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Explaining the relationship between ingroup identification and intergroup bias following recategorization: A self-regulation theory analysis

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Abstract

We tested the hypothesis that regulation of discrepancies between perceived actual and ideal differentiation between the ingroup and outgroup could help to explain the relationship between ingroup identification and intergroup bias when participants are recategorized into a superordinate group. Replicating previous findings, we found that following recategorization, identification was positively related to intergroup bias. No such differences emerged in a control condition. However, we also, in the recategorization condition only, observed a positive association between ingroup identification and the perceived discrepancy between actual and ideal degree of differentiation from the outgroup: at higher levels of identification, participants increasingly perceived the ingroup to be less differentiated from the outgroup than they would ideally like. This tendency mediated the relationship between identification and bias. We discuss the theoretical, methodological and practical implications of these findings.

The common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) proposes that eliminating group boundaries so that two groups are recategorized into one superordinate group reduces intergroup bias between those groups. Although numerous studies have confirmed that superordinate recategorization reduces intergroup bias (e.g., Gaertner, Mann, Dovidio, Murrell, & Pomare, 1990), other studies have raised the possibility that it may not always be the best strategy to promote intergroup harmony, as it sometimes leads to an increase in intergroup bias (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). Recently, the extent to which an individual identifies with the ingroup has been shown to moderate the effect of recategorization on intergroup bias (Crisp, Stone, & Hall, 2006a; Crisp, Walsh, & Hewstone, 2006b; van Leeuwen, van Knippenberg, & Ellemers, 2003; for a review

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see Crisp, 2006). Following recategorization, the more an individual identifies with their ingroup, the greater ingroup favouring bias they report. In this paper, we identify a mechanism that underlies this relationship, building on existing research which uses theories of self-regulation to explain intergroup behaviour (e.g., Bizman, Yinon, & Krotman, 2001; Shah, Brazy, & Higgins, 2004). Below, we review research on distinctiveness threat and self-regulation theory, before showing they might be usefully combined in order to test our hypothesis.

Recategorization and distinctiveness threat

Distinguishing between people on the basis of their group affiliations is sufficient to generate intergroup bias (e.g., Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). Accordingly, the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) proposed that to reduce intergroup bias, existing boundaries between groups should be eliminated so that both groups are included in one superordinate group. Although numerous studies confirm that recategorization reduces intergroup bias (e.g., Gaertner et al., 1990), others have shown that merging category boundaries can sometimes lead to an increase in intergroup bias (e.g., Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). One reason why recategorization might sometimes increase intergroup bias is group members' need for distinctiveness. According to the social identity approach (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1987), people are motivated to achieve a positive self-image (Abrams & Hogg, 1998; Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 2002), something they can achieve by being a member of a positively valued group. Bringing groups together, particularly when they are similar on an important dimension (e.g., doing the same task, equal status), might therefore arouse motivations to achieve positive distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which could exacerbate rather than alleviate intergroup conflict (Brown & Wade, 1987).

Ingroup identification can explain why recategorization sometimes decreases intergroup bias

but at other times increases it. Crisp et al. (2006a) found that the degree to which participants identified themselves as British predicted intergroup bias, but only when participants thought about the recategorization of British and French identities into a superordinate European identity (for similar findings with different groups and contexts see Crisp et al., 2006b; Stone & Crisp, 2007). Given that their group identity is an important part of their self-concept and a source of self-esteem, higher ingroup identifiers are likely to perceive recategorization into a superordinate group as threatening and would thus be motivated to differentiate themselves positively from the outgroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Low identifiers, on the other hand, may have an insufficient investment in their group identity to feel threatened by recategorization. In fact, they may prefer not to be categorized distinctly as group members (Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1999).

