Inter-Group Helping Relations as Power Relations: Maintaining or Challenging Social Dominance *Between Groups Though Helping*

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The paper presents a model which proposes that groups may establish or challenge dominance through helping. It begins by noting the centrality of inequality in helping and inter-group relations. The implications of this to affirmative action programs are noted. Following this, a model of inter-group helping relations is proposed. It suggests that when the high status group provides to the low status group dependency oriented help, it may do so in order to establish dominance. The willing receptivity of the low status group may indicate its acceptance of the inequality, and lack of receptivity for such help may be motivated by the desire to achieve social equality. Empirical findings that are relevant to this analysis are presented in studies using Israeli students as research participants.

(A) Inter-Group Helping Relations: Introduction

Research on the social psychology of helping behavior has focused on inter-personal helping and has paid less attention to the problem of inter-group helping (Schroeder, Penner, Dovidio & Piliavin, 1995). Yet many helping relations occur between groups (e.g., international aid, assistance given by an advantaged to a less advantaged group); moreover, the self categorization theory maintains that when the group affiliations of the helper and recipient are salient, helping interactions between individuals must be viewed as *inter-group* helping interactions (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987).

This paper proposes a model of inter-group helping relations based on the integration of theoretical insights and empirical findings from the social psychology literatures on helping relations and on social identity processes. The cornerstone of the integration is the role of social inequality in helping relations and in inter-group relations. The paper begins by examining inter-group relations and helping relations through the prism of inequality in power relations. These links are then examined in the literature that discusses affirmative action programs as inter-group helping relations. Based on this, it then proposes a model of inter-group helping relations as power relations. This is followed by a description of experimental studies that dealt with the issue of inter-group helping. The concluding section discusses the applied and conceptual implications of this analysis.

(B) Social Asymmetry: The Link Between Helping and Inter-Group Relations

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While helping others is a positively valued behavior in most, if not all, human societies, being dependent on help is often viewed less favorably, at least in Western societies that put a high premium on the value of individual achievement (Karabenick, 1998). Research on seeking and receiving help suggests that helping and being helped may both reflect and be affected by the power hierarchy between helper and recipient (Worchel, 1984). Findings show that recipients of help may experience feelings of dependency and inferiority vis-à-vis the helper, and therefore that seeking and receiving help may threaten recipients' self esteem (Nadler, 1991; Nadler & Fisher, 1986). Findings also show that to avoid the threat, people may refrain from seeking needed help (e.g., Nadler, 1987). Other findings show that they may react negatively to receiving help that they perceive as a threat to their self-esteem (e.g., Nadler, Fisher, & Ben Itzhak, 1983). The literature on inter-group relations similarly emphasizes the role of differential power and status in social relations. It points out that relations between groups in the real world (as opposed to relations between adhoc groups created in the laboratory) are between groups with unequal power and status (e.g., Sachdev & Bourhis, 1985) and that even basic inter-group phenomenas (e.g., in-group bias) are affected by the differential status of the two interacting groups (Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992).

The similar emphasis on differential power in the two literatures suggests that an integrative perspective may shed light on the dynamics of inter-group helping. More specifically, it suggests that*: inter-group helping relations may both reflect and be affected by differential between-group power relations.*

One aspect of the possible impact of differential between-group power relations on the helping dynamic may be seen in the criticisms of affirmative action programs. In these programs members of disadvantaged groups receive, from advantaged groups, benefits that are designed to increase their prospects for success in competitive contexts (e.g., educational, work, etc.; e.g., Pettigrew & Martin, 1987). In a recent collection of scholarly papers (Crosby & VanDeVeer, 2000),

divided equally between proponents and opponents of affirmative action, those who write in favor argue that these programs atone for years of prejudice and unfair treatment and that their adoption will increase the number of persons from disadvantaged groups in positions of leadership. However, opponents assail the programs as inadvertently harming their intended beneficiaries by tainting them with the stigma of incompetence (Heilman, 2000). Supporting the latter claim is Pratkanis & Turner's (1996) theoretical application of the Threat to Self Esteem model of Reactions to Receiving Aid (Nadler & Fisher, 1986) to recipients of affirmative action. This application suggests that the program may threaten recipients' self esteem by reinforcing long-held stereotypes that members of disadvantaged groups cannot "make it on their own."

