in comparison to similar or proximal groups, may lead us to believe that conflict is unavoidable when salient group differentiation is in place, as groups will constantly struggle to overthrow or push down other groups. There is, however, debate surrounding all of these premises. For instance, the minimal group experiments may manipulate much more than mere differentiation for participants, and may imply interdependence, thus motivating ingroup bias (for a discussion, see Hornsey, 2008). Also, the evidence is limited and equivocal in support of the self-esteem hypothesis (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; see also Brown, 2000), while the assumption that people are motivated by the dominance of their own group has been altered in the development of SDT, with greater attention given to situations of system stability (Sidanius et al., 2004). Therefore, although it may seem that conflict is inherent in intergroup relations, the evidence is still a matter of debate. But perhaps the most important challenge to inherent conflict is that most social hierarchies are stable and accepted by both higher and lower status groups.

The fact that many hierarchies are endorsed by both lower and higher status groups has been in the focus of both SJT and SDT, as discussed earlier, proposing that people endorse these hierarchies due to hierarchy-legitimising ideologies or a need to live in a fair society. However, this is still a very negative view of intergroup relations, in which lower status groups are deluded by a veil of social constructions that keeps them trapped in an unfair status position; if this veil was lifted, these groups would seek to change the hierarchy. Essentially, this is still a conflictual view that assumes that the hierarchy is always negative for those at the lower levels. It is certainly true that many hierarchies are negative and work to the detriment of lower status groups, and that this detriment is often not apparent to these groups. However, from a reading of these theories of intergroup relations, it seems that all differentiation, especially when status inequality is present, will lead to conflict, either overt or hidden by illusions of fairness.

The assumption of 'in-built' conflict in all intergroup relations is exactly that – an assumption. There are, in fact, many social groups that do not follow a pattern of conflict. For instance, although conflict happens from time to time, most teams in different departments of an organisation are not in constant conflict or blinded by illusions that the company is fair. Even in the presence of status differentials, we generally accept that the organisational structure was developed to be functional, and not to oppress the departments with less power. We also readily accept many hierarchies as informative and legitimate. For instance, I understand that the city I live in may not be the best place to live or the best place to visit, and accept many other cities as much better. Or I can discuss the situation of my country as worse-off than other countries in many respects, accepting it may not have the best healthcare or community spirit, but such discussions with co-nationals do not generally end in the resolution to openly challenge those countries with better healthcare, nor with embracing some myth to justify the situation. These are just some of the many examples in which the existence of differentiation, even with status inequality, does not fit a pattern of negative relations.

1.3.2. Historical influences

The focus on conflict in intergroup relations theory is very useful in order to understand instances of prejudice, discrimination, or aggression; however, a theory developed in the quest for the roots of intergroup conflict may struggle to explain all instances of intergroup behaviour. Although many of the concepts and results obtained in this quest may explain a wide range of behaviours, one needs to be aware of the researchers' agendas and exercise caution in liberally extending these results to all intergroup situations. There are both historical and epistemic reasons for intergroup relations theory having focused on conflict. Historically, much of intergroup relations theory was developed after World War II in an effort to comprehend the conditions that made possible mass conflict and genocide. Social psychologists became more and more

concerned with intergroup conflict, and prejudice and discrimination became the central research topic for social psychology, a topic that helped social psychology define its disciplinary identity (Condor, 2011). Working within this framework of interest in discrimination processes, the various theories are themselves marked by the historical context in which they were developed. For instance, SIT, much criticised for its overemphasis on social change, was developed in the 1960s and 1970s, in the context of multiple civil rights movements across the world. Tajfel and Turner themselves note in their 1979 outline of 'An integrative theory of intergroup conflict' (note the title's focus on intergroup *conflict*, rather than intergroup *relations*) that, although social systems have been remarkably stable in history, the 1970s saw a change in patterns of intergroup relations, with many lower status groups rising for social change. Indeed, the era of movements for civil rights for ethnic minorities, workers, or women made salient the widespread nature of social change. SDT and SJT, on the other hand, were developed in the US in the 1990s, in a time of reinstated social stability and disappointment with the slowing pace of social change compared to earlier decades. The fact that these theories bear the mark of researchers' interests and the salient social issues at the time of their development is important, and may suggest that they are not always applicable to any intergroup situation.

Because they were seeking to understand conflict, SIT, SDT, and SJT were all influenced by sociological theories of conflict, in particular the work of Karl Marx (see Marx, 1988). Marx is the chief representative of a family of theories named in sociology 'conflict theories', those theories that place a strong emphasis on social conflict, in particular social class conflict in Marx's work, and also in Max Weber's (1978) understanding of power. SIT shares much in common with conflict theories in its focus (Hogg & Abrams, 1988), having been developed at a time when Marxism was very influential in British academia (Hornsey, 2008). SJT and SDT both owe their conception of how stability is maintained in society to Marx's concept of 'false consciousness' (Marx, 1988), a concept similar to system-justifying beliefs or hierarchy-legitimising ideologies

(Sidanius et al., 2004). Conflict theories are, however, only one way in which society has been understood by social scientists, with many other approaches stressing the way in which social systems are functional and regulate themselves to achieve social harmony (for an overview of the functionalist framework, see Giddens, 2009). Conflict theories are very useful for understanding intergroup conflict; however, they are only part of the story of intergroup relations. The understanding of consensual relations in society is essential to having a complete understanding of intergroup relations.

1.3.3. Positive intergroup relations

A growing number of social psychologists are currently advocating the need to research positive intergroup interactions – those instances in which members of different groups approach each other and experience positive emotions. In December 2012, a small group conference at Stony Brook, New York entitled 'Proactive behaviour across group boundaries' showcased a range of research projects all showing that positive intergroup relations cannot be understood as the absence of prejudice, and that research has to investigate positive intergroup relations as well in order to receive a full picture of the range of behaviours that are exhibited by group members. For example, some of this research looks at the motivations for cross-group contact and the way in which group members gain in social efficacy by establishing such contact (S. C. Wright, 2008), or the study of allophilia – a positive reaction to difference, characterised by mutual interest and enjoyment of difference (Pittinsky, 2012). A longer tradition in the study of positive interactions is found in the intergroup contact literature (Pettigrew, 1998), which outlines the role of intergroup contact in reducing intergroup conflict. These works are promising for understanding those processes that govern positive relations between groups. They extend the range of behaviours known to social psychologists and describe a much more complex picture of intergroup relations. However, such approaches may not apply to groups of different status, as many of these approaches stress the need for equal group status within the

interaction as a pre-requisite for a positive interaction to occur (e.g., Pettigrew, 1998). Therefore, at the moment, there is still little understanding of what may drive positive relations between groups of different status. In the next chapter, I will explore some theoretical work that may help explain why we sometimes find positive intergroup interactions, even in situations of unequal status.

CHAPTER 2

CONSENSUAL STATUS RELATIONS

"All we are saying is give peace a chance." (John Lennon, 1940-1980)

It is absolutely essential to study intergroup conflict in order to understand the root of genocide, discrimination, or war. However, it may be difficult to fully understand positive behaviours such as peace, helping, or collaboration as the mere absence of prejudice or competition. In order to understand consensus, it is important to study consensus itself. In Chapter 1, I argued that intergroup relations research has focused on (overt and covert) conflict and that simply seeing positive behaviour as the absence of conflict, in light of these theories, may not capture the essence of these behaviours.

In this chapter, I look at a series of approaches that may help account for consensus in status hierarchies. In Chapter 1, I showed how intergroup theories of status relations are rooted in sociological conflict theories. Therefore, I will begin by looking at sociological 'consensus theories' – those catalogued as structural functionalist theories. I follow this analysis with a series of results looking at the psychological bases for consensus.

In the second section of the chapter, I introduce intergroup emulation as one type of positive reaction in status hierarchies, and outline testable predictions in relation to emulation, as well as its place among current social psychological research in intergroup relations.

2.1. Approaches to Consensual Status Relations

Chapter 1 showed that little theoretical work in social psychology accounts for genuinely positive and mutually beneficial interactions between groups of unequal status.

There is, however, sociological theory to account for consensual hierarchies, and some general psychological models that provide insight into the processes relating to such consensus at the individual level. The structural functionalist framework mentioned earlier may account for such consensus, and I will discuss below some of the principles governing this framework. These results are useful for grasping a societal-level understanding of consensus. However, most functionalist sociological works have treated society as an organism in itself (e.g., Durkheim, 1949; Parsons, 1968), with little regard for the agency and motivation of individual actors or subgroups. In order to gain insight into the psychological processes governing positive relations in hierarchy, I look at three works that advocate the largely consensual nature of power and status hierarchies: Alan Fiske's relational models, with a focus on the hierarchical model (A. P. Fiske, 1992); Simon and Oakes's (2006) identity model of power; and Henrich and Gil-White's (2001) prestige hierarchies.

2.1.1. Structural functionalism

Functionalism is a broad framework in the social sciences that uses functional explanations in the understanding of society (Marshall, 1998). It was the dominant approach in sociology throughout the 20th century, but became less and less popular after the 1960s and 1970s. Many functionalists see society as an organism in itself, and see the constituent parts of society (such as the different social groups) as working together to maintain the overall stability. Emile Durkheim (1949), for instance, draws on the earlier metaphor of Auguste Comte of society as a living organism to show how the division of labour in society promotes solidarity, and how the various sections of society work together to achieve stability. With the emergence of systems theory and cybernetics, sociologists such as Talcott Parsons used system metaphors to describe the functioning of society, seen as a broad system with encompassing subsystems, whose functioning as a broadly informational system is governed by the laws of cybernetics (Parsons, 1968).

Functionalist approaches began to be criticised in the 1960s for failing to account for social change, and were termed 'consensus theories'. This was partially due to sudden social change throughout the world at the time (e.g., US protests against Vietnam War, feminism, etc.), which seemed inconsistent with functionalist ideas, and many theorists turned to conflict theories, such as Karl Marx (1988), in order to understand the nature of such widespread social change.

Nonetheless, functionalism provides some very useful insights into the nature of consensus. For Durkheim (1949; see also Marshall, 1998) and many other early functionalists, it is societal norms that provide social stability. The collection of values and norms that governs society was named 'collective conscience' by Durkheim, a concept that has much in common with SIT's 'social identity' (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Individuals are socialised as members of society and their belonging to society is reflected in their acquisition of the collective conscience. They are attuned to the collective conscience, and this regulates their social behaviour in accordance to societal values and norms. As noted, Durkheim's holistic analysis that focuses on the system accounts easily for consensus, but fails to account for social change. Parsons (1968) aimed to build on the work of Durkheim, integrating his holistic approach with individual-focused approaches, such as Max Weber's (1978). He proposes that there are four major functional prerequisites for all systems: (a) *adaptation* to the physical environment; (b) *goal attainment*; (c) *integration* (of its internal diversity); and (d) *pattern-maintenance* (as a means to achieve stability). All subsystems strive to achieve these functions, but also owe to the same prerequisites. For instance, society is composed of cultural, social, personality, and biological subsystems. The social subsystem itself (the level where we find group-based hierarchies) is composed of subsystems achieving its functional prerequisites: (a) the economic system provides adaptation to changing environmental demands; (b) the political system is responsible for goal attainment; (c) the institutions of social regulation are responsible for integration of diversity by prescribing roles and rules; (d) and pattern-maintenance is achieved through

conservative structures that are particularly focused on maintaining current norms and practices, such as religion. This analysis paints a more dynamic picture of the societal equilibrium that needs to be achieved by the system, although change can be effected by various competing subsystems. For instance, if we were to think of various groups within society, we can perceive the groups themselves as subsystems that follow their goals through political subsystems; however, these various goals create tensions that will need to be integrated at a higher level, by community and legal institutions. Parsons also discusses the process by which whole systems evolve due to various pressures, and usually adapt by creating more specialised institutions to deal with new challenges, after which they regain a state of equilibrium. For instance, it could be argued that society 'created' a doctrine of civil and human rights in response to tensions stemming from equal rights movements (e.g., French Revolution, women's rights, etc.); in this way, the system responded to tensions by creating institutions that work towards a new equilibrium. Therefore, although Parsons (1968) provides a system-level analysis, he integrates the opportunity for social action and change. Nonetheless, although change may occur in this mdoel, the system will always tend towards equilibrium.

The level of analysis of such theories is too wide for the purpose of this thesis, which is interested in group-level reactions to intergroup situations, and individuals' reactions as group members. However, functionalism provides a useful framework for understanding how stability and consensus may occur. Shared societal norms and values provide stability to social systems and encourage consensus, and they are reflected in the broader social identity shared by group members. Even when conflict occurs within the social system, the system will regain (a new) equilibrium by integrating conflictual goals through new norms and dedicated institutions. These broad frameworks, however, do not aim to analyse the psychological processes guiding consensus in intergroup situations. To explore these psychological processes, I look at the hierarchical relational model (A. P. Fiske, 1992) and the identity model of power (Simon & Oakes, 2006).

2.1.2. The authority ranking relational model

In his theory of social relations, Alan Fiske (1992) argues against the dominant approach to understanding social interactions in social psychology; this dominant view is focused solely on the individual, and social relations are perceived as means to achieve individual goals. Fiske proposes that people are fundamentally social, and social interactions are meaningful and rewarding in themselves, above and beyond objective individual gains. For instance, sharing food can be intrinsically rewarding and create bonds, above the mere satisfaction of hunger. Fiske integrates a wide range of results from across the social sciences and proposes that social interactions are based on four elementary models or schemas; these transcend situations, domains, or cultures and form the basis of any human social interaction.

These four elementary models are: (a) *communal sharing:* interactions within this model treat all individuals involved as equals and undifferentiated, stressing commonality (e.g., kinship groups, national groups, minimal groups); these groups share resources equally among members; (b) *authority ranking:* this model governs social hierarchy, and the parties involved in the interaction differ in status; subordinates obey and show deference, while superiors protect and are generous with subordinates; (c) *equality matching:* in this model, parties are bound by reciprocity, with a strong emphasis on equality/fairness; for instance, this governs the return of favours among acquaintances, or the running of cooperatives; and, finally (d) *market pricing* is an interaction in which parties reduce the features of the relationship to a single unit that allows comparison; this governs most economic relations. Relationships between individuals are not usually pure forms of any of the models, but use all of the models to various degrees.

Fiske (1992) uses examples of interpersonal or intra-group interactions in his analysis, but there is no reason to assume that these models would not apply to intergroup relations. Insofar as individuals employ similar psychological processes irrespective of

whether they define themselves in terms of their personal identity or group membership (Turner et al., 1987), the relational models described above should also apply to intergroup relations, at least when groups share a frame of reference they can interact in. Let us consider the example of countries. In the United Nations, countries are represented as members, with a focus on their belonging to the group, and they have equal say over who should be allowed in, consistent with a *communal sharing* model. However, in economic terms, with the use of the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank, an *authority ranking* relationship allows for some countries to organise and control the affairs of countries of lower economic status. Very often, especially in bilateral negotiations, but in historic conflicts as well, countries keep clear count of the balance of the relationship, in an *equality matching* schema. In negotiating climate change deals, for example, countries reduce a variety of features, such as current greenhouse gas emissions, historical contribution to climate change, current economic capacity, and potential economic losses from environmental policies, to numbers such as funding to be offered and/or emissions to be cut, under a *market pricing* model. The same schemas employed in interpersonal relations are used by group members to interact with other group members. Since the authority ranking model is the one that governs power and status hierarchies, I will discuss it in more detail below, as well as the implications for understanding unequal status relations.

Fiske (1992) describes authority ranking as an asymmetrical relationship that holds different benefits and responsibilities for both subordinates and superiors. Superiors generally receive more goods than subordinates in any distribution process, and their status is marked by power symbols. They can command subordinates, and are generally considered wise and revered by subordinates. Superiors have the obligation to be fair, protective, and generous towards subordinates, and, in many cultures, failure to do so may cause them to lose their privileged status. Subordinates receive guidance, advice, and protection from superiors, but in turn they are required to obey superiors. Although the modern 'Western' culture tends to delegitimise power hierarchies, Fiske makes the point

that most authority ranking relations are consensual, and indeed proposes that the unequal benefit in wealth and status may have developed as incentives for people to occupy leadership positions, positions that come with a host of responsibilities and pressures. In later works (A. P. Fiske, 2004), he does acknowledge that the view on hierarchies he initially proposed was 'rosy' and may not account for coercion or oppression adequately. He explains that such conflict usually arises from a mismatch in the models used. For example, in an illegitimate hierarchy, the superiors act in an authority ranking model and punish subordinates for the transgression of disobedience, whereas 'the subordinates' may believe they should be in an equality matching framework where everyone has to be treated in an equal manner and react violently to 'the superiors'' transgression of the fairness rule.

In order to understand why some hierarchies may be functional in an intergroup relations context, the authority ranking model may help outline some of the benefits of being in a subordinate position in a status hierarchy, and illustrate why not all groups are averse to lower status positions. To go back to the example of countries, it may be that lower status countries receive guidance and advice from those they consider superior in ability, such as is often the case in receiving technological know-how, or economic policy advice. Or it may be that countries enter an authority ranking relation when they are offered protection, such as joining a military organisation headed by a core group of countries of superior military capability. In any case, the relational models approach gives us a better understanding of the cognitive processes that may govern consensual intergroup status hierarchies. It proposes that it is essentially the same schema that governs so many other relationships, such as parent-child, student-mentor, charismatic leader-follower, that is employed in consensual relations between lower and higher status groups. It may also provide insight into when hierarchies become illegitimate, and this would occur when those considered by superiors to be lower status reject this relationship, in turn operating in an equality matching framework.

In discussing functionalism at the beginning of this section, I concluded that functionalist theories provided two closely-related reasons for the creation of consensual hierarchies: norms that maintain societal stability, and a common identity. However, this gave little indication of the psychological processes governing such a consensual relation. The authority ranking schema may explain how the norms associated with consensual hierarchies are reflected in individual cognition. Fiske (2004) proposes that each culture will dictate which groups are superior to others, but the cognitive mechanism that allows for such relations is the authority ranking model. For those who interiorise cultural norms that dictate a hierarchical relation it may be intrinsically motivating to act in accordance to the authority ranking model; for example, for those who believe they should always respect their elders, performing a behaviour of deference such as giving a gift or taking guidance from elders would be intrinsically rewarding.

Besides societal norms, another functional mechanism that contributes to system stability is the existence of a common category for different groups in society (Durkheim, 1949). The work of Bernd Simon and Penelope Oakes (2006) provides a psychological account of how identity can serve to explain the emergence and maintenance of consensual hierarchies.

2.1.3. The identity model of power

In their identity approach to social power, Simon and Oakes (2006) reject the dominant social psychological understanding of power as dependence, that is where A has power over B if A controls resources B wants. Instead, they define power as A's capacity to recruit B's agency (i.e., make B perform actions in A's interest). This definition includes the wide range of processes that have been described in the literature as 'power', from coercive power to consensual social influence. Power relations vary along a continuum, from largely conflictual to largely consensual. The authors place identity at the heart of their definition

of power, showing that the more consensual forms of power emerge when A and B share a common identity, where A and B can be individuals or groups.

Simon and Oakes (2006) distinguish four 'faces' of power on the conflict-consensus continuum. *The first face of power* corresponds to a situation of coercion, where A has leverage to force B's actions; for example, the US may threaten harsh economic sanctions on Iran should it continue its nuclear program. In this instance, although group identities are highly salient and a superordinate identity is weak, the authors still make the point that groups will need to adhere to a common reference category in order to value the same object, in this case the participation in global trade. *The second face of power* is a situation where group identities are salient, and there is a degree of coercion present. However, coercion is not made explicit, but is inherent in an overall category or institution to which both parties belong. For instance, this is the case of Germany advocating severe austerity measures for Greece, without explicit threats in the case of non-compliance; this interaction occurs in the institutional framework of the EU, and Greece's compliance reflects loyalty to the EU institutional rules and regulations. This face of power thus requires both A and B to identify with an encompassing category, although their own categories may be highly salient at the same time. *The third face of power* describes a situation where A has power over B by convincing B that the actions it wants it to take are actually in B's interest. This is, for instance, how Romania suddenly slashed all public sector salaries by 25% in 2009 at the advice of IMF and EU, becoming convinced that this is the best way to deal with economic depression. In this case, A and B adhere to the same system of values, at least in relation to the current situation they find themselves in. And, finally, the *fourth face of power* is the situation closest to consensus, with A and B sharing a strong common identity and A managing to recruit B's agency on this basis. For instance, it is through the strength of common European identity that some of the older EU members have managed to persuade new members to implement targets for foreign aid or cutting carbon emissions; despite this being detrimental to those countries' economies, the

argument is made that this is consistent with European values and how Europe should act on the world stage. This is certainly a form of recruiting the others' agency, not by making them do something for you, but by convincing them to do something *together with you,* in a cooperative way.

The message of this approach is that lower- and higher-level identities play an important role in defining the type of power hierarchies groups find themselves in. The stronger the superordinate category, the more likely it is that the power relations are based on influence rather than coercion, although most relations are a mixture of the two. Simon and Oakes (2006) also analyse the difference between power and status, proposing that status hierarchies are more likely to be based on a stronger common category, since all groups within the hierarchy value similar features if they agree on a definition of what is considered prestigious. This identity approach to power and status is very useful in outlining the psychological processes of multiple hierarchical categorisations that allow for a strong "collective conscience" (Durkheim, 1949) to provide stability and consensus in hierarchies. It is, however, worthy to note that, although a superordinate identity is a very important indicator of hierarchy consensus, there is debate to whether it is a precursor of consensual power. Although identity-based approaches consider identity as a precursor to positive interdependence (Simon & Oakes, 2006; Turner, 2005), these approaches go against the dominant view in social sciences (for a discussion, see Simon & Oakes, 2006), where common identity is a result of positive interdependence (RGCT, Sherif, 1966) and can be strengthened as a result of cooperative relations (Gaertner et al., 1993).

So far, I have described a number of theoretical approaches that account for consensual status relations, giving some indication of how consensus may function at societal level, but also how it is reflected in individual cognitive structures in the form of relational schemas and hierarchical identities. These approaches have been useful in providing a more complete understanding of how consensual hierarchies occur and why they are maintained. However, these approaches are general and tend to discuss power and

status hierarchies together. As Simon and Oakes (2006) point out, status and power are different phenomena. In this thesis, I have set out to analyse status (rather than power) relations. Although most hierarchies are a mixture of power and status, and power analyses are very useful to understanding status as well, in the next section I will discuss an approach that places status and power hierarchies in opposition; this epistemic opposition is useful in order to capture the nature of status relations when divorced from power processes.

2.1.4. Status versus power hierarchies

Henrich and Gil-White (2001) distinguish two types of hierarchies: dominance and prestige hierarchies. Dominance hierarchies are maintained by the aggression of superiors and fear of repression in subordinates. These hierarchies are common to many animals, including humans. Prestige hierarchies, however, are particular to human societies and their existence is due to the particularly important role played by culture in human evolution. As they evolved from early hominids, humans' activities became increasingly complex (e.g., tool manufacturing, cooking, building shelter), requiring equally complex skill sets. In this context, the cultural transmission of these skill sets became very important for human societies, as they were acquired through social learning. While all animals are concerned with genetic transmission (which is reflected in dominance hierarchies based on physical fitness), humans are uniquely concerned with cultural transmission. Prestige hierarchies reflect this need for social learning from models of excellent skill, a need unique to humans.

Henrich and Gil-White (2001) propose that, in the context of humans placing high value on skills such as manufacturing tools and weapons, clothes, cooking, etc., humans developed a particular pattern to relate to the more skilful individuals in the group. They began to seek their company and praise their talents in order to ingratiate themselves with these models, with the intention of copying their skill. The more followers they had, the

more these models were seen to be 'popular', and acquired a reputation that gave them influence and benefits within the social group. This hierarchy is only maintained insofar as the superior possesses superior skill – if another group member were to display higher skill, they would be followed instead. The relation between subordinates and superiors in prestige hierarchies is fundamentally different from the superior-subordinate relation in dominance hierarchies. In dominance hierarchies, subordinates avoid the proximity of and eye-contact with superiors, whereas in prestige hierarchies they constantly seek contact with superiors, and usually display prolonged stares at superiors and the activity they are performing. In dominance hierarchies, subordinates occasionally attack superiors in order to challenge them, but generally fear them, while in prestige hierarchies they display none of those behaviours. Superiors in dominance hierarchies often attack subordinates, and often act in an arrogant manner; in prestige hierarchies, superiors never attack subordinates, and seldom swagger. In prestige hierarchies, superiors are usually imitated in status-relevant skills, but also tangential behaviours; in dominance hierarchies, superiors are not imitated by subordinates.

Henrich and Gil-White (2001) draw the evidence for this delineation between prestige and dominance hierarchies from evolutionary psychology and social anthropology. However, many other authors have proposed somewhat similar categorisations of types of hierarchical relations, differentiating between coercive power and consensual social influence (for an extended discussion, see Simon & Oakes, 2006). I agree with Simon and Oakes (2006), however, that most hierarchies are a mixture of the two, and consequently most hierarchies are a mixture of dominance and prestige. However, the analysis of prestige hierarchies is useful in outlining one mechanism that leads to more consensual hierarchies – the motivation of the subordinate to learn and improve their skill set leads them to seek and maintain relations with the superior in order to gain this skill set.

2.1.5. Discussion

This section has provided a theoretical basis for understanding consensus in intergroup hierarchies. Consensus is maintained through strong societal norms that provide the rules of dealing with intergroup difference (Parsons, 1991); the specific norms are defined culturally by each society (i.e., which groups are on the top and bottom of the hierarchy), but the mechanism by which we operate within these culturally defined hierarchies are universal relational schemas (A. P. Fiske, 2004). Consensus is also reflected in and maintained through the existence of a strong collective identity (Durkheim, 1949), and although the strength of such a superordinate identity is associated with consensus, it can occur when lower-level group identities are also salient (Simon & Oakes, 2006). Consensus occurs in those hierarchies based on how deserving the higher-status groups are perceived to be, while those hierarchies that are maintained through constant oppression are largely conflictual (Henrich & Gil-White, 2001).

Although it is valuable to analyse the mechanisms behind consensus, it is important to remember that 'real' hierarchies are never pure consensus or pure conflict, but always a mixture of the two (Simon & Oakes, 2006). This is very important in order to account for both the way in which consensus occurs in status hierarchies, but also the way in which consensus can sometimes fade and conflict arise. Many of the approaches presented in the previous and present chapters emphasise either consensus or change, and thus fail to explain the complexity of hierarchies. For instance, as discussed earlier, many approaches in social psychology have their roots in conflict theories, those that emphasise inherent conflict in society. Therefore, because consensus 'does not fit' with the conflict view, approaches such as Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius et al., 2004) and System-Justification Theory (Jost et al., 2004) use the concept of 'false consciousness' to explain consensus as something that is 'not real', but a social construction imposed by higher-status groups (see also Simon & Oakes, 2006). Although this thesis focuses on consensus

processes, it is important to stress that I do not adhere to a consensus theory of society, and consider that both consensus and conflict are inherent to intergroup relations.

Intergroup conflict theories have proposed a variety of mechanisms to explain intergroup conflict, from the presence of scarce resources to mere categorisation. Based on the works analysed earlier, there also seem to be various instances of consensus, and consensus may be achieved through a variety of mechanisms. The theories analysed have proposed cooperative superordinate goals, stressing a superordinate identity, stressing norms (e.g., 'respect your elders'), the recognition of excellent skill in the higher status groups, and there may also be other instances of consensual intergroup hierarchies. In order to provide focus to the thesis, I will analyse only one of these instances of consensus – that derived from the work of Henrich and Gil-White (2001) on prestige hierarchies and applied to intergroup status hierarchies – the reaction of intergroup emulation in lower status groups. In the next section, I will outline the main features for intergroup emulation as a lower status reaction, and discuss the place of such a strategy in contemporary intergroup relations theory.

2.2. Intergroup emulation

Of the various instances of consensus in hierarchies, I chose to focus on intergroup emulation for several reasons. First, there does not seem to be much work to account for this behaviour in intergroup settings, in comparison to, for instance, a superordinate identity approach to consensual hierarchies; therefore, this is a novel area of study. Second, although it may be novel to intergroup relations, the concept of intergroup emulation is consistent with and can draw upon many past results in other fields of research, such as social comparison, emotions, social learning, and others (I will discuss this in more detail below). And third, the employment of emulation by lower status groups suggests long-term

improvement for the lower status group, which is an exciting prospect from a social change perspective.

The thesis will only focus on lower status groups. In order to study consensus in status hierarchies, it is most important to show that the hierarchical situation is positive for the lower status groups rather than the higher status groups, for whom the higher status position is beneficial in itself. Also, in an emulation reaction, the behaviour lies with the lower status group, so this where empirical evaluation should occur. In the following sections, I will characterise intergroup emulation in more detail as well as its place in intergroup relations theory.

2.2.1. Intergroup prestige hierarchies

Henrich and Gil-White's (2001) work refers only to interpersonal or intragroup relations when discussing prestige hierarchies. However, there is no a priori reason to assume that the same mechanism cannot be used by individuals who identify as group members when they evaluate other groups, thus bringing the psychological processes particular to interpersonal hierarchies to intergroup level (Turner et al., 1987). Extending theorising about prestige hierarchies to intergroup relations, we can make several predictions for the intergroup context.

True prestige hierarchies are based on the deservingness of superiors – a consensus within the hierarchy as to what skills or traits are most valued, and the fact that superiors possess these to a large extent. In intergroup relations terms, this means a status hierarchy of high legitimacy. In terms of emotions, the extension of prestige hierarchies predictions suggest that lower status groups will feel admiration towards higher status groups in such legitimate hierarchies. In terms of intergroup behaviour, several behaviours will be more likely for lower status groups – the desire for contact, the desire to receive help and guidance, and, most of all, the tendency to emulate the superior group/s. For higher status groups, they will be very unlikely to display aggression, instead they will be likely to transfer

knowledge to the lower status group; this thesis, however, only focuses on the lower status groups.