Self-regulation and intergroup behaviour

Self-regulation theories are concerned with the systematic efforts people make to direct their thoughts, feelings, and actions towards the attainment of personal goals. According to self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987, 1989), people possess cognitive representations of the self as well as standards against which they evaluate the self. There are two types of evaluative self-guides against which individuals compare their actual self: the ideal self, which represents the characteristics that they wish to possess, and the ought self, which represents the characteristics that they believe they should possess, based on a sense of responsibility or obligation. The greater the discrepancy between the actual self and the ideal self (actual–ideal discrepancy) or the ought self (actual–ought discrepancy), the greater the psychological discomfort that will be experienced, motivating people to find ways to reduce the discrepancy. An extension of this approach, regulatory focus theory (Higgins, 1997), suggests that ideal and ought self-guides will be differentially important depending on the context.

Specifically, when people focus on the need for nurturance and gain (a "promotion focus"), they are more likely to pursue ideals, and are primarily motivated by the presence or absence of gain, whereas when they focus on the need for security (a "prevention focus") they are more likely to pursue oughts, and tend to be concerned with the presence or absence of loss.

These self-regulatory theories have recently been extended to explain intergroup behaviour (see Sassenberg & Woltin, 2008, for a review). Bizman et al. (2001) argued that self-discrepancy processes might have an impact on an individuals' social or collective self when their social identity, rather than their individual identity, is made salient. Group discrepancies are thought to result from comparisons between the perceived attributes of one's group and a group-based guide. An actual–ideal group discrepancy therefore reflects differences between the perceived attributes of the ingroup and the attributes that the perceiver would like the group to possess, whereas an actual–ought group discrepancy reflects differences between the perceived attributes of the ingroup and the attributes the perceiver thinks the group should possess. Sassenberg, Kessler, and Mummendey (2003) argued that different self-regulatory foci would predict the type of bias that would emerge in an intergroup context. Shah et al. (2004), for example, found that the accessibility of characteristics that participants ideally would like to have, predicted how closely they would sit to a teammate on an intergroup task, whilst the accessibility of characteristics participants thought that they ought to have predicted how far away they would sit from a competitor.

The current research

In this paper we apply self-regulation to a different intergroup phenomenon, distinctiveness threat resulting from recategorization. Specifically, we argue that a discrepancy between the extent to which the ingroup and outgroup are *actually* differentiated and the extent to which the participant would *ideally* like the ingroup and outgroup to be differentiated, will underlie the relationship between identification and intergroup bias following superordinate recategorization. The more participants identify with the ingroup, the greater the discrepancy they will perceive there to be between how differentiated they actually are from the outgroup, and how differentiated they would ideally like to be. Self-discrepancy is associated with discomfort, and individuals will be motivated to reduce that discomfort by decreasing the discrepancy (Bizman et al., 2001; Norman & Aron, 2003). One way of achieving this is by showing greater ingroup favouritism.

As noted earlier, self-discrepancy theory proposes two types of discrepancy; actual–ideal and actual–ought. When there is a focus on personal gain and nurturance, ideal aspects of the self will play a larger role in predicting intergroup bias, whereas when there is a focus on security and protection, ought aspects of the self will be more important (Sassenberg et al., 2003; Shah et al., 2004). According to social identity theory, higher identifiers are personally motivated to differentiate themselves from the outgroup in order to maintain a positive perception of the ingroup, something that they do in order to maintain positive self-esteem (Rubin & Hewstone, 1998). A distinct social identity represents a personal gain for higher identifiers. Given that ideal aspects of the self are associated with a promotion focus, where the focus is on the importance of gain, we predict that actual–ideal, but not actual–ought, discrepancies will vary depending upon ingroup identification. In addition, although social identity is an intergroup phenomenon, holding positive self-esteem because the ingroup has a distinct social identity has significant *personal* benefits: feeling good about oneself. Thus, the need to differentiate is motivated by a *desire* to be different from the outgroup, rather than through a sense of obligation. Supporting this idea, there is evidence that individuals who fail to achieve promotion goals tend to suffer from lower self-esteem (Moretti & Higgins, 1990), and people who are primed to hold a promotion focus respond faster to esteem-related words on a lexical-decision task (Leonardelli, Lakin, & Arkin, 2007).