The experimental work on affirmative action points to the possible disadvantages of affirmative action, but also suggests that these can be overcome. Findings show that women (but not men) selected for a leadership position on the basis of gender evaluated their own leadership abilities and global performance less favorably (e.g., Heilman, Simon, & Repper, 1987; Turner, Pratkanis, & Hardaway, 1991) and chose a less demanding task (Heilman, Rivero, & Brett, 1991) than women who had been placed in the same role on the basis of merit. Findings also show, however, that these negative consequences are not inevitable (Crosby, & VanDeVeer., 2000). For example, Heilman et al., (1991) report that women who, along with being told that they had been selected on the basis of gender, were given positive information about their qualifications did not choose a less demanding task than their peers who did not benefit from affirmative action. Similar findings concerning the ability of information on applicants' qualifications to the adverse effects of group-based selection has been reported by other authors as well (e.g., Arthur, Doverspike, & Fuentes, 1992; Major, Feinstein, & Crocker, 1994; Nacoste, 1985).

Extrapolated beyond affirmative action programs, these findings suggest that the meaning and impact of receiving help from a higher status group may depend on conceptually relevant variables. More will be said shortly of some relevant variables in the inter-group helping dynamic.

(C) Inter-Group Helping Relations as Power Relations: A Model

The model to be presented here rests on two basic premises. The first, drawn from social identity theory (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Tajfel, 1978), is that people strive to maintain a positive social identity. According to this theory, a positive social identity reflects favorably on the individual's self, and the striving for a positive social identity is a universal tendency that reflects the great importance of social identity to the building of the self. The theory further holds that information that the in-group is inferior to the out-group poses a threat to the social identity of the in-group's members, and, furthermore, that people defend **Q2**

against threats to their social identity by disparaging or discriminating (Ellemers et al., 1999) against the source of this threat (i.e., the out-group). Applied to the inter-group helping dynamic, it may be suggested that the receipt of help from an out-group may constitute information that the in-group is dependent on and, hence, inferior to the out-group, and would thus impede the maintenance of a positive social identity.

The second premise, drawn from the integration of the literature on inter-group relations and helping relations, is that inter-group helping may reflect and be affected by the groups' power relations. This premise holds that groups can assert, affirm, or challenge their power relations in the acts of giving, seeking, and receiving help. In a situation of social inequality, the premise applies somewhat differently to members of higher and lower status groups. With regard to the former, the premise is that members of higher status groups may give help to members of lower status groups not only out of caring and concern but also to maintain their social advantage. With regard to the latter, the premise is that in accepting such help, members of lower status groups may tacitly acknowledge their dependency and inferiority to the high status group. Conversely, it is also presumed that refusing help from the higher status group reflects the determination of members of the lower status group to maintain or assert their independence and, moreover, to attain equality with the high status group. In somewhat different terms, it reflects their striving to improve their social identity and their determination to reject the dependency and inferiority associated with seeking and receiving help from a higher status group.

To be sure, not all helping interactions between individuals from different groups are inter-group helping encounters. In accordance with self categorization theory, the willingness to seek, receive, and give help will be affected by the interactants' group affiliations only when group identities are salient (Turner et al., 1987). When group identities are salient, however, receiving help may be viewed as a threat to social identity, refusing to accept help may be viewed as a defense against this threat, and giving help may be viewed as a way of constructing or affirming a positive social identity.

The model presented below maintains that these broad dynamics of inter-group helping depend on two conceptually relevant variables: (a) the perceived stability and legitimacy of the inter-group hierarchy, and (b) the nature of the help involved, namely whether it is autonomy oriented or dependency oriented.

Legitimacy and stability of power relations. In the course of the 20th century there have been substantial changes in the perceived legitimacy and stability of power differences between ethnic, racial, and gender groups. In the Western world the view that one ethnic, racial, or gender group is inherently better and more deserving than another was more acceptable at the beginning than at the end of the 20th century. For example, Dovidio and Fazio (1992) report that in 1933,

75 per cent of survey respondents agreed with the statement that Black Americans are lazier than White Americans, while only 4 per cent of survey respondents agreed with the same statement in 1990.