The predictions outlined above for a consensual hierarchy based on emulation are broadly consistent with psychological theory. Perceived legitimacy of the higher status group's position is one of the strongest predictors of hierarchy consensus (Bettencourt et al., 2001; Ellemers et al., 1993; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In terms of positive emotions within status hierarchies, admiration is the positive emotional response to upward comparison (Smith, 2000), believed to have a role in motivating the admirer to learn from the admired (Haidt & Seder, 2009). If admiration is motivating for learning, then it will be associated with increased desire for contact, emulation, and to receive knowledge. Behaviours such as intergroup contact (Pettigrew, 1998), intergroup learning (Nagda, Kim, & Truelove, 2004), and the willingness to receive knowledge (Nadler, 2002) have all been associated with positive intergroup relations in past research. The link between legitimacy, admiration, learning, help, and contact needs to be established empirically, but there is some theoretical indication that these variables are consistent with a pattern of consensual status relations, where lower status groups seek to learn from higher status groups. The cognitive, emotional, and behavioural associates of the emulation strategy are the topic of the next chapter.

2.2.2. Fit with existing theory

The predictions regarding intergroup emulation can be derived from Henrich and Gil-White's (2001) theorising on the nature of prestige hierarchies. However, in order to be able to compare this behaviour to others described previously in intergroup relations theory, emulation needs to be interpreted from the perspective of existing theoretical frameworks. Most of the theories discussed in Chapter 1 will not easily accommodate the discussion of an emulation reaction for lower status groups. Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Sherif, 1966) explains consensual relations in terms of cooperative goals as equal

partners, which is not consistent with the unequal status situation of emulation I aim to investigate. Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius et al., 2004) is concerned with intergroup power as dominance, rather than status as prestige. System Justification Theory (Jost et al., 2004) does focus on consensus in unequal status hierarchies, but construes consensus as derived from a need to see the social system as just. SJT does deal with both legitimacy and a positive regard for higher status outgroups, which is consistent with the emulation behaviour, but it construes legitimacy and outgroup favouritism as inducing passivity and resignation in the lower status group. This is in direct opposition to the idea that emulation occurs in situations of high regard for outgroups and high legitimacy, but also motivates lower status group improvement through the acquisition of knowledge and skills. Thus, SJT's construal of legitimate status hierarchies does not easily accommodate the idea that such hierarchies produce change.

Social Identity Theory (SIT, Tajfel & Turner, 1979) may be a better framework for analysing intergroup emulation. It is concerned primarily with status relations, and particularly with lower status groups. As discussed in 1.1.1., SIT proposes various strategies used by lower status groups in order to change or cope with negative status; Tajfel and Turner (1979) state that many more strategies may exist, and indeed many more have been identified (see Blanz et al., 1998). SIT does acknowledge outgroup favouritism as a ubiquitous feature of unequal status relations. Outgroup favouritism is not a 'false consciousness', but is grounded in the social reality surrounding the intergroup relation. It occurs in a social system of shared beliefs that all groups adhere to, resulting in a justified and institutionalised status difference, which may be strongly embedded in the groups' culture and history (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This is consistent with the view that consensus implies the institutionalised integration of difference (Parsons, 1991) and the adherence of both groups to a superordinate framework of values and norms (Durkheim, 1949; Simon & Oakes, 2006).

There are indeed tenets of SIT, such as the self-esteem hypothesis, that may seem to be inconsistent with a positive reaction to upward comparison, as any upward comparison should be seen to be a threat to positive group identity, and therefore should be avoided or rejected by lower status groups (Brown, 2000). However, the role of self-esteem in SIT has been under constant debate (M. Rubin & Hewstone, 1998), and empirical studies have shown that upward comparison is preferred by many groups, despite any threats to group image this may pose (Brown & Haeger, 1999). Intergroup emulation as a strategy may not be consistent with all tenets of SIT, but can be accommodated within the construal of outgroup favouritism in SIT, and can be analysed using the theory's core concepts. In fact, many proponents of the social identity approach consider SIT not as a complete theory, but rather as a framework to approach intergroup relations; it offers the essential dimensions for the assessment of intergroup relations, such as social identification, legitimacy, stability, permeability (Reicher et al., 2010). Below, I look at the way in which these dimensions are linked to intergroup emulation.

As discussed earlier, legitimacy should play an essential role in the emergence of intergroup emulation, with emulation occurring only in *legitimate* status hierarchies. In terms of stability, a series of results looking at interpersonal processes may provide some clues to its role in emulation. In interpersonal relations, individuals are more likely to prefer upward comparison (Wheeler, 1966), admire (Smith, 2000), and become inspired (Lockwood & Kunda, 1997) by role-models when they aim to, and believe that they can, achieve a better performance; this makes sense – if emulation is a behaviour aimed at improving performance, it should only be manifested when improvement is desired and perceived as achievable. As such, I propose that emulation will be employed by lower status groups when they perceive their position in the hierarchy as *unstable*, in terms of believing that their position can improve in the future. Therefore, I propose that emulation will be found in legitimate and unstable status relations. As discussed at the beginning of the chapter, SIT originally only looked at two quadrants obtained through the combination of legitimacy

and stability: the legitimate and stable situation (leading to a preference for social creativity), and the illegitimate and unstable situation (encouraging social competition). More recently, research on violent collective action has placed some of the most destructive reactions of lower status groups in the illegitimate and stable quadrant (Tausch et al., 2011). However, the legitimate and unstable quadrant has not been investigated, and I propose this is where intergroup emulation should be placed (see Figure 1).

	STABLE		STABLE	
RADICAL ACTION	↑	SOCIAL CREATIVITY	RADICAL ACTION ↑	SOCIAL CREATIVITY
ILLEGITIMATE ←		→ LEGITIMATE	ILLEGITIMATE ←	→ LEGITIMATE
SOCIAL COMPETITION	↓		SOCIAL COMPETITION ↓	INTERGROUP EMULATION
	UNSTABLE		UNSTABLE	
PAST RESEARCH			EMULATION STRATEGY	
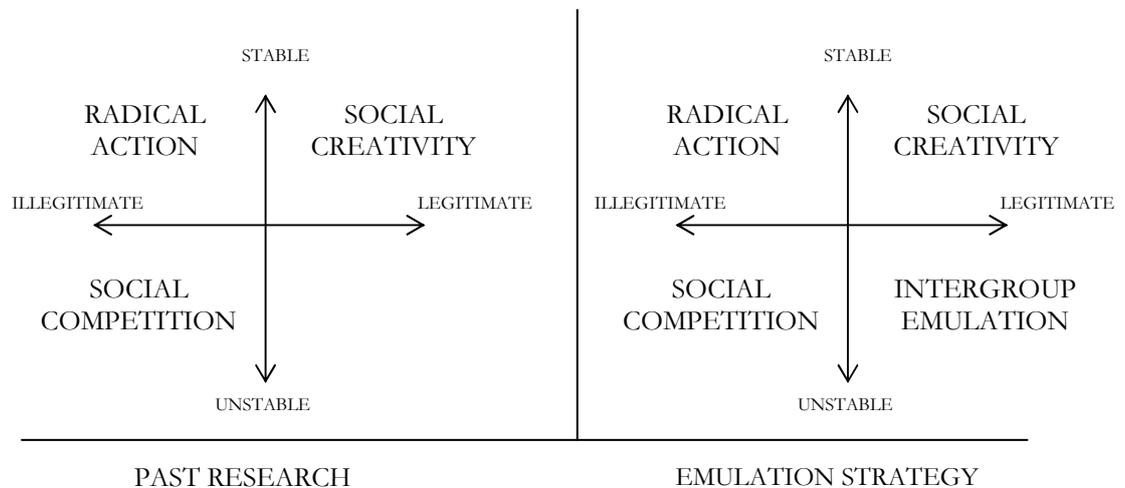
Figure 1. Predictions for the place of the emulation strategy

In terms of identification and permeability, several predictions can also be made. If low permeability of group boundaries makes individual mobility less likely (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and in turn makes a collective strategy more likely (Ellemers et al., 1988), we can hypothesise that intergroup emulation will be more likely when group boundaries are not permeable; mobility between groups should be impractical or undesirable for intergroup emulation to occur. Also, if intergroup emulation is a collective strategy for improving the group, then it should be more likely when group members identify strongly with their group, as has been shown to be the case for other collective strategies (Ellemers, 2001). At the same time, as discussed earlier, the lower status group members should also identify with the superordinate category both groups are nested within, or to a set of values and rules both the higher status and lower status group adhere to (Simon & Oakes, 2006). I

will explore these variables in more depth in the following chapters, but for now it is useful to lay down the general predictions in order to understand the place of intergroup emulation in existing intergroup relations frameworks and results.

2.2.3. Why has no one thought of this before?

One should be cautious whenever a novel behaviour (for instance, intergroup emulation) is proposed; it may be only a manifestation of a behaviour already described, or indeed something so unusual and so rare in reality that it hardly warrants the effort to study it. Throughout the following chapters, I will present evidence of how emulation is distinct from other behaviours of lower status groups documented in the past, as well as a range of naturalistic settings where it occurs. However, I am by no means the first to investigate the emulation reaction: There is more interest in political science and cultural studies for this reaction, for instance in looking at Western emulation in countries such as Japan and South Korea (Iwabuchi, 1998), and emulation is studied in the framework of hybridity theory (Bhabha, 1996). However, emulation has not received much attention in social psychology for several reasons.

First, as shown earlier, emulation does not 'fit' with many of the existing frameworks or some of their central tenets; therefore, instances of emulation may have simply been overlooked with no tools to analyse them. Equally, some instances of emulation may have been investigated, but 'forced' into existing categories. For instance, Bond and King (1985) describe a similar experience in Hong Kong of selective emulation of some Western features, as that described by hybridity researchers in Japan (Iwabuchi, 1998). However, Bond and King (1985) class this reaction as 'social creativity'. I would argue against equating emulation with social creativity. Emulation is a behavioural, not a cognitive strategy, like social creativity (Blanz et al., 1998). Social creativity focuses attention away from the status-relevant dimensions, whereas emulation is particularly focused on the status dimension. And emulation is aimed at improvement, whereas social

creativity maintains the status quo (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). I will come back to these differences in later chapters; however, I am using this example to illustrate how instances of emulation may have been investigated in past research, but 'forced into' existing labels.

Second, there are also important historical reasons for why social psychologists may not have looked at emulation behaviours. One reason is its incompatibility with the negative focus of intergroup relations, overwhelmingly concerned with prejudice and discrimination (see 1.3). But there is also geographical and cultural bias in intergroup relations research that may account for the lack of focus on emulation. First, the vast majority of social psychology research has been conducted in groups of chronic high status in nations of chronic high status (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). This may be one reason for the overwhelming focus on downward comparison (Zagefka & Brown, 2006) and lack of interest in upward comparison, as downward comparison is far more salient for higher status group members. Where researchers focused on lower status groups, they focused on instances of problematic, conflictual relations (see 1.3). Second, emulation seems inconsistent with ingroup bias. If ingroup bias is ubiquitous due to the need to see our group as better than other groups, then upward comparison should feel negative and be avoided, not produce admiration and inspiration. Outgroup favouritism in general has challenged many theories due to its inconsistency with self-enhancement motives (Jost et al., 2004). However, there is evidence that self-enhancement in general, and ingroup bias in particular, may be much less pronounced in many South-East Asian cultures than in the US, and, to a lesser extent, Europe (Heine & Hamamura, 2007). If the motivation for self-enhancement is less pronounced in some cultures, it may also mean less threat from upward comparison and more positive regard and emulation of outgroups (it may not be coincidental that much hybridism research as well looks at South-East Asia).

Finally, there may be a simple cognitive bias that also contributes to the lack of research on emulation, and that is that consensual hierarchies are less salient than illegitimate ones (Simon & Oakes, 2006). For instance, when we think of social inequality,

we may stress the way in which different ethnic groups or different regional groups have less access to resources, but rarely look at the health and wellbeing inequalities between those with and without university degrees. We take this discrimination for granted, but it is a very strong power and status hierarchy. When discussing power in hierarchies of universities, we may think much more often of the Russell Group of universities in the UK or the Ivy League in the US, but take for granted the league table ranking that offers considerable more access to resources. The G8 or G20 groups of countries spark protests due to their perceived illegitimacy, but few criticise the legitimacy of GDP as an indicator of performance, an indicator that offers countries of highest GDP considerable advantages in international decision-making. Many status and power hierarchies are not studied because they are not salient; however, such consensual hierarchies provide more status and power than oppressive ones (Simon & Oakes, 2006). Social psychologists may be more likely to ignore hierarchies when they are consensual, and only begin to investigate them when they become questioned by society (Crandall, 2011).

For all these reasons, social psychology has often not been concerned with a large portion of social reality: that of positive relations (see also Pittinsky, 2012). Intergroup emulation is only one of the many behaviours that require more attention, and this thesis aims to shed light on the psychological and social aspects of this phenomenon.

CHAPTER 3

THE PROCESS OF INTERGROUP EMULATION

In the previous chapter, I introduced the concept of intergroup emulation. I have also discussed the conditions that may make members of a social groups more likely to emulate an outgroup (i.e., legitimate and unstable relations). I will discuss these predictions in more detail in Chapter 5. In this chapter, however, I will focus on the processes involved in intergroup emulation. As discussed at more length in the previous chapter (see 2.2.1), these processes are drawn from the work of Henrich and Gil-White (2001) on prestige hierarchies, and extrapolated to the intergroup level. In summary, for intergroup emulation to occur, the outgroup must possess a valued or desired trait; therefore, ingroup members must perceive the comparison as more favourable to the outgroup *(upward comparison)*. In turn, this elicits *admiration* for the outgroup. There are several group-based behaviours that may be expected in intergroup emulation, such as the imitation of knowledge or skills from the outgroup *(learning)*, the high acceptability of *knowledge-related help* from the outgroup, but also a heightened motivation to achieve *ingroup improvement* (see Figure 2). All of these topics have been investigated in relation to intergroup behaviour in the past, but not in relation to emulation. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to draw upon insights into the nature of these phenomena (i.e., admiration, help, etc.) in order to gain a deeper and more complex understanding of intergroup emulation.
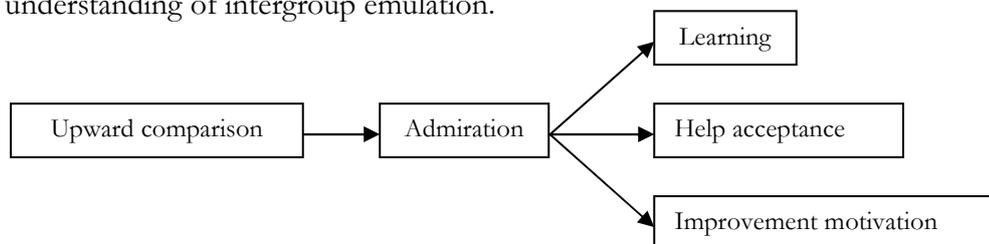
Figure 2. The processes involved in intergroup emulation

Before I proceed to a theoretical discussion of these phenomena, I will present three very brief historical instances of intergroup emulation. These serve a dual purpose: to give further indication of what is meant by intergroup emulation, and to serve as concrete examples for the subsequent theoretical sections of this chapter.

Instance 1: the Moors in Europe. When the Moors (North-African Muslims) conquered the Iberian Peninsula in the 8th century, they brought with them important advances in domains such as science, medicine, architecture, and governance, some of which had been known in Europe but forgotten after the fall of the Roman Empire. The Moorish influence beyond Southern Europe was felt as many scholars, artists, and noblemen from Central and Northern Europe sought education in Moorish cultural centres such as Cordoba or Toledo. In these centres, Europeans could discover the classic Greek and Roman philosophers, or advanced mathematics, chemistry, and medicine. While part of the Moorish influence in Europe was due to their political conquest, which saw many Muslim converts in today's Spain for instance, their lasting legacy was due to the Europeans' recognition of the knowledge and skills Muslims possessed. In fact, some of the most striking Muslim influences occurred after some of the cultural centres (e.g. Toledo, Sicily) were re-conquered by Christians; many of the new Christian rulers of these centres took Muslim advisers and employed Muslim scholars and artists (see Fletcher, 2006).

Instance 2: Ataturk's Turkey. By the 18th century, Europe's cultural centres had come to embody ideals of knowledge, science, and secularism (incidentally, it was Ibn Rushd, a Muslim philosopher in Cordoba, who is considered an important contributor to the development of secular thought in Western Europe; Fletcher, 2006). This model was highly valued by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the first President of Turkey. After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, he managed to overthrow Allied occupation and institute a Turkish Republic. He led an extensive programme of reforms aimed at consolidating the secular state, and introduced educational, economic, and social revisions

(Mango, 2011). Due to the extent of the reforms, Turkey under Ataturk is seen as heavily imitating Western European culture (including features such as clothing and music), but the end-goal was not imitation as such:

> "Ataturk is usually known today as a radical moderniser and westerniser. The description is true but not sufficient. He imported Western practices in order to bring his country into parity with the richest countries of the world, most of which were to be found in the West. But his aim was not imitation but participation in a universal civilization, which like the thinkers of the European Enlightment, he saw as the onward march of humanity, regardless of religion and the divisions it caused." (Mango, 2011, p. 1)

Instance 3: Japan in Asia. Japan is often seen as one of the most successful countries to have imitated the Anglo-American model from military, industry, to popular culture, although it is often underestimated how many of these influences have been adapted and transformed in the process, through fusion with Japanese features (Allen & Sakamoto, 2006). This gave rise to new models of culture or business, some of which have been 'exported' by Japan to other countries in the region since the 1990s, such as Hong Kong, Singapore, or Taiwan (Iwabuchi, 2002).

I will refer back to these examples as I look at the processes involved in emulation throughout this chapter, from upward comparison and admiration, to learning, help-seeking, and social change.

3.1. Upward comparison

In first instance, emulation requires the recognition that another person or group displays higher performance than the perceiver on a certain dimension. In this section, I will discuss the way in which research on upward comparison relates to emulation behaviour. I will start by looking at upward comparison in an interpersonal setting, then

discuss the limited results on upward comparison in intergroup settings, and finally discuss the importance of the frame of reference employed in comparison processes.

3.1.1. Interpersonal comparison

In early writings on social comparison, upward comparison was seen as one of the preferred forms of relating to others. Festinger (1954) sparked psychological interest into social comparison processes, postulating that the function of comparing ourselves to others is to objectively evaluate our own performance. Therefore, we seek comparison targets whom we perceive as generally similar to us, and prefer those targets who are slightly better and will motivate us to improve. For Festinger (1954), close upward comparison serves an improvement function through competition. A decade later, Wheeler (1966) linked motivation with upward comparison, showing that individuals motivated to improve their performance are most likely to make upward comparisons, as this helps them improve (see also Collins, 1996). In contrast, other motives produce different choices of comparison: evaluation motives encourage the individual to seek similar (but often slightly better) targets to compare to, while those with a self-enhancement goal will seek to compare downwards to lesser performing targets (for a review, see J. V. Wood, 1989).

Upward comparison may be beneficial for self-improvement because it signals that the perceiver has to strive to achieve a better performance. However, often upward comparisons are made with very distant targets (e.g., a young girl taking singing lessons may compare herself with the soprano Maria Callas). In these distant comparisons, the target serves as a model to be observed and imitated (Bandura, 1977), as well as being inspirational and motivating to the perceiver (Lockwood & Kunda, 1997). These two different comparison foci – close upward and distant upward comparisons – are further related to different types of goals. Individuals may approach self-improvement with an aim to perform better than comparative others and receive praise (performance goal orientation), or with a view of mastering skills or knowledge (learning goal orientation;

Dweck, 1986). Those with a learning goal orientation will seek challenges that foster learning, and will be likely to seek distant upward comparisons in order to observe and emulate highly skilled individuals (Dweck, 1986).

Although it can foster improvement, upward comparison may be threatening to the individual, as it signals a comparatively low performance. One moderator accounting for inspiration versus defensive responses as a result of upward comparison may be the attainability of a better performance. Researching inspirational effects of role-models, Lockwood and Kunda (1997) show that when perceivers of a superior target believed that they could achieve a higher performance in the future, they were more likely to be inspired and motivated to improve their performance following upward comparison. In contrast, in unattainable conditions, participants were more likely to dismiss the upward comparison target as irrelevant. The idea of attainability of a higher performance is also related to the different goal orientations mentioned above. Individuals are more likely to have learning/development goal orientations (i.e., focusing on mastering skills or knowledge) when they believe that the skill to learn is changeable (e.g., intelligence is not innate, but malleable). However, when they believe the comparison dimension is fixed, they are more likely to display a performance goal orientation (i.e., a focus on positive judgements, praise).

Overall, it is relevant for emulation that upward comparison is related to improvement goals, especially when these goals have an orientation towards learning, and that this type of improvement motivation is likely to occur when a better performance is thought to be possible and attainable. The focus on improvement, skill acquisition, and attainability is consistent with the premise that groups will emulate other groups due to their motivation to improve and that they will do so when they believe a better position is attainable to them (i.e., that their position is unstable; see also 2.2.1 and 2.2.2). However, as much as interpersonal social comparison theory echoes this understanding of emulation, social comparison research in intergroup settings has had a very different focus.

3.1.2. Intergroup comparison

The focus on comparison processes in intergroup relations has been predominantly on group members' avoidance or challenging of upward comparison and preference for downward comparison. This is due to the overwhelming focus on self-enhancement motives for members of social groups (Caricati, 2012; Zagefka & Brown, 2006). As I have shown above, a preference for downward comparison is associated with a self-enhancement motivation. As discussed in Chapter 1 (see 1.1.1.), a central premise of Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) is that group members are motivated to see their group(s) as positively distinct. Therefore, when faced with an upward comparison target such as a higher status groups, group members may challenge the outgroup position or avoid the comparison, sometimes by comparing downward to an even lower status group. Through its focus on the importance of positive group identity for self-esteem, SIT research has focused on self-enhancement motives as drivers of intergroup behaviour, motives which are related to a preference for downward comparison in an intergroup context (Caricati, 2012; Zagefka & Brown, 2006). As shown in the previous section, other motives such as evaluation or improvement drive social comparisons in interpersonal relations; however, there has been very little focus in intergroup relations on group-level motives other than self-enhancement (Zagefka & Brown, 2006).

It could be argued that intergroup processes are essentially different from interpersonal comparison processes, and indeed the fact that self-enhancement and downward comparison have received overwhelming attention is due to their prevalence in intergroup comparison as opposed to interpersonal comparison. There is little empirical research to argue for or against this point, since almost no empirical research has been concerned with the choice of comparison type in intergroup settings (for a discussion, see Brown, 2000). Of the few existing studies, it is interesting that upward comparison seems to be preferred by group members when given a choice. Brown and Haeger (1999) surveyed six European countries, and found that most group members chose to compare

upwardly to similar or, in the case of the lowest status countries, to higher status and dissimilar targets. Looking at comparison choice in intermediate status groups, Caricati (2012) found that group members preferred to compare equally to lower and to higher status groups when they thought the hierarchy was stable (consistent with an evaluation motive), but preferred upward comparison targets when they believed they could improve in the future (consistent with an improvement motive). It was only when participants were explicitly asked to enhance the image of their group that they preferred downward comparison targets.

It thus seems that the lack of research into comparisons driven by evaluation and improvement goals is not because these motives do not occur in social groups, but rather due to the focus of intergroup relations research. Therefore, some groups may prefer upward comparison, particularly when they aim to improve and when they perceive a better position as attainable to them, in line with interpersonal comparison literature and Caricati's (2012) findings in an intergroup setting. Also, in line with interpersonal comparison literature, group members should be more likely to seek models or become inspired by models when seeking to improve. Indeed, going back to the instances of emulation presented at the beginning of the chapter, and looking at Turkey under Ataturk, we can see that the need to improve may follow the realisation that the current performance is insufficient (the Ottoman Empire had just been defeated in WWI). The need to improve may prompt upward comparison and emulation of models. It may also be that group members may not be aware that there is any prospect of improvement until they come into contact with higher performing groups, as was the case of Middle Age Christian scholars for whom coming into contact with Muslim scholars made their own "gaps" in knowledge apparent and gave them a roadmap for improvement.

3.1.3. Frame of reference

In the discussion of upward comparison, it is important to unpack the meaning of the 'higher performance' that prompts upward comparison – how is it exactly that groups determine who is the higher performer in an intergroup setting? In order to be comparable, two groups must share a frame of reference. For instance, despite Turkey being Muslim and Europe Christian, to Ataturk they were comparable on the secularism dimension. The frame of reference can sometimes be limited to one dimension (e.g., military power, wealth, wellbeing), in which case the comparison of performance is relatively straight-forward based on that particular dimension (e.g., in terms of wealth, countries with higher GDP/capita are better performing).

However, it is often that group identities are nested in higher-order social identities (Indian castes within the Indian national identity, EU countries under the European identity, etc.). In this case, the superordinate group serves as a frame of reference, and performance is often judged in terms of that superordinate identity, with more prototypical (i.e., representative for the overall category) groups being considered higher performing (Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007). This has implications for the emulation strategy, as it may predict which features are emulated. If the frame of reference is narrow, then it is likely that, following upward comparison, only a limited number of dimensions are emulated. However, if the frame of reference is a well-defined and valued category, then many features that are considered to be prototypical may be emulated. For instance, I mentioned the example of Japan, whose success following Anglo-American emulation is often quoted (Iwabuchi, 1998). However, at first, contact with Americans as a strong military power in the 19th century only prompted revolutionary changes in Japan's military, with many features 'imported' from Western models, but not the emulation of other features. In contrast, Turkey under Ataturk aimed to be a 'mainstream European' country. The emulation process in this case meant the adoption of a wide range of features that were seen to be part of the European prototype, from policy to clothing.

Upward comparison can, under certain conditions such as the possibility for improvement and in the presence of improvement goals, lead to emulation, manifested as acquisition of features from the comparison target. According to Henrich and Gil-White's (2001) model of prestige hierarchies, this relation between perceiving talented others and copying their actions is mediated by admiration. In the next section, I discuss to what extent existing research on group-based admiration supports its role as a mediator for intergroup emulation.

3.2. Admiration[*]

3.2.1. Interpersonal admiration

Admiration is an under-researched emotion (Haidt & Morris, 2009), with few empirical results on either interpersonal or intergroup admiration. Admiration is elicited by individuals with talent or skill exceeding standards (Algoe & Haidt, 2009). Algoe and Haidt (2009) catalogue it as an other-praising emotion (along with elevation and awe), Ortony, Clore, and Collins (1990) see it as an appreciation emotion (along with respect, appreciation, respect, and esteem), while Smith (2000) includes admiration in the category of upward assimilative emotions, together with inspiration and optimism.

There is general agreement that admiration is a positive emotion, and that it is elicited when the perceiver recognises the target as better than them in some respect (Algoe & Haidt, 2009; Smith, 2000; Van De Ven, Zeelenberg, & Pieters, 2011). However, while a number of theoretical works describe admiration as an energising emotion, which motivates the admirer to improve after observing a highly competent target (Fessler & Haley, 2003; Smith, 2000), there is limited evidence to attest to its energising potential.

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[*] This section summarises a more extensive theoretical review of admiration, currently under review as: Onu, D., Smith, J. R., & Kessler, T. (2012). Admiration: Knowns and unknowns. *Manuscript invited for resubmission to Personality and Social Psychology Review.*

Some evidence supports admiration as an energising emotion (Algoe & Haidt, 2009; Immordino-Yang & Sylvan, 2010), while other studies find that it inhibits improvement motivation (Van de Ven et al., 2011). Admiration has also been related to an increased desire for contact with the admired, and a desire to praise their skill to others (Algoe & Haidt, 2009).

Haidt and Seder (2009) consider that admiration has evolved to facilitate social learning. As a positive emotion felt towards highly skilled people, admiration facilitates the approach and observation of these models, who are subsequently copied, thus facilitating cultural transmission of skills and knowledge. This particular view of admiration is highly consistent with the idea of emulation for improvement, unsurprisingly so since both originate in Henrich and Gil-White's (2001) work on prestige hierarchies and infocopying (see 2.1.4).

3.2.2. Intergroup admiration

If research on interpersonal admiration has clearly positioned it as an upward comparison emotion, much of the research on intergroup admiration has considered admiration as mutual positive regard between equals. Much of the research on admiration is connected with the Stereotype Content Model (S. T. Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), where admiration is proposed as the emotional response to social groups perceived as competent and warm (usually the ingroup and its allies, S. T. Fiske et al., 2002). This is mirrored by Alexander, Brewer, and Hermann (1999) who found admiration to be the emotional reaction to groups perceived as allies. Admiration is associated with a desire to associate with, cooperate with, or help the admired (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). Admiration has also been included in a suite of emotions associated with increased intergroup contact and positive relations between groups (Pettigrew, 1998).

Only one recent paper (Sweetman, Spears, Livingstone, & Manstead, 2013) has looked at group-based admiration as a clearly upward comparison emotion. The authors

show that admiration is more likely to be employed when status relations are perceived as legitimate, and that admiration inhibits group members' motivation to challenge the status hierarchy, but does increase intergroup learning. My view of group-based admiration is that it is an upward comparison emotion, felt towards those groups who are seen as having legitimately higher status (or higher performance on certain dimensions), and that it facilitates intergroup learning. This is consistent with Sweetman and colleagues (2013), but also with most works on interpersonal admiration. This view of admiration is illustrated below in a description of the court of Isabella I of Castile in 14th century Spain:

> "By the time of Isabella's birth, high-born men and women had long since adopted Moorish fashions. […] Frequently, Isabella and the members of her court dressed in fine silks and brocades traditionally worn by Moslem women. […] The Christians also openly *admired* Moorish architecture, with its horseshoe arches, tiled walls and floors, polished marble arcades, fountains, and lushly landscaped gardens with cypress and orange trees." (N. Rubin & Stuart, 2004, p. 12)

In the following sections, I discuss the behaviours associated with upward comparison and admiration: learning, help seeking, and social change.

3.3. Learning

The imitation of prestigious features from 'superiors' by 'inferiors' is the essential feature that separates oppressive power hierarchies from consensual, prestige-based hierarchies (Henrich & Gil-White, 2001, see 2.1.4). Therefore, learning (the intention to learn and evidence that learning has occurred) is the essential indicator of an emulation strategy. Other behaviours, such as help seeking, may also be important and I will discuss them in the next sections. Similar to the last sections, the idea of emulation is more congruent with interpersonal learning theory than intergroup learning. A good foundation

for understanding emulation is Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977); although this focuses mostly on developmental psychology and interpersonal relations, the authors have also extrapolated their theorising on modelling to the intergroup level, as I will show below. However, instances of intergroup learning (learning outgroup features as an ingroup member) in intergroup relations research have not been studied in the context of emulation for ingroup improvement. Ingroup members who learn from outgroups have been described in the context of cultural assimilation (e.g., Berry, 1997) or in the context of inter-learning between groups interacting as equals, as part of intergroup contact research (Nagda et al., 2004). I will begin by looking at research on social learning and modelling, and then discuss the intergroup research connected to learning.