It is important to acknowledge that people are motivated to differentiate themselves from other groups not only to enhance self-esteem, but also to reduce uncertainty (Hogg, 2000). Leonardelli et al. (2007), however, found that uncertainty was associated with a prevention focus rather than a promotion focus. While uncertainty motivations do therefore play an important role in explaining reactions to recategorization, we do not expect them to be related to the mechanism we focus on here, actual–ideal discrepancy, which has been found to be primarily associated with self-esteem and gain (rather than uncertainty and losses).

To summarize, we predict that following recategorization, the more participants identify with the ingroup, the greater the discrepancy they will perceive there to be between actual and ideal intergroup differentiation, and the more intergroup bias they will exhibit. This discrepancy should mediate the relationship between ingroup identification and intergroup bias. In contrast, in the control condition, there should be no relationship between identification and either actual–ideal discrepancies or intergroup bias.

Method

Participants and design

Sixty-five British high school students (aged between 16 and 17, with a mean age of 17 years; 47 females, 18 males) were assigned to one of two conditions (control vs. superordinate recategorization), with identification as a continuous predictor and actual–ideal discrepancy and intergroup bias as the dependent measures.

Procedure

Participants were first informed that the questionnaire was a short survey regarding opinions about people from different countries. *Ingroup identification* was assessed by asking participants to rate the extent to which they agreed with the following four statements (adapted from Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 2001): "I identify strongly with other British people," "Being a British person is an important part of who I am," "I feel strong ties with other British people," "I feel a sense of solidarity with other British people" (1 = *not at all*, 9 = *very much*). These items formed a reliable index, α = .87. In the recategorization condition participants were told the following: "We are interested in your opinions towards what some say is an inescapable merging of Britain into a 'United States of Europe.' Some argue that being 'British' is no longer a meaningful way to describe oneself in a time of closer European integration. Rather, British people should abandon any outdated notions of their special status and instead classify themselves simply as 'European.'" This paragraph led participants to believe that the survey concerned opinions towards the merging of Britain with the rest of Europe. It therefore represented our manipulation of recategorization, an implied loss of distinctiveness and merging into a common ingroup identity. Previous research (Stone & Crisp, 2007) has ascertained that this manipulation of recategorization has the same effects as more basic manipulations (i.e., simply circling the word "European" to indicate common group membership). Participants in the control condition received no paragraph. All participants completed the actual–ideal differentiation discrepancy measure, followed by the intergroup bias measure, before being thanked and debriefed.

Dependent measures

Actual–ideal differentiation discrepancy Participants were asked for their opinion on two matters: what they believed to be the actual relationship between Britain and France, and what they believed to be the ideal relationship between Britain and France. They were then asked to circle one of seven pictures depicting the actual and ideal relationships between Britain and France. Each picture consisted of two circles, one representing Britain and the other representing France. The pictures showed varying degrees of overlap between the two circles, from no overlap at all, to almost complete overlap. Thus, participants could indicate how much they thought Britain and France were differentiated and how much they ideally wanted

Britain and France to be differentiated. To create the measure of actual–ideal discrepancy used, the "ideal" score was subtracted from the "actual" score. Thus, a positive score reflected less perceived actual differentiation than ideal differentiation (a desire to be more differentiated from the outgroup than at present) and a negative score reflected higher perceived actual differentiation than ideal differentiation (a desire to be less differentiated from the outgroup than at present).

Intergroup bias Participants were asked to indicate their general feelings towards British and French people using an attitude thermometer (Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993), 0 being extremely unfavourable and 100 extremely favourable. Participants were provided with two columns, one labelled "British people" and the other labelled "French people". They were then asked to indicate their overall feeling towards each group by making a cross at the appropriate point, and told that they were not restricted to the numbers indicated (each column was segmented every 10°) but should feel free to use any number between 0° and 100°. Each number had a label that ranged from *extremely favourable* to *extremely unfavourable*, with the 50° marker labelled as *neither favourable nor unfavourable*. A measure of intergroup bias was calculated by subtracting the score on the French attitude thermometer from the score on the British attitude thermometer. Thus, the larger the intergroup bias score, the greater the preference for the ingroup over the outgroup.