Social identity theory points out that members of low status groups are faced with an inconsistency between the universal motivation to view the in-group favorably and the reality in which their group compares unfavorably with the high status out-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). It further maintains that individuals' perceptions of the legitimacy and stability of the between group inequality will affect their inclination either to accept or to try to change the unequal sharing of power between groups. More specifically, it holds that members of low status groups are more likely to take active measures to gain equality with the out-group when they believe that such measures have a chance of succeeding, and that they will be more inclined to believe this when they view the power inequality as illegitimate and, hence, unstable. Conversely, it holds that when members of low status groups perceive the power relations as legitimate and, hence, stable, they will be less likely to try to change them.

This analysis can be combined with the idea, stated above, that seeking and receiving help from members of a higher status group may carry with it the stigma of inferiority and dependency (i.e., Nadler & Fisher, 1986). If we accept the possibility that persons from low status groups who seek and receive such help are more prone, than those who do not, to accept their inferior and dependent status, and thus not be highly motivated to change it, then the above analysis suggests that members of low status groups who perceive the social inequality as legitimate and stable will be more inclined to seek and accept help from the higher status group than those who perceive it as illegitimate and unstable. Conversely, members of low status groups who perceive the inequality as illegitimate and hence unstable will be more inclined to refrain from seeking and receiving help from the high status group.

Autonomy oriented vs. dependency oriented help. Consistent with Nelson-Le Gall's (1981) view of help seeking as an effective form of social coping, Nadler (1997, 1998) has distinguished between *autonomy oriented* and *dependency oriented* helping relations. Autonomy oriented help consists of providing the recipient with the tools to solve their problems on their own. It implies a view of the recipients as efficacious individuals who, once they require the appropriate tools, **Q3** can contribute to ameliorating their difficulties . In terms of social identity theory, **Q4** it is the sort of help that can promote the positive social identity of the recipient. Dependency oriented help consists of providing the recipient with the full solution to the problem. It implies a view of the recipients as unable to contribute towards solving their problems and, furthermore, reinforces their dependency. In terms of social identity theory, the receipt of dependency oriented help may threaten the group's positive social identity. In terms of inter-group helping relations, autonomy

oriented help would decrease the social disparity between the high status helper and the lower status recipient group. Dependency oriented help would maintain or widen this social disparity.

It may be suggested that to retain their social advantage and the positive identity that inheres in it, members of higher status groups who wish to help members of lower status groups may prefer to dispense dependency oriented help rather than autonomy oriented help. Indirect support for the suggestion that the dominant group's preference for giving dependency oriented help to low status **Q5** groups may stem from its wish defend its advantageous position is available from two sources. One is Jackson & Esses' (2000) study showing that Canadian citizens opposed providing autonomy oriented help to new immigrants whom they viewed as economic competitors—that is, whom they viewed as threats. The other consists of research findings showing that opposition to affirmative action programs, which are an autonomy oriented form of help designed to make members of disadvantaged groups independent by giving them the appropriate tools, may serve as a socially acceptable expression of racial prejudice in an atmosphere were more direct expressions are socially illegitimate (McConahay, 1986) and, moreover, that some prejudiced people object to them in order to maintain the social advantage of their in-group (Augustinos, Ahrnes, & Innes, 1994).

The Model

The model that emerges from the above analysis is presented in Figure 1. This figure shows the predicted helping dynamics between high and low status groups under conditions of high and low levels of perceived legitimacy and stability of power relations.

The model proposes that members of low status groups who view the unequal power relations as legitimate and stable will be relatively receptive to seeking and receiving dependency oriented help from the high status group. Because they accept their lower status, dependency on the high status out-group would not conflict with their social identity and so would not produce any inner dissonance. Under these conditions, the benefit of receiving full solutions would outweigh the relatively low cost of dependency on the high status group.