3.3.1. Social learning

It is beyond the scope of this section to analyse the social learning literature in depth. However, some of the insights from social learning and modelling research are relevant to intergroup emulation. In looking at social learning, I rely on Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977). Bandura's work builds upon earlier insights into the nature of social learning and imitation (Miller & Dollard, 1941) to an extended analysis of modelling and its role in the acquisition of behaviour patterns, social norms, or skills.

In his analysis of learning, Bandura (1977) opposes the view that learning is determined by external reinforcement (e.g., Skinner, 1938), and instead proposes that much learning occurs through modelling. The imitation of others occurs in the absence of immediate reinforcement, and it is often that we observe and remember novel behaviour performed by others regardless of its immediate use (although we may expect future benefits from possessing a novel skill). Several factors influence social learning, such as how functional the behaviour is to the learner, whether it is socially approved, the learner's perceived self-efficacy in performing the behaviour, but also the traits of the person performing the behaviour. If the model is perceived as skilled and likable, their behaviour is

more likely to be modelled by others. An important insight into modelling is that perceivers often amalgamate traits from multiple models, instead of following a single model (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1963).

Bandura (1977) stresses the fact that modelling is not only an individual behaviour, but can be a society-wide behaviour or can spread from one society to another, although their analysis of group-level modelling is very brief. Novel behaviours can be adopted rapidly throughout societies, but they can also decline as rapidly if they are not functional for society. Group-level social learning tends to be spread through means of mass communication (books, newspapers, TV, etc.), which are ubiquitous in the 21st century, but were historically restricted to educated classes/scholars. Analysing the dependence of modelling on means of transmission, the authors state that modelling had been so far spread mostly at a societal level (within countries), but the new (in 1977) media such as satellite TV would make modelling far more widespread on a global scale.

The same principles that apply to individual modelling also guide societal modelling (Bandura, 1977). In this case, a few points that can be extrapolated from individual modelling are particularly interesting to intergroup emulation. One is that the model's traits are important, and not just how functional the behaviour performed is. The perception that models are skilled, but also likeable, can make them more likely to be copied. Also, the emulating group's perceived own efficacy should be important in determining if learning occurs or not (i.e., emulation should depend on whether a better performance is thought to be attainable in the future). A very important point is that it is unlikely that a single model will be followed, but that groups (similarly to individuals) will amalgamate traits of many admired models, although various models may be admired for different features. As mentioned above, the idea of modelling at group level in order to acquire a variety of traits has not been the focus on intergroup relations research. Intergroup learning research has either focused on how group members model only one dominant outgroup in order to

assimilate, or how they learn cultural traits of another group in the process of intergroup contact.

3.3.2. Assimilation and intergroup learning

There is very limited research into intergroup learning. Some instances of learning are described by cultural psychologists as occurring during acculturation processes of minority groups in a culturally-different majority group, usually describing the acquisition of the language or manners of dominant groups by immigrant groups (see Berry, 1997). This is consistent with the individual mobility strategy described by Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), in which members of lower status groups attempt to assimilate into higher status groups. According to Blanz and colleagoes (1998), assimilation can be an individual, as well as a collective strategy, in which case there is wide agreement in the subordinate group that they aim to assimilate in the higher status groups. A separate line of research that has been concerned with intergroup learning is research on intergroup contact (Pettigrew, 1998), where mutual learning between groups (e.g., learning about each other's customs or culture) is seen as one of the components of successful intergroup contact (Nagda et al., 2004).

Although intergroup emulation as an improvement strategy is concerned with intergroup learning, it is different from both assimilation and intergroup contact. Intergroup emulation is a strategy to improve the ingroup by acquiring relevant features from higher performing outgroups. The intention is not to entirely imitate one outgroup; in fact, multiple outgroups can serve as models concomitantly for different features. The purpose is not assimilation; emulation is concerned with ingroup improvement, sometimes with the aim of achieving parity with higher performing outgroups. For instance, this was illustrated by the case of Turkey post-WWI discussed earlier, where emulation was employed with a purpose of bringing the country in line with other European countries. In addition, emulation is different from intergroup learning in intergroup contact, as it is

specifically aimed at improving performance by modelling, rather than generally learning about another group in order to create a more positive intergroup relationship.

The proposition that intergroup learning is an essential indicator of emulation for improvement is not in opposition to past research. Intergroup learning can indeed be involved in the emulation strategy, as well as in cross-group assimilation or intergroup contact. In addition to learning, other intergroup behaviours are also likely to be involved in the emulation strategy. For instance, collective commitment to improve the ingroup is to be expected in relation to an emulation strategy, but not assimilation (as the latter implies disengagement from, or loss of, the current group identity, Blanz et al., 1998). Also, in the emulation strategy, we would expect intergroup help to be sought by lower performing groups. For instance, Taiwanese or Singaporean businesses that emulate features of Japanese business models will also invite representatives of Japanese businesses to provide guidance and knowledge (Iwabuchi, 2002). Seeking knowledge-related help would not be expected in an intergroup contact situation, where groups should interact as equals (Pettigrew, 1998). In the next sections, I will discuss these behaviours of help seeking and commitment to ingroup change.

3.4. Intergroup help

The association between group identity and helping behaviour was first proposed by Campbell (1965) in relation to a host of anthropological data, showing that individuals help ingroup members (and not outgroup members) out of a sense of ethnocentric solidarity. This relationship between helping and group membership has not subsequently received complete empirical support, suggesting the it is subject to moderating variables (for a discussion, see Cunningham & Platow, 2007). In the early 2000s, two models proposed very similar moderators for this relationship. Esses, Jackson, and Armstrong

(1998) investigated the motivation of higher status group members to help lower status outgroups. Based on Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Sherif, 1966), they proposed that group members who feel their group is in competition over resources (e.g., jobs) with the lower status groups will be less likely to offer help to them. Furthermore, Esses and colleagues (1998) differentiated help that will empower the outgroup (e.g., education) and non-empowering help (e.g., social welfare). When higher status group members perceived competition from the lower status outgroup, they offered significantly less empowering help than when they perceived relations as cooperative, but there was no difference for non-empowering help. Threat from the outgroup and type of help (empowering versus non-empowering) are essential features involved in predicting intergroup helping. A very similar outcome was proposed by Nadler and Halabi to explain the interaction between group power/status and intergroup helping (Nadler & Halabi, 2006; Nadler, 2002). Similarly to Esses et al. (1998), these authors identify the type of help (autonomy-oriented versus dependency-oriented) as an important aspect for understanding helping relations. They also propose that threat to the ingroup is essential in understanding help-giving and receiving, although this is the threat to the group's status and dominance, and not solely competition over resources. For instance, higher status groups may offer dependency-oriented help in order to reaffirm their superior status position (Nadler, 2002), particularly when they believe their status position to be unstable (Halabi, Dovidio, & Nadler, 2008).

The majority of work on intergroup helping has focused on help that is given by higher status groups (van Leeuwen, Täuber, & Sassenberg, 2011). In terms of intergroup emulation, I am interested in help-acceptance and help-seeking in lower status groups. In particular, I am interested in when lower status groups will seek knowledge-related help, which is a form of empowering (or autonomy-oriented) help. Nadler and Halabi (2006) looked at when members of lower status groups are more likely to *reject* outgroup help. They found that high-identifiers were more likely to reject help, especially if the help given was dependency-oriented, and if the hierarchy was unstable. In unstable relations, offers of

dependency-oriented help were seen as an attempt from the higher status group to reaffirm its dominant position, and implicitly the subordinate position of the lower status group. Therefore the offer of help was rejected, especially so by those who were most invested in their group, and therefore felt more threat to their group image. This finding mirrors that of van Leeuwen et al. (2011), who found that group members were unlikely to seek help from a more competent group when this was seen to threaten their group image, and if they sought help, they were much more likely to seek autonomy rather than dependency-oriented help.

Seeking help from outgroups may be threatening to group members, as it may indicate a relative lack of competence (van Leeuwen et al., 2011). It is more likely that groups will seek autonomy-oriented help from outgroups as opposed to dependency-oriented help, especially when help-seeking will not threaten their group image. Also, intergroup helping is more likely to occur when relations between groups are perceived as cooperative and the hierarchy positions are stable. This has implications for the emulation strategy. Based on these insights, we would expect that, depending on the type of relation between groups, help-seeking may or may not be part of an emulation strategy. If relations between groups are cooperative and help is not used to affirm one group's dominance, it is likely that lower status groups will seek help as part of emulating the outgroup. However, if help is seen as reaffirming outgroup dominance, ingroup members may imitate outgroup skills without seeking direct expertise. For instance, I mentioned earlier the case of Taiwanese businesses seeking expertise from representatives of Japanese business. Although this is common, there are also important barriers to such emulation in the history of relations between the two countries. As Taiwan was conquered and attached to the Japanese Empire between 1895 and 1945, seeking help is undesirable to some because it can be seen as a reaffirmation of submission to Japan (Iwabuchi, 2002).

Whether groups seek help or not as part of emulation, they should display commitment to ingroup improvement, as emulation is essentially a group improvement behaviour.

3.5. Ingroup improvement

To understand how emulation as an ingroup improvement strategy is related to intergroup relations literature on social change, I briefly outline below the links of emulation to collective action research, and to research on identity change in groups.

3.5.1. Collective action

Models of how groups achieve social change have focused on collective action against inequality (van Zomeren et al., 2008), construing social change as status hierarchy change. However, social change does not only take the form of hierarchy change. Change can occur in the absence of outgroup oppression or competition, when groups wish to improve. For instance, such improvements can range from a village setting up a car share scheme to world governments attempting to reduce global greenhouse gas emissions. Such changes are negotiated in accordance with shared values and norms and have social consequences – as such, they represent collective action for social change, but are not a direct response to outgroup oppression. They represent innovative solutions to challenges that, once identified, are diffused throughout societies (Gray, 1973). Many such social innovations may be completely new (such as a global solution to climate change threats), others may be emulated from other groups (such as the car share scheme in the neighbouring village). In any case, this form of collective action for long-term social change is distinct from collective action models that posit perceived injustice (of ingroup's position relative to an outgroup) as an essential dimension of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008), as the collective action for social change in the case of emulation is not aimed at challenging an oppressive outgroup. Although social change research has focused

predominantly on social change in the face of outgroup oppression, and may not reflect social change achieved through emulation, a range of alternative views on social change are related to emulation.

A more encompassing concept is that of 'collective mobility' (Ellemers et al., 1997), which signifies those behaviours that are aimed at improving the situation of the whole group, and is opposed to 'individual mobility' (i.e., those behaviours through which individuals are only concerned with improving their own individual situation, irrespective of their group's fate). The main variable explaining why group members choose collective mobility strategies as opposed to individual strategies is their strong identification with the ingroup (Ellemers et al., 1997, 1988). This is echoed in the collective action literature, where identification is seen as an essential ingredient in achieving collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008). As I see intergroup emulation as a collective behaviour for social change, I expect that ingroup identification will be important for group members, who may prefer emulation over individual mobility when they identify highly with their group (see also the discussion of how emulation relates to lower status strategies in 2.2.2). In their review of collective action literature, van Zomeren et al. (2008) also identify efficacy as an important element determining groups to take collective action. This is echoed by social learning research, which shows self-efficacy to be a factor leading to modelling behaviour (Bandura, 1977, see also 3.3.1). Perceptions that the group has the capacity to achieve change will thus be essential for intergroup emulation; as laid out earlier (see 2.2.2), perceptions that the group's position is unstable and likely to improve are expected to facilitate emulation.

These insights from the collective action literature indicate when intergroup emulation may be preferred. Another important aspect is the way in which emulated features are diffused throughout the ingroup. Although this analysis concerns mechanisms at the ingroup level, rather than the intergroup level, it is important to briefly mention the processes by which intergroup emulation may be diffused throughout the ingroup.

3.5.2. Leadership and minority influence

Two ways are described in social psychological theorising through which ideas of change are spread to the ingroup: the actions of leaders or those of committed minorities. Group leaders are expected to respond to challenges facing the ingroup, and are in the position to identify innovative solutions and effect ingroup change (S. A. Haslam, Reicher, & Platow, 2012). As such, they are sometimes in the position to use emulation in order to drive social change in the groups they lead. This is illustrated by Kemal Ataturk, a strong leader who is seen as the central and leading figure for Turkey's reforms, many of them driven by emulation of European models. Changes in groups can also occur through processes of influence from a committed minority (W. Wood, Lundgren, Ouellette, Busceme, & Blackstone, 1994) who advocate necessary changes to the ingroup. Based on minority influence principles, we would assume that, especially in the absence of leadership driving emulation, the influence of a minority of adopters ('early adopters' in modelling research, Bandura, 1977) would be essential in spreading emulated features throughout the ingroup, often encountering resistance from more conservative ingroup members. For instance, this is illustrated by Muslim influence on Christian scholars in the Middle Ages. Many Christian scholars became interested and began studying Muslim texts, especially translations of classical texts, but some encountered significant initial resistance from more conservative scholars (Fletcher, 2006). Therefore, both leadership and minority influence may account for how emulation is spread throughout ingroups.

3.6. Conclusion

In Chapters 1 and 2, I laid out intergroup relations research and premises for intergroup emulation. Because I am looking at a largely unstudied intergroup behaviour, and focus on exploring multiple questions related to emulation, in this chapter I have

drawn links and integrated insights concerning a variety of concepts related to emulation: upward comparison, admiration, learning, help, and social change. I have discussed how emulation follows upward comparison when the group has an improvement goal and believe they can achieve a better position in the future. I have looked at the role of admiration as the group-based emotional response related to emulation. I have shown how modelling may apply to groups, and the importance of perceived efficacy and high regard for the model in emulation. In addition, I have shown that emulation is not an assimilative response to one dominant group, but rather that multiple features are likely to be emulated from a variety of groups. Group members may also seek knowledge-related help from outgroups if intergroup relations are cooperative. Finally, group members may be more likely to be involved in an emulation strategy when they identify highly with their groups, and the diffusion of emulation can occur through leadership influence and/or the example of early adopters. This analysis of processes related to emulation provides a more complex picture of this phenomenon, outlining current gaps of knowledge and setting the scene for finding empirical evidence for intergroup emulation by studying related variables such as admiration, learning, or help. The study of intergroup emulation could contribute to existing evidence on these understudied areas, such as comparison choice in intergroup contexts, group-based admiration, intergroup learning, and intergroup help-seeking.

In the next chapters, I present empirical evidence exploring various aspects of intergroup emulation, such as which groups are emulated (Chapter 4), when intergroup emulation is employed by group members (Chapter 5), and how emulation is implemented in order to produce social change (Chapter 6).

CHAPTER 4

WHO DO LOWER-STATUS GROUPS ADMIRE AND EMULATE?

"Admiration. Our polite recognition of another's resemblance to ourselves." (Ambrose Bierce, American journalist, 1842-1914)

The following three chapters will explore specific questions regarding intergroup emulation. In this chapter, I look at which groups are likely to be emulated; that is, which features make people think an outgroup is admirable and worth learning from. In Chapter 5, I look at when emulation occurs – the conditions that make emulation a likely group response. In Chapter 6, I look at how emulation is accomplished by groups and what features are emulated.

This chapter looks at which characteristics of outgroups are more likely to be admired and emulated. In particular, I focus on exploring the role of superordinate identities (those common identities that encompass both the ingroup and the outgroup) in admiration and emulation. In Study 1, I look at the elicitors of intergroup admiration, with a particular focus on how perceptions of an outgroup's prototypicality for the superordinate category explain admiration for the outgroup. In Study 2, I look more closely at the difference between two definitions of prototypicality: excellence-prototypicality (those features that embody group excellence) and average-prototypicality (those features that represent what is common for the group), and how they relate to intergroup admiration, but also at the related behaviours of intergroup learning and willingness to accept intergroup help. These two studies stress the importance of considering the common superordinate category in understanding the emulation process. In Study 3, I look at how supporters or dissenters of intergroup emulation relate to the superordinate category, showing how supporters of emulation stress the common superordinate category

in order to endorse emulation. Overall, this chapter looks at the importance of shared superordinate identities for intergroup admiration and emulation; as the opening quote suggests, admiration implies shared identity.

4.1. Elicitors of Intergroup Admiration (Study 1)[*]

Intergroup admiration is an important indicator of a positive response towards a higher performing group (see an extended discussion in 3.2), and therefore an important indicator of intergroup emulation. Admiration has been linked to learning in interpersonal (Fessler & Haley, 2003; Henrich & Gil-White, 2001) and intergroup contexts (Sweetman et al., 2013). Therefore, understanding the elicitors and behaviours associated with intergroup admiration will allow insight into the nature of the emulation strategy. In this first study, I look at the elicitors of intergroup admiration.

Admiration is felt towards those individuals of higher prestige or status (Henrich & Gil-White, 2001; Sweetman et al., 2013), as discussed at greater length in Chapter 3 (see 3.2). While higher outgroup status is expected to elicit intergroup admiration, in this study I also investigate what it is exactly about higher status groups that is admirable. The perception of high outgroup status is often due to appraisals that these groups are highly competent (S. T. Fiske et al., 2002). It is of no surprise, then, that admiration for outgroups is associated with perceptions that these outgroups are highly competent (Cuddy et al., 2007; S. T. Fiske et al., 2002). Fiske and colleagues (2002) also propose that it is not sufficient for groups to be perceived as competent, but that they should also be perceived as warm (i.e., friendly, cooperative, often a member of a common ingroup) in order to elicit admiration; competent-but-not-warm groups elicit envy. Although their study did not find

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[*] This study is included in: Onu, D., Kessler, T., Smith, J.R., Andonovska-Trajkovska, D., & Fritsche, I. (2012). Intergroup admiration: a positive response to upward comparison for lower-status groups. *Manuscript invited for resubmission to Group Processes and Intergroup Relations.*

full support for the prediction that competent-and-warm groups elicit admiration (S. T. Fiske et al., 2002, Study 4), subsequent studies have found support for this prediction (Cuddy et al., 2007; Sweetman et al., 2013). Therefore, both competence and warmth should be taken into account in testing the elicitors of intergroup admiration.

However, perceptions of higher outgroup status are not only driven by appraisals of performance or general competence. When groups share a common ingroup, this shared ingroup can become the frame of reference for evaluating the outgroup; the more representative (i.e., prototypical) the outgroup is for the superordinate category, the higher their standing (Wenzel et al., 2007). Therefore, it is expected that both the perception of outgroup competence and the perception of outgroup prototypicality will elicit admiration. In their analysis of inter-party coalitions, González et al. (2008) found that the positive affect (liking, trusting, and admiring) of party members toward other parties in the same political coalition increases with these members' identification with the overarching coalition. These results suggest that admiration for prototypical outgroups may also depend on individuals' identification with a superordinate common ingroup.

Although admiration has been linked to competence in past research (Cuddy et al., 2007; S. T. Fiske et al., 2002), no studies have looked at the relationship between intergroup admiration and prototypicality. Therefore, in Study 1, I look at competence, warmth, and prototypicality in order to explore the appraisals associated with intergroup admiration. It is expected that perceptions of outgroup competence and prototypicality for a shared category will account for why higher status groups are admired. However, since outgroup's prototypicality for a shared category may be more important for those who value this shared category highly (i.e., the high identifiers with the shared category, Wenzel et al., 2007), it is expected that prototypicality will be particularly important in explaining the relationship between status and admiration for high identifiers with the shared category (see also González et al., 2008). Since results relating to outgroup warmth and admiration have been mixed, no predictions are made for perceptions of outgroup warmth.

This study assesses these dimensions in national groups in Europe. Due to largely positive cooperative relations, and the existence of a common category, but also the existence of a status divide (Western and Eastern Europe), the study includes samples from Romania and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (as the lower status samples) and samples from Germany and the United Kingdom (as the higher status samples).

Method

Participants. Four national samples ($N = 314$) were included, from Romania ($N = 82$), the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia ($N = 71$), the United Kingdom ($N = 84$), and Germany ($N = 77$). Most participants were undergraduate students at local universities ($M_{age} = 21.7$, $SD_{age} = 4$) and 63% of them were female. The data analysed here were collected as part of a larger study on intergroup emotions and behaviours (Onu, 2009)

Measures. *Group status.* Participants were asked to rate all the groups included in the study on a 7-point scale ranging from 'low status' to 'high status' using the following item: 'There are many people who believe that different national groups enjoy different amounts of social status in the European context. You may not believe this for yourself, but if you had to rate each of the following groups as such people see them, how would you do so?' (adapted from Major et al., 2002).

Prototypicality of the groups for the common ingroup of Europe was assessed with a single item: 'Some countries are considered to be more representative at the European level than others. How would you rate the nationalities below on how representative they are for Europe?' (e.g., Kessler et al., 2010; Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel, & Boettcher, 2004); the participants rated the four European nations from 1 = not at all representative to 7 = very representative.

Competence and warmth were measured using scales adapted from Fiske et al. (2002; Study 1). I retained all four items of the original warmth scale ('tolerant', 'warm', 'good

natured', 'sincere'), all α > .63), but only four items of the competence scale ('competent', 'independent', 'confident', and 'intelligent', with α = .53 on the British evaluating their own group and all other α > .70). On these items, participants rated the warmth and competence of their own group, as well as the other three groups involved in this research.

Admiration was measured using a five-item scale adapted from Shiota, Keltner, and John (2006). Admiration was assessed with items like "As X, I feel admiration toward Y.", αs range between .68 and .82 (please see the Appendix 1 for the items). In the evaluation of admiration, the lower status samples were asked to rate their admiration for the higher status samples (half of each sample were asked about the British, and half about the Germans); similarly, the higher status samples were asked to rate their admiration for the lower status sample (see also Appendix 1). These targets were preferred as the study was particularly focused on relations between groups of unequal status.

Identification with the ingroup and with Europe was measured with three items adapted from Kessler and Mummendey (2002) (e.g., 'I identify with Romanians', ingroup identification: αs > .81, identification with Europe: αs > .87).

Results

Group status. To assess that the situation did involve two lower status and two higher status groups, I compared the status of these groups as rated by all the other national groups using analysis of variance (ANOVA). I found no significant difference between the perceived status of Romanians ($M = 3.15$, $SD = 1.09$) and Macedonians ($M = 3.02$, $SD = 1.19$), $F(1,157) = 2.81$, $p = 0.09$, $\eta_p^2 = .018$, as well as between Germans ($M = 5.93$, $SD = 1.2$) and British ($M = 5.85$, $SD = 1.16$), $F(1,149) = 1.07$, $p = 0.30$, $\eta_p^2 = .007$. However, there was a strong difference between the perceived status of the lower status samples (Romania and Macedonia) and that of the higher status samples (Germany and UK), $F(1,306) = 1085.49$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .78$. There was no significant difference in ratings of the British and the German samples on any of the measured variables (admiration,

outgroup status, outgroup competence, outgroup warmth, outgroup prototypicality,), all Fs < 1.90, all ps > .05. On most of these variables there were no significant differences between the ratings of Romanians and Macedonians. The only significant differences were on evaluation of outgroup status, $F(1,146) = 16.6$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .102$. Given these similarities, I collapsed the Romanian and Macedonian samples as the 'lower status sample' and the German and British samples and the 'higher status sample'.

Elicitors of Admiration. Admiration for the outgroup was significantly higher ($M = 4.71$, $SD = 1.12$) in the lower status sample than in the higher status sample ($M = 3.86$, $SD = .98$), $F(1, 309) = 51.73$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .143$. Compared to the mid-point of the scale, admiration ratings in the lower status sample were significantly higher, $t(152) = 7.89$, $p < .001$, and were marginally lower than the scale midpoint for the higher status sample, $t(157) = -1.84$, $p = .067$. Please refer to Table 2 for details.

Table 2. *Means for study variables across national and status samples*

Measure	Romanians	British	Macedonian	German	Low status sample	High status sample
Admiration	4.83 (1.11)	3.94 (.90)	4.58 (1.11)	3.76 (1.06)	4.72 (1.09)	3.88 (.96)
Outgroup status	5.96 (.94)	3.27 (1.23)	5.79 (1.34)	2.99 (.98)	5.88 (1.14)	3.11 (1.10)
Outgroup prototypicality	5.94 (.92)	3.32 (1.16)	6.11 (1.11)	3.23 (1.27)	6.01 (1.01)	3.28 (1.22)
Outgroup competence	5.99 (.81)	4.30 (.86)	5.31 (1.07)	4.17 (.79)	5.67 (1.00)	4.22 (.83)
Outgroup warmth	4.02 (1.05)	4.82 (.80)	4.08 (1.43)	4.64 (.95)	4.04 (1.24)	4.75 (.84)

In a regression analysis, outgroup status was a significant predictor of admiration across samples (β = .46, p < .001), and this relation was not moderated by either ingroup status (interaction term in regression model: β = .09, p = .10) or the status difference - defined as the difference between outgroup status and ingroup status (interaction term in regression model: β = -.06, p = .23). To test for mediation of the relation between outgroup status and admiration (i.e., why higher status is admirable), I included outgroup warmth, outgroup competence, and outgroup prototypicality in the model. Outgroup warmth was not a significant predictor (β = .02, p = .69), and only the inclusion of both outgroup competence (β = .24, p < .01) and outgroup prototypicality (β = .28, p < .01) accounted for the total effect of outgroup status on admiration (outgroup status in the model with mediators β = .08, p = .40). The mediation is illustrated in Figure 1.
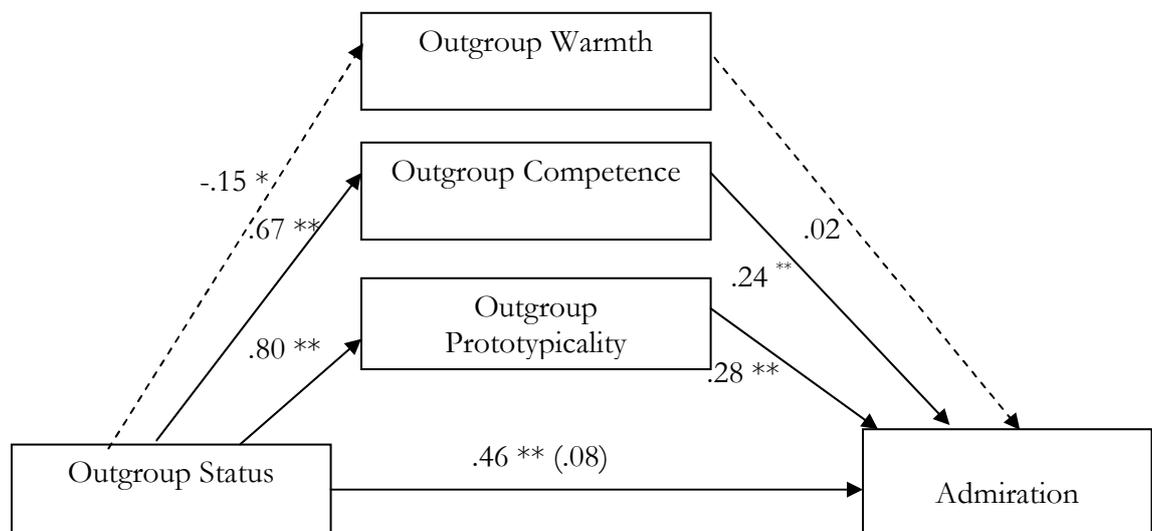
All coefficients reported are the standardized coefficients (β)
** p < .01, * p < .05

Figure 3. Admiration as a function of status, outgroup competence, and outgroup prototypicality – a mediation model

To further test for significance of the individual mediators, I employed a bootstrapping procedure (Preacher & Hayes, 2008) to test for indirect effects. I found outgroup competence and outgroup prototypicality to be significant mediators (confidence intervals for the indirect effects are .02 to .18, and .06 to .23 respectively at 5000 iterations), but not warmth (confidence interval for the indirect effect is -.02 to .01).

The decision to collapse the all the national samples in order to investigate the elicitors of intergroup admiration is theoretically driven – the general elicitors of intergroup admiration should be the same regardless of the national sample. However, I did test whether any of the paths in the model differed significantly across national samples with a multi-group structural equation analysis using the AMOS package (Denis, 2012). There were no significant differences between any of the path coefficients in the model across the four national samples (all zs < $|1.64|$, all ps > .05).

As I expected identification with the superordinate category (i.e., Europe) to be related to perceptions of prototypicality, I compared the mediation results for low- and high-identifiers with the superordinate category. I obtained the identification score by centering identification with Europe on the national sample mean, rather than the overall mean, in order to obtain the high- and low- identifiers in each national context. For low identifiers with Europe (identification lower than the sample mean), I found a significant effect of outgroup status on admiration (β = .52, p < .01). This relation was mediated (status in mediation model - β = .14, p = .30) by competence (β = .30, p < .01), but not prototypicality (β = .22, p = .10) or warmth (β = .07, p = .39); see Figure 4. Using bootstrapping (Preacher & Hayes, 2008) to test for significance of these indirect effects, competence emerged as a significant mediator (confidence interval for indirect effect is .03 to .27), but not prototypicality or warmth (confidence intervals for indirect effects are -.03 to .22, and -.04 to .01 respectively). For high identifiers with Europe (identification higher than the sample mean), I found again a significant effect of outgroup status on admiration (β = .39, p < .01). However, this relation was not mediated by competence (β = .19, p =

.08) or warmth (β = -.08, p = .30), but only by prototypicality (β = .36, p < .01) (status in mediation model - β = -.01, p = .92); see Figure 4. Using bootstrapping to test for significance of these indirect effects, prototypicality emerged as a significant mediator (confidence interval for indirect effect is .03 to .32), but not competence or warmth (confidence intervals for indirect effects are -.03 to .16, and -.01 to .03, respectively).

Although the median split conducted on European identification above indicates a moderating effect of European identification, to increase certainty in this effect, the results should be reflected in significant interaction scores between identification and prototypicality, and identification and competence, respectively, within the regression model described above. However, this is not the case. In the regression model, the interaction between European identification and competence was not a significant predictor of admiration (β = .015, p = .68), neither was the interaction between European identification and prototypicality (β = .058, p = .11).