Results

We used moderated regression (Aiken & West, 1991) to test the moderating effect of category distinctiveness on the relationship between group identification and both intergroup bias and actual–ideal discrepancy. We computed an interaction variable by contrast coding our conditions as –1 and 1 (control vs. superordinate recategorization) and multiplying it by the centred continuous identification scores for each participant. We then entered this interaction variable into a multiple regression on a second step
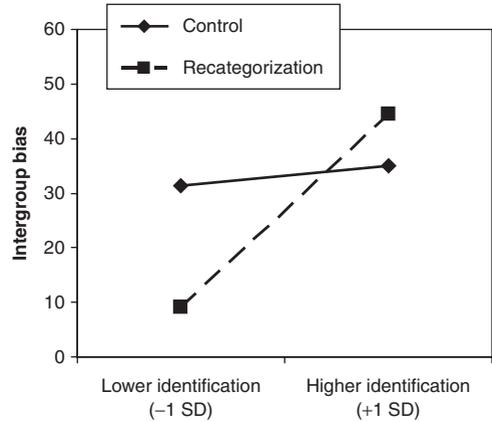

Figure 1. The relationship between identification and intergroup bias as a function of categorization.

following the insertion of the condition and identification factors independently at step 1.

Intergroup bias

Considering intergroup bias as a dependent variable, the moderated regression analysis revealed a significant interaction on entering the interaction variable at step 2; $\beta = 1.00$,[1] $p < .05$, R^2 change = .067 (see Figure 1). Simple slope analysis within experimental conditions revealed that, as predicted, while identification was unrelated to intergroup bias in the control condition, $\beta = .061$, $p = .73$, it was positively related to intergroup bias in the recategorization condition, $\beta = .601$, $p = .001$. In sum, in the recategorization condition, lower identifiers were less biased than higher identifiers.

Actual–ideal discrepancy

Considering actual–ideal discrepancy as a dependent variable, the moderated regression analysis revealed a significant interaction on entering the interaction variable at step 2; $\beta = .96$, $p < .05$, R^2 change = .061 (see Figure 2). A higher score reflects a bigger discrepancy, in the direction of there being less actual intergroup differentiation than ideal intergroup differentiation. Simple slope analysis within experimental conditions revealed
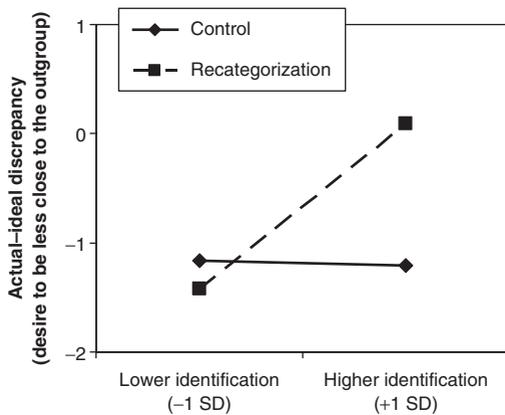
Figure 2. The relationship between identification and actual–ideal discrepancy (desire to be closer to the outgroup) as a function of categorization.
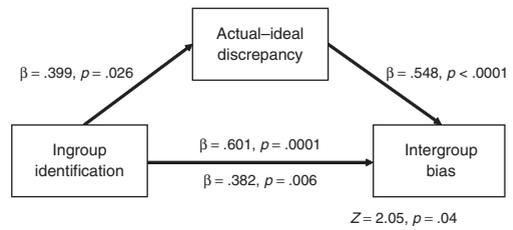

Figure 3. Mediational model of the role of actual–ideal discrepancy in explaining the effect of identification on intergroup bias following recategorization.

that, as predicted, while identification was unrelated to discrepancy in actual–ideal intergroup differentiation in the control condition, $\beta = .139$, $p = .43$, it was positively related to discrepancy in actual–ideal intergroup differentiation in the recategorization condition, $\beta = .40, p < .05^2$ (i.e, higher identification was associated with a greater desire for differentiation from the outgroup).