In contrast, members of low status groups who view the unequal social hierarchy as illegitimate and unstable are expected to be reluctant to seek and receive help from the high status group. As noted above, they will be inclined to strive to ameliorate the social standing of their group by direct action that is aimed to gain equality with the high status out-group, and accepting dependency oriented help from members of a higher status out-group would be inconsistent with this aspiration and be avoided on this count. To be sure, they may feel that they need the help badly and cannot afford the luxury of rejecting it. In this case, they may
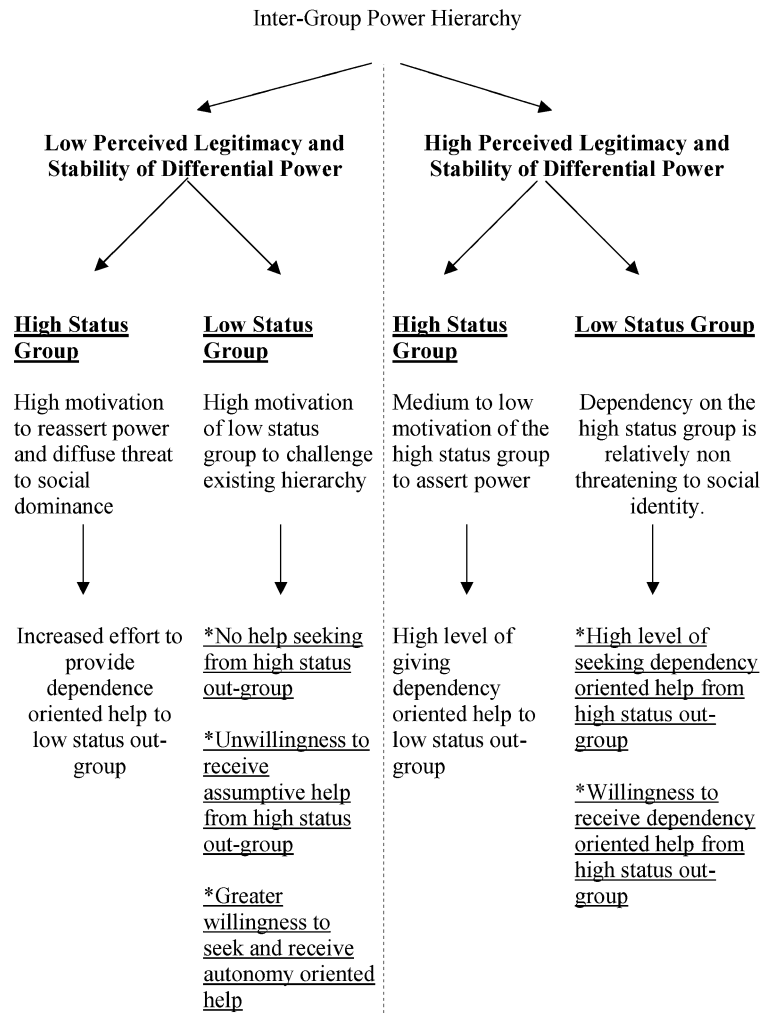
Inter-Group Power Hierarchy

Low Perceived Legitimacy and Stability of Differential Power		High Perceived Legitimacy and Stability of Differential Power	
High Status Group	**Low Status Group**	**High Status Group**	**Low Status Group**
High motivation to reassert power and diffuse threat to social dominance	High motivation of low status group to challenge existing hierarchy	Medium to low motivation of the high status group to assert power	Dependency on the high status group is relatively non threatening to social identity.
Increased effort to provide dependence oriented help to low status out-group	*No help seeking from high status out-group *Unwillingness to receive assumptive help from high status out-group *Greater willingness to seek and receive autonomy oriented help	High level of giving dependency oriented help to low status out-group	*High level of seeking dependency oriented help from high status out-group *Willingness to receive dependency oriented help from high status out-group

Fig. 1. Inter-Group Helping Relations as affected by perceived legitimacy and stability of power relations between groups.

try to mitigate the threat of dependency by seeking and accepting only autonomy oriented assistance and/or by accepting the help only within a long term reciprocal relationship (Worchel, Wong & Scheltema, 1989).   **Q6**

Within this model of the inter-group helping dynamic as power relations, the helping behaviors of members of high status groups are expected to be driven by their wish to maintain their group's advantageous position. On the whole,

members of high status groups are expected to be reluctant to seek and accept help from members of low status groups. They are likely to be more receptive to the low status group's help when: (a) their need for help is high, (b) the assistance is autonomy rather than dependency oriented, and (c) the assistance reflects on non-central, rather than central, dimensions of the group members' social identity (e.g., assistance in pulling a car stuck in mud vs. financial advice).