Discussion

I expected intergroup admiration in status hierarchies to be elicited by the competence and prototypicality of the admired group. Indeed, I found that admiration was elicited by higher status (consistent with Fessler & Haley, 2003; Henrich & Gil-White, 2001). Higher status groups are admired because they are perceived to be competent, and to be representative of the superordinate group that encompasses the two groups. These predictions are in line with research on the Stereotype Content Model (Cuddy et al., 2007; S. T. Fiske et al., 2002), as competence was an important admired trait. However, I also found that when groups share a greater common ingroup, appraisals of outgroup prototypicality also explain admiration for higher status outgroups. This result bridges intergroup admiration research with the Ingroup Projection Model (Wenzel et al., 2007). Results show no mediation effect for warmth, which might have been expected from previous findings on admiration (Cuddy et al., 2007; Sweetman et al., 2013). It is worth

LOW IDENTIFIERS
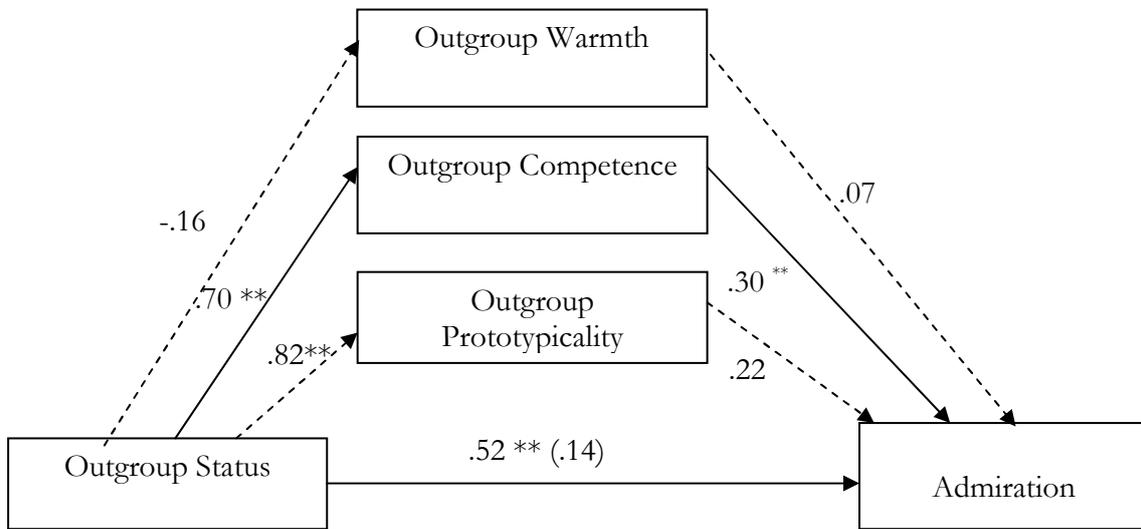
All coefficients reported are the standardized coefficients (β)
** p < .01, * p < .05

HIGH IDENTIFIERS
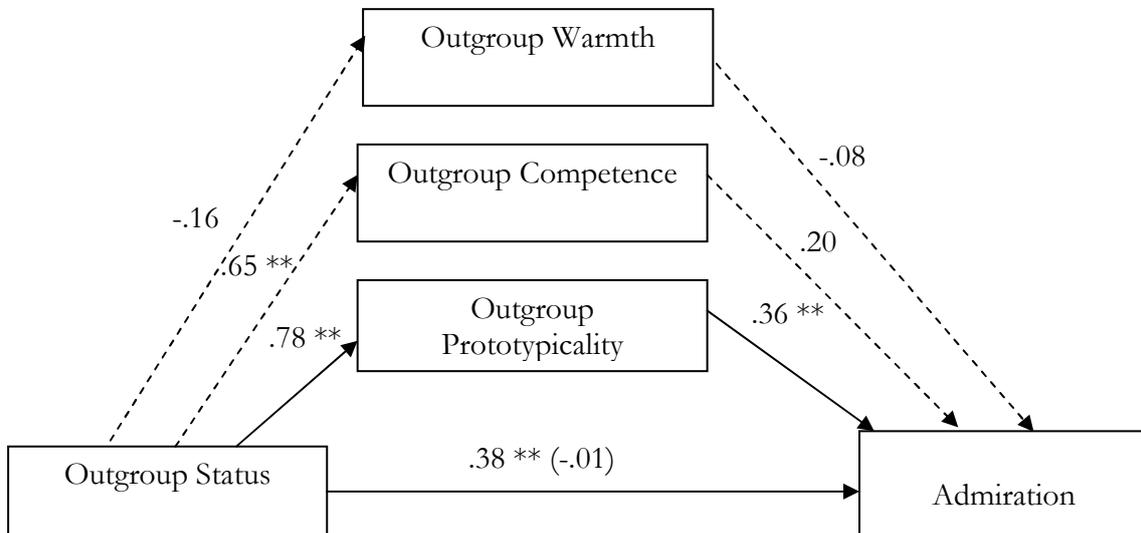
All coefficients reported are the standardized coefficients (β)
** p < .01

Figure 4. Admiration as a function of status, outgroup competence, and outgroup

prototypicality as moderated by identification with a common superordinate ingroup

noting, however, that ratings of warmth in this study were around the mid-point of the scale without high variance, reflecting the generally cooperative relations between countries in Europe (especially at the time of data collection in 2008-2009). It is possible that the effect of warmth on admiration would be stronger when assessing a different range of groups, some of which may be hostile to the ingroup.

Furthermore, I tested the mediation model for high and low identifiers with Europe, and found that appraisals of outgroup prototypicality were more important in eliciting admiration for high identifiers with the common ingroup, while competence was more important for low identifiers; this result is consistent with previous findings that prototypicality is valued by high identifiers with the superordinate category (Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007) and that positive emotions are felt towards prototypical groups by high identifiers with the superordinate category (González et al., 2008). Although this result was not supported by the interaction analyses conducted, the pattern is consistent with past theory and is interesting for future research, which could experimentally manipulate identification to increase certainty in its proposed moderating role. In a nutshell, group members admire outgroups (typically the higher status groups) when these groups are competent and prototypical for a common ingroup. The more important the superordinate category is to us, the more we will value prototypicality over competence.

4.2. Ideal versus average prototypicality (Study 2)

In Study 1, I looked at the importance of the superordinate category for intergroup admiration, showing that admiration for an outgroup depends on how representative this group is perceived to be for the superordinate category that encompasses both the ingroup

and the outgroup. In Study 2, I look in more depth at prototypicality and its role in admiration and related behaviours.

The concept of prototypicality originates in the work of Eleanor Rosch (1973) on cognitive categories. At the time, the dominant perception was that cognitive categories are defined by a number of traits or features, and all exemplars possessing those features are equally considered as category members. Prototype theory proposes that some members are more central than others (e.g., 'chair' is more central than 'stool' for the category 'furniture') and shows that prototypical members are categorised faster than their non-prototypical counterparts. The closer a member is to the category prototype, the more central it is for the category. Prototypicality was subsequently applied to social categories, suggesting that group members differ in the extent to which they are central to the group. This centrality is reflected in their relative prototypicality – the extent to which they embody the group's values and norms (Turner et al., 1987). Prototypical group members are seen as more successful in the context of the social group, are more trusted, more liked, and more likely to be endorsed as group leaders (S. A. Haslam et al., 2012; van Knippenberg, 2011).

Prototypicality, however, is a multi-faceted concept. For instance, Haslam et al. (2012) define prototypicality as 'meta-contrast ratio' – prototypical members are those who are most similar to ingroup members and, at the same time, most dissimilar from outgroup members. As such, prototypical members embody the group's average defined in terms of the ingroup and opposed to salient outgroups; I will call this facet of prototypicality *average-prototypicality*. However, other authors have shown that ratings of prototypicality in a social context are not based on the category average as suggested by prototype theory (Rosch, 1973), but on the ideal-type of the category (Borkenau, 1990). Within the social identity approach, van Knippenberg (2011) also stresses that prototypicality (particularly in the context of leadership processes) should not be understood as the group's average, but as the 'ideal-type' for that group, that which best embodies group identity (see also Berthold,

Mummendey, Kessler, Luecke, & Schubert, 2012). The prototypical member is not average but excellent as defined by the group identity; I will call this facet of prototypicality *excellence-prototypicality*.

This distinction is very important for admiration, as admiration is elicited by 'excellence exceeding standards' (Algoe & Haidt, 2009), as opposed to the category standard or average. As such, admiration should be related to *excellence-prototypicality*, but not prototypicality defined as the group average. Therefore, this study will manipulate the extent to which an outgroup is high or low in *excellence -prototypicality* and *average-prototypicality* in order to show that perceptions of high excellence-prototypicality, rather than average-prototypicality, elicit intergroup admiration.

In this study, I will also look at the intergroup behaviours associated with admiration: intergroup learning and intergroup help. As indicators of intergroup emulation, these behaviours are aimed at ingroup improvement through modelling successful outgroups. Therefore, they should also be elicited by those outgroups perceived as excellent, that is, those that embody the ideal of the superordinate category rather than its average (Henrich & Gil-White, 2001; for more detail see 3.3 and 3.4). Since the function of admiration has been theorised to facilitate the approach of models for learning and help (Haidt & Seder, 2009; Henrich & Gil-White, 2001), admiration is expected to mediate the relationship between perceptions of outgroup excellence and subsequent learning and help acceptance.

Study 2 is set in the context of European identity as the superordinate category. The ingroup is Romania, and participants are asked to evaluate and answer questions about Ireland as the outgroup. This study manipulates *average-prototypicality* as the extent to which Ireland is different or similar to Europe, with reference to culture but not to competence. This allows participants to consider Ireland central or marginal to European identity. A second manipulation of *excellence-prototypicality* concerns Ireland's economic performance.

High economic performance is part of the European prototype; however, high performance is related to the category ideal, and not the average.

Method

Participants and design. Romanian participants ($N = 52$) took part in an online experiment ($M_{age} = 27.68$, $SD_{age} = 8.15$, 86.5% female). The participants were recruited from email lists of psychology students at various Romanian universities and took part voluntarily. Six participants were excluded from the analysis because they reported very good prior knowledge of the Republic of Ireland, which would have affected the credibility of the study manipulation. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four cells of a 2 (*excellence-prototypicality: high, low*) x 2 (*average-prototypicality: high, low*) experimental design.

Procedure. The study was advertised as a study on perceptions of different countries. Participants were told that they would read information about a certain European country and then answer some questions about this country and their own. On the first screen, participants were given additional information about the study and their rights. On the second screen, they read about the Republic of Ireland. They were presented with information about Ireland's economic performance (*excellence-prototypicality* manipulation) and cultural fit with Europe (*average-prototypicality* manipulation).

Excellence-prototypicality manipulation. Participants read information about Ireland's economic performance. They either received information about Ireland's high economic performance (e.g., very high economic growth in the 90's and early 00's) or about Ireland's low economic performance (e.g., information about the drastic economic depression after 2008).

Average-prototypicality manipulation. Participants in the low average-prototypicality conditions read information implying that Ireland is very different from the rest of Europe (e.g., not a member of NATO, different abortion laws, etc.); participants in the high average-prototypicality conditions read information about how Ireland is representative for

Europe (e.g., involvement in European Union institutions, Irish writers central to European literature, etc.).

On the next screens, participants were required to complete the measures described below. On all the measures, responses are recorded on 10-point scales. On the last page of the study, participants were debriefed.

Measures. *Group status.* Participants were asked to rate the ingroup (Romania) and the outgroup (Ireland) on how prestigious they are perceived to be in Europe from 1 = *very low* to 10 = *very high*.

Prototypicality. Participants were asked to rate how representative they thought Ireland was for European countries.

Intergroup admiration. The scale used to measure admiration is based on the theoretical appraisal dimensions of this emotion (adapted from Shiota et al., 2006), measuring participants' level of agreement with five statements such as 'As Romanian, I feel admiration toward the Irish' (please see the full scale in Appendix 1). The answers for the five statements were computed in a scale (a = .88).

Attitudes toward learning were measured by aggregating agreement ratings for the following statements: *'I believe we have a lot to learn from Ireland'*, *'It would be useful to follow good practice examples from Ireland'*, and *'I believe Ireland's performance is a useful guide for the objectives we need to reach'* (a = .95).

Willingness to receive intergroup help. Six items measured willingness to receive help from Ireland (e.g. *'It would be helpful for experts from Ireland to train our public administration'*, α = .92).

Competence was measured with five items (S. T. Fiske et al., 2002, Study 1): *competent, competitive, independent, confident,* and *intelligent* (α = .74).

Results

I ran a multivariate analysis of variance including excellence-prototypicality and average-prototypicality as fixed factors and outgroup prototypicality ratings, outgroup competence ratings, admiration for the outgroup, attitudes toward learning, and help seeking, as well as ingroup and outgroup status ratings as dependent variables.

Group status. There was a significant difference between ratings of outgroup (M = 7.65, SD = 1.43) and ingroup status (M = 3.37, SD = 2.22), $F(1,51)$ = 121.59, p < .001, η_p^2 = .704, confirming that participants understand the experimental situation as a lower status ingroup and higher status outgroup.

Manipulation check. Both manipulations are expected to impact outgroup prototypicality ratings, as they are conceptually both forms of prototypicality. Indeed, outgroup prototypicality ratings were higher in high excellence-prototypicality conditions (M = 7.74, SD = 2.13) than in low excellence-prototypicality conditions (M = 6.19, SD = 1.81), $F(1,47)$ = 5.87, p = .019, η_p^2 = .111), as well as being higher in high average-prototypicality conditions (M = 7.44, SD = 1.89) than low average-prototypicality conditions (M = 6.37, SD = 2.18, $F(1,47)$ = 4.26, p = .044, η_p^2 = .083). However, only excellence-prototypicality should impact competence ratings of the outgroup. This was confirmed by the data analysis – only the excellence-prototypicality manipulation impacted ratings of outgroup competence ($M_{low\ e-p}$ = 7.20, SD = 1.09, $M_{high\ e-p}$ = 8.07, SD = 1.04, $F(1,47)$ = 8.19, p = .006, η_p^2 = .147), while there was no difference in competence ratings for the average-prototypicality manipulation (p = .57, η_p^2 = .007).

Intergroup admiration. There was a significant main effect of the excellence-competence manipulation on ratings of outgroup admiration, with higher ratings in high excellence-prototypicality conditions ($M_{low\ e-p}$ = 6.14, SD = 2.10, $M_{high\ e-p}$ = 8.09, SD = 1.32, $F(1,47)$ = 16.07, p < .001, η_p^2 = .255). However, there were no effects of the average-prototypicality manipulation or the interaction (ps > .49).

Attitudes towards learning. There was a significant main effect of the excellence-competence manipulation on attitudes toward learning, with higher ratings in high excellence-prototypicality conditions ($M_{low\ e\text{-}p}$ = 6.35, SD = 2.41, $M_{high\ e\text{-}p}$ = 8.22, SD = 1.29, $F(1,47)$ = 23.03, $p < .001$, η_p^2 = .329). There were no effects of the average-prototypicality manipulation or the interaction (ps > .19).

Help-seeking. There was a significant main effect of the excellence-competence manipulation on acceptance of outgroup help, with higher ratings in high excellence-prototypicality conditions ($M_{low\ e\text{-}p}$ = 5.27, SD = 2.45, $M_{high\ e\text{-}p}$ = 7.62, SD = 1.68, $F(1,47)$ = 18.46, $p < .001$, η_p^2 = .282), while there were no effects of average-prototypicality (p = .39) or the interaction (p = .08).

Intergroup admiration as mediator. Admiration mediated the effect of the excellence-prototypicality manipulation on attitudes towards learning and help seeking. Mediation was tested using bootstrapping (Preacher & Hayes, 2008), please see Table 3.

Table 3. *Mediation analysis results: intergroup admiration as a mediator of the effect of legitimacy manipulation on the outcome variables*

Outcome	LLCI	ULCI	c-path (B & SE)	c'-path (B & SE)	a-path (B & SE)	b-path (B & SE)
Attitudes towards learning	.60	2.37	2.42 (.51)***	.98 (.43)*	1.90 (.47)***	.76 (.11)***
Help seeking	.47	2.30	2.19 (.58)***	.91 (.56)	1.90 (.47)***	.67 (.15)***

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

LLCI = lower limit of the confidence interval, ULCI = upper limit of the confidence interval, c-path –

path from predictor variable to outcome variable, c'-path – path from predictor to outcome with the inclusion

of mediator, a-path – path from predictor to mediator, b-path – path from mediator to outcome variable

Discussion

Prototypicality is a multi-faceted concept; the prototype of a social group includes both features related to the average of the group, as well as features related to the group ideal. This study shows that when prototypicality is defined in terms of the category ideal, it elicits emulation-related emotions and behaviours: admiration, learning intentions, help-seeking.

Study 1 linked group-based admiration to prototypicality, a link novel to the intergroup literature. Study 2 analysed this relationship in more depth, showing that prototypicality should be defined in terms of the category ideal rather than the category average in order for it to be linked to admiration. The study also asserts the link between group-based admiration and intergroup learning and intergroup help, showing admiration's mediating role in such emulation-related behaviours. Although admiration's role as a mediator for learning or help-seeking had been proposed in past research (Henrich & Gil-White, 2001), this is, to my knowledge, the only empirical study examining it as a mediator for the relation between perceiving successful models and learning or seeking help (although see Sweetman et al., 2013 for a related indirect effect on learning).

The complex nature of prototypicality, composed of ideal and average category features, has been noted by many authors, particularly those studying prototypicality in relation to leadership processes (for reviews, see Haslam et al., 2012; van Knippenberg, 2011). Several authors have studied this distinction in relation to social evaluations (Borkenau, 1990) and group goals (actual versus ideal goals, Berthold et al., 2012). However, this distinction has not been addressed directly in past research by manipulating ideal and average prototypicality to look at how these different facets may produce different consequences. However, a notable limitation here is that there was no direct manipulation check. Both manipulations affected prototypicality ratings, as would be expected since they are both facets of prototypicality. Support for the distinction was found in the competence ratings (a concept closely related to status or high performance, S.

T. Fiske et al., 2002), which only responded to the *excellence-prototypicality* manipulation. Future research may construct measures for these two separate facets of prototypicality in order to directly test these manipulations.

Study 2 is important as it provides a resolution between the ostensibly opposing propositions that admiration is related to other's excellence and status (Algoe & Haidt, 2009; Sweetman et al., 2013) and that group-based admiration is an emotion felt towards those who are 'like us', that is ingroup members or allies (S. T. Fiske et al., 2002). This study proposes that intergroup admiration is directed towards those groups who are excellent, but that this excellence is defined in terms of the superordinate identity of the ingroup and the outgroup. As such, these admired outgroups embody ideal features of this common superordinate category. The admired outgroups are both excellent and seen as sharing some level of group membership with the admiring ingroup. Admiring groups will seek to learn and receive help from such excellent and prototypical groups.

Overall, the importance of this study for understanding intergroup emulation is to indicate that prototypically-excellent groups are more likely to be emulated. A shared superordinate category is thus important for intergroup emulation, but it is unclear whether it is *necessary* in order for emulation to occur. To look at the extent to which the shared superordinate identity is central to intergroup emulation, in the next study I look now at one instance of intergroup emulation by analysing naturally-occurring data.

4.3. The role of superordinate identities (Study 3)[*]

This chapter explores the features that make outgroups admired and emulated. In Studies 1 and 2, I looked at certain variables that were theoretically-plausible to be associated with admiration and emulation. One of the main findings was that perceptions

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[*] This study is included in: Onu, D., Smith, J. R., Kessler, T., & Midson, G. (2012). 'Look North, Scotland': Group members' responses to suggestions of intergroup emulation. *Manuscript invited for submission to Journal of Social and Political Psychology.*

of outgroup prototypicality for a superordinate category may explain why groups are emulated (especially when prototypicality is defined as the ideal of the superordinate category). However, since prototypicality for a superordinate category was purposely measured or manipulated in Studies 1 and 2, it is difficult to grasp the extent to which the superordinate category is indeed central to emulation processes, or only a secondary feature in intergroup emulation. In Study 3, I look at naturally-occurring data to investigate an instance of intergroup emulation. In doing so, I focus on the role of the superordinate category in intergroup emulation.

Background. The instance of emulation I chose to investigate is the reaction of Scottish nationals to proposals for Scotland to emulate Scandinavian countries. Since the reinstitution of the Scottish Parliament in 1998, stronger links with Scandinavian countries have been a priority for Scotland (A. Wright & Hassan, 2009), but the 'Scandinavian model' became a more prominent part of Scottish public discourse in recent years. In advocating Scottish independence, the Scottish National Party (currently the main political party) often cites the Scandinavian countries as models that could be emulated by an independent Scotland (Newby, 2009). Several authors have looked at the topic of 'Nordic' emulation and its various facets: as political discourse in Scotland-UK relations (A. Wright & Hassan, 2009), as aspirations for social justice in Scotland (Mooney & Scott, 2012), or indeed the use and often idealisation of the Scandinavian model in Scotland and elsewhere (Newby, 2009). In this study, I am not interested in how viable or politically-contentious the Scandinavian model is for Scotland. I am interested in how Scottish nationals respond to these proposals, and what factors are involved in their support or rejection of intergroup emulation. In particular, I am interested in the role of superordinate categories (such as Britain, Scandinavia, Nordic countries, social democracies, etc.) for the acceptance or rejection of emulation.

I chose to focus on this instance of emulation because the 'Nordic model' is a debated issue in Scotland, allowing the study to capture reactions for and against the

proposal and investigate their links with debated superordinate categories (e.g., Britain) as well as emerging categories (e.g., Nordic countries). In order to capture these reactions to emulation proposals, I analysed the comments of Scottish nationals to three online news articles that report proposals for Scotland to emulate the Nordic model. In order to gain an array of opinions, I chose to look at news articles from across the political spectrum: left (The Guardian), centre (BBC), and right (The Scotsman).

Method

Sample. For this study, comments of users on three online articles were collected. All three articles ('How Scandinavian is Scotland?', 2011; 'Look north, Scotland', 2011; '"Scots poor will suffer" if independent nation follows Nordic model', 2011) originated in proposals of the Scottish National Party for Scotland to strengthen ties with Scandinavia and emulate the Nordic model. Of all the user comments, only those of users who identified as Scottish were retained for analysis, whether this was explicit (e.g., 'I am Scottish') or implicit (e.g., 'we, in Scotland'). This resulted in 477 comments included in the analysis, with comparable numbers for the three news outlets (BBC – 191, The Guardian – 122, the Scotsman – 164).

Analysis. The method employed was thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), a flexible qualitative methodology used to extract meaning from textual data. I carried out the analysis from an essentialist perspective, assuming that the comments analysed are reflections of the individual thoughts, emotions, and motivations of individuals (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis strategy was that of focused analysis. Rather than giving all comments the same attention in the analysis, I focused on analysing those comments that discussed intergroup emulation (either supporting or rejecting it). Many comments addressed other topics, such as Scottish independence with no reference to emulation, historical debate with no reference to emulation/Scandinavian countries, etc. In analysing these comments on intergroup emulation, I was guided by the question of the role of

superordinate categories in intergroup emulation. In the process of thematic analysis, after several cycles of analysis, I identified several recurring patterns that are outlined below. All of the themes below (*italicised*) were reflected in several comments, in at least two of the three news articles included.

Results

The supporters of intergroup emulation relate modelling successful countries to independence and *self-determination*. This is often associated with political independence (partly due to the prominent media coverage of Scottish independence at the time), but not necessarily so. The freedom to choose a model represents one of the ways in which Scottish people can make an autonomous decision on their country's future.

> *"The great thing about being independent is that you can "choose" the best systems, processes, approaches and ideas from all over the World... and then implement the ones that best suit the people of Scotland's aspirations."*

For many, the Scandinavian countries provide a highly successful model, the *'road-map'* to achieving the type of society many commentators wish to live in.

> *"I guess those of us inhabiting Northern Britain view with some envy the prosperity of our neighbours across the North Sea. They are more democratic, more socially just and more egalitarian."*

> *"This should be an aspiration and inspiration for all Scots. The Scandinavians have strong industry but also have a strong society too. They aren't all about money or material wealth and that suits Scotland."*

Such countries do not only represent a guide for what Scotland should be aiming for, but also their achievements show that 'it can be done'. This gives commentators a sense of *attainability* of Scotland's improvement in the direction of this model.

> *"Not only do they seem to be able to have an army, a security service, and a fully functional infrastructure, they also look prosperous, and all located on a peninsula attached to Germany and*

a collection of islands stuck at the western end of the Baltic Sea. Apparently Denmark seems to manage. They don't seem too wee, too poor or too stupid to run their own affairs. […] If they can do it what is stopping us Scots. Nothing."

The reason for looking at Scandinavian countries as models varies among commentators. For some, it is strictly a *rational decision* of economic or social performance, without the consideration of geographical proximity or cultural and political similarity.

" […] the Scandinavian countries do things better. If Bolivia or Tonga […] modelled political excellence, I hope Scotland would also look there."

However, for the majority, emulation is supported due to *perceived similarity* between Scotland and Scandinavian countries. For some, similarity is reflected by physical features such as geography (cold climate) and size (small countries).

"The Nords don't seem to mind snow […]. I think it's about structuring systems more like their similar Northerly Latitude neighbours. It least it's a positive idea."

"although I disagree we share a cultural heritage with the Nordic countries, we can use them as an example of smaller countries doing well on their own"

However, for most it is the similarity of *values and ideology* that justifies emulating Scandinavian countries. Scotland is seen to value social justice, economic equality, support for the most vulnerable in society, affordable healthcare and education, and all of these values are seen as common with Scandinavian countries.

"There is also another issue and that is our role in the world. We like the Scandinavians do not seek to be a "major player" "

"I think if we look at voting patterns in Scotland it is quite clear that the electorate are quite comfortable with […] a left of centre government with a social democrat agenda. Therefore I think that we should look North, because that is the kind of government which has developed in these countries."

"We should be looking more to Scandinavia rather than England when it comes to living standards and social cohesion. Scotland is more like our Nordic cousins when it comes to these issues. One reason why the riots didn't occur north of the border earlier in the year."

Common values alone, though, do not warrant emulation, but they place Scotland in the *same category* with Scandinavian countries. The label of this common category varies, from 'social democracies' to 'fairer nations'. Whether this category is explicit or implicit, (some) Scandinavian countries are seen as 'champions' for this category of nations, and many comments cite favourable statistics to support their leadership in this area (e.g., low relative poverty, low economic inequality indices, etc.).

"As Scotland is already carving an identity for itself as a fairer nation with free care for the elderly and free university tuition fees. It makes total sense for the country to align itself with the fairer (no pun intended) nations of Scandinavia that enjoy lower levels of inequality […]"

"Are the Nordic nations sought out just because they are "family", or because they've become the smartest, healthiest and most successful country cousins for miles around? Well, youse'd be pretty dumb if ye wanted to copy them even tho they were dumb, unhealthy and unsuccessful, no?"

Some commentators go beyond common ideology; modelling Scandinavian countries is an opportunity to assert *historical and cultural links*. A number of comments make reference to Viking or Dane influences in Scotland, and the subsequent commonalities in language, culture, and political organisation between Scotland and some Scandinavian countries. The intention to emulate the Nordic model is also an opportunity to rediscover old ties with Scandinavia, even if some of these connections may seem incidental.

"400 hundred years ago Scotland and Denmark were very similar. They were similar ecnomically and culturally. They traded with each other and were pretty much equals in European terms."

"My clan had strong links with Denmark many centuries ago and when Scotland becomes independent I would back my Government having closer ties with Scandinavia. We seem to have the same socialist values which I am proud of. I do not feel British at all."

"When I was a lad moving about Edinburgh I became aware of how many students from Norway were studying engineering at our Heriot Watt college. Through that I became aware of just how strongly the Norwegians valued the links between our two countries. The Shetland Bus during the war for example where supplies and people were "run " to Norway across the North Sea."

It is worth noting that the desire to emulate a successful model should not be understood as assimilation or submission.

"they're not proposing we become some sort of subsidiary to Norway, nor that we forget the UK altogether. They merely point out that in parts of our culture, (socially democratic) politically in particular, we can take lessons from them."

On the other hand, those commentators who openly oppose these emulation proposals negate similarity between Scotland and Scandinavia.

" "Scotland has more in common with its Scandinavian neighbours than the UK " - Most likely just 'cos it's cold wet, miserable... and has a high suicide rate."

For many of the supporters of emulation, following the Nordic model is an opportunity to change the current economic and social model. This is sometimes labelled as the 'free-market model' or 'Anglo-American model', seen as the dominant model imposed on Scotland by (the South-East of) England through the UK Government. As such, many of those who support emulation also show disengagement with 'Britain' as a desirable or meaningful identity, and seek *distinctiveness* from what they see as the British model.

"However, from what I now observe of English society (Particularly South East English society) I want to put as much distance between it and Scotland as possible. I want to get away from the riots, the uneasy racial and community relations, the lunatic property market, the growing social and economic divisions, the sheer nastiness, envy and petty hatreds on display."

"In fact, Norway, Sweden and Denmark are all wealthier per capita than the UK. These countries also ensure that this wealth is shared out more equally. […] On the other hand, the "power and glory" at the very heart of British identity does enormous harm to Britain itself, from

the remodelling of its empire through a tax haven network and pre-eminence of The City, its

obsession with the arms industry and all things nuclear, to piggybacking on American imperialism

in its wars. Even in our glorification of inequality as "noble". If Scotland's departure from the

UK can hasten the demise of our destructive sense of self importance in the world then it is to be

welcomed on both sides of the border."

At the same time, those who reject emulation and similarities with Scandinavia, reassert the importance and meaning of the British identity. The idea of Scotland becoming more 'Nordic' seems to be related to it becoming less 'British', which threatens those who strongly identify with their *British identity* due to common history and links.

"I do not want to be anything other than British. UK born and bred. Hope my relatives who died

fighting for Britain did not die in vain."

"It's laughable...... Look at the evidence. .... How many Scots have friends and family from

the rest of the UK? .... How many Scots have friends or family working or studying

in the rest of the UK?............. How many Scots have business links with the rest of the

UK?.............. How many Scots visit the rest of the UK regularly?. How many Scots share a

culture with the rest of the UK? .... I could go on............................... There's no point

asking any of these questions in relation to the Scandinavian countries."