Mediational analysis

In line with predictions, in the recategorization condition, identification was positively associated with intergroup bias. Identification was *also* positively associated with actual–ideal discrepancy, with less actual perceived discrepancy than ideal perceived discrepancy. There was also a positive association between this discrepancy and intergroup bias. We computed a mediational analysis to assess whether the effect of ingroup identification on intergroup bias occurred as a function of actual–ideal discrepancy in the recategorization condition. In step 1, the outcome measure (intergroup bias) was regressed onto the predictor (identification). This analysis revealed a significant positive relationship between identification and bias, $\beta = .601, p < .001$. In step 2, the analysis revealed a significant positive relationship between identification and

the mediator, actual–ideal discrepancy, $\beta = .399$, $p < .05$. In step 3, the bias was regressed onto actual–ideal discrepancy while controlling for identification, which also revealed a significant relationship, $\beta = .548, p < .001$. Finally, when the mediator was controlled in the first equation, the relationship between identification and bias became weaker, $\beta = .382, p < .006$ (see Figure 3). A Sobel test was significant, $Z = 2.05, p < .04^{3, 4}$.

Summary

No relationship emerged between identification and intergroup bias or actual–ideal discrepancy in the control condition. In the recategorization condition, however, where the prospect of merging with another group was introduced, relationships did emerge between identification, discrepancy and bias. The more strongly participants identified with the ingroup, the more intergroup bias they showed. Moreover, high identifiers perceived there to be a discrepancy between their actual and ideal intergroup differentiation. This discrepancy partially mediated the relationship between ingroup identification and intergroup bias.

Discussion

To our knowledge, this research is the first to identify an underlying mechanism which explains why ingroup identification predicts intergroup bias when superordinate recategorization occurs. Although numerous studies have drawn attention to the moderating role of identification on the relationship between recategorization and

intergroup bias (e.g., Crisp et al., 2006a; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Jetten et al., 2001), none have empirically demonstrated processes which could explain this pattern. We found that when group members were recategorized into a superordinate group, the degree of discrepancy between perceived actual and ideal differentiation between the ingroup and the outgroup mediated the effect of ingroup identification on intergroup bias.

It is important to note here that participants with relatively higher ingroup identification showed almost no discrepancy between actual and ideal intergroup differentiation, whereas participants with relatively lower ingroup identification show the predicted discrepancy, reporting higher actual intergroup differentiation than they would ideally like. However, these scores are relative in nature. While participants with identification at one standard deviation above the mean are not showing a discrepancy between actual and ideal intergroup differentiation, those with higher levels of ingroup identification will show an actual–ideal discrepancy in the predicted direction. In addition, social identity theorists argue that lower identifiers are precisely the opposite of higher identifiers: they don't want to be categorized distinctly as group members (Doosje et al., 1999). It is therefore not surprising that lower identifiers would ideally like to be less differentiated from the outgroup than they actually are. Below, we highlight the theoretical and practical implications of these findings.

Theoretical implications

Research on prejudice reduction has typically implied that categorization is divisive and that to reduce intergroup conflict, category boundaries must be eliminated. Although there is significant evidence to support this idea (e.g., Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner et al., 1990), the current findings illustrate that removing intergroup boundaries can increase intergroup bias where there is high identification with the ingroup (see also Crisp et al., 2006a; van Leeuwen et al., 2003; for a review see Crisp, 2006). The key theoretical significance of this research lies with our discovery

of a mechanism that explains reactive distinctiveness among high identifiers. Proponents of a social identity explanation have argued that because group distinctiveness is important to high identifiers if they are to maintain positive self-esteem, when recategorization occurs, they are motivated to positively differentiate themselves from the outgroup through increased ingroup favouritism. Although numerous studies have supported this pattern of findings (e.g., Jetten et al., 2001), there was previously no clear empirical evidence for a mechanism that can explain the differential reactions of lower and higher identifiers.