At the same time, members of high status groups are expected to be more ready to provide members of low status groups with dependency oriented help than with autonomy oriented help. Dependency oriented help amplifies the low status group's relative dependency and inferiority to the high status group and it does not include the tools that would enable the low status recipient group to develop skills that would enable it to narrow the social disparity by becoming independent and equal in the future.

The tendencies of the higher status group to reject help from members of a lower status group and to prefer giving them dependency rather than autonomy oriented help are expected to be amplified when the high status group views its advantageous social position as threatened. To be sure, however, this model neither assumes nor implies that all inter-group helping is driven by power considerations. Altruism and empathy certainly cannot be ruled out in the motives of members of higher status groups who help members of lower status groups. The model deals with only one aspect of the between group helping dynamic: that which reflects as is affected by unequal power relations.

(D) Inter-group Helping Relations as Power Relations: Some Empirical Findings

The hypotheses put forward by the above model await direct empirical support. With respect to low status groups, research is needed to examine their actual help seeking from members of high status groups and their responses to autonomy oriented and dependency oriented help under varying conditions of perceived legitimacy and stability of the power relations. With respect to high status groups, research is needed to assess their willingness to accept help from members of lower status groups and their willingness to give members of such groups dependency oriented or autonomy oriented help as a function of varying degrees of threat to their group's advantageous social position.

Although there is yet no direct corroboration of the model's hypotheses, several recent experimental findings bear on some basic tenets related to our analysis of inter-group helping relations in terms of power relations. Four such studies are reviewed in the next sections.

(1) The observed meaning of help seeking as affected by help seeker's status. The analysis of helping behavior in terms of power relationships suggests that

persons may view help seeking differently in accord with the social status (e.g., power) of the help seeker. Two studies examine observers' perceptions of the ability of low and high status help seekers.

In these experiments first year psychology students at Tel Aviv University, whose mean age was 22, watched a videotaped interaction in a school counselor's **Q7** office in which a 12-year-old girl, who could be readily identified as belonging to a low or high socio-economic status (SES) group, was described as having failed an important course. The manipulation of SES group affiliation of the target person was made in the introduction that the girl had made in the beginning of the videotaped interaction. In half of the cases she noted that her father was a lawyer and that her family lived in one of the most prestigious neighborhoods in the Tel Aviv area, while in the other half she indicated that her father was a school janitor and that her family lived in one of the poorest neighborhoods in the Tel Aviv area. Participants were run in small groups of 5–10 and told that **Q8** the study centers on trying to better understand perceptions of school counseling interactions. It was indicated that such understanding is important in that it will **Q9** ultimately lead to improved training for school counselors. Each of the studies **Q10** included sixty participants who were distributed equally in he six experimental **Q11** cells (10 participants per cell).

In one third of the conditions the girl asked for help to overcome her difficulties. Since the studies focused on the meaning of help seeking, they included two control conditions: a referral condition, in which the target had been referred to the counselor for help and did not initiate the help seeking on her own, and a no-help seeking condition, in which no information about help seeking or help giving was included. This represents a 2 (high vs. low SES target person) $\times$ 3 (no help seeking vs. referral to help vs. help seeking) between subjects design. The first study assessed observers' expectations of the target's future success in (1) the course in which she had failed, and (2) her overall future school performance. The second study assessed the attribution of "lack of ability" to explain the girl's failure in the course.

In the first study, findings showed a 2 (high vs. low status target) $\times$ 3 (help seeking vs. no-help seeking vs. referral) interaction, $F(2, 57) = 3.9$, $p < .05$, on expectations of success in the course. In the help seeking condition, the high status target was expected to succeed more than the low status target, $F(1, 57) = 8.36$, $p < .05$, while in the control conditions there was no difference in expectations for the high and low status targets. The analysis yielded a similar 2×3 interaction, $F(2, 57) = 3.86$, $p < .05$, on the target's "future school achievement." Here, in the help seeking condition the high status target was expected to attain a higher level of achievement than the low status target, $F(1, 57) = 4.06$, $p < .05$, while in the no information and referral control conditions the differences between the high and low status targets were not statistically significant (see Table 1).