Discussion

Study 3 has focused on an instance of intergroup emulation and the role of superordinate categories. Intergroup emulation emerged as a strategy of improving the ingroup; by observing admirable outgroups, ingroup members become inspired and have an increased sense that change is achievable. In particular, in this study I was interested in the role that superordinate categories may play in intergroup emulation.

In general, those comments that support Scotland's emulation of Scandinavian countries identify similarities that place Scotland in the same category (same 'type') of

country as the models. Sometimes this was a vague category, such as 'small but successful countries', but most often it was a category described by values and related political ideology, such as social democracies ('fairer nations'). Those supporters of emulation identified and stressed similarities, and sometimes brought historical and cultural links in support of similarity. As such, they asserted Scotland's belonging to the broader category (e.g., social democracies). The models are presented as the most successful exemplars of the superordinate category, the closest to the ideal of the category. The aspirational category is opposed to the current broader identity and current model. This current category is often described as Britain, and the economic and social model as 'imposed' by South-East England or the Westminster Government, although some describe the current category more broadly as those countries based on the Anglo-American model or economic neoliberalism (e.g., 'free-market obsessed' countries). This dynamic of emulation in the context of broader identities is illustrated in Figure 3. Those comments that reject emulation describe the opposite process: they argue against the similarity of Scotland to Scandinavian countries and stress its British identity.
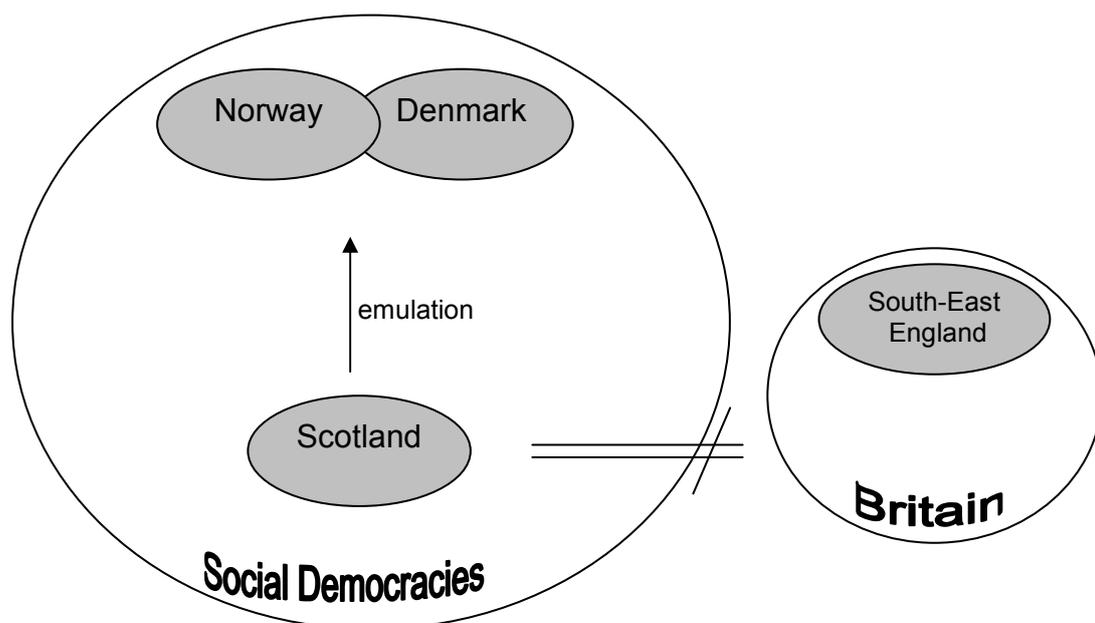
Figure 5. An illustration of intergroup emulation and the role of superordinate identities

Study 3 indicates that superordinate categories are important in emulation processes. In intending to emulate a model, the group places itself in the same superordinate category with the model, and often asserts its similarity to the model in order to justify belonging to the same category. The model is perceived as being the closest to the ideal of this superordinate category. It is worth noting that the superordinate category may be different to different ingroup members (e.g., small countries, Nordic countries, etc.). Therefore, through emulation, the group aims to improve in the direction of the prototype of this common superordinate category, doing so in order to assert its membership of this category (e.g., 'a true social democracy') or its high performance in this category (e.g., 'a successful social democracy').

The fact that a superordinate category (be it implicit or explicit) is involved in emulation is important. It indicates that the ingroup is not only emulating the most successful model available, but that a certain superordinate category is used as the frame of reference and determines the groups that represent the model to be emulated. This can indicate, for instance, the features that are being emulated. In the emulation of Denmark for example, if the perceived common category is 'successful small countries with no aspiration to being a superpower', then the features emulated may be reduced armed forces and investment in highly skilled jobs. However, if the category is 'social democracies', then social policies may be emulated. The fact that a superordinate category is involved also indicates to some extent the goal of emulation: to be a (successful) member of that category (e.g., 'a successful small country' or 'a true social democracy').

An additional insight of this study is that emulation may not only be an aspiration for a better future, but also a strategy to gain distinctiveness from a present model. I have not discussed this in detail here as it is central to the aim of this chapter, but I will look at the issue of distinctiveness in relation to emulation in Chapter 7.

4.4. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to explore who groups learn from – what are the features that predict whether a certain outgroup becomes a target of admiration and emulation. In Study 1, I looked at the elicitors of admiration as the emotional response associated with emulation. I found support for previous results linking admiration to perceptions of outgroup competence (S. T. Fiske et al., 2002), but also identified a novel relationship between perceptions of outgroup prototypicality and intergroup admiration. The fact that perceptions of an outgroup's prototypicality for a superordinate category elicited admiration could be regarded as contradicting the definition of admiration as an emotion elicited by excellence exceeding standards (Algoe & Haidt, 2009). Prototypicality is often defined as being the standard, or average, of a social category (Turner et al., 1987). Therefore, in Study 2, I looked more closely at the facets of prototypicality, finding that prototypicality only elicits admiration when it is defined as the ideal of a social category (van Knippenberg, 2011), and not the average of the category. This study also showed the mediating role of admiration in the relation between prototypicality and intergroup learning and intergroup helping. Therefore, these two studies found that the outgroup's prototypicality for a superordinate category is an important factor to predict whether a group will be emulated.

However, in Studies 1 and 2, the superordinate category was well-defined (Europe), and those studies were presented as studies about countries in Europe. As a result, it is difficult to say to what extent a superordinate category is important for intergroup emulation if such a clear category is not present and not made salient to participants. Therefore, Study 3 looked at emulation in a set of naturally-occurring data and where there was no clear superordinate category linking the emulating group to the model. Nonetheless, the same process was revealed in Study 3. The model was emulated due to its prototypicality for a superordinate category that both groups belong to. Because the

category was not well-defined in this study, its breadth and definition varied, from those defined by a single feature (e.g., 'cold countries') to those described by an overarching identity (e.g., 'Nordic countries').

Overall, these studies suggest that, in the context of the superordinate category, the emulated model is prototypical and embodies some ideal features for that category. Depending on the category and situation, intergroup emulation is an improvement strategy that serves to place the ingroup firmly in the superordinate category (and perhaps away from a competing category), and to improve the ingroup in the direction of the model. This is illustrated by Figure 4. Framing intergroup emulation in terms of the superordinate category is important in order to understand what outgroups may be emulated based on the category that the ingroup is aspiring to, and also which features will be emulated in relation to that outgroup.
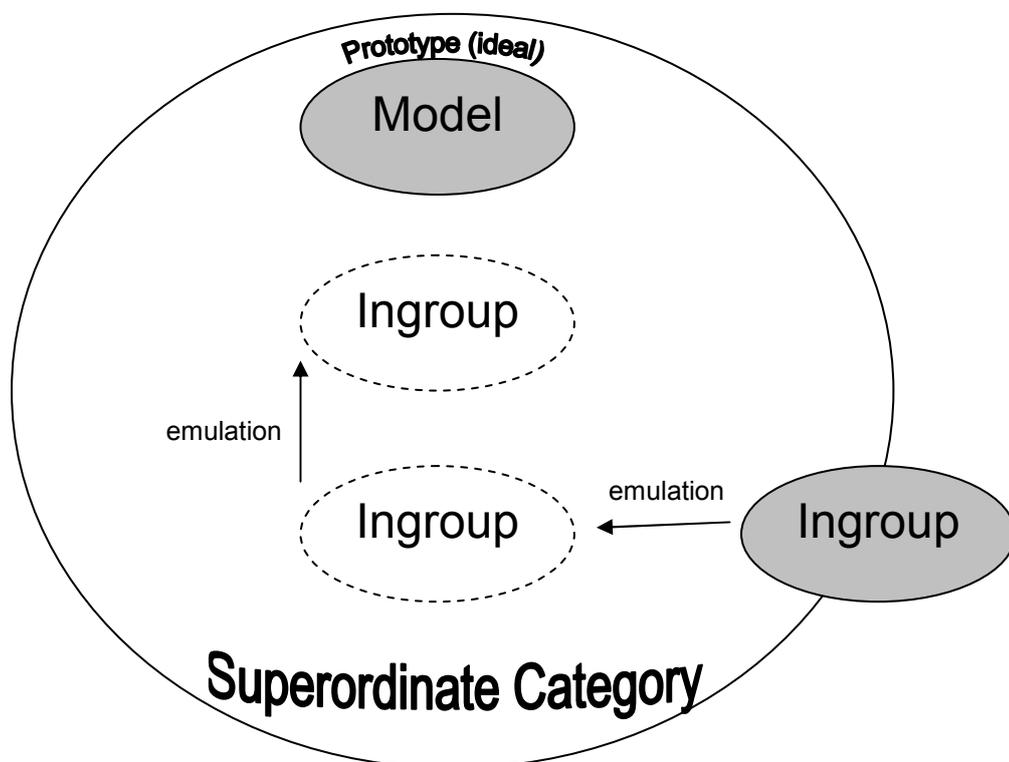
Figure 6. Intergroup emulation and the superordinate category

This chapter has explored intergroup emulation empirically, with a focus on who is admired and emulated. However, there are many groups seen as competent or prototypical for a desired category who are not emulated. In fact, perceptions that an outgroup is competent can lead to envy and conflict (Cuddy et al., 2007; S. T. Fiske et al., 2002). As well, the fact that an outgroup embodies the prototype of a superordinate category can signify low prototypicality and lower status for the ingroup, potentially causing animosity and disengagement with the superordinate category (Wenzel et al., 2007). It is only under certain conditions that emulation of such competent or prototypical groups will occur. These conditions are explored in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

WHEN DO GROUPS EMULATE OTHER GROUPS?

"Scotland should look at Scandinavia. Just about everything is far superior to the rest of the UK"

"If they can do it what is stopping us Scots. Nothing."

(quotations from Study 3)

In Chapter 4, I looked at which groups are most likely to be emulated. Some features emerged as important for intergroup emulation (higher status, competence, prototypicality), but it is also true that many groups presenting such features are not emulated. In fact, many groups of lower status, lower competence, or lower prototypicality may feel threatened by their relatively negative identity in relation to the 'superior' outgroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) or by their subordinate position (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). This suggests that there are moderating factors in the relationship between the perceived superiority of an outgroup and intergroup emulation. This chapter aims to investigate the conditions under which groups are likely to employ intergroup emulation. The first study looks at the effect of legitimacy in predicting intergroup emulation. As the first opening quote suggests, a sense of legitimate superiority is a precursor of emulation. However, as illustrated by the second quote, a sense that a better future is attainable also plays a role in groups choosing emulation. Therefore, in the second study, I look at the combined effect of legitimacy and stability on group members' preference for intergroup emulation as well as other lower status behaviours.

5.1. The role of legitimacy (Study 4)[*]

Predicting the behaviour of lower status groups is a long standing concern for intergroup relations research. Early works in the 1950s and 60s looked into the conditions that make groups likely to take collective action against disadvantage (Crosby, 1976) or engage in intergroup conflict (Sherif, 1961). But it was Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) that theorised an array of strategies available to lower status group members: individual mobility (choosing a higher status group), social competition (overtly challenging the status difference), and social creativity (psychologically reframing the status difference; for instance, by choosing to compare with groups of even lower status or changing the status dimension). Following the insights of the social identity approach, subsequent research identified up to thirteen different strategies available to lower status groups (Blanz et al., 1998; see also 1.3). Given such a variety of strategies, the challenge for social identity researchers lies in effectively predicting the conditions that make particular strategies more likely (Brown, 2000).

SIT's important contribution was not only to provide a taxonomy of strategies available to lower status groups, but also to lay down the conditions under which these strategies are preferred by group members (Reicher et al., 2010). First, group boundary permeability (the possibility for group members to change groups) makes group members more likely to choose individual mobility. When boundaries are not permeable, an essential condition predicting strategy choice is how secure the status relations are. In secure relations (defined as legitimate and stable), group members are likely to employ social creativity, while in unsecure relations (illegitimate and unstable) they are likely to employ social competition. Legitimacy, stability, and permeability are thus essential for determining strategy choice in lower status groups.

Of all these conditions, legitimacy has received the most attention and support for its moderating role in the behaviour of lower status group members (Bettencourt et al., 2001). Perceptions of illegitimacy in status relations make collective action more likely (Ellemers, van Knippenberg, & Wilke, 1990; van Zomeren et al., 2008), while high perceived legitimacy drives group members to endorse the status quo (Jost & Major, 2001; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

The importance of legitimacy is also stressed in emulation research, as only those individuals in hierarchies based on earned (i.e., legitimate) prestige are likely to be emulated (Henrich & Gil-White, 2001; see also 2.1.4). Given the importance of legitimacy for lower status group strategy choice, in this first study I manipulate hierarchy legitimacy to assess its effect on intergroup emulation. I expect the emotional and behavioural components of intergroup emulation (admiration, learning, and help) to be more likely responses of lower status group members in legitimate status hierarchies. Based on findings in Chapter 4, I also expect admiration to have a mediating role in the relation between perceptions of legitimacy and intergroup learning and help. However, not all types of help should be related to admiration, but only help that is aimed at improvement. Since admiration is thought to facilitate the approach of models in order to gain knowledge and skills (Haidt & Seder, 2009), it should only be related to seeking help aimed at improvement (i.e., learning-related help) but not help which does not contribute to improved performance (i.e., dependency-oriented, Nadler, 2002) (see 3.4 for a more extensive discussion of types of help and their expected association with intergroup emulation). Therefore, I expect group-based admiration to be related in the lower status group to an increased willingness to accept autonomy-oriented help from the higher status group. However, no mediation effect is expected in regard to the willingness to accept dependency-oriented help.

Method

Participants and design. Romanian participants (N = 31) took part in an online experiment (M_{age} = 24.68, SD = 6, 64.5% female). The participants were recruited from email lists of psychology students at various Romanian universities and took part voluntarily. Participants were assigned randomly to one of the two experimental conditions: high legitimacy or low legitimacy.

Procedure. The study was advertised as a study on attitudes toward work-life balance policies in Europe. On the first screen, participants were given additional information about the study and their rights. On the second screen, participants read about work-life balance policies in Europe and saw a graph indicating the performance of various countries (see Kotowska et al., 2010). According to this data, Romania's performance (i.e.*,* the ingroup's performance) is below the European average.

Legitimacy manipulation. On the third screen, participants read how the country rankings were calculated. In the *high legitimacy* condition, the method for calculating the ranking of countries was reinforced, using a supporting statement from the aforementioned report. In the *low legitimacy* condition, participants read that the method for calculating the countries' ranking does not take into account the countries' medium wage, thus casting doubt on the fairness of the hierarchy. I chose this rather subtle manipulation of legitimacy in order to manipulate legitimacy but not affect ratings of outgroup status. If a stronger manipulation had been used, it might have affected status ratings, which is undesirable since the goal is to compare lower status group members' responses to a *legitimate high status* outgroup to responses to an *illegitimate but equally-high status* outgroup.

Outgroup status. On the following screen, participants read some information about work-life balance policies in the Republic of Ireland – a group among the highest ranking countries in Europe in this domain. They were presented with specific information about how Ireland achieved this goal (e.g., flexible working hours for parents, paternity leave, etc.). On the next screens, participants were required to complete the measures described

below. On all the measures, responses are recorded on 10-point scales. On the last page of the study, participants were debriefed.

Measures. *Group status.* Participants were asked to rate the ingroup (Romania) and the outgroup (Ireland) for their position in the hierarchy of European countries for work-life balance from 1 = *very low* to 10 = *very high.*

Legitimacy. Participants were asked to rate to what extent they thought Ireland's place in the hierarchy was *justified*, *legitimate*, and *fair* (Jost & Major, 2001). These three ratings were combined to form a legitimacy scale ($\alpha = .96$).

Intergroup admiration. The scale used to measure admiration was based on the theoretical appraisal dimensions of this emotion (adapted from Shiota et al., 2006), measuring participants' level of agreement with three statements such as *'As Romanian, I appreciate Ireland's accomplishments in work-life balance policies'* (please see the full scale in Appendix 1). The answers for the three statements were computed in a scale ($a = .60$).

Attitudes toward learning were measured by aggregating agreement ratings for the following statements: *'I believe we have a lot to learn from Ireland in regard to work-life balance policies'*, *'It would be useful to follow good practice examples from Ireland in this field'*, and *'I believe Ireland's performance is a useful guide for the objective we need to reach in work-life balance'* ($a = .89$).

Willingness to receive intergroup help was measured by how much the participants supported receiving different types of help from Ireland. Some forms of help were autonomy-oriented (*'Irish policy experts training Romanian policy makers'*, *'Irish experts advising Romanian authorities'*, and *'Ireland offering expertise for adapting polices to the Romanian context'*, $a = .84$) while others were dependency-oriented (*'Romania replicating in detail Irish policy'* and *'Irish experts evaluating and deciding the best policies for Romania'*, $a = .66$). The distinction between dependency- and autonomy-oriented help items was further confirmed by principal components analysis.

A recall question was also included: participants were asked in the end of the study to remember which of seven policies listed had been mentioned at the beginning of the study

as having been employed by Ireland. They were given one point for each correct answer, therefore the scale ranges from 1 to 7.

Results

I ran a multivariate analysis of variance including legitimacy as the fixed factor and legitimacy perceptions, outgroup status, ingroup status, admiration, learning, autonomy-oriented help, and dependency-oriented help as dependent variables.

Group status. There was a significant difference between ratings of ingroup ($M = 2.81$, $SD = 1.47$) and outgroup status ($M = 9.58$, $SD = .96$), $F(1,30) = 447.26$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .94$, confirming that participants perceived the ingroup as lower status and the outgroup as higher status.

Perceived legitimacy. The manipulation was successful: ratings of the legitimacy of outgroup status were significantly lower in the low legitimacy condition ($M = 7.69$, $SD = 2.23$) than the high legitimacy condition ($M = 9.71$, $SD = .41$), $F(1,27) = 9.96$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .27$. However, as expected, ratings of outgroup status were not significantly affected by the manipulation, $F(1,27) = 3.63$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$.

Effect of condition. As expected, the outgroup was more admired when its higher status was perceived to be legitimate ($M = 8.75$, $SD = 1.07$) than illegitimate ($M = 7.29$, $SD = 1.70$), $F(1,27) = 6.84$, $p = .014$, $\eta_p^2 = .20$. When outgroup status was perceived as more legitimate, participants displayed more positive attitudes towards learning from the outgroup ($M_{high\ legitimacy} = 9.53$, $SD = .67$; $M_{low\ legitimacy} = 7.88$, $SD = 1.95$, $F(1,27) = 7.78$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = .22$), and they recalled more information about the outgroup performance ($M_{high\ legitimacy} = 6.85$, $SD = .38$; $M_{low\ legitimacy} = 6.12$, $SD = 1.05$, $F(1,27) = 5.63$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .18$). They were also more willing to accept autonomy-oriented help ($M_{high\ legitimacy} = 9.69$, $SD = .46$; $M_{low\ legitimacy} = 8.18$, $SD = 1.89$, $F(1,27) = 7.33$, $p = .012$, $\eta_p^2 = .21$), but also dependency-oriented help ($M_{high\ legitimacy} = 7.58$, $SD = 2.47$; $M_{low\ legitimacy} = 5.35$, $SD = 2$, $F(1,27) = 7.22$, $p = .012$, $\eta_p^2 = .21$).

Intergroup admiration as mediator. Mediation was tested using bootstrapping at 5000 iterations (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Admiration mediated the effect of the legitimacy manipulation on attitudes towards learning and willingness to accept autonomy-oriented help (confidence intervals for the indirect effects are 1.17 to 1.93, and .11 to 1.37 respectively). Admiration did not, however, mediate the extent of information recall (confidence intervals for the indirect effects are -.25 and .52). As well, as expected, admiration did not mediate the effect on willingness to accept dependency-oriented help (confidence intervals for the indirect effects are -.32 and 1.72, see Table 4 for more detail).

Table 4. Mediation analysis results: intergroup admiration as a mediator of the effect of legitimacy manipulation on the outcome variables

Outcome	LLCI	ULCI	c-path (B & SE)	c'-path (B & SE)	a-path (B & SE)	b-path (B & SE)
Attitudes towards learning	1.17	1.93	1.68 (.56)**	.77 (.51)	1.42 (.53)*	.64 (.16)***
Recall	-.25	.52	.73 (.31)*	.65 (.37)	1.73 (.52)*	.04 (.11)
Willingness to accept autonomy-oriented help	.11	1.37	1.15 (.56)*	.91 (.58)	1.64 (.56)*	.41 (.18)*
Willingness to accept dependency-oriented help	-.32	1.72	2.23 (.83)*	1.64 (.91)	1.46 (.55)*	.40 (.28)

*p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001*

LLCI = lower limit of the confidence interval, ULCI = upper limit of the confidence interval, c-path – path from predictor variable to outcome variable, c'-path – path from predictor to outcome with the inclusion of mediator, a-path – path from predictor to mediator, b-path – path from mediator to outcome variable

Discussion

Legitimacy of status relations emerged as an important factor in determining when intergroup emulation will be a likely response of lower status groups. Hierarchy legitimacy was associated with higher admiration, greater willingness to accept outgroup help, and

higher learning intentions, as well as more recall of information about the outgroup. These effects are in line with previous work, showing that admiration is associated with legitimate high status (Sweetman et al., 2013), that legitimate hierarchies are associated with higher willingness for both dependency and autonomy-oriented help (Nadler, 2002), and that learning occurs in legitimate hierarchies (Henrich & Gil-White, 2001).

Admiration only mediated willingness to receive autonomy-oriented help and learning intentions, but not willingness to receive dependency-oriented help. This is consistent with the view that admiration is related to learning from models in order to improve one's performance (Haidt & Seder, 2009), so it should only be associated with those behaviours aimed at improving the performance of the ingroup (i.e., autonomy rather than dependency oriented help). It might have been expected that admiration would mediate the effect of legitimacy on the recall measure; however, this was not the case. This may be due to the relatively weak direct effect of the manipulation on the recall measure and the ceiling effect of ratings on this variable. Overall, this study confirms the prediction that intergroup emulation will be preferred by group members in hierarchies of legitimate higher status

5.2. Legitimacy and stability (Study 5)[*]

A factor often associated with legitimacy in predicting the behaviour of lower status group members is status stability: the perception that the group's status might change in the future. Perceptions of stability and legitimacy describe secure status hierarchies, while perceptions of illegitimacy and instability are related to unsecure status relations (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Although the interaction between legitimacy and stability is seen as important for predicting intergroup behaviour, few studies have manipulated the two

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[*] This study is included in: Onu, D., Smith, J.R., & Kessler, T. (2012). Intergroup learning as a strategy for lower-status group improvement. *Manuscript in preparation for European Journal of Social Psychology.*

variables orthogonally (for an exception, see Ellemers et al., 1993). When stability is considered separately from legitimacy, its effect for intergroup behaviour is unclear (for a review, see Bettencourt, Charlton, Dorr, & Hume, 2001, see also 1.1). This may be due to the fact that stability can take many forms: an unstable status position may mean the ingroup can improve, or that the hierarchy may equalise, or even that the ingroup could attain the highest status; or, indeed, it could mean that the ingroup's position may depreciate.

For intergroup emulation, perceptions of unstable status are likely to be important in a particular case of instability: the perception that the group could improve in the future. Since emulation is an improvement strategy (Henrich & Gil-White, 2001), it makes sense that it would only be employed when change is possible. This is also consistent with the fact that many variables associated with emulation have been shown to be related to perceptions that a better performance is attainable. For instance, Lockwood and Kunda (1997) found that students became more inspired by role models when they believed a better performance was attainable for them in the future. Similarly, upward comparison is motivating and admiration is more likely to be felt in upward comparison when the admirer perceives that they can improve (Smith, 2000; J. V. Wood, 1989). Given these results, it is expected that intergroup emulation will be employed by lower status group members when they believe their status position is unstable in the sense that it can improve in the future.

Based on this predicted effect of stability and the findings of Study 4 on legitimacy, it is expected that intergroup emulation will be employed by group members in legitimate but unstable status relations. Therefore, in this study I manipulate stability and legitimacy, and expect that admiration, intentions to learn, and autonomy-oriented help (but not dependency-oriented help) will occur in legitimate and unstable status relations.

Looking at the interaction of legitimacy and stability also allows for intergroup emulation to be compared with other group strategies shown previously to be related to the interaction of legitimacy and stability: social creativity (in legitimate and stable status

relations) and social competition (in illegitimate and unstable relations) (Ellemers et al., 1993; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Therefore, in this study, I will also look at these alternative strategies in order to show that intergroup emulation is distinct from there responses (see Figure 7 below), but also to show that the current research is able to replicate previous findings.
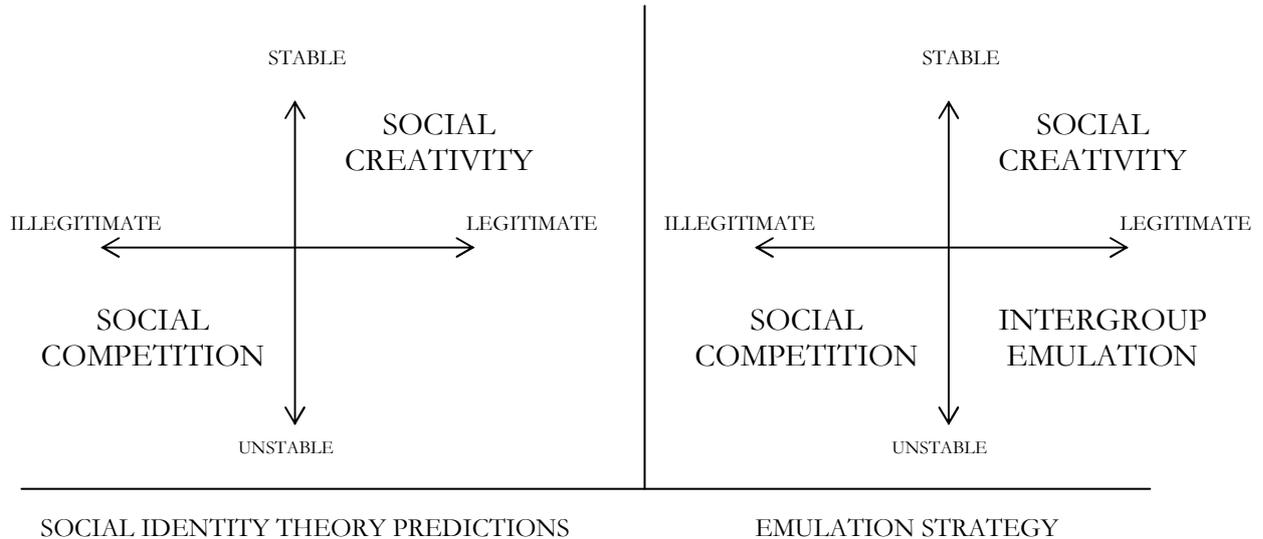
Figure 7. The place of the learning strategy among other strategies described by Social Identity Theory

Method

Participants and design. Undergraduate students from a UK University (N = 94, M_{age} = 19.65, SD_{age} = 3.67, 79.5% female) took part in the study. Participants were assigned randomly to one of the experimental conditions of a 2 (legitimacy: low, high) x 2 (stability: low, high) design.

Procedure. The study was presented to participants as a study on renewable energy in Britain and wider Europe. The lower-performing group in this domain is the UK, compared to the high-performing Denmark.

Participants received questionnaires in an undergraduate class. Participants read about renewable energy in Europe, and it was pointed out to them that the UK has a low

renewable energy performance (percent of total energy use) compared to the European average.

Legitimacy manipulation. Then, participants were presented with a paragraph discussing the survey that the ranking of countries was based on, either reinforcing (high legitimacy condition) or questioning (low legitimacy condition) its quality (please see Appendix 2 for manipulations).

Outgroup status. Next, participants were presented with the case-study of Denmark, a country with higher renewable energy performance, and given some facts about how this performance was achieved.

Stability manipulation. Finally, participants read about the UK's prospects in renewable energy in the form of a quote from a British expert, which was either optimistic (unstable) or pessimistic (stable) about improvement in the short- and medium-term (please see Appendix 2 for manipulations).

On the following pages, participants completed the measures. All measures employ 1-7 point scales. Participants were debriefed at the end of the study.

Measures. *Group status.* Participants were asked to rate the ingroup (Britain) and the outgroup (Denmark) for their position in the renewable energy hierarchy on a single item from 1 = *very low* to 7 = *very high*.

Legitimacy. Participants were asked to rate to what extent they thought the hierarchy was *justified*, *legitimate*, and *fair* (Jost et al., 2004), $\alpha = .86$.

Stability. Participants were asked how likely they believe it is for UK's renewable energy performance to change in the future, using a single item ranging from 1 = *very unlikely* to 7 = *very likely*.

Willingness to receive intergroup help was measured by how much the participants supported receiving different types of help from Denmark. Some forms of help were autonomy-oriented (three items, e.g., '*Danish experts training UK energy administration staff*', $a =$

.78) while others were dependency-oriented (two items, e.g., '*UK importing energy produced in Denmark at preferential rates', a* = .66).

Attitudes toward learning were measured by aggregating agreement ratings for three statements such as, '*It would be good if we looked at renewables in Denmark as good practice examples'* (*a* = .87).