In the current study we have integrated two theoretical perspectives—social identity theory and work on self-regulation—to explain how and why ingroup identification predicts intergroup bias following recategorization. Although self-regulation has previously been studied in an intergroup context (Bizman et al., 2001; Sassenberg et al., 2003), its use as a means of capturing social identity theory's motivation towards distinctiveness is novel. We found that following recategorization, higher identifiers had lower perceived actual than ideal differentiation between the ingroup and the outgroup, whereas lower identifiers had higher perceived actual than ideal intergroup differentiation. Higgins (1987, 1989) proposed that discrepancies would cause psychological discomfort, motivating participants to reduce the discrepancy. In this case, we argue that discrepancies between actual and ideal intergroup differentiation motivated higher identifiers to increase differentiation from the outgroup by showing greater ingroup favouritism.

Methodological implications

As well as providing a means of explaining why identification predicts differential reactions to recategorization, the current findings also represent an important methodological development. Previous studies examining the effect of recategorization on intergroup bias as a function of identification have not successfully included any real manipulation check of the level of

perceived distinctiveness (e.g., Crisp et al., 2006a; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). When distinctiveness is manipulated, one might argue that the effectiveness of the manipulation should be assessed by including a measure of intergroup similarity. This, however, presents a conceptual problem. If high identifiers feel that their distinctiveness has been threatened, it is this very threat that should make them more likely to report differences between the ingroup and the outgroup in an attempt to assert their uniqueness. We argue that an intergroup similarity measure operates in much the same way as an intergroup bias measure: as a means of differentiating the ingroup from the outgroup, rather than as a manipulation check. Given this, it is unsurprising that until now, studies have been unable to provide any measure that confirms whether manipulations of distinctiveness have been successful. While the effects observed in previous studies are consistent with the idea that recategorization encourages ingroup favouritism amongst higher identifiers, if there is no measure of perceived similarity, it is difficult to confirm this explanation. The actual–ideal differentiation discrepancy measure developed here can, however, tap into perceivers' perceptions of differentiation while at the same time reflecting desires for differentiation. As such, we argue that it may represent an important future tool for social identity researchers interested in exploring the identification–intergroup bias relationship.

Practical implications

The fact that perceivers react in dramatically different ways to superordinate recategorization, has important implications for the applications of social psychological models of prejudice reduction to intergroup contexts. Recategorization may be an ineffective strategy for reducing prejudice where individuals identify highly with their group because it threatens group distinctiveness. When the group distinctiveness of a high identifier is under threat in this way, there may be negative consequences for intergroup relations (Ellemers et al., 2002). To reestablish positive distinctiveness between the ingroup and outgroup, high identifiers may have

emotional reactions that encourage and justify conflict and, as a result, overtly discriminate against the outgroup (Spears, Jetten, & Scheepers, 2002).

Our enhanced knowledge regarding when and why recategorization will and will not work should enable us to monitor and avoid the negative consequences of recategorization. It is clear that the same intervention may not be effective for all participants. Instead, the strength of ingroup identification must be taken into account and intervention strategies must be better tailored to specific intergroup contexts. Alternatively, prejudice-reduction interventions must be altered so that they are suitable for both lower and higher identifiers. The dual identity approach (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), for example, proposes that when a superordinate category is introduced, initial group categories should be retained so that the superordinate and subgroup identities remain simultaneously salient (see also Crisp et al., 2006a; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). This strategy should benefit both lower and higher identifiers; superordinate recategorization will reduce intergroup bias among lower identifiers and the maintenance of subgroups will alleviate distinctiveness threat among higher identifiers. The research we report in this paper suggests that if higher identifiers are allowed to keep their subgroup identities, they are unlikely to experience a discrepancy between their actual and ideal level of intergroup differentiation. As a result, they should not experience the psychological discomfort and associated motivation to realign actual–ideal representations through increased intergroup bias.