Table 1. Perceived "Future Success on the Course" and "Future School Achievement" as Affected by Help-Seeking and Target's SES ($N = 60$)

	Success in the Course			School Achievement		
	Help Seeking	Referral	No Help Seeking	Help Seeking	Referral	No Help Seeking
High SES	4.6	3.8	4.2	3.4	3.3	3.9
Low SES	3.4	4.0	4.0	2.6	3.8	3.5

In the second experiment, findings showed a 2 (high vs. low status target) $\times$ 3 (help seeking vs. no help seeking vs. referral to help) interaction, $F(2, 57) = 4.94$, $p < .01$. The high SES target who had sought help was viewed as relatively more able than the targets in the no information, $F(1, 57) = 6.32$, $p < .05$, and the referral to help, $F(1, 57) = 17.55$, $p < .01$, control groups. That is, the observers were less inclined to cite "lack of ability" as the cause for the failure that precipitated a need for help in the help seeking condition than in the referral and no information conditions. In contrast, attributions for the low SES target were unaffected by the manipulation (see Table 2).

Taken together the findings of these two experiments show that help seekers who belong to a low status group are perceived as less capable and as less likely to succeed than those who belong to a high status group. The findings raise the worrisome possibility that different types of help may be offered to members of low and high status groups, not only by ordinary persons but also by professional helpers, such as teachers, social workers, and mental health professionals. They raise the possibility that members of low status groups, who are perceived as relatively unable, will be offered mainly dependency oriented help, while members of high status groups, who are deemed more able, will be offered mainly autonomy oriented help. This distinction is worrisome because such differentiated help giving, if it becomes routine, may solidify and institutionalize hierarchical social relations between a "dependent" low status and "independent" high status group.

(2) Help seeking and receiving from high and low status out-groups: Arabs and Jews in Israel. While the studies described above examined observers' perceptions of help seeking as affected by the status of the help seeker's group, the following two studies focused on interactants' perceptions and behaviors: the first

Table 2. Attributions of Failure in Success to Target's Lack of Ability as Affected by Help Seeking and Target's SES ($N = 60$)

	Help Seeking	Referral	No Help Seeking
High SES	3.8	5.3	4.7
Low SES	4.7	4.8	4.6

on the effects of assumptive help on recipients' personal and collective self es-teem (Halabi, 1999). Assumptive help is assistance that the helper gives without being asked to do so (Schneider, Major, Luthanen & Crocker, 1996). The second experiment was on willingness to seek help from the in-group and the out-group (Peleg, 2000).

Both of the studies examined perceptions and behaviors of Israeli Arabs and Israeli Jews. Jews are the advantaged majority in Israeli society, Arabs the disad-vantaged minority. In the late 1990s when these studies were conducted, Israeli Arabs viewed this power hierarchy as illegitimate and unstable, and many of them were, and continue to be, actively involved in efforts to rectify the inequal-ity (Rouhana, 1997). Israeli Jews, on the whole, believe that they are entitled to more than Arabs (Yuchtman-Yaar & Peres, 2000), even though the majority of Jews support the democratic principle of equality for all citizens regardless of nationality or ethnicity. This contradiction, which stems in part from the ongo-ing conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors, is beyond the scope of this paper. What is important here is that the studies reported below were conducted in a context in which the low status group viewed the inequality between itself and the high status group as illegitimate and in need of rectification, that is, as unstable.

In Halabi's (1999) study of assumptive help, 164 Israeli Arab high school students worked on what they believed was a knowledge test administered by the Israeli Ministry of Education. Some of the questions were designed to be very dif-ficult. As the participants worked on test the questions, the experimenter, who had previously introduced himself as either an Arab or Jewish employee of the Min-istry of Education, did or did not offer them the solution to the difficult questions. The giving of full solutions without being asked for them represents assumptive and dependency oriented help. The dependent measures included measures of the recipients' affective states, feelings of situational self worth, and feelings of worthiness as Arabs.