Social creativity – Dimension change. Participants were presented with a status dimension that the UK is ranked highly on - pharmaceutical innovation and asked whether they believe there should be more focus on this dimension than on renewable energy *('It is more important to focus on pharmaceutical research than renewables'* and *'Renewable energy is not a priority at the moment', a* = .77).

Cooperation. To get an indication of whether group members would prefer a competition strategy, I measured intentions for intergroup cooperation, treating competition as the rejection of cooperation. Participants asked whether they supported, for instance '*closer joint research of UK and Danish universities and research institutes',* (two items, *a* = .67).

Please find the full scales in Appendix 3.

Results

Analysis strategy. The current study builds on Study 4, which demonstrated a main effect of legitimacy on admiration, learning, and learning-related help seeking. Since the current study further tests the role of stability as a moderator, in the first instance I tested the interaction effect of legitimacy and stability, expecting significant effects of the interaction on the target variables, particularly due to the difference between legitimate-and-stable and legitimate-and-unstable conditions. However, in the current study I also made the specific prediction that emulation is placed in a particular quadrant of the legitimacy and stability interaction (as illustrated in Figure 7). To test the place of emulation and that of the other strategies assessed in this study, I also conducted planned contrast

analyses contrasting one condition (e.g., legitimate-and-unstable for emulation) against the other three conditions.

Group status. Participants did indeed perceive the ingroup (UK) as lower status ($M = 2.01$, $SD = .74$) than the outgroup (Denmark, $M = 6.00$, $SD = .90$) in renewable energy performance, $F(1,92) = 901.79$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .91$

Legitimacy and stability. Manipulations of legitimacy and stability were successful. In the high stability conditions, participants reported less change of their future position ($M = 4.05$, $SD = 1.38$) than in the low stability conditions (i.e., the outgroup position is attainable) ($M = 5.24$, $SD = .94$), $F(1,92) = 24.13$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .21$. In the low legitimacy conditions, participants reported lower legitimacy of the hierarchy ($M = 3.71$, $SD = 1.09$) than in the high legitimacy conditions ($M = 4.26$, $SD = 1.33$), $F(1,92) = 4.33$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .046$. There were no other main effects on ratings of legitimacy and stability ($Fs < 1$, $ps > .80$), therefore the orthogonal manipulation of legitimacy and stability variables was successful.

Table 5. *Means and standard deviations for dependent variables across conditions*

	Illegitimate		Legitimate	
	Unstable	Stable	Unstable	Stable
Group-based admiration	5.10 (1.07)	5.22 (1.22)	5.32 (1.33)	4.53 (.95)
Support for learning-related help	5.29 (.99)	5.83 (.72)	6.03 (.86)	5.59 (1.10)
Support for dependency-oriented help	3.85 (1.36)	4.40 (1.33)	4.27 (1.73)	4.61 (1.17)
Attitudes toward learning	5.63 (.83)	5.78 (.95)	6.01 (1.07)	5.50 (1.00)
Social creativity	3.59 (1.27)	3.50 (1.50)	3.43 (.85)	4.09 (1.02)
Cooperation	5.22 (1.09)	5.59 (1.22)	6.02 (.76)	5.45 (.97)

Group-based admiration. As predicted, the participants reported the highest levels of admiration in the legitimate and unstable condition (see Figure 8). There were no main effects on admiration ($ps > .23$); however, there was a significant effect of the interaction ($F(1,92) = 4.24$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$), reflecting a significant difference in admiration ratings between the legitimate-and-stable condition ($M = 4.53$, $SD = .95$) and the legitimate-and-unstable condition ($M = 5.32$, $SD = 1.33$), $F(1,89) = 5.10$, $p = .026$, $\eta_p^2 = .054$.
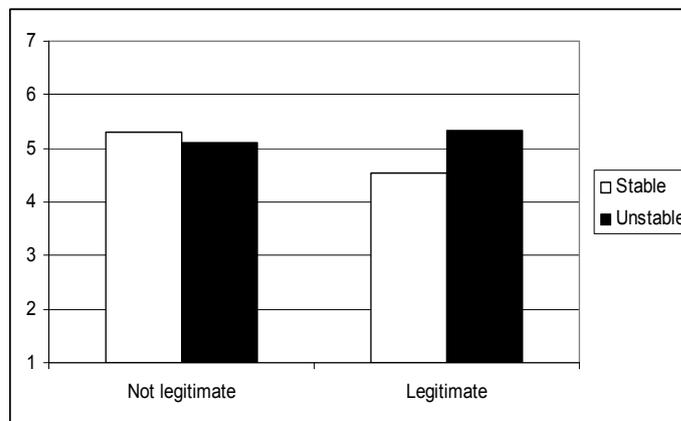
Figure 8. Group-based admiration means across study conditions

Help measures. There were no main effects on support for autonomy-oriented help ($ps > .22$); however, there was an interaction effect ($F(1,93) = 6.40$, $p = .013$, $\eta_p^2 = .066$), with participants in the legitimate and unstable condition reporting the highest support for autonomy-oriented help (see Figure 9). There was no significant difference between the legitimate-and-stable condition ($M = 5.59$, $SD = 1$) and the legitimate-and-unstable condition ($10M = 6.03$, $SD = .86$), $F(1,89) = 2.41$, $p = .124$, $\eta_p^2 = .026$, although this effect was in the predicted direction. There was, however, as significant difference between the illegitimate-and-stable condition ($M = 5.83$, $SD = .72$) and the illegitimate-and-unstable condition ($M = 5.29$, $SD = .99$), $F(1,89) = 4.17$, $p = .044$, $\eta_p^2 = .044$.

The effects described above were only specific for autonomy-oriented help (i.e., learning-related help). For dependency-oriented help, there were no main effects or effects or interaction effect on support for dependency-oriented help ($ps > .18$).

Attitudes toward learning. There were no main effects ($ps > .32$) or interaction effect ($p = .12$) on attitudes toward learning; however, the pattern of means is similar to the patterns for admiration and learning-related help (see Figure 10), with the highest levels of positive attitudes toward learning in legitimate and unstable relations. Similar to admiration ratings, there was a marginally-significant difference in attitudes toward learning ratings between the legitimate-and-stable condition ($M = 4.53$, $SD = .95$) and the legitimate-and-unstable condition ($M = 5.32$, $SD = 1.33$), $F(1,89) = 3.16$, $p = .079$, $\eta_p^2 = .034$.
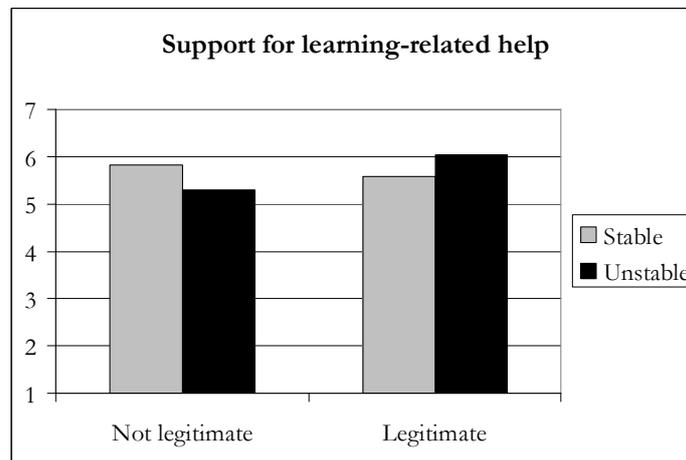

Figure 9. Support for learning-related help
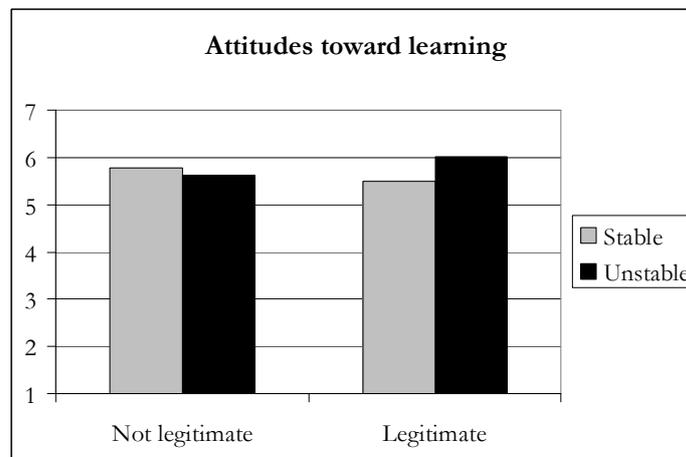
Figure 10. Attitudes towards intergroup learning

Group-based admiration as mediator. I tested for mediation effects using bootstrapping (Monte Carlo Method, Selig & Preacher, 2008). As expected, admiration mediates the effect of the manipulations (i.e., interaction effect) on the willingness to accept autonomy-oriented help (confidence interval for indirect effect is .002 to .183). There was also an indirect effect of the interaction on attitudes toward intergroup learning through admiration (confidence interval for indirect effect is .007 to .253).
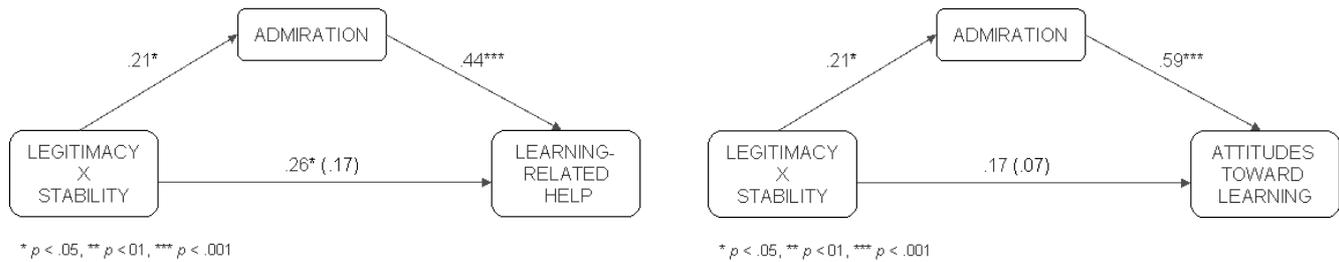
Figure 11. Indirect effects through admiration (coefficients shown are standardised)

The learning strategy and the other intergroup strategies. I further tested the place of the learning-related variables in the legitimate and unstable quadrant, as well as whether the other strategies measured confirm theoretical predictions (see Figure 1b for expected pattern). Using a planned contrast analysis, I found that learning-related help was highest in the legitimate and unstable condition compared to all other conditions ($F(1,90) = 3.94$, $p = .050$, $\eta_p^2 = .042$), as were attitudes toward learning ($F(1,89) = 2.78$, $p = .099$, $\eta_p^2 = .030$). However, as predicted, endorsement of the social creativity strategy was highest in legitimate and stable condition compared to all other conditions ($F(1,90) = 4.23$, $p = .043$, $\eta_p^2 = .045$). As well, in line with theoretical predictions, intentions for cooperation were the lowest in the illegitimate and unstable condition compared to all other conditions ($F(1,90) = 4.19$, $p = .044$, $\eta_p^2 = .044$).

Discussion

This study shows that it is not only important for the status hierarchy to be perceived as legitimate, but that groups need to perceive that they can achieve a better

position in the future in order to show a preference for intergroup emulation. Indeed, the emotional and behavioural responses associated with emulation: admiration, support for autonomy oriented-help, and learning intentions were highest in the legitimate and unstable conditions. However, this pattern did not apply to dependency-oriented help. Similar to Studies 2 and 4, admiration mediated the effect of the independent variables on support for autonomy-oriented help and learning intentions. The pattern of results was in the expected direction for all variables, with weaker effects of the interaction on learning intentions. One of the explanations for this relatively weak effect may be the lack of variance in learning intentions, with high ratings for all conditions. Stronger manipulations of both legitimacy and stability may be necessary to produce a more marked effect on the dependent variables.

The study also tested whether participants would endorse their group focusing on an alternative dimension (a form of social creativity), and whether they endorse cooperation with the outgroup (low endorsement represented a proxy for social competition). Consistent with Social Identity Theory (SIT, Tajfel & Turner, 1979) predictions, intentions for cooperation (used as a proxy for social competition) were lowest in illegitimate and unstable relations, while social creativity was highest in legitimate and stable relations. This confirmation of SIT predictions also shows that the research design employed is comparable to previous manipulations of legitimacy and stability.

5.3. Conclusion

This chapter investigated the conditions that make intergroup emulation more likely to occur. Study 4 looked at legitimacy and found that emulation-related emotions and behaviours are more likely to occur in legitimate status hierarchies. The design of Study 4 may have conveyed to participants that change is relatively easy (as it was enough to

implement certain policies in order to produce change). In Study 5, I also manipulated stability and found intergroup emulation to be most likely in legitimate and unstable status relations.

Legitimacy and stability are essential dimensions for understanding status relations (Reicher et al., 2010). Previous work looked at three of the four quadrants described by the two dimensions (see Figure 1). SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) predicts social competition in illegitimate and unstable relations, and social creativity and legitimate and stable relations (see also Ellemers et al., 1993). Also, in relation to illegitimate and stable relations, research on collective action (Tausch et al., 2011) has shown that the most violent and destructive forms of collective action are likely to take place in this quadrant. However, behaviour of lower status groups in unstable in legitimate conditions had remained largely uninvestigated until now. The results in this chapter suggest that intergroup emulation is a one response available to lower status groups in this type of status hierarchy.