Limitations

While we believe that the current findings make a significant contribution to our understanding of the processes underlying distinctiveness threat, a number of limitations must be taken into account. First, this is the first study to test the role of actual–ideal discrepancies in explaining the effect of distinctiveness threat on intergroup bias. Although this represents an important new contribution to the literature, we acknowledge that these findings are preliminary and future research is necessary to confirm how robust this underlying process is. For example, we measure

rather than manipulate social identification. Accordingly, recategorization might have impacted upon social identification in the current study. In order to rule out this effect, future research should manipulate social identification experimentally.

Second, we used single-item measures of actual and ideal differentiation, based on a series of overlapping circles. Typically, however, self-discrepancy researchers use open-ended items in order to measure participant's ideal and actual image (e.g., Higgins, Bond, Klein, & Strauman, 1986). Future studies should work towards developing a more sophisticated discrepancy measure of differentiation with which to replicate the current findings.

Third, we did not include a measure of ought differentiation in the current study. Future research should directly compare the role of actual–ideal and actual–ought discrepancy in different intergroup contexts. Given that self-esteem concerns are typically activated by a promotion, not a prevention focus (e.g., Leonardelli et al., 2007; Moretti & Higgins, 1990), we believe that in most intergroup contexts, recategorization will be more likely to lead to actual–ideal than actual–ought discrepancies among high identifiers. It is, however, possible that for certain groups, actual–ought discrepancies in intergroup differentiation might explain the relationship between ingroup identification and intergroup bias following superordinate recategorization. For example, for fundamental Christians thinking about the gay community, the obligation to differentiate the ingroup from the outgroup may be more important than the desire to do so. Future research should replicate these findings in different intergroup contexts to consider how widely they can be generalized.

Finally, in the current study, we believe that the relationship between recategorization, actual–ideal discrepancy, and intergroup bias among high identifiers was triggered by self-esteem concerns. This is supported by the finding of Leonardelli et al. (2007) that self-esteem concerns are typically activated by a focus on promotion, which is related to ideals. However, people may also be motivated to differentiate themselves from other groups in order to reduce uncertainty (Hogg, 2000). Indeed, Leonardelli et al. found that uncertainty was associated with a prevention focus, which is typically associated with oughts. Future research is necessary to isolate the conditions under which different mechanisms operate, in order to fully understand the consequences of recategorization.

Conclusion

The research we report in this article helps to advance our understanding of how and why ingroup identification predicts intergroup bias when recategorization occurs. We have replicated and extended previous findings that higher identifiers show intergroup bias as a result of recategorization, by identifying a mediating mechanism: perceived actual–ideal discrepancies in intergroup differentiation, that explains these tendencies. In so doing we provided a novel integration of social identity and self-discrepancy theories. Finally, our measure of actual–ideal discrepancy may provide a significant methodological advance for social identity researchers because it captures the impact of manipulations of group distinctiveness on both perception and motivation.

Notes

1. Although our focus is necessarily on the difference between actual and ideal differentiation, and ingroup and outgroup evaluation, we note that the interaction was significant when outgroup evaluation was the dependent measure, $\beta = -.943$, $p = .05$, but not when ingroup evaluation was the dependent measure, $\beta = .526$, $p = .193$.

2. As with the analysis of evaluation, while we necessarily focus on discrepant perceptions, we also note that the interaction was not significant when actual intergroup differentiation was the dependent measure, $\beta = .041$, $p = .92$, but it was when ideal intergroup differentiation was, $\beta = -1.05$, $p < .05$, R^2 change $= .074$.

3. We have chosen here to report the mediational model within the recategorization condition because this is the focus of our investigations. However, we note that the desire to be closer to the outgroup also mediated the relationship between the dummy-coded interaction between identification and recategorization condition and intergroup bias.

4. We also analysed the data using moderated mediation analysis (Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007). Actual–ideal discrepancy was a marginally significant mediator of the relationship between identification and intergroup bias in the recategorization condition, $Z = 1.69$, $p = .09$, but not in the control condition, $Z = -.80$, $p = .42$. The cross-product term between identification and condition on actual–ideal discrepancy was significant, $\beta = -.28$, $t = -2.07$, $p < .05$. The cross-product term between discrepancy and condition on intergroup bias was, in contrast, not significant.

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