The respondents' ratings of their affective state yielded a help-no help $\times$ Arab-Jewish helper interaction, $F(1, 152) = 5.82$, $p < .05$. The students who received help from a Jewish helper rated their affective state as more negative than those who received assistance from an Arab helper, $F(1, 152) = 3.6$, $p < .05$. In contrast, in the no help control condition, no significant difference was found in the affective states of those who had a Jewish test administrator and those who had an Arab test administrator. A similar interaction was found in the respondents' ratings of their situational self worth, $F(1, 152) = 11.75$, $p < .01$. The Arab students who received assistance from a Jewish helper rated their situational self worth lower than their peers who did not receive help, $F(1, 152) = 8.16$, $p < .01$, although those who received the same help from an Arab helper did not. The findings on worthiness as an Arab also showed this interaction, $F(1, 152) = 9.7$, $p < .01$. The Arab students who received assistance from a Jewish helper had marginally significant

Table 3. Ratings of Self-Worth, Affect, and Self-Worth as an Arab as a Function of Helper's National Affiliation ($N = 164$)

	Ratings of Situational Self-Worth		Affective State		Feelings of Self-Worth as an Arab	
	Help	No Help	Help	No Help	Help	No Help
Arab Helper	5.7	5.5	5.7	5.4	5.2	4.4
Jewish Helper	5.2	6.0	5.2	5.8	4.0	5.1

lower ratings of "worthiness as an Arab" than those who had not received help from a Jewish helper, $F(1, 152) = 3.0$, $p < .10$, while those who received help from an Arab helper had significantly higher ratings of "worthiness as an Arab" than those who had not received help from the Arab helper, $F(1, 152) = 4.05$, $p < .05$. (see Table 3).

In the second experiment (Peleg, 2000), 48 Arab Israeli and 48 Jewish Israeli students, all of them female, taking a similar knowledge test to the one in the Halabi (1999) study had been told that they could ask the experimenter for help. In half the conditions the experimenter identified herself as an Israeli-Arab; in the other half she identified herself as an Israeli-Jew. Findings showed a 2 (Arab vs. Jewish helper) $\times$ 2 (Arab vs. Jewish respondent) interaction on the amount of help seeking, $F(1, 88) = 20.92$, $p < .01$. Whereas the amount of help the Jewish respondents sought was unaffected by whether the helper was Jewish or Arab, Arab respondents sought less help from the Jewish helper than the Arab one (see Table 4).

These findings support the prediction that disadvantaged groups (i.e., Israeli Arabs) will avoid seeking help from a helper from the advantaged group (i.e., Israeli Jews). Contrary to expectations, however, the members of the advantaged (Jewish) group did not seek less help from the Arab helper than from the Jewish one, but a similar amount from both. It may be that the Jewish participants did not feel that their advantageous position in Israeli society was at risk and, thus, did not perceive their seeking help from an Arab as a threat to their social identity. Further study that either manipulates or measures a high status group's perceptions of challenge to its social position and social identity is needed to test this explanation.

Table 4. Help Seeking as a Function of Helper's and Recipient's National Affiliation ($N = 96$)

Helper Recipient	Jewish	Arab
Jewish	3.1	2.7
Arab	2.1	4.6

Although neither of the experiments queried the participants' perceptions of the legitimacy and stability of the power hierarchy between Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs, the findings lend initial support to the contentions that persons in low status groups who perceive the status differential as illegitimate and unstable will avoid taking help from, and hence dependency on, persons in a high status group, and will react negatively when such assistance is foisted on them (as is the case in assumptive help). Further study which measures or manipulates the perceived legitimacy and stability of inter-group power relations is called for. Finally, since all four experiments were conducted within an Israeli context, caution should be exercised in applying the findings to other cultural contexts. This is particularly true for the Halabi (1999) and Peleg (2000) studies that focused on relations between Arabs and Jews in Israel. Given the unique nature of these relations within the context of the conflict in the middle-east, these findings may not completely generalize to other countries.

(E) Conclusions and Implications

This paper suggests that inter-group helping relations can be a mechanism through which social groups create, assert, or challenge power positions. The model it outlines integrates major tenets from the literature on interpersonal helping relations and on social identity to explain inter-group helping relations in terms of power relations.

The model described above adds two key propositions to the insights of social identity theory. First, it proposes that when members of a low status group strive for social equality, being dependent for help on a higher status out-group can threaten their social identity and that the group members will refrain from seeking or receiving help from the out-group. Second, it proposes that members of high status groups whose social status is threatened may respond to the threat to their social identity by providing the source of that threat with dependency oriented rather than autonomy oriented help.