It is worth noting that these studies treated a special case of legitimacy (inherent system illegitimacy rather than that created by an immoral, oppressive higher status group) and a special case of hierarchy stability (upward mobility of the lower status group, but not to the point of hierarchy equality or inversion). Future research could build on these results and test further the boundaries of these theoretical predictions. Also, these studies did not take into account an essential dimension shown to affect the choice of lower status group members' strategies – permeability of group boundaries (Ellemers, van Knippenberg, & Wilke, 1990). This will be briefly discussed in Chapter 7 in regard to the distinction between intergroup emulation and individual mobility.

```
            STABLE                                      STABLE

   RADICAL        SOCIAL                       RADICAL        SOCIAL
   ACTION       CREATIVITY                     ACTION       CREATIVITY

ILLEGITIMATE        LEGITIMATE         ILLEGITIMATE            LEGITIMATE

   SOCIAL                                      SOCIAL       INTERGROUP
 COMPETITION                               COMPETITION      EMULATION

           UNSTABLE                                    UNSTABLE


       PAST RESEARCH                          EMULATION STRATEGY
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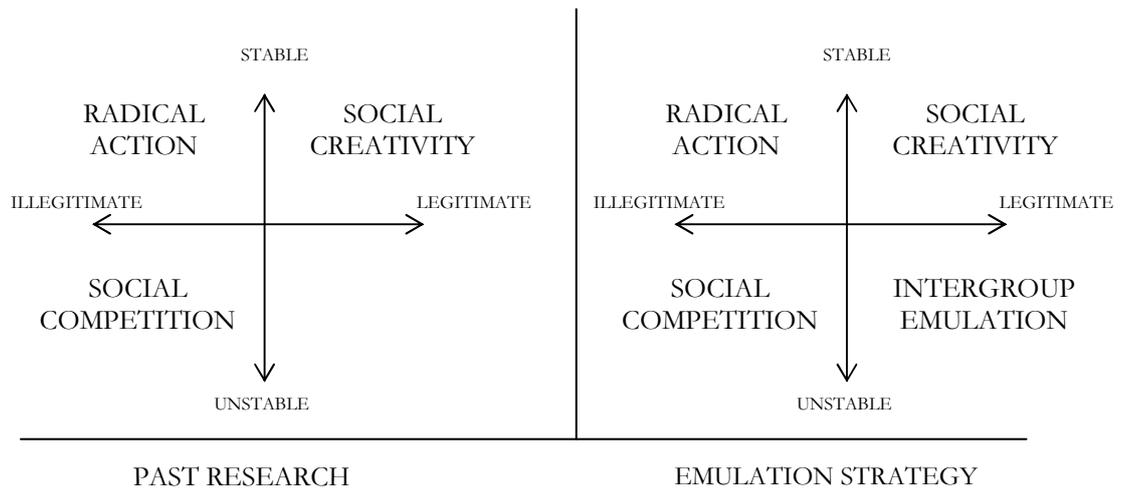
Figure 12. Predictions for the place of the emulation strategy

Overall, this chapter suggests that lower status groups are more likely to employ emulation when status relations are perceived as legitimate and unstable. Although this type of hierarchy has not received much attention in past research, group-based hierarchies that are described by high consensus but also mobility opportunities are ubiquitous. Some examples are captured in the current and past chapters: the hierarchies of countries based on economic development, on the effectiveness of particular policies, on environmental track-record, or the social justice of their welfare systems. Although the studies so far have only looked at national identities, such legitimate and unstable hierarchies are also often found in industry, where rankings of companies' performance are highly mobile from year to year, or in university league tables. As well, such hierarchies do not only describe large countries or economic blocks emulating the best models. They can also describe the most mundane of experiences, from the East Devon cricket league to all the villages taking part in annual Britain in Bloom competitions. In all these legitimate and unstable hierarchies, status is perceived as legitimate and improvement a possibility for groups; emulation is one possible improvement strategy available to group members. In the next chapter, I look in more depth at the process of intergroup emulation, at how group members employ this emulation strategy.

CHAPTER 6

HOW DO GROUPS EMULATE OTHER GROUPS?

"[…] we need not reinvent the wheel,

we can build a project taking what is good from others."

(quotation from Study 6)

Chapter 4 looked at which groups are emulated and Chapter 5 established some of the conditions under which those groups will be more likely to be emulated. Importantly, Chapter 5 placed intergroup emulation in relation to other strategies available to lower status groups. Although these two chapters have been insightful in outlining external factors influencing intergroup emulation, they have not looked in depth at the process of intergroup emulation. Since these studies have either been experimental and imposed a certain reality on participants (Studies 2, 4, 5), or have looked at an incipient instance of emulation (Study 3), it is not entirely clear how initial support for emulation actually transforms into groups implementing skills or knowledge from outgroups. In order gain in-depth insight into the process of intergroup emulation, in this chapter I will conduct an exploratory analysis of one instance of intergroup emulation.

6.1. The process of intergroup emulation (Study 6)[*]

In order to gain a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), group members may choose to assimilate to a higher status group (individual mobility) or to engage in collective action to improve their group's current position (collective mobility, Ellemers et al., 1997). Although collective mobility has usually been studied as social competition

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[*] This study is included in: Onu, D., Smith, J. R., & Kessler, T. (2012). 'I want a country like abroad': A thematic analysis of a Facebook group focused on intergroup learning. *Manuscript under review for British Journal of Social Psychology.*

through actions aimed at changing an illegitimate status hierarchy (van Zomeren et al., 2008), intergroup emulation can also constitute a form of collective mobility as it is aimed at group rather then individual improvement. The collective action literature provides insight into how group members' intentions for collective mobility translate into collective action. Individuals are more likely to participate in collective action when they identity highly with their current group (Ellemers et al., 1997), but also when they have a sense that they can achieve change (i.e, group efficacy; Tausch et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Although past research may provide insight into when collective action might be taken by group members, it is also important to understand what type of collective action will be employed in order to achieve emulation. An indication comes from theorising on collective modelling (Bandura, 1977), where emulation at a societal level is implemented by group members through actively spreading the imitated knowledge and behaviour in their social network. This process of communicating innovations throughout the group may be facilitated by leaders and is usually pioneered by early adopters (Bandura, 1977) who promote these innovations to others through a process of social influence (W. Wood et al., 1994).

Although societal modelling theorising may provide understanding of how emulation is implemented, this process has not been studied empirically. In order to gain insight into one instance of intergroup emulation, this study looks at a Romanian movement entitled 'I want a country like abroad'. This movement was designed to motivate Romanians to participate in the improvement of their country by emulating features of successful outgroups. In this study, I analyse the comments of members of an online social network group associated with the 'I want a country like abroad' movement. I chose it for analysis not only for its focus on emulation, but also because the movement had been active for two years before analysis, allowing me to not only capture group members' intentions or support for emulation (in Study 3 on Scottish attitudes towards the Nordic model), but also to gain insight into what members may actually be doing to

promote or implement emulation. I chose to conduct this analysis in an exploratory manner, rather than focus on a single research question, in order to gain as much insight as possible into the processes taking place.

Method

I conducted a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) on selected comments from the online social network group. The analytic strategy was an exploratory one, guided by the effort of extracting those themes linked to intergroup emulation in this context, rather than answering a specific research question. The analytic process was construed as an inductive process of building a theoretical model of the strategy of emulation for group improvement. I carried out this research from an essentialist perspective, assuming that the comments analysed are reflections of the individual thoughts, emotions, and motivations of individuals (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

I chose to analyse comments in the 'I want a country like abroad' (original title in Romanian) Facebook group because its name illustrates the strategy of emulation for improvement. I only selected for analysis those comments that mention emulation of outgroups, either explicitly (e.g., 'let's get Finnish in the education system') or implicitly (e.g., 'to have a country like abroad we need to understand […]'). These comments form a relatively small fraction of all comments posted on the online group, with the majority of content posted referring to various social and political initiatives communicated by group members. As well, many comments discuss Romania's status and improvement, but with no reference to outgroups or learning, and these comments were not included.

For the purpose of this analysis, I selected all of the comments posted on the group that fitted the criterion above, from 1st of December 2010, when the group was initiated, to August 23rd, 2012, when the most recent comments were included before commencing data analysis. In total, I selected and analysed 166 main comments (i.e., 'wall posts'), as well as all response-comments to these main comments (each main 'wall post' had between zero and 78 responses).

I extracted meaning from the comments included in the analysis; after several cycles of analysis and conceptual refining, ten separate themes were retained. All themes are based on comments that appeared in at least three instances, voiced by multiple individuals. All the original content is in Romanian and the coding process was conducted by a Romanian native speaker. The most relevant quotations were translated for illustration purposes.

Results

The 'I want a country like abroad' Group. To understand the nature and place of this group and the 'emulation strategy' in the general social and political landscape of Romania, I will first introduce some additional information about the online group. The online group is part of the 'I want a country like abroad' campaign launched by a Romanian pop-rock group, who also launched a homonymous single. The campaign began on the 1st of December 2010 (Romania's National Day). In the motivation for launching the campaign entitled 'I want a country like abroad', the organisers explain:

'This is the saying that every Romanian, of the 22 million in the country and millions of others abroad, has thought or said at least once. Most think and feel it every day, at least once. […] It is not revolting, frustration, or a manifest, it is a decision we all have to make […]. A country does not change, until the people who can change it change. We speak to those who know things can be different. That here also many things can be as natural, as fair, as healthy, and as normal 'as abroad'. […]. To most it seems impossible […]. To us and to you it is an opportunity. An opportunity disguised as an obligation'.

It is important to mention that this message is not a fringe reaction, but one that appeals to mainstream Romanian society. The single that was launched along with the online campaign has been very popular. The message has also been adopted by the most popular political coalition on posters in a political campaign (i.e., 'Do you want a country like abroad?'), suggesting that it has high acceptability and appeal for large segments of the population.

The conceptual model. Twelve separate themes were extracted from the comments. In the conceptual model in Figure 13, these ten themes are 'emulation strategy' and all the concepts on the right-hand side, 'patriotism', 'social ties', 'hope', etc. The aim of this analysis was to explore meaning related to the emulation strategy and construct a theoretical model. For this reason, I have grouped the themes according to what they tell us about the emulation strategy. For instance, whenever people spoke about 'patriotism', 'social ties', or 'future generations', they did so in order to explain why they support group improvement through emulation. I will extrapolate the extracted themes below.
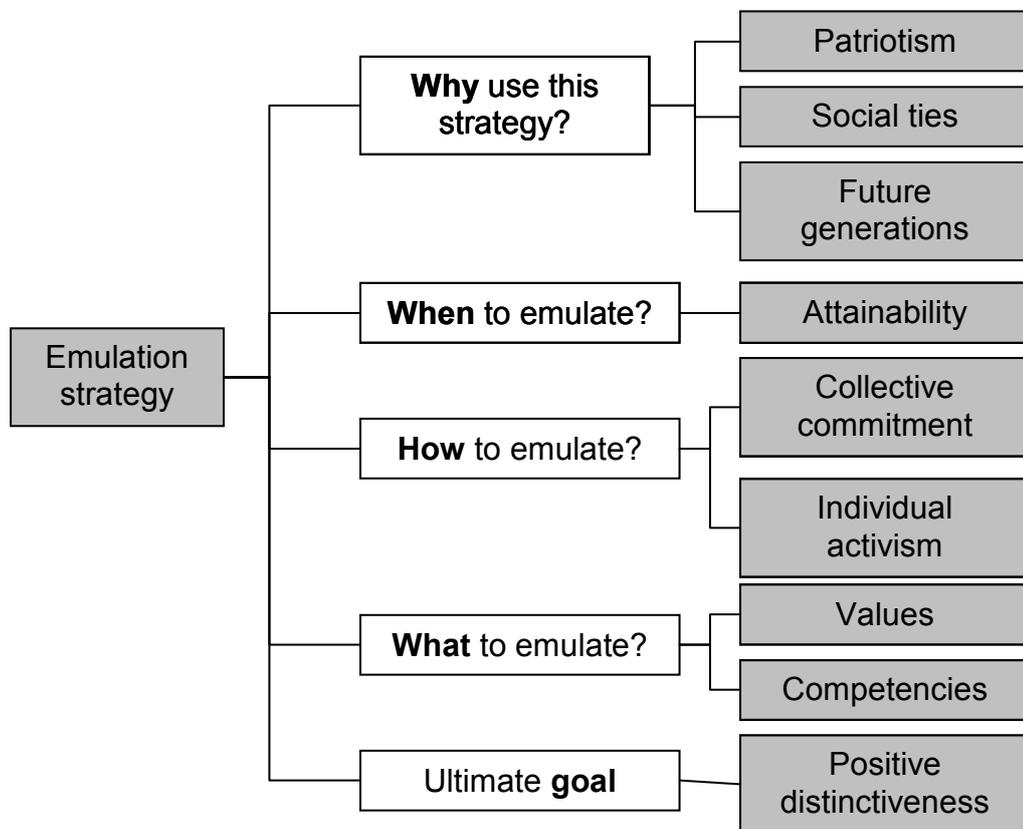

Figure 13. The ten themes, grouped to answer questions about the emulation strategy

Emulation strategy. There is some discussion on the online group as to what does 'like abroad' exactly mean. Many users seem to agree that there is not a single model to be copied, but rather an attitude of being open to learn successful features from others.

For instance, one user asks:

'What model of "country like abroad" have the groups' initiators had in mind? There is the French model, Swedish, British, Canadian, American… Or did they just want something different from what there currently is in Romania?'

Some responses from group members include:

'[…] Maybe the expression "a country like abroad" is not the most fortunate, but it has managed to make many people relate to it […] As far as a model country goes, I don't believe anyone had a specific country in mind, rather that they had in mind many good things from various countries'

'[…] we need not reinvent the wheel, we can build a project taking what is good from others.'

Learning from other countries does not mean blind imitation of a specific model in its totality. Instead, it is an attitude of responding positively to the successful example of others, emulating those features that have proven successful. The approach seems to be a pragmatic one of building a 'project' with those features that have been found to be successful in other countries.

Why use this strategy? Many group members talk of change through learning in opposition to emigration. It may seem that the easiest way to live in 'a country like abroad' is to emigrate to one of the countries that are considered more successful. However, many group members feel a strong affiliation and a strong emotional commitment to their nation, so much so that the effort of producing change is desirable to leaving the country.

'I desire with all my heart that we should live in a decent country, with a normal economy, and that we cease to search over our borders the paradise of others. Romania, I love you!!!'

'our country is beautiful… compared to many other countries "of abroad"… we Romanians need to change!!! i know it is hard… 45 years of communism have left a deep mark… but as long as there is life there is hope!!!'

Emigration would not only mean the loss of ties with national identity, but it would mean the loss of important social ties with family and friends.

'I want a country like abroad… but with those people dear to me nearby'

The commitment to development through learning is further motivated by the desire to create a better country for future generations.

Main comment: *'I want ignorance to disappear, i want the same as you… so i subscribe to your list. i want a better world for the future of our children'.* Response: *'this is what matters most our children's future'*

The change through a learning strategy implies a focus towards the future. The country is not only compared to relevant countries from which they can learn, but also compared to a more positive future projection (Brown & Haeger, 1999).

When to emulate? The prerequisite for change through learning from others seems to be a sense that change is attainable, mirroring previous results on interpersonal learning from role-models (Lockwood & Kunda, 1997) and intergroup learning (see also Studies 3 and 5). Group members speak of *hope* as being very important in employing an emulation strategy. They need to believe that the goal of social change is attainable in order to undertake actions toward change.

'we will certainly have a country like abroad we just need to be optimistic and not lose hope […]'

'Unfortunately, society is today resigned. They believe that nothing more can be done to change the situation!'

However, hope can be a rather diffuse motivational state (Snyder, 2000), linked to goals that are more likely than unlikely to be attained. One group member speaks of *belief* above hope, a sense of increased certainty that change is possible, strengthening the point

that social change goals need to be perceived as attainable in order for group members to participate in change.

'i too hope… but beside hope i can strongly say that i BELIEVE that things will gradually begin to change'

How to emulate? Group members talk of commitment and determination at the collective level as a prerequisite for bringing about social change.

'it is clear that any psychological revolution (i mean this "i want a country like abroad" movement) can only be achieved through unity'

'we want a country like abroad, ok. next step, what is there to be done? what can we all do? where do we start?'

However, rather than planning collective actions for change, the focus seems to be on what individual action can be taken by all group members. This individual coordinated action is a gradual process of changing each and every country national.

'we can only ever change anything is every one of us changes'

'[…] each of us, to be better to those around us. [for example] to stop smoking in public places, to stop speaking loudly on the phone, to stop for pedestrians crossing, stop parking on the pavement […]'

The gradual process of social change is one of self-education and educating colleagues, parents, and neighbours. The change is one that can be propagated through each member's social network and lead to sustainable change.

'I have started already :):):) […] i convinced my colleagues to stop throwing coffee cups and cigarette buds everywhere :) So step-by-step we will succeed.'

'[…] that is the idea: to import the know-how of modern life… to show those around us that there is a different way […]'.

This process can be seen as independent of local or national leaders, and sometimes occurring despite the perceived inefficiency of these levels of government.

'It is simple to begin with ourselves… start educating ourselves and do like the Germans and stop waiting for politicians […]'

In any case, this type of change is not similar to that brought about by protest or revolution – it is a slow, gradual process, the result of the additive efforts of various individuals.

'[…] change is not achieved with big words, but small deeds.'

What to emulate? One interesting question is related to those features that are considered worthy of emulation. As mentioned when describing the emulation strategy, emulation is not about copying any successful feature of higher status countries, but involves selectivity.

'no, we should not copy others exactly! but some of their good things we could copy'

An interesting question is that of the types of features that are associated with the image of 'a country like abroad'.

Main comment: *'I am very curious… what does "a country like abroad" mean to you?'.* Selected responses:

A country where my opinions are respected by others, even if not everyone agrees with me! A country where my freedom does not trespass on the freedom of others! A country where the living standards are high because everyone works, does not cheat and is happy with what they are doing! A country where students understand why they need to go to school, not just because the parents said so or they get told off by their teacher! A country where every person is civilised, meaning they will not speak loudly, or litter! This is my opinion on "a country like abroad"… Probably abroad is not entirely like this, but nonetheless it is better than here!'

'A country like abroad has parks of vegetation, not concrete. A country like abroad may not have a justice system cleaner than ours, but they try to respect it is much as possible (they have some more decency and shame). A country like abroad does not promote its criminals and prostitutes (especially those who consider themselves celebrities) all day on TV. A country like abroad

promotes its industry [...], tourism [...], culture [...] A country like abroad puts the rights of every citizen first [...]. A country like abroad means decency, responsibility, and ambition (but not to cheat as much as possible in the shortest time).'

The various features that are worthy of emulation fall in two general categories. On the one hand, some admired features have to do with skills, industrious spirit, a functional political system. On the other hand, some features worthy of emulation relate to the values guiding individuals in the countries that are perceived as models. I analyse the competence-related and value-related features separately.

Competencies. Many comments posted by group members about other nations underline their **industriousness**. Most of these comments link external content about a nation that presents a worthy example in a certain domain. These links serve as examples that could be adapted and implemented into the county. For instance, one user asks *'Could a country like abroad start with this type of solution?'*, posting a link to an article about crossings for wild animals over American motorways. *'I want a European economy!'*, writes another group member who discusses tax models in other European countries.

There are many other examples worthy of emulation, such as tourism:

'Like abroad...? :) How Stockholm is promoting itself. An incredible video presentation.[link to article].'

The educational system:

'THE FINNISH SECRET. Why is it so usual that in Finland, a normal adolescent will finish the first 12 years of school with excellent results, speaking perfect English, and reading a book a week? [...] [link to article].'

Infrastructure:

'Bicycle Rush Hour in Copenhagen [link to video]'

'Could we not do a copy-paste here as well? [link to UK law on fining drivers who litter]'

Various examples worthy of emulation regard the functioning of **the political system and rule of law**. One user discusses the separation of powers in a historical

example from the USA, others exemplify laws of political lustration from Slovakia or laws against illegally-accumulated wealth in Bulgaria.

Some other examples include forms of social institutions and social movements that can be inspiring:

'Abroad this happens as well. Take note. Do people here organise themselves in such a way? [link to a network of organic farmers]'

'This type of organisation should be in Romania as well, WE NEED TO LEARN [link to an Italian organisation for intercultural relations]'

Values. Many group members also advocate the need for a change in attitudes of Romanians in order to achieve sustainable change, and that the values and attitudes of people in other countries should be emulated.

'[…] but attitudes, yes, this we can take from abroad. And it is only up to us!'

Discipline and respect for the law are quoted by many group members as important values, worthy of emulating:

'In my conception "a country like abroad" means that we should all learn to respect simple rules and fight for our rights democratically […]'

While respect for rules is advocated, so is respect for others and a community spirit:

Main comment: *'if you want a country like abroad, begin by standing on the right side of the escalator, stop pushing into others on the bus and throw your wrappers in the bin. and smile more.'*

Response (selected): *'Well done for your examples! We are waiting for more! If we start recognising our failings we can start correcting them!'*

Therefore, an important part of change is an emphasis on morality.

'The change should come from each and every one of us. When we will consider the moral value before material value, will we have a country like abroad.'

Although I present them separately for ease of analysis, values and competencies are deeply interdependent. Many comments point out the fact that strong values are a

prerequisite for creating skilful political systems or durable infrastructure projects. Values such as commitment to the quality of work, to serving others in the community, to fairness, form the foundation of being able to create high-competence projects.

> Main comment: *'yes, now I really want a country like abroad [link to an online news article entitled 'How the Japanese repaired a road four days after the earthquake'].* Response: *'Nothing is impossible! The conscientiousness and work ethic, commitment and responsibility are their qualities (Japanese, Chinese, etc.)! Here there is no such thing, any salary you would pay Romanians they would still complain.'*

Although there seems to be general agreement of the skills and values from abroad that can be implemented in Romania, a number of users point to the fact that **first-hand experience** with nations worthy of emulating is a necessary prerequisite for implementing these values in your own country.

> *'Well, to have a country like abroad we have to have been abroad a little. Our politicians lack awareness in this respect. And anyway from inside the diplomatic Mercedes you cannot see very well even if you are abroad. '*
>
> *'Do you want to leave? Leave. But come back and say what you have seen. Change something around you. Where you see evil you can do good. […] for those who are but especially for the peace and gratitude of those who will be'*

Goal of emulation. The question arises as to what is the end-goal of emulation. Is it an effort to become better than in the past, or rather an effort focused on catching up with or surpassing other countries? It is also interesting to understand the limits of this strategy – at what point do groups cease to learn and focus more on social competition or the maintenance of distinctiveness.

As discussed before, the general emotional tone of emulation for social change seems to be a positive one, involving feelings of hope and inspiration. The situation of not

being satisfied with the current situation is still recognised as a negative one, and emulation is seen as a strategy for improvement.

> *'I want a country like abroad!!! … It sounds rather unpleasant, but this is the reality!'*

However, employing an emulation strategy for group improvement creates a dichotomy between the desired positivity of a higher performance and the possible loss of distinctiveness through change and emulation. Some of the discussions on the group reflect this tension between positivity and distinctiveness.

> Main comment: *'Why should we want a country like abroad when we can have our own country, unique, not resembling other countries, but still be better?'*. Response (selected): *'A better country is not built through autarchy and isolationism nor through overemphasis of specificity. […] It is not about copying but assuming those developments of the evolution of mentality which exist in the most civilised world and not rejecting them in the name of specificity'*
>
> *'[…] for me 'a country like abroad' is not a copy-paste country, still… let us not lose our national identity and roots'*

There is general agreement that a loss of specificity is not a desirable outcome. However the focus for now seems to be on achieving a better performance.

> Main comment: *'i do not want a country like abroad, i want a country that is unique, i want a country that is more beautiful and greener and happier that abroad :)'*. Response (selected): *'this is want I want too :) but for now i would be content with a country like abroad as well'*.
>
> Main comment: *'Normal, proud, and determined individuals should desire a Romania better performing than any other country our size'*. Response (selected): *'How can you wish for a Romania performing better than others when it is hardly performing at all? Great things are achieved with small steps'*.

The solution to the positivity-distinctiveness tension seems to be a temporary renunciation of the pursuit of distinctiveness in order to achieve an acceptable standard of competence through emulation. After achieving this standard relative to target-comparison countries, groups may focus on competition or on finding a unique path.

'We do not want a country exactly like abroad… […] We love our country and that is why we want it to improve… And as our standard is below others' level, we wish for now to catch up with them, and them we can think of surpassing them!'

The end-goal however is to preserve identity as well as change to become better. The best outcome is achieved through combining those distinctive features that constitute the country's unique qualities with those 'imported' features that bring additional competence.

'We need to keep what is best in Romania and adopt what is best from abroad. In this way we will come to have an even better country "than abroad".'

Discussion

In this study, intergroup emulation emerges as a strategy aimed at ingroup improvement by selectively emulating various successful features of several outgroups. It is not akin to assimilation – in fact, many group members stress that they need to preserve distinctiveness. However, it is employed with the acknowledgement that 'others do some things better' and a better country could result from preserving distinctiveness while at the same time acquiring the advances existent in other groups. The advances that should be emulated are often related to technology or innovative forms of organisation (political systems, organisational networks, etc.), but sometimes these advances are constituted by values or 'the mindset' of certain outgroups that are worthy of emulation. Intergroup emulation serves to improve the ingroup, driven by a sense of patriotism but also by the aim of creating a better environment for future generations.

This analysis also reveals how the process of emulation is implemented by group members in the particular case of this online campaign. In the first instance, group members discuss collectively some examples worthy of emulation, but the group also serves for mutual encouragement of group members and affirmation of collective commitment to ingroup change. However, the actions through which successful features

are implemented are largely individual as group members learn from outgroups, but also pass on this knowledge or values to others in their social networks. Less often, group members also propose collective action stemming from emulation in order to lobby certain changes to government or communicate them more widely.

6.2. Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to reveal the process of intergroup emulation. When looking at the group strategy of social competition (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), for instance, researchers have a sense of when it may be more likely to occur (as discussed in Chapter 5), but also a sense of the process of social competition, which may involve group identities becoming politicised, the emergence of new leaders driving collective action, etc. (van Zomeren et al., 2008). However, although the past chapters have identified when intergroup emulation may be more likely, the process by which it occurs was not investigated in depth.

In order to reveal the characteristics of this process, in this chapter I carried out an exploratory analysis of one instance of intergroup emulation. In part, the results of this analysis mirrored previous chapters by, for instance, identifying attainability of a better position as a precursor of intergroup emulation. It also identified when intergroup emulation is preferred over an individual mobility strategy, and also how group members may reconcile possible distinctiveness threats occurring in the intergroup emulation process. I will discuss the relation of emulation with individual mobility and distinctiveness threat in more detail in Chapter 7. Importantly for this chapter, this study identified two important aspects in the process of intergroup emulation: (1) the types of outgroup features that are promoted in the process of intergroup emulation, and (2) the process by which intergroup emulation is implemented.

6.2.1. Which features are emulated?

Study 6 revealed two types of features being learned from outgroups: *competencies* and *values*. As discussed above, they are interrelated, and groups with certain values will form related competencies (e.g., if a group values green travel, they will design effective systems for cycling within cities over time). The dichotomy between values and competencies is in a sense academic, but provides insight into the different routes through which emulation occurs.

Most comments on the online group that communicate features worthy of learning from outgroups talked about competencies, such as innovative infrastructure, economic, or social organisation ideas. This approach seems to assume that Romanian society shares the same values with the outgroups mentioned, but lacks some of the knowledge or skills to pursue the implementation of these values. For instance, one may assume that community spirit is a common value held by both the ingroup and relevant outgroups, but one could import ideas about how to best pursue this value (e.g., by importing the model of neighbourhood watch groups liaising with the police). This type of approach to emulation illustrates an *instrumental* view of intergroup emulation, simply as a strategy of seeking the best example of competencies to suit the group's goals.

However, other comments emphasise that values need to be adopted from other countries, proposing that the mindset of people should change in fundamental ways in order to achieve social change. For instance, proponents of adopting values from outgroups may advocate that the emphasis placed on community spirit in other countries is something worth emulating. Although fewer comments stress the importance of emulating values in comparison to those stressing the emulation of competencies, a significant number do so. This could be considered an *inspirational* view of intergroup emulation, as contact with other groups inspires group members to pursue goals that are not currently valued highly by the group. It is likely that any inspirational emulation process will further be followed by instrumental emulation – the adoption of new values will be followed by

looking at the ways in which those values are best pursued. While the two types of emulation may occur simultaneously, the distinction is useful in illustrating that emulation can sometimes have a transformative effect on the ingroup (inspirational emulation), while most often it presents itself as acquisition of information or skills from relevant outgroups (instrumental emulation).

6.2.1. How is emulation implemented?

An important question for this chapter was the way group members proceed from identifying a model to implementing those features worthy of emulation. This analysis revealed several aspects of this emulation process.

As a collective strategy, the first step in intergroup emulation seems to be for group members to affirm their collective commitment to ingroup improvement. Many comments on the online group stress that change can only occur as a result of coordinated collective action, and many group members acknowledge their commitment to the collective cause, while others also state that they are already working towards pursuing the collective cause.

The next step is the way in which this collective commitment is transformed into action. In Chapter 3, I discussed possible ways for implementing emulation based on collective action theory, such as through the efforts of a leader (van Knippenberg, 2011) or minority influence (W. Wood et al., 1994) (see 3.5.2). In this instance of emulation, leadership plays a minor part, with many group members lamenting the lack of action from political leaders to achieve social change. There are some limited proposals of lobbying government in order to achieve change, but overall there is little focus given to leaders as agents of change. Rather, most group members are committed to influencing society as a whole through their actions; these actions can be collective or individual. In terms of collective actions, there are some examples on the online group of smaller groups that are offshoots of the 'I want a country like abroad' online movement organising campaigns or events. However, the main mechanism used by group members to implement social change

is through individual actions of cascading those values or competencies they believe should be emulated from particular outgroups to others in their social network. They communicate outgroup innovations or desirable attitudes to family, friends, and colleagues, hoping that they will produce changes that these friends and colleagues will eventually promote in their networks.

In this chapter, intergroup emulation emerges as a process that may sometimes be transformative for the ingroup, but most often occurs as the acquisition of knowledge or skills from outgroups. It is achieved through collective commitment to social change goals, employing both collective and individual actions in pursuing these goals. The chapters so far have been focused on answering specific questions about intergroup emulation. However, in the process of collecting data to answer these questions, some other topics of relevance to emulation emerged, such as its relation to individual mobility, group goals, or distinctiveness threat. These specific areas are discussed in the next chapter with a view to how future research can further investigate their relevance to intergroup emulation.

CHAPTER 7

FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR INTERGROUP EMULATION RESEARCH

"[…] limiting the scope of scientific enquiry to certain psychological processes

to the neglect of other important ones can reinforce a truncated view of human nature "

(Bandura, 1977, p. vi)

The previous three chapters have provided empirical answers to important questions regarding intergroup emulation. However, due to the novel nature of intergroup emulation for intergroup relations research, many more questions remain uninvestigated. In this chapter, I aim to discuss some other important questions that were only partially answered, or unanswered, by the previous chapters. Some of these emerged from the theoretical enquiry into emulation, others from empirical findings presented in previous chapters. Where appropriate, some of the following sections include limited data. Overall, this chapter hopes to showcase an array of important topics for future research into intergroup emulation. The study of intergroup emulation is not only important in itself, but also more generally as an instance of under-investigated positive intergroup interactions (i.e., those instances described by positive emotions and proactive intergroup behaviours). As such, research into intergroup emulation could help broaden our view on the nature of intergroup relations, lower status strategies, or intergroup comparison processes.

This chapter looks at four areas. The first section looks at the relation between *emulation and distinctiveness*, as it emerged in Studies 3 and 6. The second section looks at the relation between *emulation and individual mobility*, and when one may be preferred over the other, especially in relation to the findings of Study 6. The third and fourth sections look at how further research can address the relation between *emulation and group goals*, and *emulation and group efficacy*. Both goals and group-efficacy are constructs that are expected to be related to intergroup emulation based on theory and some of the results in the previous chapters.

This chapter presents specific research directions, guided by insights and data from the previous studies. In Chapter 8, I include a more general discussion of future directions for intergroup emulation.

7.1. Intergroup emulation and group distinctiveness

7.1.1. Distinctiveness concerns

Unsurprisingly, intergroup emulation raises concerns for group members about distinctiveness – the assimilation of external features may make group members wary of losing their specificity. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) posits that group members wish to be positively distinct from relevant groups. However, in the case of emulation, positivity and distinctiveness seem to be in opposition – emulation may be a strategy to gain a better performance and thus better status for the group, but may also imply a loss of distinctiveness.

This is illustrated by comments extracted for Study 6, where concerns of losing the country's history and roots were raised by the proposals to create a 'country like abroad'.

'[…] for me 'a country like abroad' is not a copy-paste country, still… let us not lose our national identity and roots'

'i do not want a country like abroad! i want a country with Romanian flavour, with Balkan scent and some imports that have been adapted! i want a proud and dignified country that assumes its past and builds, as such, its future'

One way many of the commentators seem to deal with this contrast between distinctiveness and improvement is by proposing that it is unavoidable to temporarily focus on pursuing group improvement to the detriment of distinctiveness, such as illustrated by the comment below:

'We do not want a country exactly like abroad… […] We love our country and that is why we want it to improve… And as our standard is below others' level, we wish for now to catch up with them […]"

Another strategy to avoid the threats of losing distinctiveness or assimilation to a dominant outgroup is to endorse learning a variety of features from a range of models, as well as maintaining core distinctiveness features of the ingroup:

'As far as a model country goes, I don't believe anyone had a specific country in mind, rather that they had in mind many good things from various countries'

Distinctiveness concerns are likely to be an important factor involved in emulation. Change through emulation can be perceived as increasing the similarity of the learner to the model, which in turn may give rise to distinctiveness concerns and subsequent differentiation (Jetten, Spears, & Postmes, 2004). Threats to group distinctiveness are associated with increased ingroup bias (Voci, 2006), and increased ingroup bias is in turn associated with the need to enhance the image of the group, which leads to a preference for downward comparison (Brown, 2000) and rejection of upward comparison targets. Future research could look at the moderating role of distinctiveness threat in the relation between perceiving a higher status target and subsequent emulation intentions.

As well, the preference for a variety of features from a variety of models may buffer against distinctiveness threat. This preference for a variety of models mirrors social learning research, as children have been found to prefer to amalgamate features from a variety of models in their behaviour rather than imitate a single model (Bandura et al., 1963). Therefore, a future direction for research would be to assess the way in which single versus multiple models are employed in intergroup emulation, with the expectation that a multitude of models will be associated with less threat to group distinctiveness in the process of emulation. An interesting variable that may be involved in this relationship is the complexity of social identity. Social identity complexity has been shown to be associated with lower threat to group distinctiveness (Schmid, Hewstone, Tausch, Cairns, & Hughes,

2009). The comments collected in Study 6 seem to suggest such a process of affirmation of a complex social identity in 'taking what is best from others and keeping what is best here' or 'building a project with what is good from many countries'. Therefore, perceptions of how complex the future 'improved' group identity will be following emulation may help account for lower distinctiveness threat associated with a multitude of models.

7.1.2. Gaining distinctiveness from a previous model

Study 6 revealed that a need for distinctiveness may hinder intergroup emulation, yet Study 3 identified distinctiveness as one of the drivers of emulation. Scottish nationals used support for emulation of Scandinavian countries not only to improve the ingroup, but also to move away from a current dominant model. Many comments analysed in Study 3 supported emulation of the 'Nordic model', placing it in opposition to the current 'Anglo-American' economic and social model 'imposed on' Scotland.

'I guess those of us inhabiting Northern Britain view with some envy the prosperity of our neighbours across the North Sea. They are more democratic, more socially just and more egalitarian. Unfortunately we are stuck with the ingrained and inherited avarice of Westminster and its Establishment.'

As shown in Chapter 4, emulation is built on common values and belonging to a common category with the models being emulated, but also is often justified by denying meaningful ties with the current model (here, South-East England) and the broader common ingroup (Britain).

'This should be an aspiration and inspiration for all Scots. The Scandinavians have strong industry but also have a strong society too. They aren't all about money or material wealth and that suits Scotland. If the decision was be part of the market obsessed UK with a growing gulf between rich and poor, or closer ties with a progressive Nordic model, I know which I'd go for...'

The rejection of the current model and looking at an alternative for emulation emerged strongly in Study 3, but may also apply to other groups investigated. For instance, Study 6 looked at Romanian emulation of external models. Through its current political position (part of NATO, European Union) and free-market economic system, it may seem natural that Romania would model the economic advances of similar but higher performing countries. However, its emulation of such models in the 1990s was driven by its desire to distance itself from its socialist past and the influence of the Russian federation, and by the aim of (re)gaining its position as a 'mainstream' European country (Light, 2001). As the country moved strongly away from Russian influence and cemented its own identity to be much closer to that of its Western neighbours in the 1990s and 2000s, the concern to gain distinctiveness from Russia faded, but may still be found in some comments on the 'I want a country like aboard' group:

> *'I want a country like abroad but not like Russia. Two years in prison for having sung in a church. [link to an article reporting the arrest of five members of the Russian band Pussy Riot, an arrest that sparked wide criticism of Russia's human rights abuses]'*

This situation of seeking distinctiveness from a current dominant outgroup while at the same time modelling another outgroup is particularly interesting for future research. If intergroup emulation of a 'desired model' is in some instances a strategy of seeking distinctiveness from a 'current model', future research could look at how perceptions of the 'current model's' future intentions may affect intergroup emulation intentions. For example, in the particular instance of the Scotland-England-Norway triad, future research could manipulate the extent to which England may also wish to emulate some Norwegian policies in the future. If emulation is actually seen by some participants as primarily a strategy to move away from England, then their intentions to emulate Norway should be lower when they believe England is also looking to model Norway. More generally, such future research would also respond to the need to investigate intergroup triads, as several intergroup relations researchers have pointed out, there is a need to expand research

designs beyond the dominant binary (i.e., ingroup-outgroup) understanding of intergroup relations to look at more complex relations involving alliances in triads (e.g., Fingerhut, 2011; Subasić, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008).

7.1.3. Moral distinctiveness concerns

As discussed above, the need to be distinct may hinder emulation or, on the contrary, may encourage support for emulation if distinctiveness is sought from a current model. There was also some indication in the data of Studies 3 and 6 that, even when a model is accepted and emulated, immoral actions on the part of the model may prompt groups to stop support for emulating this model.

For instance, in Study 3, although one commentator agrees that Norway is superior and may be a worthy model in terms of their performance, Norwegian higher levels of support for a right-wing political party makes them reject seeing Norway as a model.

> *'Undoubtedly Norway has a lot going for it in terms of social/economic equality the UK could learn from BUT their Progress Party which polls well has, it appears, common ground with the BNP [British National Party] [...]. Maybe one day someone will write a fair and balanced article about the much praised Scandanavian Nirvana.'*

A somewhat similar concern is raised by a member of the 'I want a country like abroad' group regarding euthanasia practices in The Netherlands, which they found highly immoral. These practices made them doubt that The Netherlands can still be a viable model.

> *'Do we (still) want to be a country like The Netherlands? It seems like a bad joke what I am going to post below... [link to article describing plans in The Netherlands to create mobile euthanasia clinics]'*

These data are insufficient to draw particular conclusions, but it indicates that even when models are seen as legitimately superior and worthy of emulation, there may be

immoral actions these models take that will delegitimise them. For example, foreign policy makers and academics in the United States have been concerned with the demise of US's role in global politics, discussing the fact that many (young) people around the world have ceased to look at the US as a political and economic model following what they saw as an immoral intervention in Iraq (Speulda, 2006). The extent to which the model's actions may influence support for intergroup emulation is an issue that could be further explored by future research.

7.2. Intergroup emulation and individual mobility

In Chapter 5, I looked at the structural conditions of the status hierarchy that make intergroup emulation more likely. In doing so, I was guided by the structural conditions laid out in Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979): legitimacy, stability, permeability. However, due to time and design constraints, I only tested the effect of legitimacy and stability. Permeability, however, is likely to be important in determining if there is a possibility for individual group members to move upwardly to a higher status group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The fact that there is the possibility for individual upward mobility does not necessarily mean that group members will leave their current group; there may be many reasons why they would not choose to do so, one of which being strong identification with their current group (Ellemers et al., 1997).

Permeability of group boundaries is likely to be important in understanding why group members may choose individual mobility versus intergroup emulation. However, in the studies presented so far, most of the experimental designs employed could be considered as situations where individual mobility is not an option. For example, even if emigration from Romania to Ireland or from UK to Denmark is possible, it is unlikely that anyone would think of doing so just to get better work-life balance policies (Study 4) or be

in a country with higher wind power (Study 5). However, people may emigrate to live in a country that is considered better on several dimensions relevant to their daily lives, from economic climate to community spirit. This would be the case for perceptions of Nordic countries emerging in Study 3 or those 'countries like abroad' in Study 6. These studies presenting situations of permeable boundaries may thus inform processes related to individual mobility and intergroup emulation.

In Study 3 there was no mention of individual mobility as a strategy to gain access to a 'better' country, but some comments in Study 6 referred to emigration when discussing higher status countries.

> *'I desire with all my heart that we should live in a decent country, with a normal economy, and that we cease to search over our borders the paradise of others. Romania, I love you!!!'*

Although the data are limited, it seems that patriotism is at least one reason why group members consider that it is preferable to work towards improving the country rather than emigrating. From a theoretical perspective, this is consistent with previous results that show that high levels of identification are associated with a desire to produce collective social change (Ellemers et al., 1990), and lower levels of identification with a preference for individual mobility (Ellemers et al., 1997). Future research could further explore the role of boundary permeability and identification; it is likely that a combination of permeable boundaries and low group identification may increase preference for individual mobility over intergroup emulation.

The relation between individual mobility and intergroup emulation may also be interesting from a policy perspective. From the perspective of economic development, lower-income countries can choose to remain closed to external influences and focus on growing their economies independently, or open up to foreign trade, investment, and models. While the latter presents many economic benefits, it also presents the threat that lower income-countries could loose their most talented nationals through 'brain drain' as they seek educational opportunities abroad and do not return (Beine, Docquier, &

Rapoport, 2001). The conditions of an open economy will encourage both intergroup emulation and individual mobility, in fact temporary mobility for study or skilled work in other countries is one of the most effective ways of gaining skills and knowledge from these outgroups. Encouraging the mobility of talented nationals for education is ultimately beneficial for the country, but only if a large proportion of them do actually return (Stark, Helmenstein, & Prskawetz, 1997). This is further illustrated in one of the comments in Study 6:

> *'Do you want to leave? Leave. But come back and say what you have seen. Change something around you. Where you see evil you can do good. […] for those who are but especially for the peace and gratitude of those who will be'*

Therefore, an understanding of the conditions under which intergroup emulation may be preferred over individual mobility may help research into those conditions leading to migrants' decisions to return or to remain abroad.

7.3. Intergroup emulation and group goals

In Chapter 3, I discussed the way in which group goals may influence comparison choices in an intergroup setting. Depending on the group's current goals, those groups looking to enhance their image are likely to prefer downward comparison (Wills, 1981), those looking to objectively evaluate their position may seek similar targets to compare to (Zagefka & Brown, 2006), while those seeking to improve may choose upward comparison, including with distant upward comparison targets (Brown, 2000; Caricati, 2012; Wheeler, 1966) (see 3.2 for a more extensive discussion). Although the outcomes of image enhancement goals have been researched extensively (for a discussion, see Brown, 2000), there is almost no research explicitly looking at the outcomes of evaluation or

improvement goals in intergroup relations (for an exception, see Zagefka & Brown, 2006, on evaluation goals).

In employing intergroup emulation, it seems that groups are mostly driven by improvement goals; that is, by the desire to objectively improve their performance in a certain domain. Although I have not assessed goals directly, many of the comments in Studies 3 and 6 suggest that group members approach intergroup emulation with the goal of improving their group.

'i want a better environment for the future of our children' (Study 6)

'We love our country and that is why we want it to improve…' (Study 6)

'If they can do it what is stopping us Scots. Nothing.' (Study 3)

The experimental induction of group goals can be an avenue for future research, in order to ascertain that improvement goals do prompt intergroup emulation more than evaluation and enhancement goals.

7.4. Intergroup emulation and group efficacy

One issue that I have not discussed directly is that of group efficacy. In Study 5, I looked at status stability as a condition for intergroup emulation to occur, focusing on one particular case of stability – the perceptions that group improvement is attainable in the future. The theme of attainability was also reflected in the results of Studies 3 and 6. However, perceptions that a better position is attainable for the group can mean that the system allows for such changes to occur, or indeed that the group has the capacity (i.e., group efficacy) to produce such group improvement.

It is unclear by looking at the data so far whether the way attainability was operationalised or is reflected in the textual data is more akin to group efficacy, or to the perception that external conditions are favourable for improvement. In Study 5, where

stability was manipulated, the unstable condition included a statement that 'prospects are generally optimistic' and that 'UK has the capacity to reach the renewable energy performance of countries like Denmark by the end of the decade', along with a quotation from a policy maker supporting this point. In contrast, the stable condition reaffirmed UK's commitment to increasing targets, but blamed the 'recent economic downturn and public spending cuts' for these targets being unlikely to be achieved in the near future. This manipulation was successful in inducing a sense of stability or instability of UK's position in the country ranking. However, it may be necessary to look in more depth at whether stability was understood as a lack of efficacy, or just circumstances beyond the group's control.

The comments mentioning attainability is Studies 3 and 6 are also not explicit enough to suggest whether the perception of attainability of a better future is due to group efficacy or external favourable conditions.

'If they can do it what is stopping us Scots. Nothing.' (Study 3)

'i too hope… but beside hope i can strongly say that i BELIEVE that things will gradually begin to change' (Study 6)

Group efficacy has been widely associated with successful collective action for group improvement (for a review, see van Zomeren et al., 2008). Therefore, it is important for future research on intergroup emulation to tease apart the perceptions of external conditions and group efficacy in looking at the effect of status stability on intergroup emulation choices.

7.5. Conclusions

This chapter was dedicated to those topics related to intergroup emulation that emerged during data analysis and/or were of particular importance following the

theoretical inquiry into the topic. As such, the chapter aimed to not only discuss future research into these topics, but also to present the relevant available data. I have looked at how distinctiveness concerns relate to emulation, whether they may hinder emulation intentions due to threat to group identity or the threat associated with an immoral model, but also how emulating a new model can serve to achieve distinctiveness from a current model. I also looked at the relation between intergroup emulation and individual mobility, laying out some predictions for when one strategy may be preferred over the other. Finally, I discussed the relation of emulation to group goals and group efficacy. In the next chapter, I will draw final conclusions regarding intergroup emulation, and I will also discuss more general future research directions.

CHAPTER 8

GENERAL CONCLUSION

In 1977, Muzafer Sherif was one of the many notable voices to add to the debate about what was perceived to be a crisis time in social psychology, a general loss of confidence with the field and its direction (Elms, 1975). The manifestation of the crisis, he wrote, lies in the disproportionate 'wheat vs. chaff ratio':

"Social psychology [...] is going through an ironic and unsettling state in its development. Ironic and unsettling, because on the surface it is thriving in a sky-rocketing boom of output in research and publication and, at the same time, the ratio of chaff that is piling up is enormous relative to the scanty yield in substance that will survive. This contradictory state of things is at the bottom of both the crisis and the unsettling malaise it arouses." (Sherif, 1977, p. 368)

The work presented in this thesis was carried out in the hope that it will be categorised as wheat, that it will make a substantial and theoretically-relevant contribution. The main aim of this chapter is to discuss why I believe this work does indeed contribute to the substance of the field.

I will begin with a short summary of the theory and results presented so far, and move on to discuss the contribution of the thesis to psychological theory, and what may be the practical implications of these results. I will also discuss general limitations and some broad directions for future research. In the end of the chapter, I will also reflect on my personal and epistemological bases in conducting this research (a practice that is generally of importance, but even more so in conducting qualitative research, Braun & Clarke, 2006).

8.1. Summary of previous chapters

I set out to explore intergroup emulation from the perspective of intergroup relations theory in social psychology. Since research on intergroup relations has focused chiefly on conflictual instances of intergroup behaviour (Pittinsky, 2012), intergroup emulation is worth exploring as it constitutes one instance of a consensual and proactive relationship between social groups, and may help highlight why, in some cases, consensus occurs in some status hierarchies. Although other approaches have looked at the nature of consensus in status hierarchies (Jost et al., 2004; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), they have emphasised how consensus leads to maintenance of the status quo and thus inhibits social change. What is interesting about emulation is that it occurs within consensual hierarchies but is geared towards social change. Thus, the study of intergroup emulation is not only interesting in itself, but can also inform under-investigated areas in social psychology and may challenge some of the assumptions we hold in the field about consensus and social change.

In order to approach the topic of hierarchy consensus, I looked at a variety of sociological (Durkheim, 1949; Parsons, 1991) and psychological (A. P. Fiske, 1992; Henrich & Gil-White, 2001; Simon & Oakes, 2006) approaches that inform the study of intergroup emulation. With these insights in mind, I proceeded to define intergroup emulation as a collective strategy for group improvement by learning from more successful outgroups; in order to research this strategy in light of previous research in intergroup relations, I focused on how it could be investigated within the social identity approach (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987).

In order to investigate and operationalise intergroup emulation as a complex strategy, I laid out some of its emotional and behavioural indicators. Intergroup emulation can be investigated by looking at related emotions (admiration), comparison choices

(upward comparison), or intergroup behaviours (intergroup learning, intergroup help, collective action for social change).

I mentioned that intergroup emulation was important to study as an instance of hierarchy consensus. Shared superordinate identity between two groups is essential for achieving consensus, especially in status or power hierarchies (Simon & Oakes, 2006); therefore, the first studies focused on superordinate categories. In Study 1, I looked at group-based admiration, and showed that it is related to perceptions of the outgroup's prototypicality for the superordinate category (i.e., the common group that encompasses the ingroup and outgroup). In Study 2, I examined this relationship more closely, proposing that it is only prototypicality defined as the ideal (as opposed to the average) of the superordinate category that is related to group-based admiration, but also showed that ideal-prototypicality is further related to intergroup learning and intergroup help. In Study 3, I investigated the relationship between prototypicality and emulation in naturally-occurring data, and showed that outgroups are indeed emulated for their prototypicality for a desirable superordinate category, and that through emulation the 'learner group' aims to be recognised as a member of that category or increase their performance as a member of the category. Prototypicality for a superordinate category is important as it predicts which groups and what features will be emulated.

As I aimed to look at intergroup emulation from a social identity perspective (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987), in Studies 4 and 5 I explored the relationship between intergroup emulation and some of the essential structural characteristics of social system proposed by Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979): status legitimacy and status stability. Intergroup emulation was employed by group members in legitimate and unstable status relations.

In Study 6, I looked in more depth at the process of intergroup emulation: what is emulated and how exactly is intergroup emulation implemented. In the particular instance investigated, group members emphasised the importance of collective commitment to

social change, but implemented emulation largely through individual actions of promoting change in their social networks.

Finally, in the previous chapter, I looked at some of the issues that emerged during data analysis in the previous studies. I discussed the relationship between intergroup emulation and group distinctiveness, showing that emulation may not be employed if the imitation of the outgroup is seen as threatening ingroup distinctiveness, but also that groups may employ emulation in order to gain distinctiveness from a current situation. I also looked at the relationship between emulation and individual mobility (and the role of group identification in determining strategy choice), group goals and group efficacy.

Overall, the studies presented provide evidence of intergroup emulation in experimental settings as well as naturally-occurring data, and the data analysis employs a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods. Data is collected from a variety of countries, with different status orientations (e.g., UK is a chronically higher-status group in Europe, while Romania is generally lower-status) and diverse cultures (e.g., Romania is the most collectivistic country in Europe and has a strong preference for hierarchy, while the UK is the most individualistic with low hierarchy preference, Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 1991; 'The Hofstede Centre', 2013).

8.2. Theoretical contribution

8.2.1. Intergroup relations

Lower status strategies. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) was the first to produce a taxonomy of behaviours employed by lower status group members in order to gain positive distinctiveness (i.e., social creativity, social competition, and individual mobility). Since then, research has identified a variety of possible additional avenues for lower status groups, so much so that it has become difficult to predict under

which conditions one particular strategy will be employed (Brown, 2000). In their taxonomy of behaviours of lower status groups, Blanz and colleagues (1998) review thirteen such strategies (see also 1.1.2). In terms of collective strategies, lower status group members are described as having a choice between dealing with negative identity psychologically (the collective cognitive strategies, such as social creativity) or, if they do display a collective behaviour, they will either aim to compete with a higher status group, or to assimilate to this group. However, intergroup emulation is not captured by the strategies described, as it is not social or realistic competition (through competition, group members aim to overthrow a group of illegitimate high status, Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and it is not assimilation (as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, emulation is inhibited by the threat of assimilation). Intergroup emulation is a strategy employed by lower status groups that is novel to intergroup relations theory.

As mentioned above, one of the issues surrounding research on lower status strategies is that given the variety of strategies described in the literature it becomes difficult to predict when certain strategies may be employed; in fact, Brown (2000) notes that predicting the choice of strategy for lower status groups is one of the important challenges for the future of social identity research. The present research not only proposes intergroup emulation as a lower status strategy, but also tests the necessary conditions for it to occur: legitimate status relations and a sense that the ingroup's position can improve. By testing legitimacy and stability, two important dimensions in intergroup research (Ellemers et al., 1993; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), this work places intergroup emulation in relation to other strategies employed by lower status groups. Moreover, intergroup emulation is the only behaviour that has been described for lower status groups in legitimate-but-unstable status relations. While Social Identity Theory made predictions regarding legitimate-and-stable and illegitimate-and-unstable relations (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and more recent research looked at strategies employed by groups in illegitimate-but-unstable relations

(Tausch et al., 2011), the legitimate-but-unstable quadrant, where intergroup emulation is placed (see Figure 14 below), has not been investigated by previous research.
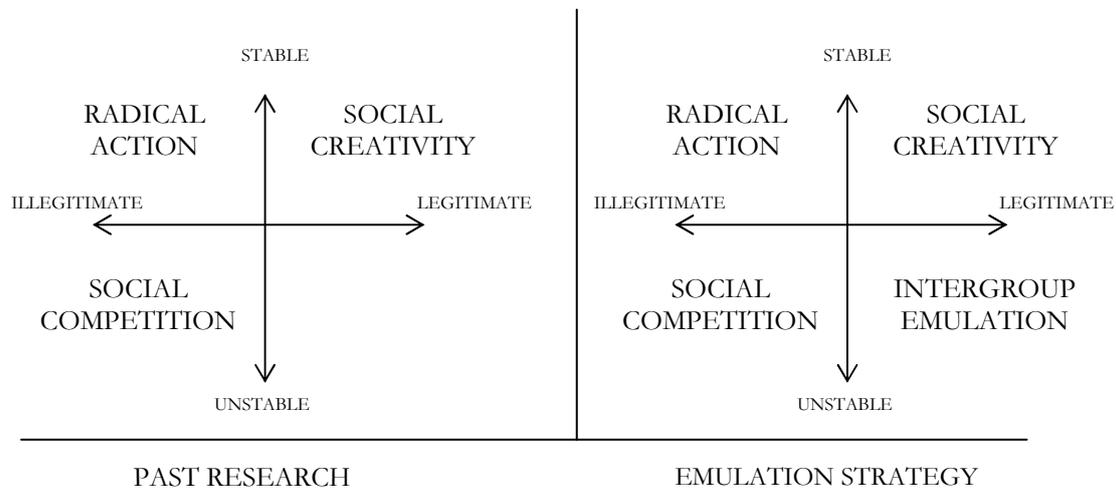

Figure 14. The place of intergroup emulation among other lower status strategies

Therefore, this research contributes a novel strategy to what we know about the behaviour of lower status groups and also the conditions under which lower status groups employ this strategy. In doing so, it also broadens the array of behaviours that are known to be available to lower status groups in order to produce social change, which in turn challenges our construal of how social change occurs.

Social change. The fact that groups employ intergroup emulation in order to achieve social change challenges one of the important assumptions we have about social change: the necessity of illegitimacy. Perceptions that a social system is illegitimate has been associated with a motivation to participate in collective action for social change through social competition (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; van Zomeren et al., 2008), while consensus and legitimacy have been associated with passivity and maintenance of the status quo (Jost et al., 2004; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Although I recognise the importance of illegitimacy for many instances of collective action and social change, illegitimacy is not always necessary for social change to occur. In a two-group hierarchy, social change may indeed imply social competition and occur in illegitimate status relations, but in a hierarchy of several groups

(as those assessed in previous chapters), groups of lower status can improve their position (e.g., from 7th to 5th position) without competing with some of the highest status groups (Caricati, 2012). Through emulation, these groups may achieve social change in a situation of consensus regarding the model outgroup's high status; in fact, if the outgroup status is undeserved, intergroup emulation is not employed (see Chapter 5). *The broader message of intergroup emulation research is that social change and hierarchy consensus are not irreconcilable.*

It is also worth noting that the type of social change achieved through intergroup emulation is of a particular nature. Rather than social change achieved suddenly through protest and resulting in immediate hierarchy change (Klandermans, 1997), the social change aimed at through emulation is a long-term, gradual change. As one participant noted in Study 6, 'change is achieved in small steps'.

8.2.2. Related emotions and behaviours

The results presented in the previous chapters also inform the literature on the specific variables investigated, such as intergroup comparison, admiration, intergroup help and intergroup learning. I will briefly discuss how my research may contribute to these areas of research.

Intergroup comparison. Predicting the comparison choice for groups is deemed by Brown (2000) as one of future challenges facing social identity researchers. Comparison choices are known to be different depending on the goal of the individual: self-enhancement goals are generally associated with downward comparisons, evaluation goals with seeking similar targets, and improvement goals with upward comparison with close or distant targets (J. V. Wood, 1989). While all these different goals and their consequences are explored in interpersonal comparison literature (for a review, see J. V. Wood, 1989), intergroup relations research has focused mostly on situations where enhancement goals are active (Brown, 2000), and little research has looked at the comparison choices predicted by evaluation or improvement goals in groups (for an exception, see Zagefka & Brown,

2006, looking at the outcomes of evaluation goals). Although I have not looked at goals in particular in this thesis, there is a suggestion from the qualitative data that group members were acting with an improvement goal, and that this is associated with upward comparison (see 7.3 for a discussion and preliminary data), as is to be expected based on previous results in interpersonal comparison (Wheeler, 1966; J. V. Wood, 1989). Further research could measure the goals of group members in employing emulation, as well their comparison choices, to show that improvement goals are indeed linked with a preference for upward comparison (see also Caricati, 2012).

Group-based admiration. As outlined in Chapter 3, my view of admiration was informed by recent advances in interpersonal admiration, which suggest that admiration plays a primary role in learning and imitation (Algoe & Haidt, 2009; Haidt & Seder, 2009). This view of admiration is reflected in the results of the previous chapters, where admiration was strongly associated with intergroup learning and seeking learning-related help. However, past research in intergroup relations considered admiration as an emotion felt towards equals and allies, facilitating cooperation between groups (Alexander et al., 1999; Cuddy et al., 2007; S. T. Fiske et al., 2002; Pettigrew, 1998). More recently, intergroup research has begun to look at admiration as an emotion involved in hierarchical relations and related to learning (Sweetman et al., 2013). The present research supports this latter view that group-based admiration is involved in consensual hierarchical relations, and facilitates intergroup learning. Also, this research offers some novel results on group-based admiration, showing that it is not only linked to perceptions of outgroup competence (Cuddy et al., 2007), but also prototypicality for a superordinate category (Study 1) and that it facilitates the willingness to receive learning-related help (Studies 2, 4, 5).

Intergroup learning. The behaviour of learning about another group has so far only been investigated in the context of intergroup contact research, where mutual learning during intergroup contact facilitates the positive outcomes of contact (e.g., prejudice reduction) (Nagda et al., 2004), and in the context of assimilation to a dominant group

(Berry, 1997). Here, I looked at intergroup learning employed by groups with a different aim - to acquire skills and knowledge from another group in order to increase the group's performance, as 'learning from' rather than 'learning about'. Therefore, this research extends the definition and uses of learning in an intergroup context.

Intergroup help. Research on intergroup helping has focused on higher status groups offering help (van Leeuwen et al., 2011), with few studies looking at the willingness of lower status group to seek or accept help. The present work contributes to empirical evidence regarding lower status groups' acceptance of outgroup help (Studies 2, 4, 5). These studies mirror previous findings that group members are more accepting of autonomy-oriented (i.e., learning-related) than dependency-oriented help (van Leeuwen et al., 2011). These studies also provide novel links between the acceptance of autonomy-oriented help and the emotion of admiration.

8.2.3. Intergroup emulation

In the previous sections, I have looked at how research on intergroup emulation contributes to existing theory. But the study of intergroup emulation may be important in itself for social psychology; although the study of emulation may be novel to the field of intergroup relations, it reflects a growing interest in the processes of cultural transmission and intergroup imitation in the broader social and cognitive sciences.

Social scientists over the last decades have been thoroughly concerned with analysing the way in which identities are constantly constructed, fluid, pluralistic, and personal (for a review, see Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). For some authors, the process of how identities are significantly altered or indeed how new identities are produced has been linked to mutual influences between cultures. Homi Bhabha (1996), for instance, described the emergence of new identities in the post-colonial world in his very influential work on identity hybridism. The study of hybrid cultures has subsequently led to approaches that advance from focusing on the product of cultural influence (i.e., the hybrid identity), to

focusing on the process of mutual influence (e.g., polyculturalism, Prashad, 2002). The study of intergroup emulation is also becoming popular with historians, with recent analyses moving beyond an essentialist understanding of culture and ethnicity and analysing the way in which cultures have been influenced or sought to actively emulate other cultures in Antiquity (Gazda, 2002; Gruen, 2005). Given the essential role played by imitation and cultural transmission in human societies (Henrich & Gil-White, 2001), cultural transmission has also been in the focus of evolutionary scientists; the study of memes (units of cultural replication, Dawkins, 1989) is becoming increasingly popular with neuroscientists, including recent proposals to employ neuroimaging in meme measurement (for a review, see McNamara, 2011).

Given the increasing interest across social and cognitive sciences in intergroup emulation, the present research contributes to researching this process from the perspective of intergroup relations theory. By employing a social psychological angle, this research gives a central role to the individual in the process of cultural transmission, showing how social groups are not only passive recipients of cultural influence, but that individuals as group members may actively seek to employ selective emulation in order to improve their group.

8.3. Practical considerations

In a recent visit to China, Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi stated that Egypt will have a lot to learn from China in how to design a political and economic system that is appropriate for the country ('China supports Egypt's choice of political system', n.d.). Intergroup emulation is particularly important after countries have gone through a sudden change (such as Egypt) or are actively concerned with finding a new path (such as, for example, Scotland). In these instances, outgroup models may play an important role in the

social change process. As shown in earlier chapters, outgroup models can motivate group members as they provide a sense that change is achievable and a roadmap for change. As such, community or country leaders may employ external models in order to effect change, such as was the case with political leadership from the Scottish National Party in Study 3 or informal community leaders in Romania in Study 6. For such leaders who wish to advocate the emulation of outgroup models in order to effect social change, this research offers certain insights. (1) Models are endorsed if they are prototypical for a superordinate category – therefore proponents of emulation should stress in which way the model is prototypical. At the same time, as shown in Study 3, the superordinate category can vary and, with it, the definition of what is the ideal exemplar for that category; therefore, proponents of emulation should be aware of categories used or should attempt to make a particular superordinate category salient in order to control this process. (2) Proponents of emulation should be mindful that the proposed model's performance should be perceived as legitimate and should provide evidence in support of the deserved prestige of the model. (3) Improvement should also be perceived as attainable in order for emulation to occur, therefore proponents of emulation should stress any favourable conditions for social change and increase the group's sense of efficacy to produce change. (4) Perhaps one of the most important lessons is that models should not be perceived as a threat to group distinctiveness. Therefore, proponents of emulation should amalgamate innovations of several models in proposing emulation and should make it clear how the external features will be adapted and changed in order to reflect and preserve the group's specificity.

More broadly, this research suggests that groups can achieve social change in an intergroup context without challenging another group, but by focusing on improving their own performance. This type of collective action for change has not been in the focus of intergroup researchers, and it is important that we are aware of all the behaviours available to and employed by groups in order to effect social change. Research in the field of international development recognises the importance of diffusion for social change in

regard to social policies (Sugiyama, 2008), economic innovations (Rogers, 2003), and even regime change (Elkink, 2011), where countries actively emulate other countries (often, neighbours) in order to produce change. In order to advise policy makers, social psychologists need to be aware of all the behaviours available to groups to produce change.

8.4. Limitations and future directions

The aim of this work was to explore various questions related to intergroup emulation. As such, many of the effects and some of the scales employed were novel, and further research is necessary in order to increase confidence in the empirical results. For instance, in Study 1, the mediation model (prototypicality and competence mediate the effect of status on admiration) was different for high- and low-identifiers, as might have been expected given relevant theory. However, this moderation was not reflected in the interaction results. Study 2 differentiated between ideal- and average-prototypicality, but there was no direct check of this manipulation. In Studies 4 and 5, although the results were in the expected direction, some of the results were trending or significant at a 10% significance level. Therefore, future research is needed in order to replicate and strengthen the current results. Some of the measures used were designed specifically for these studies, particularly those of intergroup admiration, intergroup learning, and intergroup help, as well as most of the study manipulations. Future research could improve these measures to increase their reliability, especially since some of these scales are formed of two or three items only. With Studies 3 and 6, the method used for qualitative analysis is one of the most flexible methods for extracting themes from textual content (thematic analysis; Braun & Clarke, 2006); thematic analysis rests on few theoretical assumptions compared to other methods of qualitative analysis, and can be seen as less rigorous.

Apart from the immediate limitations of the empirical results, there is also a broader limitation in the groups chosen for study. The choice of groups was 'safe', meaning that the groups that would maximise the effect were chosen for the experimental analyses. For instance, the choice was to look at countries in Europe, a category where (particularly at the time when most data were collected) relations between countries are largely consensual. The groups chosen to be 'models' were especially chosen because they had no recent history of conflict with the 'learner' (i.e., Romania-Ireland and UK-Denmark). Future research could look at situations where relations between groups are not entirely consensual or even competitive to see to what extent these results are replicable. It may be that some of the current results would not apply to competitive relations, such as that groups may not wish to receive learning-related help from past or current competitors. On the other hand, higher variance in the choice of groups for analysis would create higher variance on measures such as legitimacy, stability, or outgroup warmth, as variance on these variables was low due to the choice of groups.

In Chapter 7, I have also outlined some specific directions for future research that emerged from the data, but were not the focus of the analyses employed. Future research could further explore the role of distinctiveness for intergroup emulation, the relation between intergroup emulation and all other group behaviours described in the intergroup relations literature, and how intergroup emulation relates to group goals and group efficacy.

This work has focused on how emulation is experienced by lower status groups, but it is important for future work to investigate how higher status groups experience intergroup emulation. For instance, if a lower status group improves to the point where it may become a competitor for the higher status group, then the higher status group may become reluctant to offer knowledge and skills to help them improve further (Nadler, 2002), prompting the lower status group to engage in social competition (Nadler & Halabi, 2006). The dynamic nature of emulation does not only relate to the goals and perceptions of the lower status group, as investigated in this thesis, but future research should also look

at how the higher status group's response to emulation intentions influences the use of this strategy.

8.5. Critical reflection

Before I conclude, in this section I will present a critical reflection of how my personal and epistemic background may have influenced the interpretation of current results. Critical reflection is essential when conducting qualitative research, which is by nature subjective, but is good practice for psychological research more generally (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Being Romanian is probably one of the important factors that led me to be interested in intergroup emulation. As I became acquainted with the intergroup relations literature and the notions of prevalent ingroup bias, the preference of groups to compare downward, and groups' propensity to challenge higher status groups or else maintain the status quo, I could not help but think that these processes do not apply to my own experience of growing up in Romania. While I was born and grew up when Romania was still a communist country, the years of my being aware of the social and political landscape in the country were the 1990s and 2000s. For Romania, these were years of marked openness towards everything and anything from abroad, especially from 'the West', along with downplaying the quality of indigenous ideas and products (Light, 2001); in other words, these were years of marked outgroup favouritism. While this was no doubt accentuated by 50 years of communism, which were at times marked by resistance to foreign ideas and even products, it could also be due to the fact that Romania has historically had a particularly open attitude to foreign influence as a small country that has always had to negotiate a neighbourhood of powerful empires (Ottoman, Polish, Habsburg, etc.) (Blokker, 2010). In the late 1990s, Romania made decisive steps away from

its socialist past, and towards capitalism and democratisation, eventually joining NATO and the EU, and the years before 2007 saw very rapid development through the emulation and implementation of 'mainstream European' social and economic policies (Moga & Onu, 2011).

In addition to my experience as a Romanian, in my work I volunteered and subsequently worked in development non-governmental organisations. Much of the work I carried out involved Romania's 'democratisation' (programmes of civic participation, human rights and multiculturalism education, etc.), which were based on implementing in Romania the types of measures and programmes that had proved successful in other democracies. While, at times, me and my colleagues questioned the suitability of some actions to our local reality, we generally accepted that this is the path toward positive change. Therefore, the fact that I have been exposed to both outgroup favouritism and social change through emulation in my social reality is important in understanding the foundations of this research. However, this does not diminish the importance or validity of this research; on the contrary, it could be said that this research contributes a novel perspective. As most psychological research is produced in North America and Western Europe (Henrich et al., 2010), an Eastern European perspective may be valuable in pointing out the important role that intergroup emulation can play in social change. As outlined in previous studies, other groups (Scotland and the UK more broadly) employ emulation as well, and Romanians also employ social creativity and social competition (see Study 6). However, because intergroup emulation has played a significant role in Romania in the last years, this is probably why this strategy is salient for a Romanian researcher at this time.

Finally, my epistemic orientation may have played a role in the present analysis. As discussed in Chapter 2, major theories regarding social systems can roughly be divided into consensus theories (e.g., Durkheim, 1949; Parsons, 1991) and conflict theories (e.g., Marx, 1988); the former emphasise the way in which consensus is achieved in society, the latter

stress its inherent conflict. While consensus theories can accommodate conflict, they see it as transitory towards achieving a new consensus; conflict theories accommodate consensus, but as transitory and leading to the re-emergence of conflict (please see a more detailed discussion in Chapter 2). With no conclusive evidence to support either view, the researcher's epistemic choice (consensus versus conflict) largely depends on the research question and the author's philosophical stance. I am primarily interested in societal consensus, rather than conflict, and this would have influenced my interpretation of intergroup emulation. I have construed emulation as a strategy for change that takes place in consensual hierarchies, and I have provided evidence in support of this point. However, as noted earlier, I purposely researched this question in consensual groups. From a conflict perspective, intergroup emulation may be explored as a competitive strategy as well. For instance, in the economically-competitive relations between USA and China, China has employed emulation of US economic policies and technological innovations, to the point of disputes over American intellectual property (Friedberg, 2005). In this scenario, emulation of innovation is used; however, emulation is arguably fuelled by competition, and the increase in performance for the 'learner' following emulation is a cause for conflict. The fact that intergroup emulation may be employed in conflictual relations does not diminish emulation as an important behaviour for groups in consensual hierarchies. However, it is important to note that this thesis has been particularly concerned with consensual hierarchies, and that future research may explore the role of emulation in competitive contexts.

8.6. Concluding remarks

Haslam and McGarthy (2001) define research as a process of uncertainty management that involves a balance between *uncertainty creation* and *uncertainty reduction*. Much of research is geared towards *uncertainty reduction* – thorough sampling, methods, and statistical analyses are geared towards increasing confidence in the answers provided to research questions. Scientific advancement, however, also benefits from *uncertainty creation*, the process by which some research asks novel questions and challenges existing assumptions.

The value of the present research lies primarily in *uncertainty creation*. Research on intergroup emulation extends what we know in social psychology about the behaviour of lower status groups, showing that group members employ selective emulation from outgroups in order to achieve social change. This research challenges some of the assumptions regarding the nature of social change and hierarchy consensus, proposing that social change can occur in consensual hierarchies. This research not only contributes a novel behaviour to social psychological research, but may be of interest more broadly for processes of cultural transmission. While most approaches in the social sciences consider groups as passive recipients of cultural influence, this social psychological analysis of emulation places the 'individual in the social group' at the core of intergroup emulation. It shows that individuals are not passive to outside influences – they seek and accept those influences that are relevant to their group goals and compatible with their group identity. A social psychological view has much to offer the field of cultural emulation, and while providing tentative answers to some questions about emulation, this work has generated many more questions. I hope that other social psychologists will find intergroup emulation interesting and help address the questions that this work has left unanswered.

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APPENDIX 1. Admiration scales used in Studies 1, 2, 4

Admiration (Study 1)

As British, I feel admiration toward Romanians.
As British, I see the value in the Romanian culture.
When I think about accomplishments of Romania, I feel wonder.
I appreciate the great achievements of nations like Romania.
As British, I seek out experiences that challenge my understanding of cultures like the Romanian one.

Scale reliabilities in Study 1

Emotion	Sample	Condition (emotions towards)	Cronbach alpha
Admiration	Romanian	British	.82
		German	.81
	British	Romanian	.68
		Macedonian	.72
	Macedonian	British	.76
		German	.62
	German	Romanian	.89
		Macedonian	.71

Admiration (Study 2)

As Romanian, I feel admiration toward the Irish.
As Romanian, I see the value in the Irish culture.
When I think about accomplishments of Ireland, I feel wonder.
I appreciate the great achievements of nations like Ireland.

Admiration (Study 4)

As Romanian, I appreciate Ireland's accomplishments in the field of work-life balance policies.
As Romanian, I feel admiration for Ireland's performance in work-life balance policies.
Reading about work-life balance policies in Ireland, I am surprised.

APPENDIX 2. Manipulations in Study 5

LEGITIMACY MANIPULATION

Illegitimate conditions:

Although EUROSTAT carries out the largest and most cited energy survey in Europe, there is criticism regarding its methodology. There are concerns over the weak statistical system used in the assessment of biofuels (Nikolaos Roubanis, Eurostat), data being collected from energy companies and not final users (e.g. households) (Eurostat Communication, 2009), and unpublished statistics.

"The website of Eurostat – the European Union's statistical office – sells itself as "your key to European statistics." [...] In fact, several key statistics are not available–not even commercially–especially with regard to energy issues. This is a major fault in Europe's credibility in advancing its policy goals [...]." (Carlo Stagnaro, 2011).

Legitimate conditions:

The EUROSTAT Data and measurement are generally praised for their accurateness. UK's ranking in the 2009 survey (under 10%) is also confirmed by the 2010 National Grid data, showing that the 10% threshold was reached last September.

"According to data from the National Grid, production of electricity from wind reached a historical record on the 6th of September 2010, with around 10% of all electricity delivered to consumers generated by the UK's wind farms." (RenewableUK, 2010)

STABILITY MANIPULATION

Unstable conditions:

Prospects are generally optimistic, and the recent growth in renewable energy consumption shows the UK has the capacity to reach the renewable energy performance of countries like Denmark by the end of the decade.

"We are expecting to see the contribution of electricity from wind gradually increase over the next decade, to around 30% of the UK's total consumption. If we added together all the wind energy projects in planning to the projects already existing and about to come on stream, we would be three-quarters of the way to reaching our 2020 targets. If we count in the tremendous potential of offshore wind, the plan of turning UK into a net energy exporter does not seem unlikely. Reaching our targets and unleashing the colossal opportunities wind energy brings to the UK is perfectly achievable," (Maria McCaffery, RenewableUK Chief Executive)

Stable conditions:

Although the UK Government has set high targets for future use of renewable energy in the UK, the recent economic downturn and public spending cuts make these prospects unlikely in the near future. Richard Lambert, Director of CBI-UK, shows his disappointment with recent progress.

"The momentum for change [...] is weak, while the needle on the dial of consumer behaviour has hardly changed. There are also important mitigating factors: First, we have just undergone the deepest recession for more than 70 years. Second, public trust has been damaged by a view that the consequences of climate change may have been exaggerated, or at least manipulated. And finally, the recent change of government. This has nothing to do with any lack of commitment on its behalf, merely that its new policies will take time to implement." (Richard Lambert, Director of CBI-UK)

APPENDIX 3. Measures in Study 5

Learning-related help (items 2, 3, 7), dependency-oriented help (items 5, 6), and cooperation (items 1, 4).

Denmark is a possible collaborator for the UK in terms of renewable energy. Therefore, we would like to know what your opinions are of the different types of collaboration. Please rate below your support with each of the measures.

1. Joint conference on renewable energy future of UK and Denmark.

2. Danish experts training UK energy administration staff.

3. Danish experts advising the UK on its environmental policy.

4. Closer joint research of UK and Danish universities and research institutes.

5. UK importing energy produced in Denmark at preferential prices.

6. UK acquiring wind turbines made in Denmark at preferential rates.

7. Denmark sharing renewables technology know-how with the UK.

Attitudes toward intergroup learning

1. I think we would have a lot to learn from Denmark's renewable energy performance.

2. It would be good if we looked at renewables in Denmark as good practice examples.

3. I think Denmark's performance is a useful guide for what we should be aiming for.