In addition to social identity theory, social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and system justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost & Burgess, 2000) highlight the ideas that different people perceive existing inter-group power relations as differentially legitimate and stable, and that their perceptions affect their behavior. Because of the conceptual affinity between the proposed model and these two theories, the measurement of social dominance and self-justification tendencies may serve in empirical tests of the model's major hypotheses.

Social dominance theory holds that human beings have a fundamental desire to establish and maintain group-based hierarchies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and, moreover, that this anti-egalitarian orientation varies among people in a way that is consistent, systematic and measurable (Social Dominance Orientation [SDO],

Pratto, 1999). Our analysis suggests that high SDO individuals will show greater willingness than low SDO individuals to provide dependency oriented help to low status groups, and also that they will be particularly resistant to receiving help that will make them dependent on a low status group. The application of social dominance theory may thus enable examining the hypothesis that giving dependency oriented help to the low status out-group may reflect the desire of members of high status groups to maintain the social disparity.

Social justification theory explains the tendency that is sometimes found among persons in low status groups to regard the high status out-group more favorably than their own group as a reflection of efforts to justify the social system so as to reduce the dangers of social conflict (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Applied to inter-group helping, this explanation suggests that members of low status groups who show a high level of system justification will be more receptive to dependency oriented help from high status helpers than their peers with lower system justification tendencies. The application of system justification theory may enable examination of the hypothesis that members of low status groups who accept the inferior social position will be receptive to dependency oriented help from the high status group.

The power analysis of inter-group helping relations is especially relevant in times of social change, when social hierarchies are challenged or in flux. It is in such times that traditional patterns of help from high to low status groups may be called into question by the lower status group, while the higher status group does not understand why its help, formerly welcomed, is suddenly disparaged. The analysis tells us that the lower status group which no longer views the old hierarchy as legitimate and stable will reject the help, with its implication of dependency on the high status group, as threatening to its social identity, while the high status group, unbeknownst to itself, may offer only such help as will enable it to maintain its previous, but no longer accepted, social superiority.

As a closing point, it should be emphasized that, in keeping with the tradition of social identity and self-categorization theories (cf., Brown, 2000), the processes discussed in this paper reflect the perceptions of individuals, and one cannot assume that the members of a group all share the same view of the legitimacy and stability of the power relations in question. The point to be stressed is that the tendency to seek and receive help from an out-group, and whether the help that is offered and accepted or rejected is dependency or autonomy oriented help, may be strongly affected by the individual's perceptions of the legitimacy and stability of the relevant inter-group power relations.

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Queries

Q1: Au: Should a comma be added after "societies"? If ALL Western societies value achievement, then add the comma. If only SOME Western societies do, then leave it out.

Q2: Au: Please consider adding a word such as "revealing," "stating," or "supposing" here to make the sentence flow more quickly.

Q3: Au: "Require" or "acquire"?

Q4: Au: "Difficulties" or "situation"?

Q5: Au: The words, "may stem from its wish defend its advantageous position" do not fit into this sentence grammatically. Please revise.

Q6: Au: Please reconcile name in text and references. Wang or Wong?

Q7: Au: Do you want to note that there were more than one tape here?

Q8: Au: Correct verb here? May I suggest "organized."

Q9: Au: Please define "it."

Q10: Au: Please define "each."

Q11: Au: "He" is not appropriate word here. Do you mean "the?"

Q12: Au: Need page numbers.

Q13: Au: Is part of this reference missing?

Q14: Au: If this is part of the reference for Halabi, please also list it on its own under "Major."

Q15: Au: Please confirm title of source. Are quotes correct and is "from" part of the title?

Q16: Au: Please confirm that the word "prerential" is correct here.

Q17: Au: Please confirm that the lower case "L" is appropriate here.

Q18: Au: Please add page numbers.

Q19: Au: Please confirm that "C. M.S." is sufficient for first initial and last name of editor.

Q20: Au: Please add page numbers.

Q21: Au: Please add publisher's information.

Q22: Au: Please confirm that "and" is the last word in the title of the thesis.

Q23: Au: Reference not mentioned in text. Please confirm that it is included here.

Q24: Au: Please confirm that "hures" is the correct word here.